



# JOHN MILTON PARADISE LOST

Edited by Barbara K. Lewalski



Blackwell  
Publishing

JOHN MILTON

PARADISE LOST

# Praise for this edition

“Barbara Lewalski is the doyenne of the community of Milton scholars, but she also remains committed to the enterprise of teaching. In this exemplary edition of *Paradise Lost* both qualities are in evidence: the text is scrupulous and the scholarship rigorous, but both the introduction and the notes are accommodated to the needs of students who will be coming to the poem for the first time. This is an edition that will please students and professors alike, and its sheer quality is a tribute to Barbara Lewalski’s passion to provide readers with all the help they need to understand the greatest of all English poems.”

*Gordon Campbell, University of Leicester*

“Teachers and scholars will welcome Barbara Lewalski’s Blackwell edition of *Paradise Lost*, one not only informed by the erudition of a prominent and highly respected Miltonist but advantaged by her sound decision to reproduce the original language, spelling, punctuation, capitalization, and italics of the 1674 text.”

*Edward Jones, Editor, Milton Quarterly*

“For the student or general reader, looking for an old-spelling edition that is faithful to the original punctuation, this edition has much to recommend it. Its annotation is crisp, purposeful and well judged.”

*Thomas N. Corns, University of Wales, Bangor*

“A superb teaching text. Lewalski’s edition respects Milton’s original poem and offers supremely clear introductions, bibliography and special material to guide the student reader and educated lay person alike to new discoveries in a work that, quite simply, has it all: good, evil, God, Satan, humans, angels, love, despair, war, politics, sex, duty, and sublime poetry – set in a cosmic landscape that inspires wonder and seduces new readers in every generation.”

*Sharon Achinstein, Oxford University*

JOHN MILTON

PARADISE LOST

EDITED BY

BARBARA K. LEWALSKI

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Figure 1 Engraved portrait of Milton at age 62 (William Faithorne)

# Note on This Edition

This is one of three volumes presenting the complete poetry and major prose of John Milton in original language and in readily accessible paperbacks. The shorter poems are edited by Stella Revard; the major prose by David Loewenstein.

## Acknowledgments

Librarians at the Houghton Library at Harvard, the Beinecke Library at Yale, the John Carter Brown Library at Brown, the Henry E. Huntington Library, and the British Library have graciously made copies of the 1667 and 1674 editions of *Paradise Lost* available to me for comparison, and the director of the J. Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City made available the manuscript of Book 1. I am especially grateful to the curator of rare books at the Houghton Library for permission to use Harvard 14486.3B (1674) as copy text, and for permission to reproduce William Faithorne's engraving of Milton at age 62 (the frontispiece to Milton's *History of Britain*, 1670) as well as the title pages of the 1667 and 1674 editions and the illustrations to Books 2, 5, 8, 9, and 11 from the 1688 Folio edition of *Paradise Lost*. All the photographs are courtesy of Houghton Library, Harvard College Library. This project profited greatly from the wise early guidance of Andrew McNeillie, then literature editor at Blackwell, the helpful oversight of his successor, Emma Bennett, and the meticulous care of the copy-editor and project manager, Janet Moth. David Loewenstein and Stella Revard, editors of the companion volumes to this one, offered useful critiques and wise counsel; Ken Hiltner served as research assistance during crucial early stages, and graduate and undergraduate students of Milton over many years have helped me determine what does and does not need commentary.

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# Chronology

## Milton's Life

Dec. 9, born in Bread Street, Cheapside London, to John and Sarah Milton. **1608**

Educated by private tutors, including the Presbyterian cleric, Thomas Young. **1614–20**

Brother Christopher born.

Portrait at age 10 painted by Cornelius Janssen. **1615**

Begins to attend St. Paul's School; friendship with Charles Diodati begins. (?) **1616**

First known poems, paraphrases of Psalms 114 and 136. **1618**

Admitted to Christ's College, Cambridge (Feb. 12). **1620**

Writes funeral elegies, "In quintum Novembris," verse epistles, and Prolusions in Latin; "On the Death of a Fair Infant," "At a Vacation Exercise" in English. **1621**

## Historical and Literary Events

**1611** King James ("Authorized") Bible.

**1615**

**1616** Death of Shakespeare.  
Ben Jonson's *Works* published.

**1618**

**1620** Donne appointed Dean of St. Paul's.

**1621** Shakespeare's First Folio published.

**1623–4**

**1625** Death of James I; accession of Charles I.  
Outbreak of plague.

**1626–8** William Laud made Bishop of London.

**Milton's Life****Historical and Literary Events**

- |   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| <p>Takes BA degree (March).<br/>Writes "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity" (Dec.).</p> <p>Writes "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso"(?).</p> <p>"On Shakespeare" published in the Second Folio of Shakespeare's plays. Admitted to MA degree (July 3). Writes <i>Arcades</i>, entertainment for the Countess of Derby(?). Writes sonnet "How soon hath Time" (Dec.). Starts to live with his family at Hammersmith.</p> <p>Writes "On Time," "At a Solemn Music"(?).</p> <p><i>A Maske (Comus)</i> performed at Ludlow with music by Henry Lawes (Sept. 29).</p> <p>Moves with his family to Horton, Buckinghamshire. Begins notes on his reading in <i>Commonplace Book</i>.</p> <p>Publication of <i>A Maske</i>.<br/>Mother dies (April 3).<br/>Writes "Lycidas."</p> <p>"Lycidas" published in collection of elegies for Edward King.</p> <p>Begins Continental tour (May 1638); meets Grotius, Gallileo, Cardinal Barberini, Manso; visits Academies in Florence and Rome; visits Vatican Library; visits Naples, Venice, and Geneva.<br/>Writes "Mansus," other Latin poems.</p> <p>Learns of Charles Diodati's death. Returns to England (July). Takes lodgings in Fleet Street. Begins teaching nephews Edward and John Phillips and a few others.</p> | <p><b>1629</b></p> <p><b>1631</b></p> <p><b>1632</b></p> <p><b>1633</b></p> <p><b>1634</b></p> <p><b>1635</b></p> <p><b>1637</b></p> <p><b>1638</b></p> <p><b>1638–9</b></p> <p><b>1639</b></p> | <p>Charles I dissolves Parliament.</p> <p>Galileo's <i>Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems</i> published in Italian.</p> <p>Donne's <i>Poems</i> and Herbert's <i>The Temple</i> published.<br/>Laud made Archbishop of Canterbury.</p> <p>Carew's masque, <i>Coelum Britannicum</i>.</p> <p>Trial and punishment of Puritans William Prynne, John Bastwick, and Henry Burton.<br/>Descartes, <i>Discourse on Method</i>.</p> <p>First Bishops' War with Scotland.</p> |
|---|---|--|

**Milton's Life****Historical and Literary Events**

- |  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| <p>Writes <i>Epitaphium Dæmonis</i> (epitaph for Charles Diodati).<br/>Begins work on <i>Accidence Commenc't Grammar</i>, <i>Art of Logic</i>, <i>Christian Doctrine</i>(?).</p> <p>Publishes anti-episcopal tracts: <i>Of Reformation</i>; <i>Of Prelatical Episcopacy</i>; <i>Animadversions upon the Remonstrants Defense</i>.</p> <p>Publishes <i>The Reason of Church-government</i> and <i>An Apology</i> [for] . . . <i>Smectymnuus</i><br/>Marries Mary Powell (May?), who returns (Aug.?) to her royalist family near Oxford.<br/>Writes sonnet, "Captain or Colonel" when royalist attack on London expected.</p> <p>Publishes <i>Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce</i> (Aug.).</p> <p>Publishes second edition of <i>Doctrine and Discipline</i>; <i>Of Education</i> (June); <i>The Judgement of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce</i> (Aug.); <i>Areopagitica</i> (Nov.).</p> <p>Publishes <i>Tetrachordon</i> and <i>Colasterion</i> on the divorce question.<br/>Mary Powell returns. Moves to a large house in the Barbican.</p> <p><i>Poems of Mr. John Milton</i> published (Jan., dated 1645).<br/>Writes sonnet to Lawes.<br/>Daughter Anne born (July 29).</p> <p>Father dies; moves to High Holborn.<br/>Begins writing <i>History of Britain</i>(?).</p> | <p><b>1640</b></p> <p><b>1641</b></p> <p><b>1642</b></p> <p><b>1643</b></p> <p><b>1644</b></p> <p><b>1645</b></p> <p><b>1646</b></p> <p><b>1647</b></p> | <p>Long Parliament convened (Nov. 3); impeachment of Laud. George Thomason, London bookseller, begins his collection of tracts and books.</p> <p>Impeachment and execution of Strafford (May)<br/>Root and Branch Bill abolishing bishops.<br/>Irish rebellion breaks out (Oct.).</p> <p>Civil War begins (Aug. 22).<br/>Royalists win Battle of Edgehill.<br/>Closing of theaters.</p> <p>Westminster Assembly of Divines to reform Church.<br/>Solemn League and Covenant subscribed.<br/>Thomas Browne, <i>Religio Medici</i>.</p> <p>Royalists defeated at Battle of Marston Moor (July 2).</p> <p>Execution of Laud.<br/>New Model Army wins decisive victory at Naseby (June).<br/>Edmund Waller, <i>Poems</i>.</p> <p>First Civil War ends.<br/>Crashaw, <i>Steps to the Temple</i>.</p> |
|--|---|---|

**Milton's Life**

Daughter Mary born (Oct. 26).  
Writes sonnet to Lord General Fairfax.  
Translates Psalms 80–88.

Publishes *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (Feb.).  
Appointed Secretary for Foreign Tongues to the Council of State (March 15).  
Publishes *Observations* on Irish documents; *Eikonoklastes* (“The Idol Smasher”) (Oct.).  
Given lodgings in Scotland Yard

Publishes *Defensio pro populo Anglicano* in reply to Salmasius (Feb. 24).  
Birth of son, John (March 16).  
Moves to Petty France, near St. James Park.

Milton totally blind.  
Writes sonnet, “When I consider how my light is spent”(?) and sonnets to Cromwell and Sir Henry Vane.  
Daughter Deborah born (May 2).  
Mary Powell Milton dies (May 5).  
Son John dies (June).

Translates Psalms 1–8.

Publishes *Defensio Secunda* (“A Second Defense of the English People”), answer to *Regii Sanguinis* (May 30).

**Historical and Literary Events**

**1648** Second Civil War.  
Pride’s Purge (Dec.) expels many Presbyterians from Parliament, leaving c.150 members of the House of Commons (the Rump).  
Herrick, *Hesperides*.

**1649** Trial of Charles I, executed Jan. 30.  
*Eikon Basilike* (“The Royal Image”) published in many editions.  
A republic without King or House of Lords proclaimed (Feb.).  
Salmasius, *Defensio Regia*.

**1650** Marvell, *Horatian Ode upon Cromwell’s Return from Ireland*.  
Vaughan, *Silex Scintillans* (Part 1).

**1651** Hobbes, *Leviathan*.

**1652** *Regii Sanguinis Clamor* (“Cry of the Royal Blood”), answer to Milton’s *Defensio*, published.  
First Dutch War (to 1654).

**1653** Cromwell dissolves Rump Parliament (April 20).  
“Barebones” Parliament.  
Cromwell made Lord Protector (Dec.), under Constitution, “Instrument of Government.”

**1654**

**Milton's Life**

Writes sonnet, "Avenge O Lord thy Slaughter'd Saints."  
 Publishes *Pro Se Defensio* ("Defense of Himself") (Aug.).  
 Works on *Christian Doctrine*(?).

Marries Katherine Woodcock (Nov. 12).

Daughter Katherine born (Oct. 10).  
 Marvell appointed his assistant in Secretariat for Foreign Languages.

Katherine Woodcock Milton dies (Feb. 3).  
 Daughter Katherine dies (March 17).  
 New edition of Milton's *Defensio*.

Publishes *A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes* (Feb.); *The Likeliest Means to Remove Hirelings out of the Church* (Aug.).

Publishes *The Readie and Easie Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth* (Feb.); 2nd edition (April); *Brief Notes upon a Late Sermon* (April).  
 In hiding (May); his books burned (Aug.); imprisoned (Oct.?); released (Dec.).

At work on *Paradise Lost*, *Christian Doctrine*.

Marries Elizabeth Minshull (Feb.).  
 Moves to Bunhill Fields.

Quaker Thomas Ellwood finds house for Milton at Chalfont St. Giles to escape plague.

*Paradise Lost* published.

**Historical and Literary Events**

**1655** Massacre of the Protestant Vaudois on order of the Prince of Savoy (April).

**1656** James Harrington, *Oceana*, published.

**1657** "Humble Petition and Advice," constitution establishing more conservative government.

**1658** Death of Oliver Cromwell (Sept. 3).  
 Richard Cromwell becomes Protector.

**1659** Richard Cromwell deposed by army; Rump Parliament recalled; Rump deposed and again restored.

**1660** Long Parliament restored; New Parliament called (April).  
 Charles II restored, enters London (May).  
 Dryden, *Astraea Redux*.  
 Bunyan imprisoned (until 1671).

**1661** Regicides imprisoned, ten executed.  
 Repression of dissenters.

**1663** Butler, *Hudibras*, Part I.

**1664** Butler, *Hudibras*, Part II;  
 Molière, *Tartuffe*.

**1665** Bubonic plague kills 70,000 in London.  
 Second Dutch War.

**1666** Great Fire of London (Sept. 2–6).  
 Bunyan, *Grace Abounding*.

**1667** Dryden, *Annus Mirabilis; Of Dramatick Poesie*.

**1668** Dryden made Poet Laureate.

**Milton's Life****Historical and Literary Events**

Publishes <i>Accidence Commenc't Grammar</i> .	1669	
Publishes <i>History of Britain</i> , with William Faithorne's engraved portrait.	1670	
Publishes <i>Paradise Regained</i> and <i>Samson Agonistes</i> .	1671	
Publishes <i>Art of Logic</i> .	1672	Charles II Declaration of Indulgence. Marvell, <i>Rehearsal Transposed</i> . Third Dutch War.
Publishes <i>Of True Religion, Heresy, Schism and Toleration</i> ; publishes new edition of <i>Poems</i> (1645).	1673	Test Act passed.
Publishes <i>Familiar Letters</i> and <i>Prolusions</i> . Publishes 2nd. edition of <i>Paradise Lost</i> . Death (Nov. 8–10?); burial at St. Giles, Cripplegate (Nov. 12).	1674	Dryden's rhymed drama <i>The State of Innocence</i> , registered (published 1677).
	1678	Bunyan, <i>Pilgrim's Progress</i> .
4th (Folio) edition of <i>Paradise Lost</i> : illustrations chiefly by Juan Baptista de Medina, engraved chiefly by Michael Burghers.	1688	
Milton's <i>Letters of State</i> published, with Edward Phillips' <i>Life of Milton</i> and four sonnets – to Fairfax, Cromwell, Vane, and Cyriack Skinner (#2) – omitted from 1673 <i>Poems</i> .	1694	

# Introduction

In the Proem to Book 9 of *Paradise Lost*, Milton states that he had thought long and hard about the right epic subject, “Since first this Subject for Heroic Song / Pleas’d me long choosing, and beginning late” (9.25–6). As early as 1628, as an undergraduate student at Cambridge, he had declared his desire to write epic and romance in English, in the vein of Homer and Spenser, about “Kings and Queens and *Hero’s* old / Such as the wise *Demodocus* once told / In solemn Songs at King *Alcinous* feast” (“At a Vacation Exercise,” ll. 47–9). He first supposed he would write an Arthuriad. In late 1638, while on his European tour, he outlined to Giovanni Battista Manso, the patron of Tasso, his hope to follow Tasso in writing a national epic, specifying as subject King Arthur and the Round Table and the early British kings battling the Saxons (“Mansus,” ll. 78–84). He reiterated that hope a year or so later, in his funeral elegy for his dear friend Charles Diodati (“Epitaphium Dæmonis,” ll. 162–8). But by 1642 he had determined that the Arthur stories lacked the basis in history that he, like Tasso, thought an epic should have, and he now proposed, in the long personal preface to the second book of his antiprelatical treatise, *The Reason of Church-government, Urg’d against Prelaty*, to find a likely British subject and Christian hero in some “K[ing] or Knight before the [Norman] conquest.” Alluding to the Horatian formula widely accepted in the Renaissance, that poetry should teach and delight, he framed that formula in national terms: to adorn “my native tongue” and to “advance Gods glory by the honour and instruction of my country.” To achieve that goal, he considered whether epic or drama might be “more doctrinal and exemplary to a Nation.”

He had been thinking seriously about drama. Between 1639 and 1641 he listed (in what is now known as the Trinity Manuscript) nearly one hundred possible literary projects. That list includes only one epic subject, clearly historical, “founded somewhere in Alfreds reigne”; the rest are subjects for tragedies drawn from the Bible and British history, among them four brief sketches for a tragedy on the Fall (see appendix). The two longer versions call for five acts, the Fall occurring offstage,



a mix of biblical and allegorical characters, and a “mask of all the evils of this life & world.” Milton’s nephew Edward Phillips, who was also his pupil and sometime amanuensis, saw several verses for the beginning of such a tragedy, including ten lines Milton later used in Satan’s speech on Mount Niphates (*PL* 4.32–41). Milton’s early reflections on the Fall as tragedy may have influenced several very dramatic scenes in the epic: Satan’s speeches to his followers, the dialogue between God and the Son in Heaven, the Satan–Abdiel debate, Adam and Eve’s marital dispute, the temptations, recriminations, and reconciliation of Adam and Eve. But at some point Milton decided that the Fall and its consequences, “all our woe,” was the great epic subject for his own times: not the celebratory founding of a great empire or nation as in the *Aeneid*, but the tragic loss of an earthly paradise and with it any possibility of founding an enduring version of the City of God on earth.

He may have begun *Paradise Lost* a year or two before the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 and continued it in the years immediately following that event. At this point he could draw upon almost half a century of study, reflection, and experience. When the English Civil War broke out in 1642 Milton decided to put his large literary projects on hold so as to place his pen in the service of reforming the English church and state. In a series of treatises written over two decades he addressed himself to the fundamental reforms he thought would advance the liberties of Englishmen. Many of those reforms were far more radical than most of his compatriots could accept: removal of bishops from state and church office, church disestablishment, wide religious toleration, separation of church and state, unlicensed publications and the free circulation of ideas, reformed education along humanist lines, divorce on grounds of incompatibility, the abolition of monarchy, regicide when warranted, and republican government. A few weeks after the execution of Charles I in 1649 Milton was appointed Secretary for Foreign Tongues to the new republic and held that post under the Protectorate until 1659. His duties involved translating his government’s formal correspondence with other states, translating in conferences with foreign diplomats, and writing treatises in English and Latin defending the regicide and the new English commonwealth. He began these activities with high hopes that the English people would rally to the “Good Old Cause” of religious and political liberty, but over time he became increasingly distressed by what he saw as their “servility” in supporting a national, repressive church and seeking the restoration of the monarchy.

His private life was also replete with challenges, joys, and sorrows: anxiety about the choice of vocation, the pleasures of friendship, the deep delight of creating splendid poetry, marriage with an incompatible spouse who left him for nearly three years, the deaths of his dearest friend, two wives, and an infant son and daughter, years of worry about failing eyesight, total blindness in 1652 with his great poetry yet unwritten and his public duties still urgent. The personal crises of his marriage to Mary Powell and his blindness would have profound implications for his great epic, a poem written by a blind bard in which the tensions of marriage, as well as its

pleasures, are central. Milton poured into his epic all that he had learned and thought and experienced, about life, love, artistic creativity, religious faith, work, history, politics, man and woman, God and nature, liberty and tyranny, monarchy and republicanism, learning and wisdom.

In the Proem to Book 7 Milton refers to the circumstances in which he wrote much of *Paradise Lost*: “On evil dayes though fall’n, and evil tongues; / In darkness, and with dangers compast round” (ll. 26–8). In the Restoration milieu Puritan dissenters were severely repressed, and several of Milton’s regicide friends and associates were executed by the horrific method of hanging, drawing off the blood, disemboweling, and quartering. Just after Charles II returned in May 1660 Milton had reason to fear a similar fate for himself: he hid out in a friend’s house for more than three months and was then arrested and spent some weeks in prison. When that immediate danger passed he had to come to terms with his profound disappointment over the utter defeat of his political and religious ideals, with his much-reduced financial circumstances, with his daughters’ resentment over their restricted lives and limited prospects, and with the enormous problem of writing his great poem as a blind man forced to rely on ad hoc arrangements with students and friends to take down dictation. In 1665, before the poem was ready for the printer, Milton left London with his family to escape a particularly lethal visitation of the plague, settling in the country village of Chalfont St. Giles. When he returned the next year, he experienced the terror of the Great Fire of London which devastated two-thirds of the City and came within a quarter-mile of his house.

Before publication *Paradise Lost* had to be licensed in accordance with the Press Act of 1662. There was brief trouble with the censor, Thomas Tomkyns, who objected to lines 594–9 of Book 1, with their reference to a solar eclipse portending “change” that “perplexes Monarchs.” But in the autumn of 1667 the epic was published by Samuel Simmons, one of the few printing houses left standing after the fire. At the end of April 1667 Milton signed the first recorded formal contract assuring intellectual property rights and payments to an author: five pounds when copy was delivered, five pounds when 1,300 copies were sold from an edition of 1,500 copies, then the same sum again upon sale of 1,300 (of 1,500) copies from the second and from the third editions. These amounts compare with payments to some other early modern authors; many were paid only with a few copies of their work. In 1674, four months before Milton’s death, the second edition of *Paradise Lost* was published, revised from ten books to twelve.

### “Things Unattempted Yet in Prose or Rhime”

Milton’s epic is pre-eminently a poem about knowing and choosing – for the Miltonic Bard, for his characters, and for the reader. It foregrounds education, a life-long concern of Milton’s and of special importance to him after the Restoration as

a means to help produce discerning, virtuous, liberty-loving human beings and citizens. Unlike any other literary or theological treatment of the Fall story, almost half the poem is given over to the formal education of Adam and Eve, by Raphael before and by Michael after the Fall. God himself takes on the role of educator as he engages in dialogue with his Son about humankind's fall and redemption (3.80–265) and with Adam over his request for a mate (8.357–451). Adam and Eve's dialogues with each other involve them in an ongoing process of self-education about themselves and their world. Milton educates his readers by exercising them in imaginative apprehension, rigorous judgment, and choice. By setting his poem in relation to other great epics and works in other genres he involves readers in a critique of the values associated with those other heroes and genres, as well as with issues of politics and theology.

Milton's allusions in the Proems and throughout the poem continually acknowledge structural and verbal debts to the great classical models for epic or epic-like poems – Homer, Virgil, Hesiod, Ovid, Lucan, Lucretius – and to such moderns as Ariosto, Tasso, Du Bartas, Camoëns, and Spenser. The reader familiar with these texts will notice many more such allusions than can be indicated in the annotations to this edition. Milton incorporates many epic topics and conventions from the Homeric and Virgilian epic tradition: an epic statement of theme, invocations both to the Muse Urania and to the great creating Spirit of God, an epic question, a beginning *in medias res*, a classical epic hero in Satan, a Homeric catalogue of Satan's generals, councils in Hell and in Heaven, epic pageants and games, and supernatural powers – God, the Son, and good and evil angels. Also, a fierce battle in Heaven pitting loyal angels against the rebel forces, replete with chariot clashes, taunts and vaunts, hill-hurlings, and the single combats of heroes; narratives of past actions in Raphael's accounts of the War in Heaven and the Creation; and Michael's prophetic narrative of biblical history to come.

Yet the Bard claims in the opening Proem that he intends to surpass all those earlier epics, that his “adventrous Song” will soar “Above th'*Aonian* Mount” (1.13, 15). He clarifies what this means in the Proem to Book 9, as he takes pride in having eschewed “Warrs, hitherto the onely Argument / Heroic deem'd” and in having defined a new heroic standard, “the better fortitude / Of Patience and Heroic Martyrdom” (9.28–32). He has indeed given over the traditional epic subject, wars and empire, and the traditional epic hero as the epitome of courage and battle prowess. His protagonists are a domestic pair, the scene of their action is a pastoral garden, and their primary challenge is, “under long obedience tried,” to make themselves, their marital relationship, and their garden – the nucleus of the human world – ever more perfect. In this they fail, but at length they learn to understand and identify with the new heroic standard embodied in a series of heroes of faith and especially in the “greater man,” Christ, who will redeem humankind. For this radically new epic subject, as the Proems to Books 1, 3, 7, and 9 state, Milton hopes to obtain from the divine source of both truth and creativity the illumination and collaboration necessary to

conceive a subject at once truer and more heroic than any other. He makes bold claims to originality as an author, but an author who is also a prophetic bard.

In addition to the new epic subject, Milton's poem holds other surprises for its readers, then and now. First, and most striking, perhaps, is his splendid Satan, taken by many critics from the Romantic period to the early decades of the twentieth century as the intended or unintended hero of the poem. Milton presents him, especially in Books 1 and 2, as a figure of power, awesome size, proud and courageous bearing, regal authority, and, above all, magnificent rhetoric: this is no paltry medieval devil with grotesque physical features and a tail. He is described in terms of constant allusions to the greatest heroes – Achilles, Odysseus, Aeneas, Prometheus, and others – in regard to the usual epic traits: physical prowess, battle courage, anger, fortitude, determination, endurance, leadership, and *aristeia* or battle glory. Through that presentation Milton engages readers in a poem-long exploration and redefinition of heroes and heroism, often by inviting them to discover how Satan in some ways exemplifies but in essence perverts those classical models. Moreover, Satan's moving language of defiance against tyranny and laments for loss are powerfully attractive, posing readers the difficult challenge of discerning the discrepancies between Satan's noble words and his motives and actions. At length Milton invites readers to measure all other versions of the heroic against the self-sacrificing love of the Son of God, the moral courage of Abdiel, and the "better fortitude" of several biblical heroes of faith.

Milton's representations of Hell, Heaven, and Eden also challenge readers' stereotypes in his own age and ours. All these regions are in process: the physical conditions of the places are fitted to the beings that inhabit them, but the inhabitants interact with and shape their environments, creating societies in their own image. Hell is first presented in traditional terms, with the fallen angels chained on a lake of fire. But unlike Dante's *Inferno*, where the damned are confined within distinct circles to endure an eternally repeated punishment suited to their particular sins, Milton presents a damned society in the making. His fallen angels rise up and begin to mine gold and gems, build a government center, Pandæmonium, hold a parliament, send Satan on a mission of exploration and conquest, investigate their spacious and varied though sterile landscape, engage in martial games and parades, perform music, compose epic poems about their own deeds, and argue hard philosophical questions about fate and free will. Their parliament in Book 2 presents an archetype of debased and manipulated political assemblies and of characteristic political rhetoric through the ages. The powerful angelic peers debate issues of war and peace in the council chamber while the common angels are reduced to pygmy size outside. Moloch, the quintessential hawk, urges perpetual war at any cost; Belial counsels peace through ignominious inaction; Mammon would build up a rival empire in Hell founded on riches and magnificence but, ironically, describes that course of action in the language of republican virtue, as a choice of "Hard liberty before the easie yoke / Of servile Pomp" (2.256–7). Then Satan sways the council to his will through the agency of his chief minister, Beelzebub. The scene closes with Satan accorded divine honors

in an exaggerated version of the idolatry Milton had long associated with the Stuart ideology of divine kingship.

Milton's Heaven is even more surprising: instead of the expected stasis in perfection, it is also in process, requiring the continued and active choice of good, as Raphael explains to Adam: "My self and all th' Angelic Host that stand / In sight of God enthron'd, our happie state / Hold, as you yours, while our obedience holds" (5.535–7). As a celestial city that combines courtly magnificence with the pleasures of nature, it offers an ideal of wholeness through a mix of heroic, georgic, and pastoral modes. Angelic activities include elegant hymns suited to various occasions, martial parades, defensive warfare to put down rebellion, pageantry, masque dancing, feasting, political debate, guarding Eden, and, most surprisingly, angelic sex. This representation of Heaven seems to imply an affirmative answer to Raphael's suggestive question, "what if Earth / Be but the shaddow of Heav'n, and things therein / Each to other like, more then on earth is thought?" (5.574–6).

Underlying this conception is the philosophical monism Milton also set forth in his Latin theological treatise, *De Doctrina Christiana* (*The Christian Doctrine*), a long-term project still under preparation while Milton was composing his epic. Both treatise and poem repudiate the Neoplatonic dualism common to most seventeenth-century Christians, and to Milton himself in his early poems, which understands God and the angels to be pure spirit while humans are a mixture of spirit (the immortal soul) and gross matter (the body). Challenged, perhaps, by the powerful impact of Hobbes' materialism which issued in determinism, and by other speculative thinkers of the period, Milton developed in treatise and poem a monist ontology according to which spirit and matter, angels and humans, differ only in degree of refinement of one corporeal substance emanating from God. Creation is *ex Deo* (out of God) rather than *ex nihilo* (out of nothing) as in most orthodox formulations. Milton's theory held that God withdrew from the matter issuing from him so it could become mutable and subject to the free will of other beings. This concept grounds Milton's striking description of Chaos as a region of inchoate matter comprised of constantly warring elements through which Satan flies with great difficulty and out of which the Son of God creates the universe. It also underpins Raphael's discourse to Adam and Eve (5.469–500), which describes "one first matter" as the substance of all beings, who can move toward greater ("more spiritous and pure") refinement or toward grosser corporeality. Raphael also invokes that principle to explain how he can eat human food, how humans may expect at length to be transformed "all to spirit" after long trial of their obedience, and how angels and humans share, proportionally, in intuitive and discursive reasoning, which differ "but in degree, of kind the same" (5.490). Milton's monism results in an unusually fluid conception of hierarchy.

Milton's portrayal of the Edenic garden and Adam and Eve's prelapsarian life also challenges the assumptions of his contemporaries and of most Christian commentators on the Genesis story, as well as many readers' assumptions about a state of innocence. Traditionally, Eden was portrayed as a garden replete with all the

beauties of nature held in perfection; God commanded Adam and Eve to tend that garden so as to keep them from idleness, but not from any necessity. They were not childlike but had a capacious intelligence and understanding of the natural world; their serene life was said to be free from passion or anxiety; and most Christian exegetes assumed that they did not remain in Eden long enough to have sex. Milton, uniquely, undertook to imagine what an extended life in innocence might be like, and to represent it in the four central books of his epic. His Eden is also a lush and lovely garden with a superabundance of natural delights and a myriad of frolicking animals, but it will revert to wilderness unless Adam and Eve continually prop and prune the burgeoning vegetation. Their labor is pleasant but it is also absolutely necessary; in Milton's epic humans bear responsibility from the beginning to care for and maintain the natural world. In Milton's Eden Adam and Eve are expected to cultivate and control their prolific garden and their own sometimes wayward impulses and passions, to work out their relationship to God and to each other, and to deal with ever new challenges. These include the education provided by the angel Raphael and the intellectual curiosity it both stimulates and assuages, the emotions attending the complexities of love and sex, the problems arising from gender hierarchy within a hierarchical universe, and the subtle temptations posed by Satan, in dream and in serpent disguise. Such challenges are presented by Milton as components of an ideal human life in innocence, and as preparation for a more exalted state. He does not conceive of ideality as static perfection but associates it rather with challenge, choice, and growth.

At the center of his epic Milton sets a richly imagined representation of prelapsarian love, sex, marriage, and domestic society, in which Adam and Eve experience the fundamental challenge of any love relationship, the inevitable but potentially creative tension between autonomy and interdependence. Milton's most brilliant analysis of this challenge in psychological as well as moral terms occurs in the marital dispute (9.205–386), which is without precedent in other literary versions of the Genesis story. Here for the first time in Eden dialogue does not succeed in clarifying and resolving problems. As Adam and Eve enmesh themselves in ever greater misunderstandings the reader feels on his or her pulses the truth of this archetypal version of those all-too-familiar scenes in which lovers or friends, by no one's design, exacerbate slight disagreements into great divides, leading to unwise decisions and dire results. Neither Adam nor Eve has sinned in this exchange because there has been no deliberate choice of evil: they sin only when they make a deliberate decision to eat the fruit. Eve's dream and its aftermath in Book 5 underscore the poem's fundamental assumption that impulses, passions, and desires are not in themselves sinful unless the will consents to the evil they may promote. But in the marital dispute in Book 9 Eve's feelings of hurt that her virtue is not thought strong enough fuel her desire to prove herself independently, while Adam fears to offend Eve. These emotions sabotage their dialogic exchange and result in physical separation, producing the mounting sense of inevitability proper to tragedy.

In *Paradise Lost* contemporary assumptions about gender hierarchy are often voiced, but they strain against the ideal of companionate marriage that Milton developed in part in his divorce tracts and elaborates here. That companionate ideal is embodied in the portrayal of Adam and Eve's shared activities: conversation, lovemaking, the work and responsibility of the garden, the education offered by the angel. Also, in the dialogue Milton imagines between Adam and God, Adam expresses his profound sense of incompleteness without an "equal" mate. Milton's literary strategies also trouble the ideology of gender hierarchy. Eve is shown to be as much a lyric poet as Adam, perhaps more so. Their hymns and prayers are joint expressions, but Eve creates the first love lyric in Eden: the delicate, rhetorically artful, sonnet-like pastoral that begins "Sweet is the breath of Morn" (4.449–91). In the Fall sequence and its aftermath, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that Milton's epic turns into an *Eviad*, casting Eve rather than Adam in the role of central protagonist. The biblical story requires that she be the object of the serpent's temptation, but Milton's poem goes much further: she initiates the marital colloquy about gardening separately, she engages in a lengthy and highly dramatic dialogue with Satan embodied in the serpent, she analyzes her motives and emotions in probing soliloquies before eating the fruit and before offering it to Adam. After the Fall she responds first to "prevenient grace" and so first breaks out of what would otherwise be an endless cycle of accusations and recriminations. Her moving lament, "Forsake me not thus, Adam" (10.914–36), becomes the human means to lead Adam back from the paralysis of despair to love, repentance, and reconciliation, first with his wife and then with God. Her offer to take the whole of God's anger on herself echoes the Son's offer in the Council in Heaven to take on himself God's wrath for human sin, and while Eve cannot play the Son's redemptive role she does become the first human to reach toward the new standard of human heroism. Hers is the last speech of the poem, and in it she casts herself as protagonist in both the Fall and the Redemption: "though all by mee is lost, / Such favour I unworthie am voutsaft, / By mee the Promis'd Seed shall all restore" (12.621–3). It is a remarkable claim to agency and centrality.

Milton's epic also dramatizes political issues long important to him – monarchy, tyranny, idolatry, rebellion, liberty, republicanism, separation of church and state. The poem represents both God and Satan as monarchs and portrays Satan not only as an Oriental sultan but also as a self-styled grand rebel marshaling Milton's own republican rhetoric from *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* against what he calls the "tyranny of heaven." Those representations offer a poem-long exercise in how to deal with political rhetoric and how to make right discriminations. The Abdiel–Satan debates of Books 5 and 6 underscore the Miltonic principle that there can be no possible parallel between the monarchy proper to God as creator and any other king. These passages challenge readers to refuse contemporary royalist analogies between God and King Charles, or Satan and the Puritan rebels, and instead to understand that the appropriation by any monarch other than God of the imagery and accouterments of absolute kingship is idolatry. The Nimrod passage in Michael's prophecy

(12.24–95) presents republicanism as humankind's proper natural state, as Adam castigates that first king as a tyrant for usurping over his equals the dominion proper only to God. Michael's prophecy also incorporates topics central to Milton's polemics: the corruption of the church by Roman Catholic "wolves," the misuse of civil power to force consciences, and the gift of the Spirit to all believers. Also, the poem examines contemporary political issues of exploration and colonization, representing Satan as an explorer bent on conquest and the colonization of Eden, and describing the paradisaical garden in terms often used of the New World: lush, beautiful, prodigiously prolific, needing to be cultivated and tamed, a potential satellite colony for either Heaven or Hell.

Some aspects of Milton's heterodox theological doctrines, argued forcefully in the *Christian Doctrine*, work greatly to his literary advantage in developing his epic. For one thing, he could escape the biblical literalism common among his fellow Puritans because he gave the indwelling spirit of God priority over the letter of Scripture and because from the time of his divorce tracts he insisted that the meaning of any scriptural text must accord with the overarching principles of reason, charity, and the good of humankind. Thanks to those interpretative touchstones, he could represent the Genesis Creation story in terms that leave space for contemporary or future science. In Book 7 Raphael refuses to validate a literal reading of a six-day Creation, but instead explicitly presents the Genesis narrative as an accommodation, "So told as earthly notion can receive" (7.179). And in Book 8 Raphael refuses Adam's urgent plea to resolve the problem of planetary motion, offering instead an account of both the Ptolemaic and the Copernican systems as well as of more radical recent theories. He thereby removes that matter from the sphere of revelation and leaves it open to scientific inquiry, while also insisting that Adam give primary attention to human life and the human world: "thy being," "this Paradise / And thy faire Eve" (8. 174, 171–2). Also, Milton imagines scenes and stories that have no textual basis in Genesis, among them the visit of Raphael to Adam and Eve, Adam's dialogue with God about a mate, and the marital dispute between Adam and Eve. He found sanction for such invention, it seems, from the inner illumination that the "Celestial light" of God can supply (3.51): in the Proem to Book 9 he describes the nightly visits of his celestial muse who "inspires / Easie my unpremeditated Verse."

Issues of interpretation are central to the educative issues of the poem as Milton foregrounds for his characters and his readers the problematics of interpreting God's decrees and his works, and the place of reason and experience in probing their implications. How to reason from experience is a central element in the debate between Satan and Abdiel in Book 5 over God's proclamation of the Son's elevation. Against Satan's envy-driven assertion that the Son's elevation must involve the angels' demotion (as in a zero-sum game), Abdiel interprets that event in the light of the angels' historical experience of God's goodness to them. But he refuses Satan's inference that since the angels cannot remember their creation they must have been "self-begot, self-raised," given that no one can recall the experience of his or her originary moment.



The issue of experience is also central when Satan tempts Eve to interpret the prohibition on the tree as an injurious withholding of knowledge from humans, and to infer from the serpent's supposed experience of gaining reason and speech by eating the forbidden fruit that she can expect a proportional rise in the scale of being. This invitation to reason about the prohibition is a brilliant rhetorical move, original with Milton. Eve could meet it successfully by holding firm to the understanding she articulated when she arrived at the tree: that this prohibition is a positive command of God outside the domain of reason ("Sole Daughter of his voice," 9.653). She might also recall, as Abdiel did, her previous experience of God's goodness. Not blind obedience to the letter, or entire reliance on reason and experience, but thoughtful discrimination is called for in understanding God's decrees.

Milton's theological principles also enable him to portray God as an epic character, though Tasso and most other Christian epic poets and theorists thought that would be impossible and probably sacrilegious. In his *Christian Doctrine* Milton argued that all ideas or images of the incomprehensible God are necessarily metaphoric, but that they should correspond to the way God has presented himself in the Scriptures. Accordingly, he can present the God of *Paradise Lost* displaying a range of emotions (fear, wrath, scorn, dismay, love) as Jehovah does in the Hebrew Bible and its various theophanies; he also calls upon some representations of Zeus in Homer and Hesiod and Jove in Ovid. But he does not attempt to portray God as a unified, fully realized character, or, by human standards, always an attractive one. The views of God that Milton offers – debating with the Son in Book 3, presenting the Son to the angels in Book 5, sending the Son to defeat the rebel angels in Book 6, prompting the generative activities of earth in Book 7 with the Son as his agent, debating with Adam in Book 8, sending the Son to judge Adam and Eve in Book 10 – are all partial reflections seen from particular perspectives.

Milton's antitrinitarianism and Arminianism also serve his literary project. Like adherents of the so-called Arian heresy, Milton argued in his *Christian Doctrine* that the Son is a subordinate deity, not omniscient or omnipotent or eternal or immutable but rather produced by an act of God's will as the firstborn of creation, and that he enjoys whatever divine attributes he has only as God devolves them upon him. This allows Milton to portray the Son in *Paradise Lost* as a genuinely dramatic and heroic character, whose choices are made and whose actions are taken freely, in a state of imperfect knowledge – his condition when, in dialogue with God, he takes on his sacrificial role to save humankind (3.81–342). That dialogue also both affirms and dramatizes the belief in free will (Arminianism) which is at the heart of this poem and of much else that Milton wrote. The Father explains and defends his "high Decree" that from all eternity mandates contingency and freedom for both angels and humans, and thereby secures to both orders genuine freedom of choice, whose results he foresees but does not predetermine. Humans were made "just and right, / Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall" and the same is true of "all th' Ethereal Powers / And Spirits, both them who stood and them who faild." If it were not so,

God declares, the noblest acts of faith, love, and true allegiance by angels and humans would be meaningless, and “Will and Reason (Reason also is choice)” would be “Useless and vain” (3.98–109). The dialogue itself enacts the distinction between foreknowledge and predestination: the Son freely volunteers to die to save humankind, a choice the Father foreknew but did not determine.

The final segment of the poem presents Michael’s prophecy of biblical history to come as a series of examples, repeated again and again, of one or a few righteous humans standing out against, but at length overcome by, the many wicked. Michael sums up this tragic history, “so shall the World goe on, / To good malignant, to bad men benigne, / Under her own waight groaning” until the Millennium (12.537–9). But he promises Adam “A paradise within thee, happier farr” (12.587) if Adam learns how to live in faith and charity. This has seemed to some a recipe for quietism and retreat from the political arena. But the thrust of Michael’s history is against any kind of passivity, spiritual, moral, or political, as it emphasizes the responsibility of the few just men in every age to oppose, if God calls them to do so, Nimrods, or Pharoahs, or tyrannous kings, even though – like the loyal angels in the Battle in Heaven before the Son appears – they will win no final victories until the Son’s Second Coming.

Milton offers *Paradise Lost* as in some sense a theodicy, an effort “To justify the ways of God to men” (1.26). God’s insistence on his creatures’ free will is central to showing the justice of his ways. So is the fact that, despite learning about the ravages of Sin and Death throughout history, Adam is able to proclaim the goodness of God’s ways as the meaning of the messianic promises becomes clear to him. But, as a poet, Milton’s theodicy is less a matter of theological argument or doctrine than of the imaginative vision the entire poem presents of human life, human love, and the human condition as good, despite the tragedy of the Fall and all our woe. That may seem a quixotic affirmation from a poet who endured the agony of total blindness throughout his most creative years and who experienced the utter defeat of the political cause to which he gave twenty years of his life. But it arises from the ideas of human freedom, moral responsibility, and capacity for growth and change that the entire poem dramatizes.

Milton’s poignant, quiet, wonderfully evocative final lines are elegiac in substance and tone, conjoining loss and consolation. Prophecy and providence provide part of that consolation, but the emphasis falls upon the comforts and challenges of Adam and Eve’s loving union as they go forth “hand in hand” to live out all that has been foreseen:

Some natural tears they drop’d, but wip’d them soon;  
The World was all before them, where to choose  
Thir place of rest, and Providence thir guide:  
They hand in hand, with wandring steps and slow,  
Through *Eden* took thir solitarie way.

### “Answerable Style”

Seeking an “answerable style” for his “great Argument,” Milton produced rushing, enjambed, blank-verse lines that propel us along with few pauses for line endings or full stops, marked by elevated diction and complex syntax and by sonorities and sound patternings that make a magnificent music. He was clearly at pains to create an epic language suited to his exalted subject, a sublime high style of remarkable range whose energy and power will engulf us from the beginning. This style is created in part by dense allusiveness to classical myths, to biblical, historical, and literary names and stories, and to geographical places, ancient and contemporary, which import into the poem our associations with all those literary and physical worlds. Consider these three, among manifold examples: “in *Ausonian* land / Men call’d him *Mulciber*; and how he fell / From Heav’n, they fabl’d, thrown by angry *Jove* / Sheer o’re the Chrystal Battlements: from Morn / To Noon he fell, from Noon to dewy Eve, / A Summers day” (1.739–44); “And all who since, Baptiz’d or Infidel / Jousted in *Aspramont* or *Montalban*, / *Damasco*, or *Marocco*, or *Trebisond*” (1.582–4); “Blind *Thamyris* and blind *Mæonides*, / And *Tiresias* and *Phineus* Prophets old” (3.35–6). Parallelism often organizes such allusions into a series, sometimes couched in negatives, so as at once to invite comparisons and deny them. An example is the familiar passage describing Eden: “Not that faire field / Of *Enna*, where *Proserpin* gathering flours / Her self a fairer Floure by gloomie *Dis* / Was gatherd, which cost *Ceres* all that pain / To seek her through the world; nor that sweet Grove / Of *Daphne* by *Orontes*, and th’ inspir’d / *Castalian* Spring, might with this *Paradise* / Of Eden strive” (4.268–75). Moreover, the often euphonious names in such passages echo in pervasive sound patterns of assonance, consonance, and repetition, helping to create a distinctive music while avoiding full rhyme, save in about 200 lines.

Milton devised for his poem a flexible blank-verse line with (almost always) ten syllables and a masculine or strong stress at the ends of lines. But the basic iambic rhythm (five weak and five strong stresses), is constantly varied by interspersing other rhythmic feet, so that some lines contain as few as three and others as many as eight strong stresses. The lines are organized into verse paragraphs of varying length, so that the reader encounters large units of verse at once, aided in this by Milton’s characteristic light punctuation. Milton also employs great freedom in the placement of caesuras (the pauses falling within the line) and he uses enjambment constantly, so that the sense is carried over from line to line. Sometimes the natural slight pause at the end of a line offers one meaning, which is then extended or qualified by the next, rove-over line. For example, as Satan looks from Chaos toward the Empyrean heaven he sees attached to it by a golden chain “This pendant world, in bigness as a Starr / Of smallest Magnitude close by the Moon” (2.1052–3). We first take an impression of the massive size of the world as we pause briefly at the end of the first line; then that impression is revised as the line roves over, and the world seems instead small and very vulnerable.

As expected in an epic style, Milton incorporates many epic similes, lengthy comparisons which develop a little story or description often drawn from nature or folklore, thereby connecting the heroic action of the poem with other arenas of life. Milton's similes are often complex, making an explicit comparison but also inviting other associations, as in the simile relating Satan to the biblical Leviathan:

that Sea-beast  
*Leviathan*, which God of all his works  
 Created hugest that swim th' Ocean stream:  
 Him haply slumbring on the *Norway* foam  
 The Pilot of some small night-founder'd Skiff,  
 Deeming some Island oft, as Sea-men tell,  
 With fixed Anchor in his skaly rind  
 Moors by his side under the Lee, while Night  
 Invests the Sea, and wished Morn delayes:  
 So stretcht out huge in length the Arch-fiend lay  
 (1.200–9)

The explicit comparison is in terms of great size, but the familiar mariner's tale of the whale mistaken for a sheltering island foreshadows the deceptions of Satan, who attracts but then destroys the unwary.

Milton's epic style is elevated by unusual grammatical constructions – for example, “palpable obscure” (2.406) – in which an adjective is used as a noun; the phrase prevents visualization but produces a highly evocative, almost synesthetic, effect that suggests some qualities of that indescribable place, Chaos. Also, this style is estranged from English syntactic norms by a freedom of word order common to inflected languages like Latin, as in the description of Eve discovered by Satan alone amidst her flowers: “them she upstaies / Gently with Mirtle band, mindless the while, / Her self, though fairest unsupported Flour, / From her best prop so farr and storm so nigh” (9.430–3). Or again, in this observation about the volcanic soil of Hell as Satan first lands upon it: “Such resting found the sole / Of unblest feet” (1.237–8).

Milton embeds dense layers of meaning in particular words by exploiting their Latin or Greek etymological senses. In the description of the rebel angels hurled from heaven “With hideous ruin,” “ruin” keeps its Latin etymological meaning, “falling,” along with its contemporary sense, “devastation.” Or in several descriptions of “horrid Arms” “horrid” means “terrible” but also keeps its Latin sense of “bristling” with spikes of flame. At times only the Latin sense is evoked, as when the rivers of Eden are said to run “With mazie error” (4.239): “error” here means “wandering,” not “mistake” or “fault.” Milton often plays with serious wit on the multiple meanings of a word, as in Adam's honorific address to Eve, “Sole partner and sole part of all these joyes” (4.411), where “sole” first means “only” and then “unique,” probably with overtones of the homonym, “soul.” Later, in the throes of desperation after his

fall, Adam invents a false etymology, deriving “evil” from Eve’s name: “O *Eve*, in evil hour thou didst give eare / To that false Worm” (9.1067–8).

Another distinctive characteristic of Milton’s style is his use of a series of words with the same prefix – especially “un,” as in Belial’s speech projecting the punishments the rebel angels may yet incur, “Unrespited, unpitied, unrepreevd” (2.185). Or the description of the steadfast loyal angels in the Battle in Heaven, “Unwearied, unobnoxious to be pain’d” (6.404) by wounds. He often coins words by using negative prefixes: “disespouse,” “inabstinence,” “disenthroned” (the *OED* attributes coinages of many kinds to Milton). While Milton’s diction is often polysyllabic and ornamental, he also uses simple Anglo-Saxon words to powerful effect, as in this list of Hell’s geographical features: “Rocks, Caves, Lakes, Fens, Bogs, Dens, and shades of death” (2.621). Similar lists evoke Satan’s tortuous passage through the formless terrain of Chaos: “Ore bog or steep, through strait, rough, dense, or rare, / With head, hands, wings, or feet pursues his way, / And swims or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies” (2.948–50). Milton can also employ simple diction and syntax to poignant emotional effect, as in his moving account of the beauties of nature he has lost by blindness: “Thus with the Year / Seasons return, but not to me returns / Day, or the sweet approach of Ev’n or Morn, / Or sight of vernal bloom, or Summers Rose, / Or flocks, or hears, or human face divine” (3.40–4).

Into this elevated but very flexible epic style, Milton incorporated a wide range of other genres with their appropriate styles. There are several incorporated lyrics, the loveliest of which is Eve’s sonnet-like love song to Adam, a 16-line epanalepsis that begins “Sweet is the breath of morn” and ends with the same word, “without thee is sweet” (4.641–56). There are many interspersed hymns: the angels’ celebrations of God and the Son in Book 3 and of each day of Creation in Book 7, as well as the extended morning hymn of Adam and Eve beginning “These are thy glorious works, Parent of good” (5.153–208). Moloch, Belial, Mammon, and Beelzebub deliver speeches of formal deliberative oratory in the parliament in Hell, and Belial is explicitly identified as a Sophist rhetorician who “could make the worse appear / The better reason” (2.113–14). As well, God employs forensic oratory in Book 3 as he sets forth the case against fallen humankind, Satan and Abdiel engage in a formal debate in Book 5, and Satan tempts Eve with an impassioned speech in the manner of “som Orator renound / In *Athens* or free *Rome*” (9.670–732). God’s comments on the gathering forces of the rebels are ironic, even sardonic (5.719–32) and the Battle in Heaven (Book 6) contains several mock-heroic passages filled with scatological imagery and *double entendre* as the rebel angels present their cannon. The scene of Satan’s encounter at Hell’s Gate with his daughter-wife Sin and the product of their incestuous union, Death, sets forth their horrendous shapes and story as allegory, but it also has elements of black comedy as Satan fails to recognize his own offspring. Satan delivers a very dramatic, emotion-filled soliloquy as he confronts his guilt on Mount Niphates (4.32–133), and Adam and Eve’s marital dispute in Book 9 provides an example of dialogic, colloquial exchange. Adam utters an extended,

passionate complaint beginning with a pain-racked, despairing outcry, “O miserable of happy!” (10.720–843), and Eve delivers an elegiac lament upon learning that she must leave the garden, “O unexpected stroke, worse then of Death!” (11.268–85). If the Miltonic style is an organ sound, it is produced from a multitude of stops, even as the Miltonic epic incorporates, in accordance with Renaissance theory, a veritable encyclopedia of genres.

# Textual Introduction

This text is based on the second edition of *Paradise Lost* (1674) in twelve books, Milton's final version of the work, incorporating his last intentions for its presentation. I have used the 1674 edition both for the language and for the accidentals (spelling, punctuation, capitalization, italics). On a few occasions, where warranted by obvious mistakes or probable printers' oversights in setting revised text, I have supplied superior readings from the other sources that have some textual authority: a manuscript of Book 1 held in the J. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City, and the first edition (1667) in ten books, with its reissues and the errata page added in 1668.

The manuscript is not in Milton's hand (his blindness became total in 1652). It was prepared by a professional scribe and bears corrections in several hands as well as printers' marks indicating that it was used to set Book 1 of the 1667 edition. The rest of the manuscript no longer survives. One of the hands is that of Milton's nephew and former pupil Edward Phillips, who claims in his *Life of Milton* that he made corrections "as to the Orthography and Pointing" when he came from time to time to visit his uncle. Yet spelling and punctuation in the manuscript are quite inconsistent: Edward visited only occasionally, and Milton could not oversee his copyist's script. So there is no reason to privilege the manuscript in making editorial decisions or to seek Milton's preferred usages from it, though I defer to it in a few places in Book 1.

The 1667 edition presents *Paradise Lost* in a ten-book format, rather than the twelve books that Virgilian epic precedent would dictate. Milton was resisting the Virgilian mode adopted by Dryden and many others in the early years of the Restoration to celebrate Charles II as a new Augustus. The ten-book structure alludes to Lucan's ten-book *Pharsalia* or *The Civil Wars*, widely seen as a republican epic treating the tragic defeat of the Roman republic and its heroes by Caesar. The 1667 *Paradise Lost* is an attractive quarto with a decorated capital letter beginning each book and an ornamental border across the top of the first page of each book. Line numbers mark off each ten lines of the poem, enclosed within a double border on the outside edge

of each page. There is no front matter – no dedicatory or commendatory poems, no epistles from author or publisher. The simplicity may reflect Milton’s own disposition to avoid the apparatus of courtly publication, or the hesitancy others might have felt in associating themselves with the still notorious Milton. The name of the printer, Samuel Simmons, does not appear on the first title page (Figure 2), perhaps because Simmons’ earlier publication of radical treatises, including Milton’s divorce tracts, might have strengthened the association with radicalism that Milton’s own

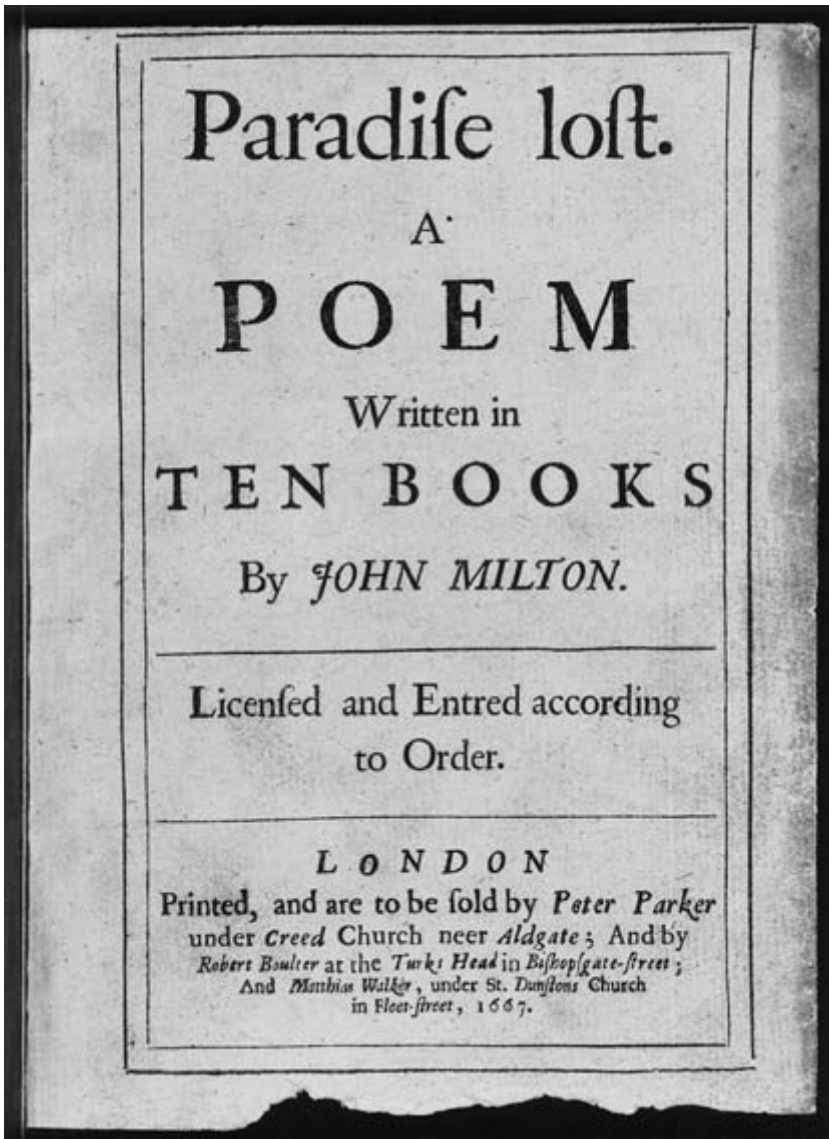


Figure 2 First title page to *Paradise Lost*, 1667



name or initials would evoke. Seven different title pages exist for this first edition, two of them with very minor variations. These were not new editions but new issues, that is, the same printed sheets, with some press corrections in the various states, are bound with the new title pages. The first title page lists three different booksellers and the reissues in 1667, 1668, and 1669 list three more. Such distribution would make the book more widely available and promote sales of a book that sold slowly.

In 1668 Simmons added to the fourth issue his own name and fourteen pages of preliminary matter to help readers better understand the content and form of the poem. His address to the “*Courteous Reader*” indicates that he solicited from Milton an Argument “for the satisfaction of many that have desired it,” as well as “a reason of that which stumbled many others, why the Poem Rimes not.” Milton provided a fairly detailed argument for each of the ten books, all printed together at the front, as well as a vigorous defense of his use of blank verse, and an errata sheet; these were reprinted in the subsequent issues. As Simmons’ comment indicates, readers in the Restoration cultural milieu had come to expect rhyme, and especially heroic couplets, in the high genres – epic, tragedy, and the heroic drama then popular on the stage. By a remarkable coincidence Dryden’s essay *Of Dramatick Poesie* greeted the reading public shortly after August 1667, at about the same time Milton’s blank verse epic first appeared. In it, Dryden praises rhyme as the norm for modern poetry of all kinds, especially epic and tragedy, and identifies it as the verse form favored by the court. Milton’s note on “The Verse,” added in 1668, defiantly challenges not only that new poetic norm but also, by implication, the debased court culture and royalist politics associated with it. He concludes by proclaiming his blank verse “an example set, the first in *English*, of ancient liberty restored to Heroic Poem from the troublesome and modern bondage of Riming.” The resonances of this language make Milton’s choice of blank verse a liberating act and an aesthetic complement to republican politics and culture.

The second edition (1674) is an octavo; its title page offers a poem in twelve books, “revised and augmented” by Milton, and identifies Simmons alone as printer and bookseller (Figure 3). Little new text is added, though many words and phrases are altered and there are more than 900 changes to typography, spelling, and punctuation. The twelve-book structure is produced by dividing the original Book 7 into Books 7 and 8, renumbering the following books, and dividing the original Book 10 into Books 11 and 12. Three new lines of poetry are added at the beginning of the new Book 8 and a fourth line is slightly modified; three new lines are added within Book 11 and five new lines to the beginning of Book 12. The Arguments are now printed before each book, divided and slightly revised where necessary to accommodate the twelve-book format. With this structure Milton placed his poem securely in the central Virgilian epic tradition, having decided, it seems, to reclaim that tradition and contest its appropriation by Dryden and the courtly heroic.

The book is well printed, though not so handsome as the first edition; the decorated letters are replaced simply by large capitals, and there are no ornamental



95           Through all Eternitie so late to build  
               In *Chaos*, and the work begun, how soon  
               Absolv'd, if unforbid thou maist unfould  
               What wee, not to explore the secrets aske  
               Of his Eternal Empire, but the more  
               To magnifie his works, the more we know.

Two recent editors supply a colon at line 85, and so divide this long sentence into four distinct parts; in one case, question marks following “Earth” (l. 90) and “Absolv’d” (l. 94) make two separate sentences of the segments preceding, with capital letters supplied to the words following (“What,” “If”). In the other case, question marks follow “Earth” (l. 90) and “know” (l. 97) making two separate sentences of those preceding segments. But the lightly punctuated original does not require either reading. The verb “relate” (l. 84) may instead introduce three topics for comment: How did the world begin. What moved the Creator to begin it. How long did the Creation take. One editor supplies parentheses around “which . . . seemd” (ll. 82–3), placing that line and a half in a strong subordination not necessarily intended. In this long sentence, modernizing punctuation disrupts the flowing rhythm and dictates single readings where the original leaves open other interpretative possibilities.

Many editors keep most of the original light punctuation in order to retain those long, flowing Miltonic sentences, but modernize orthography freely. Yet this passage illustrates how some characteristic spellings and contractions impact pronunciation and thereby the rhythm and sound qualities of the lines. “Voutsaf’t” is pronounced differently than its modern equivalent, “vouchsafed,” and the contractions “Heav’n,” “interfus’d,” “Mov’d,” and “Absolv’d” (as with many such contractions in this poem) suggest giving a shorter time value to the final syllable than does the modernized “ed” form. Other entirely characteristic spellings and contractions that manifestly affect pronunciation and rhythm are: “sovrán,” “shew,” “thir,” “bin,” “highth,” “counterfet,” “adventrous,” “falln,” “wandring,” “know’st,” “seduc’t,” “scatter’d,” “giv’n,” “ras’d,” “equal’d,” “awak’ning,” “hard’nd,” “tour’d” (towered), and “Lantskip” (landscape). Also, some elisions clearly affect rhythm: “th’ Ethereal” is sometimes modernized as “the ethereal” (1.45), “th’ Omnipotent” as “the omnipotent” (5.616), and “th’ Arch-Enemy” as “the arch-enemy” (1.81). Admittedly, such characteristic usages are not always consistent in the 1674 edition, and too much can be made of some distinctions (the difference between “me” and “mee,” “we” and “wee” does not serve as once thought to mark unstressed and stressed syllables). Also, some modernized spellings do not make much difference, for example “unfould/unfold”; “magnifie/magnify.” Nevertheless, many usages are unusual enough and frequent enough to be identified as Milton’s rhythmic and verbal preferences, and these can only become part of the reading experience of the poem by respecting the accidentals of the 1674 edition.

The copy text for this edition is Harvard copy 14486.3B, which includes the second state of signatures B, C, D, and R; the second state seems to represent Milton's or the compositor's preferences and corrections, and most copies contain these pages. The copy text has been compared with Harvard 14486.3A, Harvard Aldrich 155.10.7, Huntington 105639 (Wing #M2144), Harris Francis Fletcher's collations (in his photographic facsimile edition of Milton's poems Fletcher identified and examined 59 copies of the 1674 edition), and, for the first state, John Carter Brown Library T70. The copy text has also been compared with the 1667 edition (Harvard 14486.2.5) and the errata page added in 1668, as well as with the manuscript of Book 1 in the J. Pierpont Morgan Library.

Punctuation and orthography in the copy text have been followed in most cases. When a reading is used from the manuscript or from the 1667 edition, or when I have supplied an emendation, these are noted in the textual apparatus. Differences in the two editions and the manuscript are indicated when they affect meaning, but not simple variants in spelling, capitalization, punctuation, or printers' characters. Printing irregularities and obvious typesetting errors are silently corrected; for notation of these readers should consult Fletcher. In the 1674 edition most proper names are both capitalized and italicized and many other important words are capitalized; I retain these features, however much or little Milton may have had to do with them, as they may signal intended emphasis and, as in many early modern texts, they sometimes do suggest allegorical or quasi-allegorical meaning. On a few occasions where the compositor failed to italicize names customarily italicized, I have supplied italics and noted that fact in the textual apparatus. Line numbers are given in 1667 but not in 1674; they are added here.

My goal is to provide useful annotations without swamping the poetic text with a burdensome apparatus, and without dictating the interpretation of particular passages. Accordingly, unfamiliar words or words that have changed meaning are glossed in the margin to indicate their most obvious sense; readers with a knowledge of Latin, Greek, and other languages will often be aware of etymological meanings it has not been possible to register. Also, while I have annotated names, places, and many allusions, I have not attempted to find and cite every biblical or literary echo; to do so would produce an apparatus longer than Milton's poem. Nor, except in a few cases of unusual difficulty, have I supplied readings of passages where Milton's syntactical complexities may cause some difficulties. Such syntactical practices are components of the poem's style that I do not want to blunt by paraphrase; nor do I want to dictate one reading where others are also possible.

## Illustrations

The illustrations to Books 2, 5, 8, 9, and 11 (Figures 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8) are from the 1688 Folio edition, furnished with twelve engravings, one at the beginning of

each book. Most of the drawings for the engravings are by John Baptista Medina (Books 3, 5–11); the engraver (except for the Book 4 illustration) is Michal Burghers (or Burgesse). The illustrations included here are reproduced from the 1688 Folio in the Houghton Library. The title pages for the 1667 and 1674 editions are also reproduced from copies in Houghton, as is the William Faithorne engraving of Milton's portrait prefacing *The History of Britain*.

# PARADISE LOST

JOHN MILTON



Paradise Lost.  
A  
P O E M  
IN  
TWELVE BOOKS.

The Author  
*J O H N M I L T O N.*

The Second Edition  
Revised and Augmented by the  
same Author.

L O N D O N,  
Printed by *S. Simmons* next door to the  
*Golden Lion* in *Aldersgate-street*, 1674.

Figure 3 Title page to *Paradise Lost*, 1674





In Paradisum Amissam  
Summi Poetæ  
JOHANNIS MILTONI

- Qui legis Amissam Paradisum, grandia magni  
Carmina *Miltoni*, quid nisi cuncta legis?  
Res cunctas, & cunctarum primordia rerum,  
Et fata, & fines continet iste liber.
- 5 Intima panduntur magni penetralia mundi,  
Scribitur & toto quicquid in Orbe latet.  
Terræque, tractusque maris, cœlumque profundum  
Sulphureumque Erebi, flammivomumque specus.  
Quæque colunt terras, Portumque & Tartara cæca,
- 10 Quæque colunt summi lucida regna Poli.  
Et quodcunque ullis conclusum est finibus usquam,  
Et sine fine Chaos, & sine fine Deus:  
Et sine fine magis, si quid magis est sine fine,  
In Christo erga homines conciliatus amor.
- 15 Hæc qui speraret quis crederet esse futurum?  
Et tamen hæc hodie terra *Britanna* legit.  
O quantos in bella Duces! quæ protulit arma!  
Quæ canit, & quanta prælia dira tuba.  
Cœlestes acies! atque in certamine Cœlum!
- 20 Et quæ Cœlestes pugna deceret agros!  
Quantus in ætheriis tollit se *Lucifer* armis!  
Atque ipso graditur vix *Michaele* minor!  
Quantis, & quam funestis concurritur iris  
Dum ferus hic stellas protegit, ille rapit!
- 25 Dum vulsos Montes ceu Tela reciproca torquent,  
Et non mortali desuper igne pluunt:  
Stat dubius cui se parti concedat Olympus,  
Et metuit pugnæ non superesse suæ.  
At simul in coelis Messiaë insignia fulgent,
- 30 Et currus animes, armaque digna Deo,  
Horrendumque rotæ strident, & sæva rotarum  
Erumpunt torvis fulgura luminibus,  
Et flammæ vibrant, & vera tonitrua rauco  
Admistis flammis insonuere Polo:
- 35 Excidit attonitis mens omnis, & impetus omnis  
Et cassis dextris irrita Tela cadunt.

Ad poenas fugiunt, & ceu foret Orcus asyllum  
 Infernis certant condere se tenebris.  
 Cedite *Romani* Scriptores, cedite *Graii*  
 40 Et quos fama recens vel celebravit anus.  
 Hæc quicunque leget tantum cecinesse putabit  
*Mæonidem* ranas, *Virgilium* culices.

S.B. M.D.

On the *Paradise Lost* of the most excellent poet,  
 John Milton

You who read *Paradise Lost*, the sublime poem of the great Milton, what do you read but the story of all things. That book contains all things and the origin of all things, and their destinies and final ends. The innermost recesses of the great universe are thrown open, and whatever lies hidden in all the world is described: the land and the expanse of the sea and the vast height of heaven and the sulphurous, flame-vomiting den of Erebus; all that dwell on earth and in the sea and in dark Tartarus, and all that dwell in the bright realms of the highest heaven; whatever is contained anywhere within any boundaries, as well as boundless Chaos and the infinite God, and even more limitless, if there is anything more without limit, the reconciling love toward mankind in Christ. Who that had hoped for such a poem could have believed it would come to be? And yet today the land of Britain reads this poem. O what leaders in war? what deeds of arms? What dreadful battles does he sing on the war-trumpet? Celestial battles and Heaven itself at war! And fighting that is fitting for the fields of Heaven! How great Lucifer rises up in his celestial armor! And strides forth scarce inferior to Michael himself! With what great and deadly anger is the battle joined, when one fiercely defends and the other assaults the stars! While they fling the uprooted mountains at each other as missiles and rain down inhuman fire from above, Olympus waits, doubtful as to which side it must yield, and fears that it may not survive its own battles. But soon as the standards of Messiah shine forth in the heavens and his living chariot and arms worthy of God, and soon as the wheels grate horribly and the fierce lightnings of the wheels burst forth from the grim eyes, and the flames flash and real thunder with intermixed fires resounds through the clangorous sky, all courage and all fighting depart from his awestruck foes and their

42. Homer (Mæonides) was wrongly thought to have written the *Batrachomyomachia* ("Battle of the Frogs and Mice"); Virgil wrote a comic poem, *Culex* ("Gnat").

S.B. is Samuel Barrow, an eminent London physician and friend of Milton. He had been chief physician to Monk's army in Scotland and one of his confidential advisers; he then became physician in ordinary to Charles II. The poem appeared first in the 1674 edition.

useless weapons fall from their feeble hands. They flee to their punishments and, as if Orcus were a refuge, they struggle to hide themselves in infernal darkness. Yield, writers of Rome, yield, writers of Greece and all those whom ancient or modern fame has celebrated. Whoever will read this poem will think Homer sang only of frogs, Virgil only of gnats.

## On Paradise Lost

When I beheld the Poet blind, yet bold,  
In slender Book his vast Design unfold,  
*Messiah* Crown'd, Gods Reconcil'd Decree,  
Rebelling Angels, the Forbidden Tree,  
5 Heav'n, Hell, Earth, Chaos, All; the Argument  
Held me a while misdoubting his Intent,  
That he would ruine (for I saw him strong)  
The sacred Truths to Fable and old Song  
(So *Sampson* groap'd the Temples Posts in spight)  
10 The World o'rewelming to revenge his sight.  
Yet as I read, soon growing less severe,  
I lik'd his Project, the success did fear;  
Through that wide Field how he his way should find  
O're which lame Faith leads Understanding blind;  
15 Lest he perplex'd the things he would explain,  
And what was easie he should render vain.  
Or if a Work so infinite he spann'd  
Jealous I was that some less skilful hand  
(Such as disquiet always what is well,  
20 And by ill imitating would excell)  
Might hence presume the whole Creations day  
To change in Scenes, and show it in a Play.  
Pardon me, Mighty Poet, nor despise  
My causeless, yet not impious, surmise.  
25 But I am now convinc'd, and none will dare  
Within thy Labours to pretend a share.  
Thou hast not miss'd one thought that could be fit,  
And all that was improper dost omit:  
So that no room is here for Writers left,  
30 But to detect their Ignorance or Theft.  
That Majesty which through thy Work doth Reign  
Draws the Devout, deterring the Profane.  
And things divine thou treatst of in such state  
As them preserves, and thee, inviolate.  
35 At once delight and horrou on us seise,  
Thou singst with so much gravity and ease;

18–22. The reference is to Dryden, who sought and received Milton's permission to turn *Paradise Lost* into an opera/play, in rhymed couplets. It was published in 1677 as *The State of Innocence*, but never performed.

And above humane flight dost soar aloft  
With Plume so strong, so equal, and so soft.  
The Bird nam'd from that Paradise you sing  
40 So never flaggs, but always keeps on Wing.  
Where couldst thou words of such a compass find?  
Whence furnish such a vast expence of mind?  
Just Heav'n thee like *Tiresias* to requite  
Rewards with Prophesie thy loss of sight.  
45 Well mightst thou scorn thy Readers to allure  
With tinkling Rhime, of thy own sense secure;  
While the *Town-Bayes* writes all the while and spells,  
And like a Pack-horse tires without his Bells:  
Their Fancies like our Bushy-points appear,  
50 The Poets tag them, we for fashion wear.  
I too transported by the Mode offend,  
And while I meant to Praise thee must Commend.  
Thy Verse created like thy Theme sublime,  
In Number, Weight, and Measure, needs not Rhime.  
A.M.

39–40. Birds of Paradise were popularly believed to have no feet, and therefore to be always in flight.

43 *Tiresias*. Blind Theban seer prominent in the mythical history of Greece.

47–50. Marvell satirizes the fashion for rhyme which Dryden advanced through his own poems and plays and vigorously defended in his essay *Of Dramatick Poesie* (1667).

47. In Buckingham's play *The Rehearsal*, Dryden was satirized as "*Bayes*," referring to his ambition to wear the laurel crown (from the bay/laurel tree) of the designated Poet Laureate.

49 **Bushy-points**. The tassels on hose fastenings "tagged" with bits of metal at the ends. Marvell compares the constraints of rhyme to that foppish fashion, as Milton himself did when he gave Dryden permission to "*Tagg my Points*."

A.M. is Milton's friend, the poet Andrew Marvell, who served with him for a time in the Office of the Secretary for Foreign Tongues under Oliver Cromwell, and who was reportedly instrumental after the Restoration in helping Milton gain pardon for supporting the regicide and republic. This poem appeared first in the 1674 edition and again in the posthumous collected edition of Marvell's poems, *Miscellaneous Poems*, 1681.

## THE VERSE

The Measure is *English* Heroic Verse without Rime, as that of *Homer* in *Greek*, and *Virgil* in *Latin*; Rime being no necessary Adjunct or true Ornament of Poem or good Verse, in longer Works especially, but the Invention of a barbarous Age, to set off wretched matter and lame Meeter; grac't indeed since by the use of some famous  
5 modern Poets, carried away by Custom, but much to thir own vexation, hindrance, and constraint to express many things otherwise, and for the most part worse then else they would have exprest them. Not without cause therefore some both *Italian*, and *Spanish* Poets of prime note have rejected Rime both in longer and shorter Works, as have also long since our best *English* Tragedies, as a thing of itself, to all judicious  
10 ears, triveal and of no true musical delight; which consists onely in apt Numbers, fit quantity of Syllables, and the sense variously drawn out from one Verse into another, not in the jingling sound of like endings, a fault avoyded by the learned Ancients both in Poetry and all good Oratory. This neglect then of Rime so little is to be taken for a defect, though it may seem so perhaps to vulgar Readers, that it rather is to  
15 be esteem'd an example set, the first in *English*, of ancient liberty recover'd to Heroic Poem from the troublesom and modern bondage of Rimeing.

In the 1668 and 1669 reissues of the 1667 edition, Samuel Simmons explained in a brief address, "The Printer to the Reader," that he had elicited from Milton the arguments to the several books and this note on the verse: "*Courteous Reader*, there was no Argument at first intended to the Book, but for the satisfaction of many that have desired it, I have procur'd it, and withall a reason of that which stumbled many others, why the Poem Rimes not."

3 **barbarous Age**. The Middle Ages, following the fall of Rome and the demise of classical culture.

4–5 **famous modern Poets**. Ariosto, Tasso, and Spenser used rhymed stanzas in their heroic poems.

8. Spanish poetry is usually rhymed, but unrhymed verse was used by Joan Boscà Almaguer in *Leandro* (1543) and by Garcilaso de la Vega. Among Italian examples, Milton probably knew Torquato Tasso's hexameron, *Il Mondo Creato* (written 1592–4).

9 **best English Tragedies**. Shakespeare chiefly, but also Marlowe.

10 **apt Numbers**. Appropriate rhythm.

11 **quantity**. Alludes to Greek and Latin quantitative meter, which Milton does not imitate; his direct reference is probably to the number of syllables in the poetic line, e.g., ten (usually) for his own iambic pentameter lines.

15–16. The charged language – "ancient liberty," "modern bondage" – associates the Restoration aesthetic norm of rhymed verse with Stuart political tyranny and aligns classical and Elizabethan unrhymed poetry, and Milton's own blank verse, with republican liberty.

## BOOK 1 THE ARGUMENT

*This first Book proposes, first in brief, the whole Subject, Mans disobedience, and the loss thereupon of Paradise wherein he was plac't: Then touches the prime cause of his fall, the Serpent, or rather Satan in the Serpent; who revolting from God, and drawing to his side many Legions of Angels, was by the command of God driven out of Heaven*  
5 *with all his Crew into the great Deep. Which action past over, the Poem hasts into the midst of things, presenting Satan with his Angels now fallen into Hell, describ'd here, not in the Center (for Heaven and Earth may be suppos'd as yet not made, certainly not yet accurst) but in a place of utter darkness, fitliest call'd Chaos: Here Satan with his Angels lying on the burning Lake, thunder-struck and astonisht, after a certain space*  
10 *recovers, as from confusion, calls up him who next in Order and Dignity lay by him; they confer of thir miserable fall. Satan awakens all his Legions, who lay till then in the same manner confounded; They rise, thir Numbers, array of Battel, thir chief Leaders nam'd, according to the Idols known afterwards in Canaan and the Countries adjoining. To these Satan directs his Speech, comforts them with hope*  
15 *yet of regaining Heaven, but tells them lastly of a new World and new kind of Creature to be created, according to an ancient Prophesie or report in Heaven; for that Angels were long before this visible Creation, was the opinion of many ancient Fathers. To find out the truth of this Prophesie, and what to determin thereon he refers to a full Council. What his Associates thence attempt. Pandemonium the Palace of Satan rises,*  
20 *suddenly built out of the Deep: The infernal Peers there sit in Council.*

Of Mans First Disobedience, and the Fruit  
Of that Forbidden Tree, whose mortal tast  
Brought Death into the World, and all our woe,  
With loss of *Eden*, till one greater Man  
5 Restore us, and regain the blissful Seat,  
Sing Heav'nly Muse, that on the secret top  
Of *Oreb*, or of *Sinai*, didst inspire

5–6. According to Horace, the epic poet should begin *in medias res*.

7. **Center.** Hell was not, as some thought, in the center of the earth.

17. **Fathers.** Church Fathers writing in the early Christian centuries, e.g., Jerome, Origen, Basil, Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzen. See Milton's *Christian Doctrine*, 1.7.

1–26. The first Proem contains the epic statement of theme (1–5) and the invocation.

4. Christ, the second Adam.

6. See 7.1 and note. Urania, the Greek Muse of astronomy, had been made into the Muse of Christian poetry by Du Bartas and other religious poets. Here she is identified as the Muse that inspired biblical prophet-poets.



That Shepherd, who first taught the chosen Seed,  
 In the Beginning how the Heav'ns and Earth  
 10 Rose out of *Chaos*: Or if *Sion Hill*  
 Delight thee more, and *Siloa's Brook* that flow'd  
 Fast by the Oracle of God; I thence  
 Invoke thy aid to my adventrous Song,  
 That with no middle flight intends to soar  
 15 Above th' *Aonian Mount*, while it pursues  
 Things unattempted yet in Prose or Rhime.  
 And chiefly Thou O Spirit, that dost prefer  
 Before all Temples th' upright heart and pure,  
 Instruct me, for Thou know'st; Thou from the first  
 20 Wast present, and with mighty wings outspread  
 Dove-like satst brooding on the vast Abyss  
 And mad'st it pregnant: What in me is dark  
 Illumin, what is low raise and support;  
 That to the highth of this great Argument<sup>o</sup> *subject*  
 25 I may assert Eternal Providence,  
 And justifie<sup>o</sup> the ways of God to men. *show the justice of*  
 Say first, for Heav'n hides nothing from thy view  
 Nor the deep Tract of Hell, say first what cause  
 Mov'd our Grand Parents in that happy State,  
 30 Favour'd of Heav'n so highly, to fall off  
 From thir Creator, and transgress his Will  
 For<sup>o</sup> one restraint, Lords of the World besides? *because of*

8. Moses, thought to be the author of Genesis and the other four books of the Pentateuch, was tending sheep on Mount Horeb ("*Oreb*") when God spoke to him from a burning bush (Exod. 3:1–2); he received the Law on the highest peak, "*Sinai*." **chosen Seed.** The Jews.

9–10 **In the Beginning.** Echoes Gen. 1:1; Milton thought God created the universe out of unformed matter ("*Chaos*"), not out of nothing. **Sion Hill.** Mount Zion, associated with the biblical poet David (reputed author of many psalms); also the site of Solomon's Temple with its songs and ceremonies.

11–12 **Siloa's Brook.** Siloah, a pool near Mount Zion (Neh. 3:15); it parallels Aganippe, the Muses' spring. Also Siloam, the pool where Jesus cured a blind man (John 9:1–11). **Oracle.** Mount Zion as site of Divine teaching and prophecy (Isa. 2:3).

15 **Aonian Mount.** Mount Helicon, home of the classical Muses.

16. The line translates Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso* 1.2.2: "Cosa non detta in prosa mai, né in rima."

17 **Spirit.** Probably the creative power of God (see Milton's commentary on Gen. 1:2 in *Christian Doctrine*, 1.7), but possibly the Holy Spirit, understood in antitrinitarian terms (ch. 6).

17–22. A composite of biblical phrases (e.g., Gen. 1:2, 1 Cor. 3:16, Mark 1:10, Luke 3:22, and John 1:32). Milton's brooding image comes from the Hebrew, accurately translated in the Tremellius Latin Bible ("incubabat").

27. An opening question like this is an epic convention. Compare *Aeneid* 1.8, "Musa, mihi causas memora" ("Tell me the cause, O Muse").

Who first seduc'd them to that foul revolt?  
 Th' infernal Serpent; he it was, whose guile  
 35 Stird up with Envy and Revenge, deceiv'd  
 The Mother of Mankind, what time<sup>o</sup> his Pride *when*  
 Had cast him out from Heav'n, with all his Host<sup>o</sup> *army*  
 Of Rebel Angels, by whose aid aspiring  
 To set himself in Glory above his Peers,<sup>o</sup> *equals, nobles*  
 40 He trusted to have equal'd the most High,  
 If he oppos'd; and with ambitious aim  
 Against the Throne and Monarchy of God  
 Rais'd impious War in Heav'n and Battel proud  
 With vain attempt. Him the Almighty Power  
 45 Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' Ethereal Skie  
 With hideous ruine and combustion down  
 To bottomless perdition, there to dwell  
 In Adamantine Chains and penal Fire,  
 Who durst defie th' Omnipotent to Arms.  
 50 Nine times the Space that measures Day and Night  
 To mortal men, he with his horrid crew  
 Lay vanquisht, rowling in the fiery Gulfe  
 Confounded though immortal: But his doom  
 Reserv'd him to more wrath; for now the thought  
 55 Both of lost happiness and lasting pain  
 Torments him; round he throws his baleful<sup>o</sup> eyes *malignant*  
 That witness'd huge affliction and dismay  
 Mixt with obdurate pride and stedfast hate:  
 At once as far as Angels kenn<sup>o</sup> he views *range of sight*  
 60 The dismal Situation waste and wilde,  
 A Dungeon horrible, on all sides round  
 As one great Furnace flam'd, yet from those flames  
 No light, but rather darkness visible  
 Serv'd onely to discover sights of woe,  
 65 Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace  
 And rest can never dwell, hope never comes

33. Compare *Iliad* 1.8, asking who first sowed discord among the Greeks.

34. See Rev. 12:9: "that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan." The description of Satan's fall (42–9) echoes Isa. 14:12–15, Luke 10:18, and Jude 6.

48. Adamant was a mythical substance of great hardness.

50. Alludes to the analogous fall of the defeated Titans in Greek myth (Hesiod, *Theogony* 664–735), who fell nine days from heaven to earth and nine more into Tartarus.

66. The phrase alludes to the inscription over Dante's Hell, "All hope abandon, you who enter here" (*Inferno* 3.9) and to Euripides, *Troades* 681, "to me even hope, that remains to all mortals, never comes."

That comes to all; but torture without end  
 Still urges,<sup>o</sup> and a fiery Deluge, fed  
 With ever-burning Sulphur unconsum'd:  
 70 Such place Eternal Justice had prepar'd  
 For those rebellious, here thir Prison ordain'd  
 In utter darkness, and thir portion set  
 As far remov'd from God and light of Heav'n  
 As from the Center thrice to th' utmost Pole.  
 75 O how unlike the place from whence they fell!  
 There the companions of his fall, o'whelm'd  
 With Floods and Whirlwinds of tempestuous fire,  
 He soon discerns, and weltring<sup>o</sup> by his side  
 One next himself in power, and next in crime,  
 80 Long after known in *Palestine*, and nam'd  
*Beelzebub*. To whom th' Arch-Enemy,  
 And thence in Heav'n call'd *Satan*, with bold words  
 Breaking the horrid silence thus began.  
 If thou beest he; But O how fall'n! how chang'd  
 85 From him, who in the happy Realms of Light  
 Cloth'd with transcendent brightness didst out-shine  
 Myriads though bright: If he whom mutual league,  
 United thoughts and counsels, equal hope  
 And hazard in the Glorious Enterprize,  
 90 Joynd with me once, now misery hath joynd  
 In equal ruin: into what Pit thou seest  
 From what highth fall'n, so much the stronger prov'd  
 He with his Thunder: and till then who knew  
 The force of those dire Arms? yet not for those,  
 95 Nor what the Potent Victor in his rage  
 Can else inflict, do I repent or change,  
 Though chang'd in outward lustre, that fixt mind  
 And high disdain, from sence of injur'd merit,  
 That with the mightiest rais'd me to contend,  
 100 And to the fierce contention brought along

*always provokes*

*rolling in the waves*

74. Milton here describes the distance from Heaven to Hell as three times the distance from the center (earth) to the outermost sphere. Cf. other descriptions of the universe at 2.1051–3 and 8.66–170.

81. The Phoenician sun god Baal (the name in Hebrew means “Lord of the Flies”); in Matt. 12:24 he is called “the prince of the devils.” Like Satan (whose name in Hebrew means “Adversary”) and the other fallen angels, he is now known by the name he will bear in Hell and as a pagan deity.

84–5. Satan’s opening words recall Aeneas’ vision of the ghost of Hector on the night of Troy’s fall, “so changed from the living Hector” (*Aeneid* 2.274–5).

- Innumerable force of Spirits arm'd  
 That durst dislike his reign, and me preferring,  
 His utmost power with adverse power oppos'd  
 In dubious<sup>o</sup> Battel on the Plains of Heav'n,  
 105 And shook his throne. What though the field be lost?  
 All is not lost; the unconquerable Will,  
 And study of revenge, immortal hate,  
 And courage never to submit or yield:  
 And what is else not to be overcome?
- 110 That Glory never shall his wrath or might  
 Extort from me. To bow and sue for grace  
 With suppliant knee, and deifie his power,  
 Who from the terrour of this Arm so late  
 Doubted<sup>o</sup> his Empire, that were low indeed,  
 115 That were an ignominy and shame beneath  
 This downfall; since by Fate the strength of Gods  
 And this Empyreal substance cannot fail,<sup>o</sup>  
 Since through experience of this great event  
 In Arms not worse, in foresight much advanc't,  
 120 We may with more successful hope resolve  
 To wage by force or guile eternal Warr  
 Irreconcilable, to our grand Foe,  
 Who now triumphs, and in th' excess of joy  
 Sole reigning holds the Tyranny of Heav'n.
- 125 So spake th' Apostate Angel, though in pain,  
 Vaunting aloud, but rackt with deep despare:  
 And him thus answer'd soon his bold Compeer.<sup>o</sup>  
 O Prince, O Chief of many Throned Powers  
 That led th' imbattell'd Seraphim to Warr  
 130 Under thy conduct, and in dreadful deeds  
 Fearless, endanger'd Heav'ns perpetual King;  
 And put to proof his high Supremacy,  
 Whether upheld by strength, or Chance, or Fate,  
 Too well I see and rue the dire event,<sup>o</sup>  
 135 That with sad overthrow and foul defeat  
 Hath lost us Heav'n, and all this mighty Host

*of uncertain outcome**feared for**cease to exist**comrade**outcome*

105. Cf. 6.833–4.

116–17 **Gods**. Usually angels (cf. 3.341), whose substance is “empyreal” (fiery, the substance of the highest heaven). But Satan sometimes uses “Gods” to imply a pagan pantheon (cf. 5.70–81, 9.718–30).

128–9. According to tradition there were nine orders of angels arranged hierarchically: Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones, Dominations, Virtues, Powers, Principalities, Archangels, and Angels. The poem uses some of these titles, but does not keep the hierarchy.

In horrible destruction laid thus low,  
 As far as Gods and Heav'nly Essences  
 Can perish: for the mind and spirit remains  
 140 Invincible, and vigour soon returns,  
 Though all our Glory extinct, and happy state  
 Here swallow'd up in endless misery.  
 But what if he our Conquerour, (whom I now  
 Of force<sup>o</sup> believe Almighty, since no less  
 145 Then such could hav'orepow'rd such force as ours)  
 Have left us this our spirit and strength intire  
 Strongly to suffer and support our pains,  
 That we may so suffice<sup>o</sup> his vengeful ire,  
 Or do him mightier service as his thralls<sup>o</sup>  
 150 By right of Warr, what e're his business be  
 Here in the heart of Hell to work in Fire,  
 Or do his Errands in the gloomy Deep;  
 What can it then avail though yet we feel  
 Strength undiminisht, or eternal being  
 155 To undergo eternal punishment?  
 Whereto with speedy words th' Arch-fiend reply'd.  
 Fall'n Cherube, to be weak is miserable  
 Doing or Suffering: but of this be sure,  
 To do ought good never will be our task,  
 160 But ever to do ill our sole delight,  
 As being the contrary to his high will  
 Whom we resist. If then his Providence  
 Out of our evil seek to bring forth good,  
 Our labour must be to pervert that end,  
 165 And out of good still to find means of evil;  
 Which oft times may succeed, so as perhaps  
 Shall grieve him, if I fail not, and disturb  
 His inmost counsels from thir destind aim.  
 But see the angry Victor hath recall'd  
 170 His Ministers of vengeance and pursuit  
 Back to the Gates of Heav'n: The Sulphurous Hail  
 Shot after us in storm, oreblown<sup>o</sup> hath laid  
 The fiery Surge, that from the Precipice  
 Of Heav'n receiv'd us falling, and the Thunder,  
 175 Wing'd with red Lightning and impetuous rage,  
 Perhaps hath spent his shafts, and ceases now  
 To bellow through the vast and boundless Deep.  
 Let us not slip<sup>o</sup> th' occasion, whether scorn,

*necessarily**satisfy**slaves**calmed**miss*

- Or satiate<sup>o</sup> fury yield it from our Foe. satisfied
- 180 Seest thou yon dreary Plain, forlorn and wilde,  
The seat of desolation, voyd of light,  
Save what the glimmering of these livid<sup>o</sup> flames bluish  
Casts pale and dreadful? Thither let us tend  
From off the tossing of these fiery waves,
- 185 There rest, if any rest can harbour there,  
And reassembling our afflicted Powers,  
Consult how we may henceforth most offend<sup>o</sup> vex, harm  
Our Enemy, our own loss how repair,  
How overcome this dire Calamity,
- 190 What reinforcement we may gain from Hope,  
If not what resolution from despare.  
Thus *Satan* talking to his nearest Mate  
With Head up-lift above the wave, and Eyes  
That sparkling blaz'd, his other Parts besides
- 195 Prone on the Flood, extended long and large  
Lay floating many a rood, in bulk as huge  
As whom the Fables name of monstrous size,  
*Titanian*, or *Earth-born*, that warr'd on *Jove*,  
*Briareos* or *Typhon*, whom the Den
- 200 By ancient *Tarsus* held, or that Sea-beast  
*Leviathan*, which God of all his works  
Created hugest that swim th' Ocean stream:  
Him haply<sup>o</sup> slumbring on the *Norway* foam perhaps  
The Pilot of some small night-founder'd<sup>o</sup> Skiff, benighted
- 205 Deeming some Island, oft, as Sea-men tell,  
With fixed Anchor in his skaly rind  
Moors by his side under the Lee,<sup>o</sup> while Night out of the wind  
Invests<sup>o</sup> the Sea, and wished Morn delays: covers  
So stretcht out huge in length the Arch-fiend lay
- 210 Chain'd on the burning Lake, nor ever thence

183–91. Five of these lines rhyme.

196 **rood**. An old unit of linear measure (6–8 yards), or the fourth part of an acre.

198–9. Both the Titans (led by "*Briareos*," said to have a hundred hands) and the Giants, represented by "*Typhon*" (who lived near Tarsus and was said to have a hundred serpent heads) made war on Jove. They were cast into the underworld in punishment (Hesiod, *Theogony* 713–16, 820–85). Christian mythographers (and Milton) often interpreted myths as analogues to the story of Satan's rebellion and fall.

200–1. The whale, often identified with the great sea-monster and enemy of the Lord in Isa. 27:1, and the crocodile-like dragon of Job 41:1–34, who is "king over all the children of pride." Both were commonly identified with Satan.

203–8. The story of the deceived sailor and the illusory island was a commonplace (see, e.g., *Orlando Furioso* 6.37–41) often applied to Satan.

- Had ris'n or heav'd his head, but that the will  
 And high permission of all-ruling Heaven  
 Left him at large to his own dark designs,  
 That with reiterated crimes he might  
 215 Heap on himself damnation, while he sought  
 Evil to others, and enrag'd might see  
 How all his malice serv'd but to bring forth  
 Infinite goodness, grace and mercy shewn  
 On Man by him seduc't, but on himself  
 220 Treble confusion, wrath and vengeance pour'd.  
 Forthwith upright he rears from off the Pool  
 His mighty Stature; on each hand the flames  
 Drivn backward slope thir pointing spires,<sup>o</sup> and rowld *points of flame*  
 In billows, leave i'th' midst a horrid<sup>o</sup> Vale. *horrible, bristling*
- 225 Then with expanded wings he steers his flight  
 Aloft, incumbent<sup>o</sup> on the dusky Air *pressing*  
 That felt unusual weight, till on dry Land  
 He lights,<sup>o</sup> if it were Land that ever burn'd *alights*  
 With solid, as the Lake with liquid fire;
- 230 And such appear'd in hue, as when the force  
 Of subterranean wind transports a Hill  
 Torn from *Pelorus*, or the shatter'd side  
 Of thundring *Ætna*, whose combustible  
 And fewel'd entrals thence conceiving Fire,  
 235 Sublim'd<sup>o</sup> with Mineral fury, aid the Winds, *vaporized*  
 And leave a singed bottom all involv'd<sup>o</sup> *enveloped*  
 With stench and smoak: Such resting found the sole  
 Of unblest feet. Him followed his next Mate,  
 Both glorying to have scap't the *Stygian*<sup>o</sup> flood *Styxlike, hellish*
- 240 As Gods, and by thir own recover'd strength,  
 Not by the sufferance<sup>o</sup> of supernal Power. *permission*  
 Is this the Region, this the Soil, the Clime,  
 Said then the lost Arch-Angel, this the seat<sup>o</sup> *estate*  
 That we must change for Heav'n, this mournful gloom
- 245 For that celestial light? Be it so, since he  
 Who now is Sovran can dispose and bid  
 What shall be right: fardest from him is best  
 Whom reason hath equald, force hath made supream

230–7 **subterranean wind.** Thought to be the cause of earthquakes. **Pelorus.** Cape Faro, a promontory on the east of Sicily, near the volcanic Mount “*Ætna*.” Cf. *Aeneid* 3.570–7, Virgil’s description of Etna darkening Pelorus with its smoke.

- Above his equals. Farewel happy Fields  
 250 Where Joy for ever dwells: Hail horrors, hail  
 Infernal world, and thou profoundest Hell  
 Receive thy new Possessor: One who brings  
 A mind not to be chang'd by Place or Time.  
 The mind is its own place, and in it self  
 255 Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n.  
 What matter where, if I be still the same,  
 And what I should be, all but less then<sup>o</sup> he *scarcely less than*  
 Whom Thunder hath made greater? Here at least  
 We shall be free; th' Almighty hath not built  
 260 Here for his envy, will not drive us hence:  
 Here we may reign secure, and in my choyce  
 To reign is worth ambition though in Hell:  
 Better to reign in Hell, then serve in Heav'n.  
 But wherefore let we then our faithful friends,  
 265 Th' associates and copartners of our loss  
 Lye thus astonisht<sup>o</sup> on th' oblivious Pool, *stunned*  
 And call them not to share with us their part  
 In this unhappy Mansion, or once more  
 With rallied Arms to try what may be yet  
 270 Regaind in Heav'n, or what more lost in Hell?  
     So *Satan* spake, and him *Beelzebub*  
 Thus answer'd. Leader of those Armies bright,  
 Which but th' Onnipotent none could have foyld,  
 If once they hear that voyce, thir liveliest pledge  
 275 Of hope in fears and dangers, heard so oft  
 In worst extreame, and on the perilous edge<sup>o</sup> *front lines*  
 Of battel when it rag'd, in all assaults  
 Thir surest signal, they will soon resume  
 New courage and revive, though now they lye  
 280 Groveling and prostrate on yon Lake of Fire,  
 As we erewhile, astounded and amaz'd,  
 No wonder, fall'n such a pernicious highth.  
     He scarce had ceas't when the superiour Fiend  
 Was moving toward the shoar; his ponderous shield

254–6. Compare Satan's soliloquy, 4:75–8.

262–3. The sentiment, and its opposite, were proverbial. Cf. Phineas Fletcher, *The Purple Island*, 7.10, "In heav'n they scorn'd to serve, so now in hell they reigne." See also Abdiel (*PL* 6.183–5).

266 **oblivious pool**. Suggests Lethe (forgetfulness), one of the classical rivers of Hades.

284–7. Cf. Achilles' shield, *Iliad* 19.373.



- 285 Ethereal temper, massy,<sup>o</sup> large and round, solid, weighty  
 Behind him cast; the broad circumference  
 Hung on his shoulders like the Moon, whose Orb  
 Through Optic Glass the *Tuscan* Artist views  
 At Ev'ning from the top of *Fesole*,
- 290 Or in *Valdarno*, to descry new Lands,  
 Rivers or Mountains in her spotty Globe.  
 His Spear, to equal which the tallest Pine  
 Hewn on *Norwegian* hills, to be the Mast  
 Of some great Ammiral,<sup>o</sup> were but a wand, admiral's flagship
- 295 He walkt with to support uneasie steps  
 Over the burning Marle,<sup>o</sup> not like those steps clay soil  
 On Heavens Azure, and the torrid Clime  
 Smote on him sore besides, vaulted with Fire;  
 Nathless<sup>o</sup> he so endur'd, till on the Beach nevertheless
- 300 Of that inflamed Sea, he stood and call'd  
 His Legions, Angel Forms, who lay intrans't  
 Thick as Autumnal Leaves that strow the Brooks  
 In *Vallombrosa*, where th' *Etrurian* shades  
 High overarch't imbowr;<sup>o</sup> or scatterd sedge<sup>o</sup> form bowers / seaweed
- 305 Afloat, when with fierce Winds *Orion* arm'd  
 Hath vext the Red-Sea Coast, whose waves orethrew  
*Busiris* and his *Memphian* Chivalry,  
 While with perfidious hatred they pursu'd  
 The Sojourners of *Goshen*, who beheld
- 310 From the safe shore thir floating Carkases  
 And broken Chariot Wheels, so thick bestrown  
 Abject and lost lay these, covering the Flood,  
 Under amazement<sup>o</sup> of thir hideous change. stupefaction  
 He call'd so loud, that all the hollow Deep

285. **Ethereal.** Tempered with celestial fire.

288–91. Galileo studied the moon with a powerful telescope (“Optic Glass”) which as “Artist” (*artifex*) he made. He did so from the hill town of Fiesole (“*Fesole*”) outside Florence and from the valley of the Arno (“*Valdarno*”), in Tuscany. Milton visited him in 1638 or 1639.

292–4. Ships’ masts were customarily made from “*Norwegian*” fir trees. Cf. Homer’s comparison of Polyphemus’ club to the mast of a “black ship” (*Odyssey* 9.322–3).

302–4 Similes comparing the numberless dead to fallen leaves are frequent in epic (e.g. *Aeneid* 6.309–10). **Vallombrosa.** Shady valley; a wooded region high in the Apennines, about 20 miles from Florence in the region anciently known as “*Etrurea*.”

305–12. The constellation **Orion** (representing an armed giant) was associated with stormy weather (*Amos* 5:8; *Aeneid* 1.535, 7.719). **Busiris** was a mythical Egyptian pharaoh identified by Milton with the pharaoh of *Exod.* 14, who pursued the Israelites (formerly “*Sojourners of Goshen*” in Egypt) into the Red Sea; it rolled back for them but inundated the Egyptians (“*Memphian Chivalry*”).

- 315 Of Hell resounded. Princes, Potentates,  
 Warriors, the Flowr of Heav'n, once yours, now lost,  
 If such astonishment as this can sieze  
 Eternal spirits; or have ye chos'n this place  
 After the toyl of Battel to repose
- 320 Your wearied vertue,<sup>o</sup> for the ease you find *strength, valor*  
 To slumber here, as in the Vales of Heav'n?  
 Or in this abject posture have ye sworn  
 To adore the Conquerour? who now beholds  
 Cherube and Seraph rowling<sup>o</sup> in the Flood *tossing about*
- 325 With scatter'd Arms and Ensigns,<sup>o</sup> till anon *battle flags*  
 His swift pursuers from Heav'n Gates discern  
 Th' advantage, and descending tread us down  
 Thus drooping, or with linked Thunderbolts  
 Transfix us to the bottom of this Gulfe.
- 330 Awake, arise, or be for ever fall'n.  
 They heard, and were abasht, and up they sprung  
 Upon the wing, as when men wont<sup>o</sup> to watch *accustomed*  
 On duty, sleeping found by whom they dread,  
 Rouse and bestir themselves ere well awake.
- 335 Nor did they not perceave the evil plight  
 In which they were, or the fierce pains not feel;  
 Yet to thir Generals Voyce they soon obeyd  
 Innumerable. As when the potent Rod  
 Of *Amrams* Son in *Egypt*s evill day
- 340 Wav'd round the Coast,<sup>o</sup> up call'd a pitchy cloud *region*  
 Of *Locusts*, warping<sup>o</sup> on the Eastern Wind, *floating*  
 That ore the Realm of impious *Pharaoh* hung  
 Like Night, and darken'd all the Land of *Nile*:  
 So numberless were those bad Angels seen
- 345 Hovering on wing under the Cope<sup>o</sup> of Hell *roof*  
 'Twixt upper, nether, and surrounding Fires;  
 Till, as a signal giv'n, th' uplifted Spear  
 Of thir great Sultan waving to direct  
 Thir course, in even ballance<sup>o</sup> down they light *perfect formation*
- 350 On the firm brimstone, and fill all the Plain;  
 A multitude, like which the populous North

338–43 *Amrams* Son. Moses (Exod. 6:20), who with his rod called down a plague of locusts on Egypt “so that the land was darkened” (Exod. 10:12–15; *PL* 12.184–8).

348 *Sultan*. The title of the Ottoman emperors, connoting despotism.

351–5. The barbarian invasions of Rome began with northern tribes crossing the Rhine (“*Rhene*”) and Danube (“*Danaw*”) rivers, then spreading across Spain via “*Gibraltar*” into North Africa (“*Lybian* sands”).

- Pour'd never from her frozen loyns, to pass  
*Rhene* or the *Danaw*, when her barbarous Sons  
 Came like a Deluge on the South, and spread  
 355 Beneath *Gibraltar* to the *Lybian* sands.  
 Forthwith from every Squadron and each Band  
 The Heads and Leaders thither hast where stood  
 Thir great Commander; Godlike shapes and forms  
 Excelling human, Princely Dignities,  
 360 And Powers that earst<sup>o</sup> in Heaven sat on Thrones; *formerly*  
 Though of thir Names in heav'nly Records now  
 Be no memorial, blotted out and ras'd<sup>o</sup> *erased*  
 By thir Rebellion, from the Books of Life.  
 Nor had they yet among the Sons of *Eve*  
 365 Got them new Names, till wandring ore the Earth,  
 Through Gods high sufferance for the tryal of man,  
 By falsities and lyes the greatest part  
 Of Mankind they corrupted to forsake  
 God thir Creator, and th' invisible  
 370 Glory of him that made them, to transform  
 Oft to the Image of a Brute, adorn'd  
 With gay<sup>o</sup> Religions full of Pomp and Gold, *showy, specious*  
 And Devils to adore for Deities:  
 Then were they known to men by various Names,  
 375 And various Idols through the Heathen World.  
 Say, Muse, thir Names then known, who first, who last,  
 Rous'd from the slumber, on that fiery Couch,  
 At thir great Emperors call, as next in worth  
 Came singly<sup>o</sup> where he stood on the bare strand,<sup>o</sup> *one at a time / shore*  
 380 While the promiscuous<sup>o</sup> croud stood yet aloof? *randomly mixed*  
 The chief were those who from the Pit of Hell  
 Roaming to seek thir prey on earth, durst fix  
 Thir Seats long after next the Seat of God,  
 Thir Altars by his Altar, Gods ador'd  
 385 Among the Nations round, and durst abide

363 **Books of Life.** Record of the names of the faithful (Rev. 3:5 and 21:27).

373. Tertullian, Origen, Augustine, and others identified the pagan gods with the fallen angels, and the belief continued to Milton's time.

376. The catalogue of the gods here is an epic convention. Homer catalogues commanders and ships, Virgil, warriors; both begin with an invocation to the Muse (*Iliad* 2.484; *Aeneid* 7.641).

381–91. The first group of devil-idols settled in the Middle East, close neighbors of "*Jehovah*" whose seat was in Jerusalem ("*Sion*"). Milton draws many details about them from John Selden's *De Diis Syris*.

*Jehovah* thundring out of *Sion*, thron'd  
 Between the Cherubim; yea, often plac'd  
 Within his Sanctuary it self thir Shrines,  
 Abominations; and with cursed things  
 390 His holy Rites, and solemn Feasts profan'd,  
 And with thir darkness durst affront<sup>o</sup> his light. *confront, defy*  
 First *Moloch*, horrid King besmear'd with blood  
 Of human sacrifice, and parents tears,  
 Though for the noyse of Drums and Timbrels<sup>o</sup> loud *tambourines*  
 395 Thir childrens cries unheard, that past through fire  
 To his grim Idol. Him the *Ammonite*  
 Worshipt in *Rabba* and her watry Plain,  
 In *Argob* and in *Basan*, to the stream  
 Of utmost *Arnon*. Nor content with such  
 400 Audacious neighbourhood, the wisest heart  
 Of *Solomon* he led by fraud to build  
 His Temple right against the Temple of God  
 On that opprobrious<sup>o</sup> Hill, and made his Grove *polluted*  
 The pleasant Vally of *Hinnom*, *Tophet* thence  
 405 And black *Gehenna* call'd, the Type<sup>o</sup> of Hell. *figure*  
 Next *Chemos*, th' obscene dread<sup>o</sup> of *Moabs* Sons, *object of awe*  
 From *Aroar* to *Nebo*, and the wild  
 Of Southmost *Abarim*; in *Hesebon*  
 And *Horonaim*, *Seons* Realm, beyond  
 410 The flowry Dale of *Sibma* clad with Vines,  
 And *Eleale* to th' *Asphaltick* Pool.  
*Peor* his other Name, when he entic'd  
*Israel* in *Sittim* on thir march from *Nile*

386–7 **Cherubim**. Golden Cherubim adorned opposite ends of the gold cover on the Ark of the Covenant, where *Jehovah* was “thron’d” (2 Kgs 19:15; Ps. 80:1).

392–9 **Moloch**. In Hebrew, “King.” A god of the Ammonites, usually represented with a calf’s head crowned. **Rabba** (“city of waters”) is modern Amman in Jordan; the towns “*Argob*” and “*Basan*,” and the river “*Arnon*” lie east of the Dead Sea. Children were sacrificed by being placed alive in *Moloch*’s red-hot brazen image while “*Timbrels*” sounded to cover their cries (2 Kgs 23:10).

403–5 **that opprobrious Hill**. 1 Kgs 11:7: the Mount of Olives. Under the names “*Tophet*” and “*Gehenna*,” the “*Valley of Hinnom*” (2 Kgs 23:10) adjacent to Jerusalem became a “*Type of Hell*.” Groves throughout the Old Testament are associated with idolatry.

406–11 **Chemos**. Moabite fertility god, associated with the phallic god *Priapus*; his priests were said to defecate ritually before his shrine. Their lands (many taken from *Isa.* 15–16) are mentioned in these lines.

**Seon**. *Sihon*, king of the Ammonites. **Asphaltick Pool**. The Dead Sea. “*Asphaltick*” refers to its deposits of bitumen.

412–14 **Peor**. The story of *Peor* seducing the Israelites in “*Sittim*” and the resulting “*woe*,” a plague killing 24,000, is told in *Num.* 25:1–9.

To do him wanton rites, which cost them woe.  
 415 Yet thence his lustful Orgies he enlarg'd  
 Even to that Hill of scandal, by the Grove  
 Of *Moloch* homicide, lust hard by hate;  
 Till good *Josiah* drove them thence to Hell.  
 With these came they, who from the bordring flood  
 420 Of old *Euphrates* to the Brook that parts  
*Egypt* from *Syrian* ground, had general Names  
 Of *Baalim* and *Ashtaroth*, those male,  
 These Feminine. For Spirits when they please  
 Can either Sex assume, or both; so soft  
 425 And uncompounded is thir Essence pure,  
 Not ti'd or manacl'd with joynt or limb,  
 Nor founded on the brittle strength of bones,  
 Like cumbrous flesh; but in what shape they choose  
 Dilated or condens't, bright or obscure,<sup>o</sup> dark  
 430 Can execute thir aerie purposes,  
 And works of love or enmity fulfill.  
 For those the Race of *Israel* oft forsook  
 Thir living strength, and unfrequented left  
 His righteous Altar, bowing lowly down  
 435 To bestial Gods; for which thir heads as low  
 Bow'd down in Battel, sunk before the Spear  
 Of despicable foes. With these in troop  
 Came *Astoreth*, whom the *Phœnicians* call'd  
*Astarte*, Queen of Heav'n, with crescent Horns;  
 440 To whose bright Image nightly by the Moon  
*Sidonian* Virgins paid thir Vows and Songs,  
 In *Sion* also not unsung, where stood  
 Her Temple on th' offensive Mountain, built  
 By that uxorious King, whose heart though large,

416 **Hill of scandal.** The Mount of Olives, where Solomon built temples to Chemos and Moloch (1 Kgs 11:7).

418 **Josiah.** A reforming king of Judah, Josiah destroyed the groves and idols of Moloch, Chemos, Astoreth, and Bael (2 Kgs 23:4–14).

419–21. Palestine is bordered by the “*Euphrates*” on the east and the “Brook” of Besor on the Egyptian border (1 Sam. 30:10).

422 **Baalim and Ashtaroth.** Plural forms of the sun god Baal and the moon goddess Astoreth (438; “*Astarte*,” 439). Baal means Lord, and is used as a prefix, e.g., Baal-Peor.

439–41 **Astarte.** The Phoenician (“*Sidonian*,” from the city Sidon) original of Aphrodite, with a bull’s head above her own from which sprang “crescent Horns” (Nativity Ode, 200).

443–6 **th’ offensive Mountain.** The Mount of Olives where “uxorious” King Solomon, whom God gave a “large” heart, built a temple for “*Astoreth*” at the behest of his many wives (2 Kgs 23:13; 1 Kgs 4:29, 11:1–8).

- 445 Beguil'd by fair Idolatresses, fell  
 To Idols foul. *Thammuz* came next behind,  
 Whose annual wound in *Lebanon* allur'd  
 The *Syrian* Damsels to lament his fate  
 In amorous dittyes all a Summers day,  
 450 While smooth *Adonis* from his native Rock  
 Ran purple to the Sea, suppos'd with blood  
 Of *Thammuz* yearly wounded: the Love-tale  
 Infected *Sions* daughters with like heat,  
 Whose wanton passions in the sacred Porch  
 455 *Ezekiel* saw, when by the Vision led  
 His eye survay'd the dark Idolatries  
 Of alienated *Judah*. Next came one  
 Who mourn'd in earnest, when the Captive Ark  
 Maim'd his brute Image, head and hands lopt off  
 460 In his own Temple, on the grunsel edge,<sup>o</sup> threshold  
 Where he fell flat, and sham'd his Worshipers:  
*Dagon* his Name, Sea Monster, upward Man  
 And downward Fish: yet had his Temple high  
 Rear'd in *Azotus*, dreaded through the Coast  
 465 Of *Palestine*, in *Gath* and *Ascalon*  
 And *Accaron* and *Gaza's* frontier bounds.  
 Him follow'd *Rimmon*, whose delightful Seat  
 Was fair *Damascus*, on the fertil Banks  
 Of *Abbana* and *Pharphar*, lucid streams.  
 470 He also against the house of God was bold:  
 A Leper once he lost and gain'd a King,  
*Ahaz* his sottish<sup>o</sup> Conquerour, whom he drew foolish  
 Gods Altar to disparage and displace

446–52 *Thammuz*. A Syrian god; his Greek form was “*Adonis*,” beloved of Aphrodite, metamorphosed into the anemone. Annual festivals identify his death in “*Lebanon*” from a boar’s wound and his revival, with the death and rebirth of vegetation. Here, “*Adonis*” is a Lebanese river, so named because each July it turned blood red from iron-rich clay.

455 *Ezekiel*. Ezek. 8:12–16 describes women’s “dark” idolatrous rites for *Thammuz* in the “Porch” and men’s worship of the sun within the Temple.

457–63. When the Philistines stole the Ark of God they placed it in the temple of their sea-god, *Dagon* (half-man, half-fish) but his statue fell down and broke in pieces (1 Sam. 5:1–5).

464–6. The five chief cities of the Philistines, sites of *Dagon's* worship (see Zeph. 2:4): “*Azotus*” (*Ashdod*), “*Gath*,” “*Ascalon*,” “*Accaron*” (*Ekron*), and “*Gaza*” (*Azza*).

467–76 *Rimmon*. The chief Syrian god. The Syrian general Naaman was cured of leprosy when (at the prophet Elisha’s bidding) he bathed in the river Jordan and then renounced *Rimmon* (2 Kgs 5:1–19); “*Abbana*” and “*Pharphar*” are rivers of “*Damascus*,” the chief city of Syria. King “*Ahaz*” of Judah conquered Syria but then converted to *Rimmon's* cult (2 Kgs 16:7–18).

For one of *Syrian* mode, whereon to burn  
 475 His odious off'rings, and adore the Gods  
 Whom he had vanquisht. After these appear'd  
 A crew who under Names of old Renown,  
*Osiris, Isis, Orus* and thir Train  
 With monstrous shapes and sorceries abus'd<sup>o</sup> deceived  
 480 Fanatic *Egypt* and her Priests, to seek  
 Thir wandring Gods disguis'd in brutish forms  
 Rather then human. Nor did *Israel* scape  
 Th' infection when thir borrow'd Gold compos'd  
 The Calf in *Oreb*: and the Rebel King  
 485 Doubl'd that sin in *Bethel* and in *Dan*,  
 Lik'ning his Maker to the Grazed Ox,  
*Jehovah*, who in one Night when he pass'd  
 From *Egypt* marching, equal'd<sup>o</sup> with one stroke leveled  
 Both her first born and all her bleating Gods.  
 490 *Belial* came last, then whom a Spirit more lewd  
 Fell not from Heaven, or more gross to love  
 Vice for it self: To him no Temple stood  
 Or Altar smoak'd; yet who more oft then hee  
 In Temples and at Altars, when the Priest  
 495 Turns Atheist, as did *Ely's* Sons, who fill'd  
 With lust and violence the house of God.  
 In Courts and Palaces he also Reigns  
 And in luxurious Cities, where the noyse  
 Of riot<sup>o</sup> ascends above thir loftiest Towrs, debauchery  
 500 And injury and outrage: And when Night  
 Darkens the Streets, then wander forth the Sons  
 Of *Belial*, flown<sup>o</sup> with insolence and wine. flushed, swollen

477–82. The second group of devils includes gods originally driven from Olympus by the revolt of the giants and forced to wander in “brutish” (animal) forms (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 5.319–31). The Egyptians later worshiped such animal-headed gods: “*Osiris*,” a bull; “*Isis*,” a cow; “*Orus*” (Horus), a falcon.

482–4. While Moses was receiving the Law his brother Aaron made the “Calf in *Oreb*” with golden ornaments “borrow’d” (carried out of) Egypt (Exod. 12:35); the Israelites worshiped the idol, traditionally identified with the Egyptian god Apis (Exod. 32:1–4).

484–9 **Rebel King**. Jeroboam led ten tribes in a revolt against Solomon’s son Rehoboam, and “doubled” Aaron’s sin by making two golden calves, one in “*Bethel*,” one in “*Dan*” (1 Kgs 12:19–30); at the Passover, “*Jehovah*” (Exod. 12:12) smote the Egyptian firstborn (both men and beasts) and all their gods.

490–502 **Belial**. Hebrew for “worthlessness.” Not a god, but phrases such as “Sons of Belial” (Judg. 19:22, 20:13, and 2 Cor. 6:15) encouraged personification. The sons of the high priest “*Ely*,” themselves priests, were “sons of Belial,” seizing offerings meant for God and lying with prostitutes (1 Sam. 2:12–22). Milton invites association with Restoration churches, courts, and cities.

- Witness the Streets of *Sodom*, and that night  
 In *Gibeah*, when the hospitable door  
 505 Expos'd a Matron to avoid worse rape.  
 These were the prime in order and in might;  
 The rest were long to tell, though far renown'd,  
 Th' *Ionian* Gods, of *Javans* Issue held  
 Gods, yet confest later then Heav'n and Earth  
 510 Thir boasted Parents; *Titan* Heav'ns first born  
 With his enormous<sup>o</sup> brood, and birthright seis'd *monstrous*  
 By younger *Saturn*, he from mightier *Jove*  
 His own and *Rhea's* Son like measure found;  
 So *Jove* usurping reign'd: these first in *Crete*  
 515 And *Ida* known, thence on the Snowy top  
 Of cold *Olympus* rul'd the middle Air  
 Thir highest Heav'n; or on the *Delphian* Cliff,  
 Or in *Dodona*, and through all the bounds  
 Of *Doric* Land; or who with *Saturn* old  
 520 Fled over *Adria* to th' *Hesperian* Fields,  
 And ore the *Celtic* roam'd the utmost Isles.  
 All these and more came flocking; but with looks  
 Down cast and damp,<sup>o</sup> yet such wherein appear'd *depressed*  
 Obscure some glimps of joy, to have found thir chief  
 525 Not in despair, to have found themselves not lost  
 In loss it self; which on his count'nance cast  
 Like doubtful hue: but he his wonted<sup>o</sup> pride *accustomed*  
 Soon recollecting, with high words, that bore  
 Semblance of worth, not substance, gently rais'd  
 530 Thir fanting courage, and dispel'd thir fears.  
 Then strait<sup>o</sup> commands that at the warlike sound *immediately*

503–5. Lot begged the Sodomites to rape his virgin daughters rather than his angel guests; no rape occurred, and the angels destroyed “*Sodom*” (Gen. 19:1–10, 24). At “*Gibeah*” (Judg. 19:22–9) an old man prevented “worse” homosexual rape by surrendering his Levite guest’s concubine to “certain sons of Belial”; she was raped all night and was found dead the next morning. The change from the biblical concubine to “a Matron” heightens the crime.

508–10. The Ionian Greeks (“*Javans* issue,” i.e., of the line of Noah’s grandson Javan, son of Japhet) held the Titans to be gods, supposedly the progeny of “Heav’n” (Uranus) and “Earth” (Gaea).

510–15 *Titan*. Titan, the firstborn, was deposed by his younger brother “*Saturn*” (or Cronos), who was in turn deposed by his son “*Jove*” (Zeus) who had been reared in secret in a cave on Mount “*Ida*” in “*Crete*” (Crete).

515–19. The Olympian gods dwelt on Mount “*Olympus*”; Apollo’s Pythian oracle was at Delphi (“*Delphian* Cliff”), high on Mount Parnassus; “*Dodona*” was an ancient site of Zeus’ oracle; “*Doric* Land”: Greece.

519–21. The defeated “*Saturn*” fled over the Adriatic (“*Adria*”) to Italy (“th’ *Hesperian* Fields”), to France (“*Celtic*” lands) to roam (“the utmost Isles”) of Britain.



- Of Trumpets loud and Clarions<sup>o</sup> be upread *small, shrill trumpets*  
 His mighty Standard; that proud honour claim'd  
 Azazel as his right, a Cherube tall:
- 535 Who forthwith from the glittering Staff unfurld  
 Th' Imperial Ensign,<sup>o</sup> which full high advanc't *battle flag*  
 Shon like a Meteor streaming to the Wind  
 With Gemms and Golden lustre rich imblaz'd,<sup>o</sup> *adorned with heraldic devices*  
 Seraphic arms and Trophies: all the while
- 540 Sonorous mettal<sup>o</sup> blowing Martial sounds: *trumpets*  
 At which the universal Host upsent  
 A shout that tore Hells Concave,<sup>o</sup> and beyond *vault, roof*  
 Frighted the Reign of *Chaos* and old *Night*.  
 All in a moment through the gloom were seen
- 545 Ten thousand Banners rise into the Air  
 With Orient<sup>o</sup> Colours waving: with them rose *lustrous*  
 A Forest huge of Spears: and thronging Helms  
 Appear'd, and serried<sup>o</sup> Shields in thick array *pushed close together*  
 Of depth immeasurable: Anon they move
- 550 In perfect *Phalanx* to the *Dorian* mood  
 Of Flutes and soft Recorders; such as rais'd  
 To hight of noblest temper Hero's old  
 Arming to Battel, and in stead of rage  
 Deliberate valour breath'd, firm and unmov'd
- 555 With dread of death to flight or foul retreat,  
 Nor wanting<sup>o</sup> power to mitigate and swage<sup>o</sup> *lacking / assuage*  
 With solemn touches, troubl'd thoughts, and chase  
 Anguish and doubt and fear and sorrow and pain  
 From mortal or immortal minds. Thus they
- 560 Breathing united force with fixed thought  
 Mov'd on in silence to soft Pipes that charm'd  
 Thir painful steps o're the burnt soyle; and now  
 Advanc't in view, they stand, a horrid<sup>o</sup> Front *bristling with spears*  
 Of dreadful length and dazzling Arms, in guise
- 565 Of Warriors old with order'd Spear and Shield,  
 Awaiting what command thir mighty Chief  
 Had to impose: He through the armed Files

534 *Azazel*. Traditionally, one of the four standard-bearers of Satan's army; a chief devil in the Book of Enoch.

543. For their "Reign" see 2.894–909, 959–70.

550–4 *Phalanx*. Greek battle formation consisting of footsoldiers presenting a square, impenetrable thicket of spears, usually eight ranks deep. *Dorian mood*. The Greek musical mode used for solemn martial music, intended to produce calm firmness (Plato, *Republic* 3.399A). The Spartans ("Hero's old") marched to battle to the Dorian music of "Flutes."

- Darts his experienc't eye, and soon traverse<sup>o</sup> across  
 The whole Battalion views, thir order due,  
 570 Thir visages and stature as of Gods,  
 Thir number last he summs. And now his heart  
 Distends with pride, and hardning in his strength  
 Glories: For never since created man,  
 Met such imbodied force, as nam'd<sup>o</sup> with these compared  
 575 Could merit more then that small infantry  
 Warr'd on by Cranes: though all the Giant brood  
 Of *Phlegra* with th' Heroic Race were joyn'd  
 That fought at *Theb's* and *Ilium*, on each side  
 Mixt with auxiliar<sup>o</sup> Gods; and what resounds allied  
 580 In Fable or *Romance* of *Uthers* Son  
 Begirt with *British* and *Armoric* Knights;  
 And all who since, Baptiz'd or Infidel  
 Jousted in *Aspramont* or *Montalban*,  
*Damasco*, or *Marocco*, or *Trebisond*,  
 585 Or whom *Biserta* sent from *Afric* shore  
 When *Charlemain* with all his Peerage fell  
 By *Fontarabbia*. Thus far these beyond  
 Compare of mortal prowess, yet observ'd  
 Thir dread commander: he above the rest  
 590 In shape and gesture proudly eminent  
 Stood like a Towr; his form had yet not lost  
 All her Original brightness, nor appear'd  
 Less then Arch Angel ruind, and th' excess  
 Of Glory obscur'd: As when the Sun new ris'n  
 595 Looks through the Horizontal<sup>o</sup> misty Air on the horizon  
 Shorn of his Beams, or from behind the Moon

573 **never since created man.** i.e., since man was created (Latin idiom).

575–9. See *Iliad* 3.1–6 for the war of the pygmies (with a pun on “infantry,” infants) and the “Cranes.” The Giants fought the Olympian gods at “*Phlegra*” in Macedonia (Pindar, *Nemian Odes* 1.67–8); the Greek armies (“Heroic Race”) fought battles at “*Theb's*” and “*Ilium*” (Troy), aided by various gods.

580–4. Armies from romances include “*British*” and “*Armoric* knights” (from Brittany) who fought with Arthur (“*Uthers* Son”); and Charlemagne’s army that defeated the Saracens at “*Aspramont*” (the dark mountain). Knightly jousts took place at the sites named, all from romances about chivalric wars between Christians and Saracens: “*Montalban*” (the white mountain) the home of Rinaldo, “*Damasco*” (Damascus), “*Marocco*” (Marrakesh, a sultanate in what is now Morocco), and “*Trebisond*” (Trabzon, a Byzantine city on the Black Sea).

585–7. Saracens gathered at “*Biserta*” (Bizerte) in Tunisia to invade Spain (Boiardo, *Orlando Innamorato* 2.29.1–22); Charlemagne’s rearguard, led by his best knight Roland, was massacred at Roncesvalles, near “*Fontarabbia*” (Fuenterrabia, on the Spanish coast). But in no version of the story did Charlemagne himself fall.

In dim Eclips disastrous twilight sheds  
 On half the Nations, and with fear of change  
 Perplexes Monarchs. Dark'n'd so, yet shon  
 600 Above them all th' Arch Angel: but his face  
 Deep scars of Thunder had intrencht, and care  
 Sat on his faded cheek, but under Browes  
 Of dauntless courage, and considerate<sup>o</sup> Pride *conscious, deliberate*  
 Waiting revenge: cruel his eye, but cast  
 605 Signs of remorse and passion to behold  
 The fellows of his crime, the followers rather  
 (Far other once beheld in bliss) condemn'd  
 For ever now to have thir lot in pain,  
 Millions of Spirits for his fault amerc't<sup>o</sup> *deprived*  
 610 Of Heav'n, and from Eternal Splendors flung  
 For his revolt, yet faithfull how they stood,  
 Thir Glory witherd. As when Heavens Fire  
 Hath scath'd<sup>o</sup> the Forrest Oaks, or Mountain Pines, *scorched*  
 With singed top thir stately growth though bare  
 615 Stands on the blasted Heath. He now prepar'd  
 To speak; whereat thir doubl'd Ranks they bend  
 From wing to wing, and half enclose him round  
 With all his Peers: attention held them mute.  
 Thrice he assayd,<sup>o</sup> and thrice in spight of scorn, *tried*  
 620 Tears such as Angels weep, burst forth: at last  
 Words interwove with sighs found out thir way.  
 O Myriads of immortal Spirits, O Powers  
 Matchless, but with th' Almighty, and that strife  
 Was not inglorious, though th' event<sup>o</sup> was dire, *outcome*  
 625 As this place testifies, and this dire change  
 Hateful to utter: but what power of mind  
 Foreseeing or presaging, from the Depth  
 Of knowledge past or present, could have fear'd,  
 How such united force of Gods, how such  
 630 As stood like these, could ever know repulse?  
 For who can yet beleeve, though after loss,  
 That all these puissant<sup>o</sup> Legions, whose exile *powerful*  
 Hath emptied Heav'n, shall fail to re-ascend

597–9. The censor objected to these lines, as perhaps an allusion to the eclipse on the day of Charles II's birth, portending "change" (i.e., the Interregnum). **disastrous.** astrologically unfavorable (*dis* + *astrum*).

620. Satan weeping before his defeated troops recalls Agamemnon stricken with grief in similar circumstances (*Iliad* 9.13–14)

- Self-rai's'd, and repossess thir native seat?  
 635 For mee be witness all the Host of Heav'n,  
 If counsels different, or danger shun'd  
 By me, have lost our hopes. But he who reigns  
 Monarch in Heav'n, till then as one secure  
 Sat on his Throne, upheld by old repute,  
 640 Consent or custome, and his Regal State  
 Put forth at full, but still<sup>o</sup> his strength conceal'd, *always*  
 Which tempted our attempt, and wrought our fall.  
 Henceforth his might we know, and know our own  
 So as not either to provoke, or dread  
 645 New warr, provok't; our better part remains  
 To work in close<sup>o</sup> design, by fraud or guile *secret*  
 What force effected not: that he no less  
 At length from us may find, who overcomes  
 By force, hath overcome but half his foe.  
 650 Space may produce new Worlds; whereof so rife<sup>o</sup> *widespread*  
 There went a fame<sup>o</sup> in Heav'n that he ere long *rumor*  
 Intended to create, and therein plant  
 A generation, whom his choice regard  
 Should favour equal to the Sons of Heaven:  
 655 Thither, if but to prey, shall be perhaps  
 Our first eruption,<sup>o</sup> thither or elsewhere: *breaking out*  
 For this Infernal Pit shall never hold  
 Cælestial Spirits in Bondage, nor th' Abyss  
 Long under darkness cover. But these thoughts  
 660 Full Counsel must mature: Peace is despaird,  
 For who can think Submission? Warr then, Warr  
 Open or understood<sup>o</sup> must be resolv'd. *covert*  
 He spake: and to confirm his words, out-flew  
 Millions of flaming swords, drawn from the thighs  
 665 Of mighty Cherubim; the sudden blaze  
 Far round illumin'd hell: highly they rag'd  
 Against the Highest, and fierce with grasped arms  
 Clash'd on thir sounding Shields the din of war,  
 Hurling defiance toward the Vault of Heav'n.  
 670 There stood a Hill not far whose griesly<sup>o</sup> top *causing horror*  
 Belch'd fire and rowling<sup>o</sup> smoak; the rest entire *undulating*  
 Shon with a glossie scurff,<sup>o</sup> undoubted sign *crust*  
 That in his womb was hid metallic Ore,

668. Like Roman legions, the fallen angels applaud by beating swords on shields.

- The work of Sulphur. Thither wing'd with speed  
 675 A numerous Brigad hasten'd. As when Bands  
 Of Pioners<sup>o</sup> with Spade and Pickax arm'd military engineers  
 Forerun the Royal Camp, to trench a Field,  
 Or cast a Rampart. *Mammon* led them on,  
*Mammon*, the least erected Spirit that fell  
 680 From heav'n, for ev'n in heav'n his looks and thoughts  
 Were always downward bent, admiring more  
 The riches of Heav'ns pavement, trod'n Gold,  
 Then aught divine or holy else enjoy'd  
 In vision beatific: by him first  
 685 Men also, and by his suggestion taught,  
 Ransack'd the Center, and with impious hands  
 Rifl'd the bowels of thir mother Earth  
 For Treasures better hid. Soon had his crew  
 Op'nd into the Hill a spacious wound  
 690 And dig'd out ribs<sup>o</sup> of Gold. Let none admire<sup>o</sup> veins / wonder  
 That riches grow in Hell; that soyle may best  
 Deserve the precious bane.<sup>o</sup> And here let those poison  
 Who boast in mortal things, and wond'ring tell  
 Of *Babel*, and the works of *Memphian* Kings  
 695 Learn how thir greatest Monuments of Fame,  
 And Strength and Art are easily out-done  
 By Spirits reprobate,<sup>o</sup> and in an hour damned  
 What in an age they with incessant toyle  
 And hands innumerable scarce perform.  
 700 Nigh on the Plain in many cells prepar'd,  
 That underneath had veins of liquid fire  
 Sluc'd from the Lake, a second multitude  
 With wondrous Art founded<sup>o</sup> the massie Ore, melted  
 Severing each kind, and scum'd<sup>o</sup> the Bullion dross:<sup>o</sup> skimmed / boiling dregs  
 705 A third as soon had form'd within the ground  
 A various mould, and from the boyling cells

674 **Sulphur.** This was thought to be the father of metals.

678 **Mammon.** An Aramaic word for riches, *Mammon* came to be personified and associated with the god of wealth, Plutus, and with Pluto, god of the underworld. Cf. Matt. 6:24: "Ye cannot serve God and Mammon."

684 **vision beatific.** Scholastic term for the sight of God, the greatest joy of heaven.

685–8. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.138–42, describes men rifling earth's "bowels" ("viscera terrae") in search of riches. Cf. Spenser, *Faerie Queene* 2.7.17.

694 **Babel.** The Tower of Babel (cf. Gen. 11:1–9; *PL* 12.38–62). **works.** The Pyramids built by "Memphian" (Egyptian) pharaohs.

- By strange conveyance fill'd each hollow nook,  
 As in an Organ from one blast of wind  
 To many a row of Pipes the sound-board breaths.
- 710 Anon out of the earth a Fabrick<sup>o</sup> huge *building*  
 Rose like an Exhalation, with the sound  
 Of Dulcet<sup>o</sup> Symphonies and voices sweet, *sweet, pleasing*  
 Built like a Temple, where *Pilasters*<sup>o</sup> round *columns set in a wall*  
 Were set, and Doric pillars overlaid
- 715 With Golden Architrave; nor did there want  
 Cornice or Freeze, with bossy<sup>o</sup> Sculptures grav'n, *embossed*  
 The Roof was fretted<sup>o</sup> Gold. Not *Babilon*, *richly ornamented*  
 Nor great *Alcairo* such magnificence  
 Equal'd in all thir glories, to inshrine
- 720 *Belus* or *Serapis* thir Gods, or seat  
 Thir Kings, when *Ægypt* with *Assyria* strove  
 In wealth and luxurie. Th' ascending pile<sup>o</sup> *large building*  
 Stood fixt<sup>o</sup> her stately highth, and strait<sup>o</sup> the dores *complete / at once*  
 Op'ning thir brazen foulds discover wide
- 725 Within, her ample spaces, o're the smooth  
 And level pavement: from the arched roof  
 Pendant by suttle Magic many a row  
 Of Starry Lamps and blazing Cressets fed  
 With *Naphtha* and *Asphaltus* yeilded light
- 730 As from a sky. The hasty multitude  
 Admiring enter'd, and the work some praise  
 And some the Architect: his hand was known  
 In Heav'n by many a Towred structure high,  
 Where Scepter'd Angels held thir residence,
- 735 And sat as Princes, whom the supreme King  
 Exalted to such power, and gave to rule,  
 Each in his Hierarchie, the Orders bright.

711–12 **Exhalation.** Exhalations were thought to cause comets and meteors (bad omens) and pestilence (cf. 10.693–5). Pandæmonium rises to symphonic and vocal music, like Thebes to Amphion's lyre.

714 **Doric pillars.** Round and fluted, Doric pillars are severe and plain. Pandæmonium combines classical architectural features with elaborate ornamentation, perhaps suggesting St. Peter's in Rome.

715–16 **Architrave.** The beam that rests on top of the columns. **Cornice.** The part above and overhanging the frieze. **Freeze.** The frieze: the architectural element above the architrave on which the sculptures usually are set.

717–20 **Babilon.** Babylon in Assyria had temples to "*Belus*" (Baal); "*Alcairo*" (ancient Memphis, near Cairo) had temples to "*Serapis*" (composite of Osiris and Apis, the bull god). Both cities were famously magnificent.

728–9 **Cressets.** Iron baskets hung from the ceiling, holding burning pitch ("*Asphaltus*"); oily "*Naphtha*" was placed in the lamps.

Nor was his name unheard or unador'd  
 In ancient Greece; and in Ausonian land  
 740 Men call'd him *Mulciber*; and how he fell  
 From Heav'n, they fabl'd, thrown by angry *Jove*  
 Sheer o're the Chrystal Battlements; from Morn  
 To Noon he fell, from Noon to dewy Eve,  
 A Summers day; and with the setting Sun  
 745 Dropt from the Zenith like a falling Star,  
 On *Lemnos* th' *Ægean* Ile: thus they relate,  
 Erring; for he with this rebellious rout  
 Fell long before; nor aught avail'd him now  
 To have built in Heav'n high Towrs; nor did he scape  
 750 By all his Engins,<sup>o</sup> but was headlong sent contrivances  
 With his industrious crew to build in hell.  
 Mean while the winged Haralds by command  
 Of Sovran power, with awful<sup>o</sup> Ceremony awesome  
 And Trumpets sound throughout the Host proclaim  
 755 A solemn Council forthwith to be held  
 At *Pandæmonium*, the high Capital  
 Of *Satan* and his Peers:<sup>o</sup> thir summons call'd nobles, companions  
 From every Band and squared Regiment  
 By place<sup>o</sup> or choice<sup>o</sup> the worthiest; they anon rank / election  
 760 With hunderds and with thousands trooping came  
 Attended: all access was throng'd, the Gates  
 And Porches wide, but chief the spacious Hall  
 (Though like a cover'd field, where Champions bold  
 Wont<sup>o</sup> ride in arm'd, and at the Soldans<sup>o</sup> chair were accustomed to / sultan's  
 765 Defi'd the best of *Panim*<sup>o</sup> chivalry pagan  
 To mortal combat or carreer<sup>o</sup> with Lance) joust  
 Thick swarm'd, both on the ground and in the air,  
 Brusht with the hiss of russling wings. As Bees  
 In spring time, when the Sun with *Taurus* rides,  
 770 Pour forth thir populous youth about the Hive

738–46. Hephæstus (in “Greece”), Vulcan or “*Mulciber*” in Italy (“*Ausonian land*”), was architect of the classical gods’ palaces; the story of his fall, cast out by Zeus (“angry *Jove*”) to land in “*Lemnos*” in the “*Ægean*” sea, is told in *Iliad* 1.590–4. **Zenith.** the highest point of the celestial sphere.

747 **Erring.** Milton thought the classical myths were erroneous versions of biblical stories.

756 ***Pandæmonium.*** Milton’s coinage, literally “all Demons,” an inversion of Pantheon, “all gods.”

768–76. Bee similes were common in epic from Homer on (*Iliad* 2.87–90; *Aeneid* 1.430–6); also, the bees’ (royalist) society was often cited in political arguments. The simile prepares for the sudden contraction of the “common” devils, enabling them to fit into the Hall of *Pandæmonium* (791–2).

769. The sun is in the zodiacal sign of “*Taurus*” (the Bull) from about April 19 to May 20.

- In clusters; they among fresh dewes and flowers  
 Flie to and fro, or on the smoothed Plank,  
 The suburb of thir Straw-built Cittadel,  
 New rub'd with Baum, expatiate<sup>o</sup> and confer  
 775 Thir State affairs. So thick the aerie crowd  
 Swarm'd and were straitn'd;<sup>o</sup> till the Signal giv'n.  
 Behold a wonder! they but now who seemd  
 In bigness to surpass Earths Giant Sons  
 Now less then smallest Dwarfs, in narrow room  
 780 Throng numberless, like that Pigmean Race  
 Beyond the *Indian* Mount, or Faerie Elves,  
 Whose midnight Revels, by a Forrest side  
 Or Fountain some belated Peasant sees,  
 Or dreams he sees, while over-head the Moon  
 785 Sits Arbitress,<sup>o</sup> and neerer to the Earth  
 Wheels her pale course, they on thir mirth and dance  
 Intent, with jocond<sup>o</sup> Music charm his ear;  
 At once with joy and fear his heart rebounds.  
 Thus incorporeal Spirits to smallest forms  
 790 Reduc'd thir shapes immense, and were at large,  
 Though without number still amidst the Hall  
 Of that infernal Court. But far within  
 And in thir own dimensions like themselves  
 The great Seraphic Lords and Cherubim  
 795 In close<sup>o</sup> recess and secret conclave sat  
 A thousand Demy-Gods on golden seat's,  
 Frequent and full. After short silence then  
 And summons read, the great consult began.

*The End of the First Book.*

780–1 **Pigmean Race**. Pygmies were thought to live beyond the Himalayas (“the *Indian* Mount”).

792–4. These “Lords” retained their own size.

795 **conclave**. Secret assembly, often ecclesiastical.

797 **Frequent**. Crowded together.      **full**. In great number.





Figure 4 Illustration to Book 2, 1688

## BOOK 2 THE ARGUMENT

The Consultation begun, *Satan* debates whether another Battel be to be hazarded for the recovery of Heaven: some advise it, others dissuade: A third proposal is prefer'd, mention'd before by *Satan*, to search the truth of that Prophesie or Tradition in Heaven concerning another world, and another kind of creature equal or not much inferiour  
5 to themselves, about this time to be created: Thir doubt who shall be sent on this difficult search: *Satan* thir chief undertakes alone the voyage, is honourd and applauded. The Council thus ended, the rest betake them several wayes and to several employments, as thir inclinations lead them, to entertain the time till *Satan* return. He passes on his journey to Hell Gates, finds them shut, and who sat there to guard  
10 them, by whom at length they are op'nd, and discover to him the great Gulf between Hell and Heaven; with what difficulty he passes through, directed by *Chaos*, the Power of that place, to the sight of this new World which he sought.

High on a Throne of Royal State, which far  
Outshon the wealth of *Ormus* and of *Ind*,  
Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand  
Shows on her Kings *Barbaric* Pearl and Gold,  
5 *Satan* exalted sat, by merit rais'd  
To that bad eminence; and from despair  
Thus high uplifted beyond hope, aspires  
Beyond thus high, insatiate to pursue  
Vain Warr with Heav'n, and by success<sup>o</sup> untaught  
10 His proud imaginations thus displaid. *the outcome*  
Powers and Dominions, Deities of Heav'n,  
For since no deep within her gulf can hold  
Immortal vigor, though opprest and fall'n,  
I give not Heav'n for lost. From this descent  
15 Celestial vertues rising, will appear

1. A typical epic convention (in e.g. *Iliad* 2.53–394, *Aeneid* 11.302–446, Tasso, *Gerusalemme Liberata* 2.58–90) involved councils debating war and peace, with spokesmen on each side. Infernal councils have antecedents in Tasso, Vida, Valvasone, and others.

11–12. *Satan* is given directions by “*Chaos*,” the ruler (“Power”) of “that place” (*Chaos*) to the created universe (“new World”).

2 *Ormus*. Hormuz, an island port at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, famous for pearls.

4 *Barbaric*. Exotic; pertaining originally to all nations except Greece and Rome.

5 *merit*. Desert, either good or bad. Cf. 3.309–10, 6.43.

11 **Powers and Dominions**. Angelic orders; “vertues” (15) were also an angelic order. Milton retains the names but not the arrangement into distinct hierarchical ranks.

More glorious and more dread then from no fall,  
 And trust themselves to fear no second fate:  
 Mee though just right, and the fixt Laws of Heav'n  
 Did first create your Leader, next free choice,  
 20 With what besides, in Counsel or in Fight,  
 Hath bin achievd of merit, yet this loss  
 Thus farr at least recover'd, hath much more  
 Establish't in a safe unenvied Throne  
 Yielded with full consent. The happier state  
 25 In Heav'n, which follows dignity, might draw  
 Envy from each inferior; but who here  
 Will envy whom the highest place exposes  
 Formost to stand against the Thunderers aim  
 Your bulwark, and condemns to greatest share  
 30 Of endless pain? where there is then no good  
 For which to strive, no strife can grow up there  
 From Faction; for none sure will claim in Hell  
 Precedence, none, whose portion is so small  
 Of present pain, that with ambitious mind  
 35 Will covet more. With this advantage then  
 To union, and firm Faith, and firm accord,  
 More then can be in Heav'n, we now return  
 To claim our just inheritance of old,  
 Surer to prosper then prosperity  
 40 Could have assur'd us; and by what best way,  
 Whether of open Warr or covert guile,  
 We now debate; who can advise, may speak.  
 He ceas'd, and next him *Moloc*, Scepter'd King  
 Stood up, the strongest and the fiercest Spirit  
 45 That fought in Heav'n; now fiercer by despair:  
 His trust was with th' Eternal to be deem'd  
 Equal in strength, and rather then be less  
 Care'd not to be at all; with that care lost  
 Went all his fear: of God, or Hell, or worse  
 50 He reck'd<sup>o</sup> not, and these words thereafter spake.  
 My sentence<sup>o</sup> is for open Warr: Of Wiles,  
 More unexpert,<sup>o</sup> I boast not: them let those

*cared*  
*judgment*  
*inexperienced*

28 **Thunderer.** The attribute of Zeus (Jove) is the thunderbolt.

41. The classic Machiavellian choice for gaining or extending power. Tasso's Satan (*Gerusalemme Liberata*, trans. Edward Fairfax [1600], 4.16–17) also proposes "open force, or secret guile."

- Contrive who need, or when they need, not now  
 For while they sit contriving, shall the rest,  
 55 Millions that stand in Arms, and longing wait  
 The Signal to ascend, sit lingring here  
 Heav'ns fugitives, and for thir dwelling place  
 Accept this dark opprobrious<sup>o</sup> Den of shame, *infamous*  
 The Prison of his Tyranny who Reigns  
 60 By our delay? no, let us rather choose  
 Arm'd with Hell flames and fury all at once  
 O're Heav'ns high Towrs to force resistless way,  
 Turning our Tortures into horrid<sup>o</sup> Arms *bristling, terrible*  
 Against the Torturer; when to meet the noise  
 65 Of his Almighty Engin<sup>o</sup> he shall hear *machine of war*  
 Infernal Thunder, and for Lightning see  
 Black fire and horror shot with equal rage  
 Among his Angels; and his Throne it self  
 Mixt with *Tartarean* Sulphur, and strange fire,  
 70 His own invented Torments. But perhaps  
 The way seems difficult and steep to scale  
 With upright wing against a higher foe.  
 Let such bethink them, if the sleepy drench<sup>o</sup> *soporific drink*  
 Of that forgetful Lake benumm not still,  
 75 That in our proper<sup>o</sup> motion we ascend *natural*  
 Up to our native seat: descent and fall  
 To us is adverse. Who but felt of late  
 When the fierce Foe hung on our brok'n Rear<sup>o</sup> *rearguard*  
 Insulting,<sup>o</sup> and pursu'd us through the Deep, *attacking, exulting scornfully*  
 80 With what compulsion and laborious flight  
 We sunk thus low? Th' ascent is easie then;  
 Th' event<sup>o</sup> is fear'd; should we again provoke *outcome*  
 Our stronger, some worse way his wrath may find  
 To our destruction: if there be in Hell  
 85 Fear to be worse destroy'd: what can be worse  
 Then to dwell here, driv'n out from bliss, condemn'd  
 In this abhorred deep to utter woe;  
 Where pain of unextinguishable fire  
 Must exercise<sup>o</sup> us without hope of end *afflict*

69 *Tartarean*. Hellish. Tartarus is the place of punishment in the classical underworld.

74 **forgetful Lake**. Suggests Lethe, the river of oblivion in Hades. Cf. 1.266.

75. Cf. 2.932–5.

- 90 The Vassals<sup>o</sup> of his anger, when the Scourge *slaves*  
 Inexorably, and the torturing hour  
 Calls us to Penance? More destroy'd then thus  
 We should be quite abolisht and expire.  
 What fear we then? what doubt we to incense
- 95 His utmost ire? which to the highth enrag'd,  
 Will either quite consume us, and reduce  
 To nothing this essential,<sup>o</sup> happier farr *essence*  
 Then miserable to have eternal being:  
 Or if our substance be indeed Divine,
- 100 And cannot cease to be, we are at worst  
 On this side nothing;<sup>o</sup> and by proof we feel *short of annihilation*  
 Our power sufficient to disturb his Heav'n,  
 And with perpetual inrodes to Allarme,  
 Though inaccessible, his fatal<sup>o</sup> Throne: *fated, death-dealing*
- 105 Which if not Victory is yet Revenge.  
 He ended frowning, and his look denounc'd<sup>o</sup> *proclaimed*  
 Desperate revenge, and Battel dangerous  
 To less then Gods. On th' other side up rose  
*Belial*, in act more graceful and humane;
- 110 A fairer person lost not Heav'n; he seemd  
 For dignity compos'd and high exploit:  
 But all was false and hollow; though his Tongue  
 Dropt Manna, and could make the worse appear  
 The better reason, to perplex and dash
- 115 Maturest Counsels: for his thoughts were low;  
 To vice industrious, but to Nobler deeds  
 Timorous and slothful: yet he pleas'd the ear,  
 And with perswasive accent thus began.  
 I should be much for open Warr, O Peers,
- 120 As not behind in hate; if what was urg'd  
 Main reason to persuade immediate Warr,  
 Did not dissuade me most, and seem to cast  
 Ominous conjecture on the whole success:  
 When he who most excels in fact<sup>o</sup> of Arms, *feat*
- 125 In what he counsels and in what excels  
 Mistrustful, grounds his courage on despair

90–2 **Scourge** . . . **Penance**. Suggest Roman Catholic practices of mortification.

113–14 **Manna**. The food supplied to the Israelites in the desert, tasting of honey. For making “the worse appear / The better reason” *Belial* is aligned with the Sophists, mercenary teachers of rhetoric in ancient Greece, who were denounced by Plato for just this practice (*Apology* 19b).

And utter dissolution, as the scope  
 Of all his aim, after some dire revenge.  
 First, what Revenge? the Towrs of Heav'n are fill'd  
 130 With Armed watch, that render all access  
 Impregnable; oft on the bordering Deep  
 Encamp thir Legions, or with obscure wing  
 Scout farr and wide into the Realm of night,  
 Scorning surprize. Or could we break our way  
 135 By force, and at our heels all Hell should rise  
 With blackest Insurrection, to confound  
 Heav'ns purest Light, yet our great Enemy  
 All incorruptible would on his Throne  
 Sit unpolluted, and th' Ethereal mould  
 140 Incapable of stain would soon expel  
 Her mischief, and purge off the baser fire  
 Victorious. Thus repuls'd, our final hope  
 Is flat<sup>o</sup> despair: we must exasperate  
 Th' Almighty Victor to spend all his rage,  
 145 And that must end us, that must be our cure,  
 To be no more; sad cure; for who would loose,  
 Though full of pain, this intellectual being,  
 Those thoughts that wander through Eternity,  
 To perish rather, swallowd up and lost  
 150 In the wide womb of uncreated night,  
 Devoid of sense and motion? and who knows,  
 Let this be good, whether our angry Foe  
 Can give it, or will ever? how he can  
 Is doubtful; that he never will is sure.  
 155 Will he, so wise, let loose at once his ire,  
 Belike<sup>o</sup> through impotence, or unaware,  
 To give his Enemies thir wish, and end  
 Them in his anger, whom his anger saves  
 To punish endless? wherefore cease we then?  
 160 Say they who counsel Warr, we are decreed,  
 Reserv'd and destin'd to Eternal woe;  
 Whatever doing, what can we suffer more,  
 What can we suffer worse? is this then worst,

*absolute**perhaps*

139 **Ethereal mould.** Heavenly substance, derived from "ether," the fifth and purest element, supposed incorruptible.

148. Cf. Seneca, *De Consolatione Ad Marciam* 11.4–5, describing the capacity of thoughts to range through heaven and all past and future time.

- Thus sitting, thus consulting, thus in Arms?  
 165 What when we fled amain,<sup>o</sup> pursu'd and strook *at full speed*  
 With Heav'ns afflicting Thunder, and besought  
 The Deep to shelter us? this Hell then seem'd  
 A refuge from those wounds: or when we lay  
 Chain'd on the burning Lake? that sure was worse.
- 170 What if the breath that kind'd those grim fires  
 Awak'd should blow them into sevenfold rage  
 And plunge us in the flames? or from above  
 Should intermitted<sup>o</sup> vengeance arm again *suspended*  
 His red right hand to plague us? what if all
- 175 Her stores were open'd, and this Firmament<sup>o</sup> *vault*  
 Of Hell should spout her Cataracts<sup>o</sup> of Fire, *casca*  
 Impendent<sup>o</sup> horrors, threatening hideous fall *scades*  
 One day upon our heads; while we perhaps *hanging down*  
 Designing or exhorting glorious warr,
- 180 Caught in a fierie Tempest shall be hurl'd  
 Each on his rock transfixt, the sport and prey  
 Of racking<sup>o</sup> whirlwinds, or for ever sunk *driving, torturing*  
 Under yon boyling Ocean, wrapt in Chains;  
 There to converse with everlasting groans,
- 185 Unrespited, unpitied, unrepreevd,  
 Ages of hopeless end;<sup>o</sup> this would be worse. *without hope for an end*  
 Warr therefore, open or conceal'd, alike  
 My voice disswades; for what can force or guile  
 With him, or who deceive his mind, whose eye
- 190 Views all things at one view? he from heav'ns highth  
 All these our motions<sup>o</sup> vain, sees and derides; *proposals, plans*  
 Not more Almighty to resist our might  
 Then wise to frustrate all our plots and wiles.  
 Shall we then live thus vile, the Race of Heav'n
- 195 Thus trampil'd, thus expell'd to suffer here  
 Chains and these Torments? better these then worse  
 By my advice; since fate inevitable  
 Subdues us, and Omnipotent Decree,

170–4. For Belial's questions, cf. Tasso, *Gerusalemme Liberata* 10.44–7. For God's "breath that kindled" cf. Isa. 30:33, "the pile [of Hell] is fire and much wood; the breath of the Lord, like a stream of brimstone, doth kindle it." For God's "red right hand" cf. Horace, *Odes* 1.2.1–4, Jove hurling thunderbolts with a "red right hand."

190–1. "He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh; the Lord shall have them in derision" (Ps. 2:4). Milton's God is not passionless, but displays a range of emotions, see *Christian Doctrine* 1.2.

- The Victors will. To suffer, as to doe,  
 200 Our strength is equal, nor the Law unjust  
 That so ordains: this was at first resolv'd,  
 If we were wise, against so great a foe  
 Contending, and so doubtful what might fall.  
 I laugh, when those who at the Spear are bold  
 205 And vent'rous, if that fail them, shrink and fear  
 What yet they know must follow, to endure  
 Exile, or ignominy,<sup>o</sup> or bonds, or pain, *humiliation*  
 The sentence of thir Conquerour: This is now  
 Our doom; which if we can sustain and bear,  
 210 Our Supream Foe in time may much remit  
 His anger, and perhaps thus farr remov'd  
 Not mind us not offending, satisfi'd  
 With what is punish't; whence these raging fires  
 Will slack'n, if his breath stir not thir flames.  
 215 Our purer essence then will overcome  
 Thir noxious vapour, or enur'd<sup>o</sup> not feel, *accustomed*  
 Or chang'd at length, and to the place conformd  
 In temper<sup>o</sup> and in nature, will receive *physical and mental constitution*  
 Familiar the fierce heat, and void of pain;  
 220 This horror will grow milde, this darkness light,  
 Besides what hope the never-ending flight  
 Of future dayes may bring, what chance, what change  
 Worth waiting, since our present lot appeers  
 For happy though but ill, for ill not worst,  
 225 If we procure not to our selves more woe.  
 Thus *Belial* with words cloath'd in reasons garb  
 Counsell'd ignoble ease, and peaceful sloath,  
 Not peace: and after him thus *Mammon* spake.  
 Either to disinthrone the King of Heav'n  
 230 We warr, if warr be best, or to regain  
 Our own right lost: him to unthroned we then  
 May hope when everlasting Fate shall yeild  
 To fickle Chance, and *Chaos* judge the strife:  
 The former vain to hope argues as vain  
 235 The latter: for what place can be for us

199–200. Echoing Mucius Scaevola's famous words, when he held his hand in the fire to demonstrate Roman fortitude (Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 2.12.10).

212 **mind**. Be concerned about; be aware of.

220 **light**. May be a noun, the opposite of darkness, or an adjective, "easy to bear."



Within Heav'ns bound, unless Heav'ns Lord supream  
 We overpower? Suppose he should relent  
 And publish Grace to all, on promise made  
 Of new Subjection; with what eyes could we  
 240 Stand in his presence humble, and receive  
 Strict Laws impos'd, to celebrate his Throne  
 With warbl'd Hymns, and to his Godhead sing  
 Forc't Halleluiah's; while he Lordly sits  
 Our envied Sovran, and his Altar breathes  
 245 Ambrosial<sup>o</sup> Odours and Ambrosial Flowers, *fragrant, divine*  
 Our servile offerings. This must be our task  
 In Heav'n this our delight; how wearisom  
 Eternity so spent in worship paid  
 To whom we hate. Let us not then pursue  
 250 By force impossible, by leave obtain'd  
 Unacceptable, though in Heav'n, our state  
 Of splendid vassalage,<sup>o</sup> but rather seek *servitude*  
 Our own good from our selves, and from our own  
 Live to our selves, though in this vast recess,  
 255 Free, and to none accountable, preferring  
 Hard liberty before the easie yoke  
 Of servile Pomp. Our greatness will appeer  
 Then most conspicuous, when great things of small,  
 Useful of hurtful, prosperous of adverse  
 260 We can create, and in what place so e're  
 Thrive under evil, and work ease out of pain  
 Through labour and indurance. This deep world  
 Of darkness do we dread? How oft amidst  
 Thick clouds and dark doth Heav'ns all-ruling Sire  
 265 Choose to reside, his Glory unobscur'd,  
 And with the Majesty of darkness round  
 Covers his Throne; from whence deep thunders roar  
 Must'ring thir rage, and Heav'n resembles Hell?  
 As he our darkness, cannot we his Light  
 270 Imitate when we please? This Desert soile  
 Wants<sup>o</sup> not her hidden lustre, Gemms and Gold; *lacks*  
 Nor want we skill or Art, from whence to raise  
 Magnificence; and what can Heav'n shew more?  
 Our torments also may in length of time  
 275 Become our Elements, these piercing Fires

- As soft as now severe, our temper chang'd  
 Into their temper; which must needs remove  
 The sensible of pain. All things invite  
 To peaceful Counsels, and the settl'd State  
 280 Of order, how in safety best we may  
 Compose<sup>o</sup> our present evils, with regard *adjust to*  
 Of what we are and where, dismissing quite  
 All thoughts of warr: ye have what I advise.  
 He scarce had finisht, when such murmur filld  
 285 Th' Assembly, as when hollow Rocks retain  
 The sound of blustering winds, which all night long  
 Had rous'd the Sea, now with hoarse cadence lull  
 Sea-faring men orewatcht,<sup>o</sup> whose Bark by chance *worn out from watching*  
 Or Pinnacle<sup>o</sup> anchors in a craggy Bay *small light boat*  
 290 After the Tempest: Such applause was heard  
 As *Mammon* ended, and his Sentence pleas'd,  
 Advising peace: for such another Field  
 They dreaded worse then Hell: so much the fear  
 Of Thunder and the Sword of *Michael*  
 295 Wrought still within them; and no less desire  
 To found this nether Empire, which might rise  
 By pollicy,<sup>o</sup> and long process of time, *statecraft*  
 In emulation opposite to Heav'n.  
 Which when *Beelzebub* perceiv'd, then whom,  
 300 *Satan* except, none higher sat, with grave  
 Aspect he rose, and in his rising seem'd  
 A Pillar of State; deep on his Front<sup>o</sup> engraven *forehead*  
 Deliberation sat and public care;  
 And Princely counsel in his face yet shon,  
 305 Majestic though in ruin: sage he stood  
 With *Atlantean* shoulders fit to bear  
 The weight of mightiest Monarchies; his look  
 Drew audience and attention still as Night  
 Or Summers Noon-tide air, while thus he spake.  
 310 Thrones and Imperial Powers, off-spring of heav'n,  
 Ethereal Vertues; or these Titles now

278. Pain felt by the senses.

294 *Michael*. Traditionally, the chief of the angelic armies, cf. 6.250ff, 320ff.

306 *Atlantean*. Burdened statesmen were often compared to Atlas the Titan, whose rebellion Jove punished by forcing him to bear the heavens on his shoulders.

310–11. Angelic orders. See note to line 11, above.

Must we renounce, and changing stile be call'd  
 Princes of Hell? for so the popular vote  
 Inclines, here to continue, and build up here  
 315 A growing Empire; doubtless; while we dream,  
 And know not that the King of Heav'n hath doom'd  
 This place our dungeon, not our safe retreat  
 Beyond his Potent arm, to live exempt  
 From Heav'n's high jurisdiction, in new League  
 320 Banded against his Throne, but to remaine  
 In strictest bondage, though thus far remov'd,  
 Under th' inevitable curb, reserv'd  
 His captive multitude: For he, be sure,  
 In heighth or depth, still first and last will Reign  
 325 Sole King, and of his Kingdom loose no part  
 By our revolt, but over Hell extend  
 His Empire, and with Iron Scepter rule  
 Us here, as with his Golden those in Heav'n.  
 What<sup>o</sup> sit we then projecting peace and Warr? *why*  
 330 Warr hath determin'd us, and foild with loss  
 Irreparable; tearms of peace yet none  
 Voutsaf't<sup>o</sup> or sought; for what peace will be giv'n *granted*  
 To us enslav'd, but custody severe,  
 And stripes, and arbitrary punishment  
 335 Inflicted? and what peace can we return,  
 But to<sup>o</sup> our power hostility and hate, *to the extent of*  
 Untam'd reluctance,<sup>o</sup> and revenge though slow, *resistance*  
 Yet ever plotting how the Conqueror least  
 May reap his conquest, and may least rejoyce  
 340 In doing what we most in suffering feel?  
 Nor will occasion want,<sup>o</sup> nor shall we need *be lacking*  
 With dangerous expedition to invade  
 Heav'n, whose high walls fear no assault or Siege,  
 Or ambush from the Deep. What if we find  
 345 Some easier enterprize? There is a place  
 (If ancient and prophetic fame<sup>o</sup> in Heav'n *rumor*  
 Err not) another World, the happy seat  
 Of some new Race call'd *Man*, about this time

327–8. God's iron scepter symbolizes Justice, his golden scepter, Mercy. Cf. Rev. 19:15, "he shall rule them with a rod of iron." In 1653 Milton translated Ps. 2:9 with the phrase, "With iron scepter bruised." See PL 5.886–7.

- To be created like to us, though less  
 350 In power and excellence, but favour'd more  
 Of him who rules above; so was his will  
 Pronounc'd among the Gods,<sup>o</sup> and by an Oath, angels  
 That shook Heav'ns whol circumference, confirm'd.  
 Thither let us bend all our thoughts, to learn  
 355 What creatures there inhabit, of what mould,  
 Or substance, how endu'd,<sup>o</sup> and what thir Power, endowed  
 And where thir weakness, how attempted<sup>o</sup> best, attacked, tempted  
 By force or suttlety: Though Heav'n be shut,  
 And Heav'ns high Arbitrator sit secure  
 360 In his own strength, this place may lye expos'd  
 The utmost border of his Kingdom, left  
 To their defence who hold it: here perhaps  
 Som advantagious act may be achiev'd  
 By sudden onset, either with Hell fire  
 365 To waste his whole Creation, or possess  
 All as our own, and drive as we were driven,  
 The punie habitants, or if not drive,  
 Seduce them to our Party, that thir God  
 May prove thir foe, and with repenting hand  
 370 Abolish his own works. This would surpass  
 Common revenge, and interrupt his joy  
 In our Confusion, and our Joy upraise  
 In his disturbance; when his darling Sons  
 Hurl'd headlong to partake with us, shall curse  
 375 Thir frail Original,<sup>o</sup> and faded bliss, originator, parent  
 Faded so soon. Advise if this be worth  
 Attempting, or to sit in darkness here  
 Hatching vain Empires. Thus *Beelzebub*  
 Pleaded his devilish Counsel, first devis'd  
 380 By *Satan*, and in part propos'd: for whence,  
 But from the Author of all ill could Spring  
 So deep a malice, to confound<sup>o</sup> the race ruin  
 Of mankind in one root, and Earth with Hell  
 To mingle and involve,<sup>o</sup> done all to spite entangle

349–50. Cf. Ps. 8:5: “For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels.” See *PL* 1.654, 8.228.

352–3. In classical epic the heavens shake when the king of the gods (Zeus, Jove) takes an oath.

369–70. Gen. 6:7, God determining to destroy the world by flood: “And the Lord said, I will destroy man [and all the creatures] . . . for it repenteth me that I have made them.”

383. Adam is the “root” of the human family tree.

- 385 The great Creatour? But thir spite still serves  
 His glory to augment. The bold design  
 Pleas'd highly those infernal States,<sup>o</sup> and joy *nobles*  
 Sparkl'd in all thir eyes; with full assent  
 They vote: whereat his speech he thus renews.
- 390 Well have ye judg'd, well ended long debate,  
 Synod<sup>o</sup> of Gods, and like to what ye are, *assembly*  
 Great things resolv'd, which from the lowest deep  
 Will once more lift us up, in spight of Fate,  
 Neerer our ancient Seat; perhaps in view
- 395 Of those bright confines, whence with neighbouring Arms  
 And opportune excursion we may chance  
 Re-enter Heav'n; or else in some milde Zone  
 Dwell not unvisited of Heav'ns fair Light  
 Secure, and at the brightning Orient beam
- 400 Purge off this gloom; the soft delicious Air,  
 To heal the scarr of these corrosive Fires  
 Shall breathe her balme. But first whom shall we send  
 In search of this new world, whom shall we find  
 Sufficent? who shall tempt<sup>o</sup> with wandring feet *attempt, try*
- 405 The dark unbottom'd infinite Abyss  
 And through the palpable obscure find out  
 His uncouth<sup>o</sup> way, or spread his aerie flight *unknown*  
 Upborn with indefatigable wings  
 Over the vast abrupt, ere he arrive
- 410 The happy Ile; what strength, what art can then  
 Suffice, or what evasion bear him safe  
 Through the strict Senteries<sup>o</sup> and Stations<sup>o</sup> thick *sentries / guardposts*  
 Of Angels watching round? Here he had need  
 All circumspection, and wee now no less
- 415 Choice<sup>o</sup> in our suffrage; for on whom we send, *discrimination*  
 The weight of all and our last hope relies.  
 This said, he sat; and expectation held  
 His look suspence,<sup>o</sup> awaiting who appeer'd *in suspension*  
 To second, or oppose, or undertake
- 420 The perilous attempt; but all sat mute,

406 **palpable obscure.** Darkness so thick it can be felt (cf. Exod. 10:21).

409 **vast abrupt.** An abyss, referring to Chaos, the gulf between two created places, heaven and hell.

410 **happy Ile.** Earth, with probable allusion to the Isles of the Blessed in Greek mythology.

420. Cf. 3.217.

- Pondering the danger with deep thoughts; and each  
 In others count'nance read his own dismay  
 Astonisht:° none among the choice and prime *stunned*  
 Of those Heav'n-warring Champions could be found
- 425 So hardie as to proffer or accept  
 Alone the dreadful voyage; till at last  
*Satan*, whom now transcendent glory rais'd  
 Above his fellows, with Monarchal pride  
 Conscious of highest worth, unmov'd thus spake.
- 430 O Progeny of Heav'n, Empyrean Thrones,  
 With reason hath deep silence and demurr° *delay*  
 Seis'd us, though undismaid: long is the way  
 And hard, that out of Hell leads up to light;  
 Our prison strong, this huge convex° of Fire, *vault*
- 435 Outrageous° to devour, immures us round *furios*  
 Ninefold, and gates of burning Adamant  
 Barr'd over us prohibit all egress.  
 These past, if any pass, the void profound  
 Of unessential° Night receives him next *without being*
- 440 Wide gaping, and with utter loss of being  
 Threatens him, plung'd in that abortive gulf.  
 If thence he scape into whatever world,  
 Or unknown Region, what remains him less° *awaits him except*  
 Then unknown dangers and as hard escape.
- 445 But I should ill become this Throne, O Peers,° *nobles, companions*  
 And this Imperial Sov'ranty, adorn'd  
 With splendor, arm'd with power, if aught propos'd  
 And judg'd of public moment,° in the shape *importance*  
 Of difficulty or danger could deterr
- 450 Mee from attempting, Wherefore do I assume  
 These Royalties,° and not refuse to Reign, *royal prerogatives*  
 Refusing to accept as great a share  
 Of hazard as of honour, due alike  
 To him who Reigns, and so much to him due
- 455 Of hazard more, as he above the rest

427–66. Cf. the Son's parallel offer, 3.222–65.

432–3. An echo of the Sybil's warning to Aeneas, *Aeneid* 6.126–9.

435–6. Hell's fiery walls have nine thicknesses that "immure" the fallen angels. **Adamant.** A substance of impenetrable hardness.

441 **abortive gulf.** Chaos is a womb in which all potential forms fragment (cf. 900ff).

450–66. An ironic recasting of the noble speech of Sarpedon to Glaucus (*Iliad* 12.310–28).

- High honourd sits? Go therefore mighty Powers,  
 Terror of Heav'n, though fall'n; intend<sup>o</sup> at home, *consider*  
 While here shall be our home, what best may ease  
 The present misery, and render Hell
- 460 More tollerable; if there be cure or charm  
 To respite<sup>o</sup> or deceive,<sup>o</sup> or slack the pain *relieve / beguile away*  
 Of this ill Mansion: intermit no watch  
 Against a wakeful Foe, while I abroad  
 Through all the Coasts<sup>o</sup> of dark destruction seek *regions*
- 465 Deliverance for us all: this enterprize  
 None shall partake with me. Thus saying rose  
 The Monarch, and prevented<sup>o</sup> all reply, *forestalled*  
 Prudent, least from his resolution rais'd<sup>o</sup> *made bold*  
 Others among the chief might offer now
- 470 (Certain to be refus'd) what erst<sup>o</sup> they fear'd; *formerly*  
 And so refus'd might in opinion stand  
 His Rivals, winning cheap the high repute  
 Which he through hazard huge must earn. But they  
 Dreaded not more th' adventure than his voice
- 475 Forbidding; and at once with him they rose;  
 Thir rising all at once was as the sound  
 Of Thunder heard remote. Towards him they bend  
 With awful<sup>o</sup> reverence prone; and as a God *full of awe*  
 Extoll him equal to the highest in Heav'n:
- 480 Nor fail'd they to express how much they prais'd,  
 That for the general safety he despis'd  
 His own: for neither do the Spirits damn'd  
 Loose all thir vertue; least bad men should boast  
 Thir specious<sup>o</sup> deeds on earth, which glory excites, *pretending to worth*
- 485 Or clos<sup>o</sup> ambition varnisht o're with zeal. *secret*  
 Thus they thir doubtful consultations dark  
 Ended rejoicing in thir matchless Chief:  
 As when from mountain tops the dusky clouds  
 Ascending, while the North wind sleeps, o'respread
- 490 Heav'n's chearful face, the lowring Element<sup>o</sup> *threatening sky*  
 Scowls ore the dark'nd lantskip<sup>o</sup> Snow, or showre; *landscape*  
 If chance the radiant Sun with farewell sweet  
 Extend his ev'ning beam, the fields revive,  
 The birds thir notes renew, and bleating herds
- 495 Attest thir joy, that hill and valley rings.  
 O shame to men! Devil with Devil damn'd  
 Firm concord holds, men onely disagree

- Of Creatures rational, though under hope  
 Of heavenly Grace: and God proclaiming peace,  
 500 Yet live in hatred, enmity, and strife  
 Among themselves, and levie cruel warres,  
 Wasting the Earth, each other to destroy:  
 As if (which might induce us to accord)  
 Man had not hellish foes anow<sup>o</sup> besides, enough
- 505 That day and night for his destruction waite.  
 The *Stygian* Counsel thus dissolv'd; and forth  
 In order came the grand infernal Peers,  
 Midst came thir mighty Paramount,<sup>o</sup> and seemd supreme ruler  
 Alone th' Antagonist of Heav'n, nor less  
 510 Than Hells dread Emperour with pomp Supream,  
 And God-like imitated State; him round  
 A Globe of fierie Seraphim inclos'd  
 With bright imblazonrie,<sup>o</sup> and horrent<sup>o</sup> Arms. heraldic devices / bristling  
 Then of thir Session ended they bid cry
- 515 With Trumpets regal sound the great result:  
 Toward the four winds four speedy Cherubim  
 Put to thir mouths the sounding Alchymie  
 By Haralds voice explain'd: the hollow Abyss  
 Heard farr and wide, and all the host of Hell  
 520 With deafning shout, return'd them loud acclaim.  
 Thence more at ease thir minds and somewhat rais'd  
 By false presumptuous hope, the ranged<sup>o</sup> powers arrayed in ranks  
 Disband, and wandring, each his severall way  
 Pursues, as inclination or sad choice
- 525 Leads him perplext, where he may likeliest find  
 Truce to his restless thoughts, and entertain<sup>o</sup> while away  
 The irksom hours, till his great Chief return.  
 Part on the Plain, or in the Air sublime<sup>o</sup> aloft  
 Upon the wing, or in swift Race contend,
- 530 As at th' Olympian Games or *Pythian* fields;  
 Part curb thir fierie Steeds, or shun the Goal  
 With rapid wheels, or fronted Brigads<sup>o</sup> form. opposing teams

506 *Stygian*. From the river Styx, leading to Hades.

512 **Globe**. A compact body, often a formation of soldiers. "Seraphim" are associated with fire; *saraph* in Hebrew means "to burn."

517 **sounding Alchymie**. Trumpets made of the goldlike alloy, brass.

528–55. Athletic games and musical contests are common in epic. See *Aeneid* 6.642–59.

530. The "Olympian" games were held at Olympia, the "*Pythian*" games at Delphi.

531 **shun the Goal**. To drive a chariot as close as possible to a turning post without hitting it.



- As when to warn proud Cities warr appears  
 Wag'd in the troubl'd Skie, and Armies rush  
 535 To Battel in the Clouds, before each Van<sup>o</sup> vanguard  
 Prick<sup>o</sup> forth the Aerie Knights, and couch thir Spears spur  
 Till thickest Legions close; with feats of Arms  
 From either end of Heav'n the welkin<sup>o</sup> burns. sky  
 Others with vast *Typhæan* rage more fell<sup>o</sup> fierce  
 540 Rend up both Rocks and Hills, and ride the Air  
 In whirlwind; Hell scarce holds the wilde uproar.  
 As when *Alcides* from *Oechalia* Crown'd  
 With conquest, felt th' envenom'd robe, and tore  
 Through pain up by the roots *Thessalian* Pines,  
 545 And *Lichas* from the top of *Oeta* threw  
 Into th' *Euboic* Sea. Others more milde,  
 Retreated in a silent valley, sing  
 With notes Angelical to many a Harp  
 Thir own Heroic deeds and hapless fall  
 550 By doom of Battel; and complain that Fate  
 Free Vertue should enthrall to Force or Chance.  
 Thir Song was partial,<sup>o</sup> but the harmony biased, polyphonic  
 (What could it less when Spirits immortal sing?)  
 Suspended<sup>o</sup> Hell, and took with ravishment held in suspense  
 555 The thronging audience. In discourse more sweet  
 (For Eloquence the Soul, Song charms the Sense,)  
 Others apart sat on a Hill retir'd,  
 In thoughts more elevate, and reason'd high  
 Of Providence, Foreknowledge, Will and Fate,  
 560 Fixt Fate, free will, foreknowledg absolute,  
 And found no end, in wandring mazes lost.  
 Of good and evil much they argu'd then,

533–6. The seeming appearance of warfare in the skies, reported before several notable battles including the English Civil War, was thought to warn of the wars to come.

539–41 *Typhæan* rage. Typhon's name was associated with typhoon, and meant "whirlwind." See note to 1.198–9.

542–6 *Alcides*. Hercules (Alcides), wearing a poisoned ("envenom'd") robe given to him through a deception practiced on his wife after he returned from a victory at "Oechalia," was driven mad with pain. Wrongly suspecting his beloved companion "*Lichas*," who innocently gave him the cloak, he threw him along with uprooted trees from the top of Mount "Oeta" in Thessaly into "the *Euboic* Sea," the strait between Thessaly in northern Greece and the Isle of Euboa. Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 9.134–229.

557–65 Various classical schools are prefigured here, e.g. the Peripatetic, Epicurean, and Stoic, as well as contemporary theological debates about predestination, foreknowledge, and free will. Cf. Jesus' denunciation of the classical schools in *Paradise Regained* 4.291–321.

- Of happiness and final misery,  
 Passion and Apathie, and glory and shame,  
 565 Vain wisdom all, and false Philosophie:  
 Yet with a pleasing sorcerie could charm  
 Pain for a while or anguish, and excite  
 Fallacious hope, or arm th' obdured<sup>o</sup> brest *hardened*  
 With stubborn patience as with triple steel.
- 570 Another part in Squadrons and gross<sup>o</sup> Bands, *large, dense*  
 On bold adventure to discover wide  
 That dismal world, if any Clime perhaps  
 Might yield them easier habitation, bend  
 Four ways thir flying March, along the Banks
- 575 Of four infernal Rivers that disgorge  
 Into the burning Lake thir baleful<sup>o</sup> streams; *evil*  
 Abhorred *Styx* the flood of deadly hate,  
 Sad *Acheron* of sorrow, black and deep;  
*Cocytus*, nam'd of lamentation loud
- 580 Heard on the ruful stream; fierce *Phlegeton*  
 Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage.  
 Farr off from these a slow and silent stream,  
*Lethe* the River of Oblivion roules  
 Her watrie Labyrinth, whereof who drinks,
- 585 Forthwith his former state and being forgets,  
 Forgets both joy and grief, pleasure and pain.  
 Beyond this flood a frozen Continent  
 Lies dark and wilde, beat with perpetual storms  
 Of Whirlwind and dire Hail, which on firm land
- 590 Thaws not, but gathers heap, and ruin seems  
 Of ancient pile; all else deep snow and ice,  
 A gulf profound<sup>o</sup> as that *Serbonian Bog* *deep*  
 Betwixt *Damiata* and Mount *Casius* old,  
 Where Armies whole have sunk: the parching Air
- 595 Burns frore,<sup>o</sup> and cold performs th' effect of Fire. *extremely cold*

564 **Apathie**. The Stoic ideal of freedom from passion.

575–81 **four infernal Rivers**. These are traditional in the geography of Hell; the epithet describing each translates its Greek name.

583 **Lethe**. Defined here as the “River of Oblivion.” Cf. lines 74 above and 604 below.

590–1 **gathers heap**. In a heap, resembling the ruins of a massive old building, “ancient pile.”

592–4 **Serbonian Bog**. Lake Serbonis, famous for quicksands that sank armies and overwhelmed the defeated monster Typhon, lies near the city of “*Damiata*” (*Damietta*) on the Egyptian coast near the mouth of the Nile. “Mount *Casius*” lies between Egypt and Arabia.

- Thither by harpy-footed Furies hail'd,<sup>o</sup> hauled, dragged  
 At certain revolutions<sup>o</sup> all the damn'd recurring times  
 Are brought: and feel by turns the bitter change  
 Of fierce extreams, extreams by change more fierce,  
 600 From Beds of raging Fire to starve<sup>o</sup> in Ice freeze  
 Thir soft Ethereal warmth, and there to pine  
 Immovable, infixt,<sup>o</sup> and frozen round, firmly planted  
 Periods of time, thence hurried back to fire.  
 They ferry over this *Lethean* Sound  
 605 Both to and fro, thir sorrow to augment,  
 And wish and struggle, as they pass, to reach  
 The tempting stream, with one small drop to loose  
 In sweet forgetfulness all pain and woe,  
 All in one moment, and so neer the brink;  
 610 But Fate withstands, and to oppose th' attempt  
*Medusa* with *Gorgonian* terror guards  
 The Ford, and of it self the water flies  
 All taste of living wight,<sup>o</sup> as once it fled creature  
 The lip of *Tantalus*. Thus roving on  
 615 In confus'd march forlorn, th' adventrous Bands  
 With shuddring horror pale, and eyes agast  
 View'd first thir lamentable lot, and found  
 No rest: through many a dark and drearie Vaile  
 They pass'd, and many a Region dolorous,  
 620 O'er many a Frozen, many a fierie Alpe,<sup>o</sup> high mountain  
 Rocks, Caves, Lakes, Fens, Bogs, Dens, and shades of death,  
 A Universe of death, which God by curse  
 Created evil, for evil only good,  
 Where all life dies, death lives, and Nature breeds,  
 625 Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious<sup>o</sup> things, unnatural, abnormal  
 Abominable, inutterable, and worse  
 Than Fables yet have feign'd, or fear conceiv'd,  
*Gorgons* and *Hydras*, and *Chimeras* dire.  
 Mean while the Adversary of God and Man,

596 **harpy-footed**. With eagle-like talons. In Homer the Harpies (winged monsters with women's faces) carry souls off to the avenging Furies (*Odyssey* 20.61–78). Milton combines the Harpies and the Furies.

611 **Medusa**. One of the three Gorgons, women with snaky hair whose look turned men to stone.

614. In Homer's hell "*Tantalus*" is tormented (tantalized) by being forced to stand in the middle of a lake whose waters recede whenever he tries to slake his raging thirst (*Odyssey* 11.582–92).

628 **Hydras**. Venomous serpents with nine heads, each of which grew back when severed. **Chimeras**. Fire-breathing monsters. **Gorgons**. See note to line 611.

629 **Adversary**. The literal meaning of "Satan" (see 1 Pet. 5:8).

- 630 *Satan* with thoughts inflam'd of highest design,  
 Puts on swift wings, and towards the Gates of Hell  
 Explores<sup>o</sup> his solitary flight; som times tries, tests  
 He scours the right hand coast, som times the left,  
 Now shaves<sup>o</sup> with level wing the Deep, then soares skims
- 635 Up to the fiery Concave<sup>o</sup> touring<sup>o</sup> high. vault / rising, towering  
 As when farr off at Sea a Fleet descri'd  
 Hangs in the Clouds, by *Æquinoctial*<sup>o</sup> Winds from the Equator  
 Close sailing from *Bengala*, or the Iles  
 Of *Ternate* and *Tidore*, whence Merchants bring
- 640 Thir spicie Drugs:<sup>o</sup> they on the Trading Flood spices  
 Through the wide *Ethiopian* to the Cape  
 Ply stemming<sup>o</sup> nightly toward the Pole. So seem'd steering  
 Farr off the flying Fiend: at last appeer  
 Hell bounds high reaching to the horrid Roof,
- 645 And thrice threefold the Gates; three folds were Brass,  
 Three Iron, three of Adamantine<sup>o</sup> Rock, impreguably hard  
 Impenetrable, impal'd<sup>o</sup> with circling fire, fenced in  
 Yet unconsum'd. Before the Gates there sat  
 On either side a formidable shape;
- 650 The one seem'd Woman to the waste, and fair,  
 But ended foul in many a scaly fould  
 Voluminous and vast, a Serpent arm'd  
 With mortal sting: about her middle round  
 A cry<sup>o</sup> of Hell Hounds never ceasing bark'd pack
- 655 With wide *Cerberian* mouths full loud, and rung  
 A hideous Peal: yet, when they list,<sup>o</sup> would creep, wished  
 If aught disturb'd thir noyse, into her woomb,  
 And kennel there, yet there still bark'd and howl'd,  
 Within unseen. Farr less abhorrd than these
- 660 Vex'd *Scylla* bathing in the Sea that parts

638 **Close sailing.** Sailing close to the wind. **Bengala.** Bengal, in India

639 **Ternate and Tidore.** Two of the Spice Islands, in the Moluccas (Indonesia).

640–2 **Trading Flood.** The trade route for spice merchants on the Indian “*Ethiopian*” Ocean, sailing from the Moluccas toward “the Cape” of Good Hope and the South “Pole.”

648–9. The two figures blocking Satan’s path allude to the monster Scylla and the giant whirlpool Charybdis, who threaten sailors passing down the Straits of Messina between Italy and Sicily (*Odyssey* 12.229–59). The identification of the two “shapes” comes at lines 760 and 787 below.

650–61. Sin is modeled on “*Scylla*,” a beautiful nymph whose lower parts were changed into a ring of barking dogs when Circe, out of jealousy, poured poison into the straits between “*Calabria*,” the southernmost part of Italy, and Sicily (“*Trinacrian shore*”) where she was bathing (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 14.40–74).

Another model is Spenser’s Errour (*Faerie Queene* 1.1.14–15).

655 **Cerberian.** Like Cerberus, the many-headed watchdog of Hades.

*Calabria* from the hoarse *Trinacrian* shore:  
 Nor uglier follow the Night-Hag, when call'd  
 In secret, riding through the Air she comes  
 Lur'd with the smell of infant blood, to dance  
 665 With *Lapland* Witches, while the labouring Moon  
 Eclipses at thir charms.° The other shape, *magic spells*  
 If shape it might be call'd that shape had none  
 Distinguishable in member, joynt, or limb,  
 Or substance might be call'd that shadow seem'd,  
 670 For each seem'd either; black it stood as Night,  
 Fierce as ten Furies, terrible as Hell,  
 And shook a dreadful Dart; what seem'd his head  
 The likeness of a Kingly Crown had on.  
*Satan* was now at hand, and from his seat  
 675 The Monster moving onward came as fast  
 With horrid strides, Hell trembled as he strode.  
 Th' undaunted Fiend what this might be admir'd,° *wondered*  
 Admir'd, not fear'd; God and his Son except,  
 Created thing naught valu'd he nor shun'd;  
 680 And with disdainful look thus first began.  
 Whence and what art thou, execrable shape,  
 That dar'st, though grim and terrible, advance  
 Thy miscreated Front° athwart my way *misshapen face*  
 To yonder Gates? through them I mean to pass,  
 685 That be assured, without leave askt of thee:  
 Retire, or taste thy folly, and learn by proof,° *experience*  
 Hell-born, not to contend with Spirits of Heav'n.  
 To whom the Goblin full of wrauth reply'd,  
 Art thou that Traitor Angel, art thou hee,  
 690 Who first broke peace in Heav'n and Faith, till then  
 Unbrok'n, and in proud rebellious Arms  
 Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's Sons  
 Conjur'd° against the highest, for which both Thou *conspired*  
 And they outcast from God, are here condemn'd  
 695 To waste Eternal dayes in woe and pain?  
 And reck'n'st thou thy self with Spirits of Heav'n,

662–5 **Night-Hag**. Hecate, goddess of sorcery, whose approach is signaled by howling dogs, and who attends orgies of witches in Lapland (famous for witchcraft), drawn by the blood of babies they have sacrificed.

666–73. The portrayal of Death as a shadowy, black, nebulous figure with dart and crown is traditional (cf. Rev. 6:2).

692 **third part**. The number comes from Rev. 12:4. Cf. *PL* 1.632–3 and 9.141–2.

Hell-doom'd, and breath'st defiance here and scorn  
 Where I reign King, and to enrage thee more,  
 Thy King and Lord? Back to thy punishment,  
 700 False fugitive, and to thy speed add wings,  
 Least with a whip of Scorpions<sup>o</sup> I pursue *studded whip*  
 Thy lingring, or with one stroke of this Dart  
 Strange horror seise thee, and pangs unfelt before.  
 So spake the grieslie terror, and in shape,  
 705 So speaking and so threatning, grew tenfold  
 More dreadful and deform: on th' other side  
 Incenst with indignation *Satan* stood  
 Unterrif'd, and like a Comet burn'd,  
 That fires the length of *Ophiucus* huge  
 710 In th' Artick Sky, and from his horrid<sup>o</sup> hair *bristling*  
 Shakes Pestilence and Warr. Each at the Head  
 Level'd his deadly aime; thir fatall hands  
 No second stroke intend, and such a frown  
 Each cast at th' other, as when two black Clouds  
 715 With Heav'ns Artillery<sup>o</sup> fraught, come rattling on *thunderbolts*  
 Over the *Caspian*, then stand front to front  
 Hov'ring a space, till Winds the signal blow  
 To join thir dark Encounter in mid air:  
 So frownd the mighty Combatants, that Hell  
 720 Grew darker at thir frown, so matcht they stood;  
 For never but once more was either like  
 To meet so great a foe: and now great deeds  
 Had been achiev'd, whereof all Hell had rung,  
 Had not the Snakie Sorceress that sat  
 725 Fast by Hell Gate, and kept the fatal Key,  
 Ris'n, and with hideous outcry rush'd between.  
 O Father, what intends thy hand, she cry'd,  
 Against thy only Son? What fury O Son,  
 Possesses thee to bend that mortal Dart

709–11 *Ophiucus*. A vast northern constellation, the Serpent Bearer. Comets were thought to predict or even cause disasters such as “Pestilence” and “Warr”; one that appeared in this constellation in 1618 was taken as an augury of the Thirty Years War. Cf. Tasso’s comparison of Argantes to a comet that threatens death “To mighty lords, to monarchs, and to kings” (*Gerusalemme Liberata* 7.52).

714–18. Boiardo (*Orlando Innamorato* 1.16.10) likens Orlando and Agrican’s encounter to a clash of thunderclouds. The “*Caspian*” was notorious for storms.

722 **foe**. The Son will destroy “him that had the power of death, that is, the devil” (Heb. 2:14). He will also destroy “the last enemy . . . death” (1 Cor. 15:26).

730 Against thy Fathers head? and know'st for whom;  
 For him who sits above and laughs the while  
 At thee ordain'd his drudge, to execute  
 What e're his wrath, which he calls Justice, bids,  
 His wrath which one day will destroy ye both.

735 She spake, and at her words the hellish Pest  
 Forbore, then these to her *Satan* return'd:  
 So strange thy outcry, and thy words so strange  
 Thou interposest, that my sudden hand  
 Prevented<sup>o</sup> spares to tell thee yet by deeds

740 What it intends; till first I know of thee,  
 What thing thou art, thus double-form'd, and why  
 In this infernal Vaile first met thou call'st  
 Me Father, and that Fantasm call'st my Son?  
 I know thee not, nor ever saw till now

745 Sight more detestable then him and thee.  
 T' whom thus the Portress of Hell Gate reply'd;  
 Hast thou forgot me then, and do I seem  
 Now in thine eye so foul, once deemd so fair  
 In Heav'n, when at th' Assembly, and in sight

750 Of all the Seraphim with thee combin'd  
 In bold conspiracy against Heav'ns King,  
 All on a sudden miserable pain  
 Surpris'd thee, dim thine eyes, and dizzie swumm  
 In darkness, while thy head flames thick and fast

755 Threw forth, till on the left side op'ning wide,  
 Likest to thee in shape and count'nance bright,  
 Then shining heav'nly fair, a Goddess arm'd  
 Out of thy head I sprung; amazement seisd  
 All th' Host of Heav'n; back they recoild affraid

760 At first, and call'd me *Sin*, and for a Sign  
 Portentous held me; but familiar grown,  
 I pleas'd, and with attractive graces won  
 The most averse, thee chiefly, who full oft

forestalled

752–8. In Greek myth, Athena sprang fully armed out of the head of Zeus, an allegory, according to some theologians, of God's generation of the Son. Sin, Death, and Satan in their various incestuous interrelations parody obscenely the relations between God and the Son, Adam and Eve (cf. 5.602–17, 8.457–77). The "left" is the sinister side.

760–87. The allegorical figures of Sin and Death are based on Jas. 1:15: "Then when lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin, and sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death." But the incest of Sin and Death is Milton's own conception.

- Thy self in me thy perfect image viewing  
 765 Becam'st enamour'd, and such joy thou took'st  
 With me in secret, that my womb conceiv'd  
 A growing burden. Mean while Warr arose,  
 And fields were fought in Heav'n; wherein remaind  
 (For what could else) to our Almighty Foe  
 770 Cleer Victory, to our part loss and rout  
 Through all the Empyrean: down they fell  
 Driv'n headlong from the Pitch<sup>o</sup> of Heaven, down *apex, summit*  
 Into this Deep, and in the general fall  
 I also; at which time this powerful Key  
 775 Into my hand was giv'n, with charge to keep  
 These Gates for ever shut, which none can pass  
 Without my op'ning. Pensive here I sat  
 Alone, but long I sat not, till my womb  
 Pregnant by thee, and now excessive grown  
 780 Prodigious<sup>o</sup> motion felt and rueful throes. *enormous, portentous*  
 At last this odious offspring whom thou seest  
 Thine own begotten, breaking violent way  
 Tore through my entrails, that with fear and pain  
 Distorted, all my nether shape<sup>o</sup> thus grew *lower parts*  
 785 Transform'd: but he my inbredemie  
 Forth issu'd, brandishing his fatal Dart  
 Made to destroy: I fled, and cry'd out *Death*;  
 Hell trembl'd at the hideous Name, and sigh'd  
 From all her Caves, and back resounded *Death*.  
 790 I fled, but he pursu'd (though more, it seems,  
 Inflam'd with lust then rage) and swifter far,  
 Mee overtook his mother all dismaid,  
 And in embraces forcible and foule  
 Ingendring with me, of that rape begot  
 795 These yelling Monsters that with ceaseless cry  
 Surround me, as thou sawst, hourly conceiv'd  
 And hourly born, with sorrow infinite  
 To me, for when they list<sup>o</sup> into the womb *wish*  
 That bred them they return, and howle and gnaw  
 800 My Bowels, thir repast; then bursting forth  
 Afresh with conscious terrours vex me round,  
 That rest or intermission none I find.  
 Before mine eyes in opposition sits



- Grim *Death* my Son and foe, who sets them on,  
 805 And me his Parent would full soon devour  
 For want of other prey, but that he knows  
 His end with mine involvd; and knows that I  
 Should prove a bitter Morsel, and his bane,<sup>o</sup> poison  
 When ever that shall be; so Fate pronounc'd.
- 810 But thou O Father, I forewarn thee, shun  
 His deadly arrow; neither vainly hope  
 To be invulnerable in those bright Arms,  
 Though temper'd heav'nly, for that mortal dint,<sup>o</sup> fatal stroke  
 Save he who reigns above, none can resist.
- 815 She finish'd, and the suttle Fiend his lore<sup>o</sup> lesson  
 Soon learnd, now milder, and thus answerd smooth.  
 Dear Daughter, since thou claim'st me for thy Sire,  
 And my fair Son here showst me, the dear pledge  
 Of dalliance had with thee in Heav'n, and joys
- 820 Then sweet, now sad to mention, through dire change  
 Befalln us unforeseen, unthought of, know  
 I come no enemy, but to set free  
 From out this dark and dismal house of pain,  
 Both him and thee, and all the heav'nly Host
- 825 Of Spirits that in our just pretenses<sup>o</sup> arm'd claims  
 Fell with us from on high: from them I go  
 This uncouth<sup>o</sup> errand sole, and one for all unknown, strange  
 My self expose, with lonely steps to tread  
 Th' unfounded<sup>o</sup> deep, and through the void immense bottomless
- 830 To search with wandring quest a place foretold  
 Should be, and, by concurring signs, ere now  
 Created vast and round, a place of bliss  
 In the Pourlieues<sup>o</sup> of Heav'n, and therein plac't outskirts  
 A race of upstart Creatures, to supply
- 835 Perhaps our vacant room, though more remov'd,  
 Least Heav'n surcharg'd<sup>o</sup> with potent multitude overcrowded  
 Might hap to move new broiles: Be this or aught  
 Then this more secret now design'd, I haste  
 To know, and this once known, shall soon return,
- 840 And bring ye to the place where Thou and *Death*  
 Shall dwell at ease, and up and down unseen  
 Wing silently the buxom<sup>o</sup> Air, imbalm'd<sup>o</sup> yielding / made fragrant  
 With odours; there ye shall be fed and fill'd  
 Immeasurably, all things shall be your prey.
- 845 He ceas'd, for both seem'd highly pleas'd, and *Death*

Grinn'd horrible a gastly smile, to hear  
 His famine<sup>o</sup> should be fill'd, and blest his mawe<sup>o</sup>  
 Destin'd to that good hour: no less rejoyc'd  
 His mother bad, and thus bespake her Sire.

*ravenous hunger / stomach*

850 The key of this infernal Pit by due,  
 And by command of Heav'ns all-powerful King  
 I keep, by him forbidden to unlock  
 These Adamantine<sup>o</sup> Gates; against all force

*impreguably hard*

Death ready stands to interpose his dart,  
 855 Fearless to be o'rmatcht by living might.  
 But what ow I to his commands above  
 Who hates me, and hath hither thrust me down  
 Into this gloom of *Tartarus* profound,  
 To sit in hateful Office here confin'd,

860 Inhabitant of Heav'n, and heav'nlie-born,  
 Here in perpetual agonie and pain,  
 With terrors and with clamors compass't round  
 Of mine own brood, that on my bowels feed:  
 Thou art my Father, thou my Author, thou  
 865 My being gav'st me; whom should I obey  
 But thee, whom follow? thou wilt bring me soon  
 To that new world of light and bliss, among  
 The Gods who live at ease, where I shall Reign  
 At thy right hand voluptuous, as beseems  
 870 Thy daughter and thy darling, without end.

Thus saying, from her side the fatal Key,  
 Sad instrument of all our woe, she took;  
 And towards the Gate roul'ng her bestial train,  
 Forthwith the huge Porcullis<sup>o</sup> high up drew,  
 875 Which but her self not all the *Stygian* powers<sup>o</sup>  
 Could once have mov'd; then in the key-hole turns  
 Th' intricate wards, and every Bolt and Bar  
 Of massie Iron or sollid Rock with ease  
 Unfast'ns: on a sudden op'n flie  
 880 With impetuous recoile and jarring sound  
 Th' infernal dores, and on thir hinges grate  
 Harsh Thunder, that the lowest bottom shook

*outer gate  
 armies of hell*

864–70. Parodies the Nicene Creed, "Jesus Christ . . . who sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and . . . of whose kingdom there shall be no end." Cf. *PL* 3.62–3, 250–65.

873 **bestial train**. Her yelping offspring.

877 **wards**. The ridges inside a lock, corresponding to the incisions on the key.

- Of *Erebus*. She op'nd, but to shut  
 Excel'd her power; the Gates wide op'n stood,  
 885 That with extended wings a Bannerd Host<sup>o</sup> *army waving banners*  
 Under spread Ensigns<sup>o</sup> marching might pass through *flags, standards*  
 With Horse and Chariots rankt in loose array;  
 So wide they stood, and like a Furnace mouth  
 Cast forth redounding<sup>o</sup> smoak and ruddy flame. *billowing*
- 890 Before thir eyes in sudden view appear  
 The secrets of the hoarie<sup>o</sup> deep, a dark *ancient*  
 Illimitable<sup>o</sup> Ocean without bound, *without limit*  
 Without dimension, where length, breadth, & highth,  
 And time and place are lost; where eldest *Night*
- 895 And *Chaos*, Ancestors of Nature, hold  
 Eternal *Anarchie*, amidst the noise  
 Of endless Warrs, and by confusion stand.  
 For hot, cold, moist, and dry, four Champions fierce  
 Strive here for Maistrie, and to Battel bring
- 900 Thir embryon Atoms; they around the flag  
 Of each his Faction, in thir several Clanns,  
 Light-arm'd or heavy, sharp, smooth, swift or slow,  
 Swarm populous, unnumber'd as the Sands  
 Of *Barca* or *Cyrene's* torrid soil,
- 905 Levied to side with warring Winds, and poise  
 Thir lighter wings. To whom these most adhere,  
 Hee rules a moment; *Chaos* Umpire sits,  
 And by decision more imbroides the fray  
 By which he Reigns: next him high Arbiter
- 910 *Chance* governs all. Into this wilde Abyss,  
 The Womb of nature and perhaps her Grave,

883 *Erebus*. In Greek myth, the son of Chaos. The name means darkness, and is applied to the dark space through which the dead pass into Hades.

891–6. As a cosmic place, Chaos is infinitely extended and without any order; it surrounds the created places, hell, heaven, the universe and it contains the primal matter out of which God creates. In *Christian Doctrine* 1.7, Milton argues that creation is not out of nothing but from matter originally in and then separated from God and therefore good (cf. *PL* 7.168–73). As mythological figures “*Chaos*” and “*eldest Night*” are the most ancient gods (Hesiod, *Theogony* 123, and *Orphic Hymns* 3.1–2). Milton allegorizes Chaos as embodiment of and anti-ruler (Anarch) of that place, along with *Night*, his consort.

898–903. These subatomic qualities combine in nature to form the four elements fire, earth, water, and air, but in Chaos they struggle endlessly and the atoms remain unformed, embryonic. Milton's description owes something to Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1.5–20. Atomist philosophers (e.g. Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* Book 2) saw atoms as forming the universe through endless collisions, by chance.

904 *Barca* . . . *Cyrene*. Cities in the Libyan desert.

905 *Levied*. Enlisted as troops, also, raised up. **poise**. Add weight to.

- Of neither Sea, nor Shore, nor Air, nor Fire,  
 But all these in thir pregnant causes mixt  
 Confus'dly, and which thus must ever fight,  
 915 Unless th' Almighty Maker them ordain  
 His dark materials to create more Worlds,  
 Into this wild Abyss the warie fiend  
 Stood on the brink of Hell and look'd a while,  
 Pondering his Voyage: for no narrow frith<sup>o</sup> channel, firth  
 920 He had to cross. Nor was his eare less peal'd<sup>o</sup> dinned  
 With noises loud and ruinous<sup>o</sup> (to compare crashing  
 Great things with small) then when *Bellona* storms,  
 With all her battering Engines bent to rase  
 Som Capital City; or less then if this frame<sup>o</sup> structure  
 925 Of Heav'n were falling, and these Elements  
 In mutinie had from her Axle torn  
 The stedfast Earth. At last his Sail-broad Vannes<sup>o</sup> wings  
 He spreads for flight, and in the surging smoak  
 Uplifted spurns the ground, thence many a League  
 930 As in a cloudy Chair ascending rides  
 Audacious, but that seat soon failing, meets  
 A vast vacuitie: all unawares  
 Fluttring his pennons<sup>o</sup> vain plumb down he drops feathers (pinions)  
 Ten thousand fadom deep, and to this hour  
 935 Down had been falling, had not by ill chance  
 The strong rebuff<sup>o</sup> of som tumultuous cloud counterblast  
 Instinct<sup>o</sup> with Fire and Nitre<sup>o</sup> hurried him infused / satlpeter  
 As many miles aloft: that furie stay'd,  
 Quencht in a Boggy *Syrtis*, neither Sea,  
 940 Nor good dry Land: nigh founderd<sup>o</sup> on he fares, sunk, drowned  
 Treading the crude consistence, half on foot,  
 Half flying; behoves him now both Oare and Saile.  
 As when a Gryfon through the Wilderness  
 With winged course ore Hill or moarie<sup>o</sup> Dale marshy  
 945 Pursues the *Arimaspian*, who by stelth  
 Had from his wakeful custody purloind  
 The guarded Gold: So eagerly the fiend

921–2 **to compare / Great things with small.** A Virgilian formula (*Eclagues* 1.23; *Georgics* 4.176).

*Bellona.* Roman goddess of war.

939 *Syrtis.* The Syrtis were shifting sandbars and dangerous quicksands off the North African coast. Lucan describes them (*Pharsalia* 9.303–4) as “ambiguous between sea and land.”

943–7 *Gryfon.* Griffins were fabulous creatures, half-eagle, half-lion, who guarded the gold of Scythia; it was stolen from them by the one-eyed “*Arimaspian*” people (Herodotus, 3.116).

- Ore bog or steep, through strait, rough, dense, or rare,  
 With head, hands, wings, or feet pursues his way,  
 950 And swims or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies:  
 At length a universal hubbub wilde  
 Of stunning<sup>o</sup> sounds and voices all confus'd *deafening*  
 Born through the hollow dark assaults his eare  
 With loudest vehemence: thither he plyes,<sup>o</sup> *makes his way*  
 955 Undaunted to meet there what ever power  
 Or Spirit of the nethermost Abyss  
 Might in that noise reside, of whom to ask  
 Which way the neerest coast of darkness lyes  
 Bordering on light; when strait<sup>o</sup> behold the Throne *at once*  
 960 Of *Chaos*, and his dark Pavilion spread  
 Wide on the wasteful<sup>o</sup> Deep; with him Enthron'd *desolate*  
 Sat Sable-vested *Night*, eldest of things,  
 The Consort of his Reign; and by them stood  
*Orcus* and *Ades*, and the dreaded name  
 965 Of *Demogorgon*; *Rumor* next and *Chance*,  
 And *Tumult* and *Confusion* all imbroid,  
 And *Discord* with a thousand various mouths.  
 T' whom *Satan* turning boldly, thus. Ye Powers  
 And Spirits of this nethermost Abyss,  
 970 *Chaos* and *ancient Night*, I come no Spy,  
 With purpose to explore or to disturb  
 The secrets of your Realm, but by constraint  
 Wandring this darksome Desart, as my way  
 Lies through your spacious Empire up to light,  
 975 Alone, and without guide, half lost, I seek  
 What readiest path leads where your gloomie bounds  
 Confine<sup>o</sup> with Heav'n; or if som other place *border on*  
 From your Dominion won, th' Ethereal King  
 Possesses lately, thither to arrive  
 980 I travel this profound,<sup>o</sup> direct my course; *deep abyss*  
 Directed no mean recompence it brings  
 To your behoof,<sup>o</sup> if I that Region lost, *on your behalf*  
 All usurpation thence expell'd, reduce  
 To her original darkness and your sway

960–7. Chaos's court of personifications resembles the halls of Pluto in *Aeneid* 6.273–81.

964. Latin "*Orcus*" and Greek "*Ades*" (Hades) are names of Pluto, ruler of the underworld.

965 *Demogorgon*. Often taken to be the most ancient and terrible of the gods, associated with Night. In Boccaccio's *De Genealogiis Deorum* he is the parent of Night and the other dark gods, Erebus, Tumult, Discord, etc.

- 985 (Which is my present journey) and once more  
 Erect the Standard there of *ancient Night*;  
 Yours be th' advantage all, mine the revenge.  
 Thus *Satan*; and him thus the Anarch old  
 With faultring speech and visage incompos'd<sup>o</sup> *disordered*
- 990 Answer'd. I know thee, stranger, who thou art,  
 That mighty leading Angel, who of late  
 Made head<sup>o</sup> against Heav'ns King, though overthrown. *rose up*  
 I saw and heard, for such a numerous Host  
 Fled not in silence through the frighted deep
- 995 With ruin upon ruin, rout on rout,  
 Confusion worse confounded; and Heav'n Gates  
 Poured out by millions her victorious Bands  
 Pursuing, I upon my Frontieres here  
 Keep residence; if all I can will serve,
- 1000 That little which is left so to defend,  
 Encroacht on still<sup>o</sup> through [y]our intestine broiles<sup>o</sup> *constantly / civil wars*  
 Weakning the Scepter of old *Night*: first Hell  
 Your dungeon stretching far and wide beneath;  
 Now lately Heaven<sup>o</sup> and Earth, another World *the sky*
- 1005 Hung ore my Realm, link'd in a golden Chain  
 To that side Heav'n<sup>o</sup> from whence your Legions fell: *the empyrean*  
 If that way be your walk, you have not farr;  
 So much the neerer danger; go and speed;  
 Havock and spoil and ruin are my gain.
- 1010 He ceas'd; and *Satan* staid not to reply,  
 But glad that now his Sea should find a shore,  
 With fresh alacritie and force renew'd  
 Springs upward like a Pyramid of fire  
 Into the wilde expanse, and through the shock
- 1015 Of fighting Elements, on all sides round  
 Environ'd wins his way; harder beset  
 And more endanger'd, then when *Argo* pass'd  
 Through *Bosporus* betwixt the justling Rocks:  
 Or when *Ulysses* on the Larbord<sup>o</sup> shunnd *port side*
- 1020 *Charybdis*, and by th' other whirlpool steard.  
 So he with difficulty and labour hard

1017–18. Jason and his companions sailed in the “*Argo*” through the “*Bosporus*” to the Black Sea, passing between the Symplegades, or “justling Rocks.”

1019–20. Homer's Odysseus (“*Ulysses*”) sailing through the Straits of Messina between Italy and Sicily avoids the whirlpool of “*Charybdis*” and steers by the “other” monster, Scylla (not a whirlpool in Homer) who devours six of his men (*Odyssey* 12.55–126, 222–59).

- Mov'd on, with difficulty and labour hee;  
 But hee once past, soon after when man fell,  
 Strange alteration! *Sin* and *Death* amain<sup>o</sup> *at full speed*
- 1025 Following his track, such was the will of Heav'n,  
 Pav'd after him a broad and beat'n way  
 Over the dark Abyss, whose boiling Gulf  
 Tamely endur'd a Bridge of wondrous length  
 From Hell continu'd reaching th' utmost Orbe<sup>o</sup> *outermost sphere*
- 1030 Of this frail World; by which the Spirits perverse  
 With easie intercourse pass to and fro  
 To tempt or punish mortals, except whom  
 God and good Angels guard by special grace.  
 But now at last the sacred influence
- 1035 Of light appears, and from the walls of Heav'n  
 Shoots farr into the bosom of dim Night  
 A glimmering dawn; here Nature first begins  
 Her fardest verge,<sup>o</sup> and *Chaos* to retire *extreme boundary*  
 As from her outmost works a brok'n foe
- 1040 With tumult less and with less hostile din,  
 That *Satan* with less toil, and now with ease  
 Wafts on the calmer wave by dubious<sup>o</sup> light *wavering*  
 And like a weather-beaten Vessel holds<sup>o</sup> *makes for*  
 Gladly the Port, though Shrouds<sup>o</sup> and Tackle<sup>o</sup> torn; *sails / rigging*
- 1045 Or in the emptier waste, resembling Air,  
 Weighs<sup>o</sup> his spread wings, at leasure to behold *holds steady*  
 Farr off th' Emphyreal Heav'n, extended wide  
 In circuit, undetermin'd square or round,  
 With Opal Towrs and Battlements adorn'd
- 1050 Of living Saphire, once his native Seat;  
 And fast by hanging in a golden Chain  
 This pendant world,<sup>o</sup> in bigness as a Starr *universe*  
 Of smallest Magnitude close by the Moon.  
 Thither full fraught<sup>o</sup> with mischievous revenge, *freighted*
- 1055 Accurst, and in a cursed hour he hies.<sup>o</sup> *hastens*

*The End of the Second Book.*

1024–32. See 10.293–305.

1050 **living Saphire**. Cf. Rev. 21:19.

1051. The “golden Chain” was commonly interpreted as a symbol of universal concord and divine design.

The figure appears in *Iliad* 8.18–27, Plato's *Theaetetus* (153c–d), Spenser's *Faerie Queene* 2.7.46, and in Milton's “Prolusion 2.”

### BOOK 3 THE ARGUMENT

God sitting on his Throne sees *Satan* flying towards this world, then newly created; shews him to the Son who sat at his right hand; foretells the success of *Satan* in perverting mankind; clears his own Justice and Wisdom from all imputation, having created Man free and able enough to have withstood his Tempter; yet declares his  
5 purpose of grace towards him, in regard he fell not of his own malice, as did *Satan*, but by him seduc't. The Son of God renders praises to his Father for the manifestation of his gracious purpose towards Man; but God again declares, that Grace cannot be extended towards Man without the satisfaction of divine Justice; Man hath offended the majesty of God by aspiring to God-head, and therefore with all his Progeny  
10 devoted to death must dye, unless some one can be found sufficient to answer for his offence, and undergo his Punishment. The Son of God freely offers himself a Ransome for Man: the Father accepts him, ordains his incarnation, pronounces his exaltation above all Names in Heaven and Earth; commands all the Angels to adore him; they obey, and hymning to thir Harps in full Quire, celebrate the Father and  
15 the Son. Mean while *Satan* alights upon the bare Convex of this Worlds outermost Orb; where wandring he first finds a place since call'd The Lymbo of Vanity; what persons and things fly up thither; thence comes to the Gate of Heaven, describ'd ascending by staires, and the waters above the Firmament that flow about it: His passage thence to the Orb of the Sun; he finds there *Uriel* the Regient of that  
20 Orb, but first changes himself into the shape of a meaner Angel; and pretending a zealous desire to behold the new Creation and Man whom God had plac't here, inquires of him the place of his habitation, and is directed; alights first on Mount *Niphates*.

Hail holy Light, offspring of Heav'n first-born,  
Or of th' Eternal Coeternal beam  
May I express thee unblam'd? Since God is light,  
And never but in unapproach'd light  
5 Dwelt from Eternitie, dwelt then in thee,  
Bright effluence<sup>o</sup> of bright essence increate.<sup>o</sup>

*radiance / uncreated, eternal*

16 **Lymbo of Vanity.** In Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso* 34., stanzas 72–87, the Knight Astolfo flies to the Limbo of Vanity in the moon, to recover Orlando's lost wits. Milton refers to that Limbo as the recent name ("since call'd") of the Paradise of Fools that Satan visits.

1–55. This second Proem or invocation is a hymn to Light, addressed either as the first creature of God ("first-born," cf. 7.243–4, where light is termed the "first of things," and Gen.1:3) or as coeternal with God, with allusion to 1 John 1:5, "God is Light, and in him is no darkness at all."

4 **unapproach'd.** Cf. 1 Tim. 6:16: God dwells "in the light which no man can approach unto."



Or hear'st thou rather pure Ethereal stream,  
 Whose Fountain who shall tell? before the Sun,  
 Before the Heavens thou wert, and at the voice  
 10 Of God, as with a Mantle didst invest<sup>o</sup>  
 The rising world of waters dark and deep,  
 Won from the void and formless infinite.  
 Thee I re-visit now with bolder wing,  
 Escap't the *Stygian* Pool, though long detain'd  
 15 In that obscure sojourn, while in my flight  
 Though utter and through middle darkness borne  
 With other notes then to th' *Orphean* Lyre  
 I sing of *Chaos* and *Eternal Night*,  
 Taught by the heav'nly Muse to venture down  
 20 The dark descent, and up to reascend,  
 Though hard and rare: thee I revisit safe,  
 And feel thy sovran vital Lamp; but thou  
 Revisit'st not these eyes, that rowle in vain  
 To find thy piercing ray, and find no dawn;  
 25 So thick a drop serene hath quencht thir Orbs,  
 Or dim suffusion veild. Yet not the more  
 Cease I to wander where the Muses haunt  
 Clear Spring, or shadie Grove, or Sunnie Hill,  
 Smit with the love of sacred Song; but chief  
 30 Thee *Sion* and the flowrie Brooks beneath  
 That wash thy hallowd feet, and warbling flow,  
 Nightly I visit: nor somtimes forget

cover

7 **hear'st thou rather.** Would you rather be called (a Latinism).      **Ethereal.** consisting of ether, the fifth, purest element.

11. Echoes Spenser, *Faerie Queene* 1.1.39, "the world of waters wide and deepe."

12. Cf. 7.210–12, 233–4.

14 **Stygian Pool.** The river Styx, in the classical Hades.

17 **Orphean Lyre.** Orpheus, the Greek poet whose song could charm even trees and rocks, visited the underworld to win back his wife, Eurydice; one of the poems attributed to him is the so-called Orphic hymn "To Night." Milton's song, Christian and epic, is of another kind, "other notes."

19 **heav'nly Muse.** Urania, invoked at 1.6–16 but not named until 7.1. See note to that line.

20–1. Echoes the Sibyl's warning to Aeneas (*Aeneid* 6.126–9).

25–6. Medical terms of Milton's day for diseases of the eyes, one of which he thinks may have caused his blindness: "drop serene" translates *gutta serena*, a form of blindness in which the vision is "quencht" but the eyes retain their clear appearance (as Milton's did); "dim suffusion" translates *suffusio nigra*, a disease in which the vision is "veild" as with cataracts.

30 **Sion.** The mountain of scriptural inspiration, with its "flowrie Brooks" Siloa and Kidron (in contrast with Mount Parnassus and its stream, Helicon).

32. Milton composed chiefly at night.

- Those other two equal'd with me in Fate,  
 So were I equal'd with them in renown,  
 35 Blind *Thamyris* and blind *Mæonides*,  
 And *Tiresias* and *Phineus* Prophets old.  
 Then feed on thoughts, that voluntarie move  
 Harmonious numbers;° as the wakeful Bird°  
 Sings darkling,° and in shadiest Covert hid  
 40 Tunes her nocturnal Note. Thus with the Year  
 Seasons return, but not to me returns  
 Day, or the sweet approach of Ev'n or Morn,  
 Or sight of vernal° bloom, or Summers Rose,  
 Or flocks, or heards, or human face divine;  
 45 But cloud in stead, and ever-during dark  
 Surrounds me, from the chearful wayes of men  
 Cut off, and for the Book of knowledg° fair  
 Presented with a Universal blanc  
 Of Natures works to mee expung'd and ras'd,°  
 50 And wisdom at one entrance quite shut out.  
 So much the rather thou Celestial light  
 Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers  
 Irradiate, there plant eyes, all mist from thence  
 Purge and disperse, that I may see and tell  
 55 Of things invisible to mortal sight.  
 Now had the Almighty Father from above,  
 From the pure Empyrean° where he sits  
 High Thron'd above all highth, bent down his eye,  
 His own works and their works at once to view:  
 60 About him all the Sanctities° of Heaven  
 Stood thick as Starrs, and from his sight receiv'd  
 Beatitude past utterance; on his right  
 The radiant image of his Glory sat,  
 His onely Son; On Earth he first beheld

verses / the nightingale  
 in the dark

spring

Book of Nature

erased

highest heaven

angels

35 *Thamyris*. A legendary Thracian poet who was punished with blindness for boasting he could sing better than the Muses (*Iliad* 2.594–600). *Mæonides*. Homer, said to be the son of Mæon, was often referred to by this patronymic.

36 *Tiresias*. A blind Theban seer who foretold many events in the mythical history of Thebes; he also revealed Oedipus' guilt to him. *Phineus*. Thracian king said to have been blinded by the gods for revealing their counsels, but in the *Second Defence* Milton denies that his blindness was a punishment. In both, blindness and prophecy are linked.

37 **voluntarie**. Freely, as in a musical voluntary, added at will by the performer.

61–2. The sight of God is said to be the supreme joy of heaven, the greatest "Beatitude" (see *Christian Doctrine* 1.33).

63. Cf. Heb. 1:3: "the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person."

- 65 Our two first Parents, yet the onely two  
 Of mankind, in the happie Garden plac't,  
 Reaping immortal fruits of joy and love,  
 Uninterrupted joy, unrivald love  
 In blissful solitude; he then survey'd
- 70 Hell and the Gulf between, and *Satan* there  
 Coasting<sup>o</sup> the wall of Heav'n on this side Night *skirting*  
 In the dun<sup>o</sup> Air sublime,<sup>o</sup> and ready now *dusky / aloft*  
 To stoop with wearied wings, and willing feet  
 On the bare outside of this World,<sup>o</sup> that seem'd *the universe*
- 75 Firm land imbosom'd without Firmament,  
 Uncertain which, in Ocean or in Air.  
 Him God beholding from his prospect<sup>o</sup> high, *lookout point*  
 Wherein past, present, future he beholds,  
 Thus to his onely Son foreseeing spake.
- 80 Only begotten Son, seest thou what rage  
 Transports our adversarie, whom no bounds  
 Prescrib'd, no bars of Hell, nor all the chains  
 Heapt on him there, nor yet the main<sup>o</sup> Abyss *vast*  
 Wide interrupt can hold; so bent he seems
- 85 On desparate reveng, that shall redound  
 Upon his own rebellious head. And now  
 Through all restraint broke loose he wings his way  
 Not farr off Heav'n, in the Precincts<sup>o</sup> of light, *environs*  
 Directly towards the new created World,
- 90 And Man there plac't, with purpose to assay<sup>o</sup> *test*  
 If him by force he can destroy, or worse,  
 By some false guile pervert; and shall pervert  
 For man will hark'n to his glozing<sup>o</sup> lyes, *flattering*  
 And easily transgress the sole Command,
- 95 Sole pledge of his obedience: So will fall,  
 Hee and his faithless Progenie: whose fault?

73 **stoop.** Descend swiftly (a term from hawking).

75 **without Firmament.** On the outside of the firmament (the sphere of the fixed stars that encloses the universe); also, without the shelter of any firmament.

76 **Uncertain.** It is not clear whether the universe floats in water or in air.

81 **Transports.** Conveys, moves passionately. **adversarie.** The literal meaning of Satan.

84 **Wide interrupt.** Chaos, that forms a wide "Abyss" or gulf between Heaven and Hell; "interrupt" keeps its Latin meaning, broken open.

94 **sole Command.** Not to eat of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. See Gen. 3:3, "Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die."

96 **faithless Progenie.** Adam passes on to his descendants his original sin and its consequence, absence of saving faith in God.

- Whose but his own? ingrate, he had of mee  
 All he could have; I made him just and right,  
 Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall.
- 100 Such I created all th' Ethereal Powers  
 And Spirits, both them who stood and them who faild;  
 Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell.  
 Not free, what proof could they have givn sincere  
 Of true allegiance, constant Faith or Love,
- 105 Where onely what they needs must do, appeard,  
 Not what they would? what praise could they receive?  
 What pleasure I from such obedience paid,  
 When Will and Reason (Reason also is choice)  
 Useless and vain, of freedom both despoild,
- 110 Made passive both, had servd necessitie,  
 Not mee. They therefore as to right belongd,  
 So were created, nor can justly accuse  
 Thir maker, or thir making, or thir Fate,  
 As if predestination over-ruld
- 115 Thir will, dispos'd by absolute Decree  
 Of high foreknowledge; they themselves decreed  
 Their own revolt, not I; if I foreknew,  
 Foreknowledge had no influence on their fault,  
 Which had no less prov'd certain unforeknown.
- 120 So without least impulse or shadow of Fate,  
 Or aught by me immutablie foreseen,  
 They trespass, Authors to themselves in all  
 Both what they judge and what they choose; for so  
 I formd them free, and free they must remain,
- 125 Till they enthrall themselves; I else must change  
 Thir nature, and revoke the high Decree  
 Unchangeable, Eternal, which ordain'd  
 Thir freedom, they themselves ordain'd thir fall.

97–102. Milton insists that God created Adam and Eve and the angels with “sufficient” power and with reason and free will to resist evil. “The matter or object of the divine plan was that angels and men alike should be endowed with free will, so that they could either fall or not fall” (*Christian Doctrine* 1.3).

108–9 **Reason also is choice.** For example, reason is meaningless unless it can eventuate in choices which are free. Cf. *Areopagitica*, “When God gave him reason he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing.”

111–19. Summarizes Milton’s argument in *Christian Doctrine* 1.3–4, that God does not predestine any to sin or damnation and that his perfect foreknowledge of events does not amount to predestination; rather, he foresees because he knows past, present, and future at once. God knows what will happen (even as humans know what is happening or has happened) but does not cause the actions of humans or angels.

- The first sort<sup>o</sup> by thir own suggestion fell, *fallen angels*  
 130 Self-tempted, self-deprav'd: Man falls deceiv'd  
 By the other first: Man therefore shall find grace,  
 The other none: in Mercy and Justice both,  
 Through Heav'n and Earth, so shall my glorie excel,  
 But Mercy first and last shall brightest shine.
- 135 Thus while God spake, ambrosial fragrance fill'd  
 All Heav'n, and in the blessed Spirits elect  
 Sense of new joy ineffable<sup>o</sup> diffus'd: *inexpressible*  
 Beyond compare the Son of God was seen  
 Most glorious, in him all his Father shon
- 140 Substantially express'd, and in his face  
 Divine compassion visibly appeerd,  
 Love without end, and without measure Grace,  
 Which uttering thus he to his Father spake.
- O Father, gracious was that word which clos'd
- 145 Thy sovran sentence, that Man should find grace,  
 For which both Heav'n and Earth shall high extoll  
 Thy praises, with th' innumerable sound  
 Of Hymns and sacred Songs, wherewith thy Throne  
 Encompass'd shall resound thee ever blest.
- 150 For should Man finally be lost, should Man  
 Thy creature late so lov'd, thy youngest Son  
 Fall circumvented thus by fraud, though joynd  
 With his own folly? that be from thee farr,  
 That farr be from thee, Father, who art Judg
- 155 Of all things made, and judgest onely right.  
 Or shall the Adversarie thus obtain  
 His end, and frustrate thine, shall he fulfill  
 His malice, and thy goodness bring to naught,  
 Or proud return though to his heavier doom,
- 160 Yet with revenge accomplish't and to Hell  
 Draw after him the whole Race of mankind,  
 By him corrupted? or wilt thou thy self

136 **Spirits elect.** The unfallen angels. In *Christian Doctrine* 1.9 Milton insists that the angels "stand by their own strength" and are called "elect" (1 Tim. 5:21) only in the sense that they are "beloved, or excellent." Cf. *PL* 5.535–7.

140. In *Christian Doctrine* 1.5 Milton argues that God imparted to his Son his divine substance but not his "whole essence," as no two beings can have the same essence.

150–5. The Son echoes, or rather foreshadows, another mediator, Abraham, in his pleas to the Lord to spare Sodom, "That be far from thee to do after this manner, to slay the righteous with the wicked . . . that be far from thee. Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?" (Gen. 18:25).

- Abolish thy Creation, and unmake,  
 For him, what for thy glorie thou hast made?  
 165 So should thy goodness and thy greatness both  
 Be questiond and blasphem'd<sup>o</sup> without defence. *defamed*  
 To whom the great Creatour thus reply'd.  
 O Son, in whom my Soul hath chief delight,  
 Son of my bosom, Son who art alone  
 170 My word, my wisdom, and effectual might,  
 All hast thou spok'n as my thoughts are, all  
 As my Eternal purpose hath decreed:  
 Man shall not quite be lost, but sav'd who will,  
 Yet not of will in him, but grace in me  
 175 Freely voutsaft;<sup>o</sup> once more I will renew *granted*  
 His lapsed<sup>o</sup> powers, though forfeit and enthrall'd *decayed*  
 By sin to foul exorbitant desires;  
 Upheld by me, yet once more he shall stand  
 On even ground against his mortal<sup>o</sup> foe, *death-dealing*  
 180 By me upheld, that he may know how frail  
 His fall'n condition is, and to me ow  
 All his deliv'rance, and to none but me.  
 Some I have chosen of peculiar<sup>o</sup> grace *special*  
 Elect above the rest; so is my will:  
 185 The rest shall hear me call, and oft be warnd *in time*  
 Thir sinful state, and to appease betimes<sup>o</sup>  
 Th' incensed Deitie, while offerd grace  
 Invites; for I will cleer thir senses dark,  
 What may suffice, and soft'n stonie hearts  
 190 To pray, repent, and bring obedience due.  
 To Prayer, repentance, and obedience due,  
 Though but endevord with sincere intent,  
 Mine ear shall not be slow, mine eye not shut.

170–2. The Son is the agent through whom God's power, "effectual might," is exercised (cf. 1 Cor. 1:24), the "word" through whom his "wisdom" is made manifest and his creative will is performed (John 1:1–3). See *PL* 6.710–14 and 7.163–6.

174–80. After the Fall salvation is only possible through God's grace. Reason and will are so damaged that unless God renews them humans cannot resist sin or respond to the grace offered.

183–90. Milton's God rejects the Calvinist doctrine that he had from the beginning predestined the damnation or salvation of each soul; rather, he associates himself with the Arminian doctrine that grace sufficient for salvation is offered to all, enabling each person, if he or she so chooses, to believe and persevere. He does, however, assert the right to give special grace to some, "elect above the rest." See *Christian Doctrine* 1.4.

189 **stonie hearts**. Cf. Ezek. 11:19. "I will take the stony heart out of their flesh, and will give them an heart of flesh." See *PL* 11.1–5.

- And I will place within them as a guide  
 195 My Umpire *Conscience*, whom if they will hear,  
 Light after light well us'd they shall attain,  
 And to the end persisting, safe arrive.  
 This my long sufferance and my day of grace  
 They who neglect and scorn, shall never taste;  
 200 But hard be hard'nd, blind be blinded more,  
 That they may stumble on, and deeper fall;  
 And none but such from mercy I exclude.  
 But yet all is not don; Man disobeying,  
 Disloyal breaks his fealtie, and sinns  
 205 Against the high Supremacie of Heav'n,  
 Affecting<sup>o</sup> God-head, and so loosing all, *aspiring to*  
 To expiate his Treason hath naught left,  
 But to destruction sacred<sup>o</sup> and devote,<sup>o</sup> *set apart / consecrated*  
 He with his whole posteritie must dye,  
 210 Dye hee or Justice must; unless for him  
 Som other able, and as willing, pay  
 The rigid satisfaction, death for death.  
 Say Heav'nly powers, where shall we find such love,  
 Which of ye will be mortal<sup>o</sup> to redeem *human, subject to death*  
 215 Mans mortal crime, and just th' unjust to save,  
 Dwels in all Heaven charitie so deare?  
 He ask'd, but all the Heav'nly Quire stood mute,  
 And silence was in Heav'n: on mans behalf  
 Patron<sup>o</sup> or Intercessor none appeerd, *advocate*  
 220 Much less that durst upon his own head draw  
 The deadly forfeiture, and ransom set.  
 And now without redemption all mankind  
 Must have bin lost, adjudg'd to Death and Hell  
 By doom severe, had not the Son of God,  
 225 In whom the fulness dwels of love divine,  
 His dearest mediation<sup>o</sup> thus renewd. *intercession*  
 Father, thy word is past, man shall find grace;  
 And shall grace not find means, that finds her way,

200. By at long last withdrawing his offered grace God leaves such obdurate sinners to themselves, to become more and more hardened and blinded. See *Christian Doctrine* 1.8.

212 **rigid satisfaction**. Here and in *Christian Doctrine* 1.16 Milton's God paraphrases the Anselmic theory of the Atonement: "Satisfaction means that Christ . . . fully satisfied divine justice by fulfilling the Law and paying the just price on behalf of all men."

213–19. Cf. the devils in the Great Consult (2.402–26). **charitie**. Heavenly love, disinterested and altruistic (Latin *caritas*).

- The speediest of thy winged messengers,  
 230 To visit all thy creatures, and to all  
 Comes unprevented,<sup>o</sup> unimplor'd unsought,  
 Happie<sup>o</sup> for man, so coming; he her aid<sup>o</sup> *prior, unanticipated*  
 Can never seek, once dead in sins and lost; *fortunate / grace*  
 Atonement for himself or offering meet,<sup>o</sup> *fitting, adequate*  
 235 Indebted and undon, hath none to bring:  
 Behold mee then, mee for him, life for life  
 I offer, on mee let thine anger fall;  
 Account mee man; I for his sake will leave  
 Thy bosom, and this glorie next to thee  
 240 Freely put off, and for him lastly dye  
 Well pleas'd, on me let Death wreck all his rage;  
 Under his gloomie power I shall not long  
 Lie vanquisht, thou hast givn me to possess  
 Life in my self for ever, by thee I live,  
 245 Though now to Death I yield, and am his due  
 All that of me can die, yet that debt paid,  
 Thou wilt not leave me in the loathsom grave  
 His prey, nor suffer my unspotted Soule  
 For ever with corruption there to dwell;  
 250 But I shall rise Victorious, and subdue  
 My vanquisher, spoild of his vanted spoile;  
 Death his deaths wound shall then receive, and stoop  
 Inglorious, of his mortall sting disarm'd.  
 I through the ample Air in Triumph high  
 255 Shall lead Hell Captive maugre<sup>o</sup> Hell, and show *in spite of*  
 The powers of darkness bound. Thou at the sight  
 Pleas'd, out of Heaven shalt look down and smile,  
 While by thee rais'd I ruin all my Foes,  
 Death last, and with his Carcass glut the Grave:  
 260 Then with the multitude of my redeemd  
 Shall enter Heaven long absent, and returne,

236–7. Echoes Nisus' offer to save the life of his friend Euryalus, *Aeneid* 9.427–8: "Me, me adsum, qui feci, in me convertite ferrum, O Rutuli! mea fraus omnis."

243–4. Cf. John 5:26: "For as the Father hath life in himself; so hath he given to the Son to have life in himself."

247–9. Cf. Ps. 16:10: "Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell; neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption."

253 **mortall sting**. Cf. 1 Cor. 15:55–6: "O death, where is thy sting? . . . The sting of death is sin."

258 **ruin**. Throw down (the Latin sense).

259. Cf. 1 Cor. 15:26: "The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death."



Father, to see thy face, wherein no cloud  
 Of anger shall remain, but peace assur'd,  
 And reconcilment; wrauth shall be no more  
 265 Thenceforth, but in thy presence Joy entire.  
 His words here ended, but his meek aspect  
 Silent yet spake, and breath'd immortal love  
 To mortal men, above which only shon  
 Filial obedience: as a sacrifice  
 270 Glad to be offer'd, he attends the will  
 Of his great Father. Admiration<sup>o</sup> seis'd *wonder*  
 All Heav'n, what this might mean, and whither tend  
 Wondring, but soon th' Almighty thus reply'd:  
 O thou in Heav'n and Earth the only peace  
 275 Found out for mankind under wrauth, O thou  
 My sole complacence!<sup>o</sup> well thou know'st how dear, *pleasure, satisfaction*  
 To me are all my works, nor Man the least  
 Though last created, that for him I spare  
 Thee from my bosom and right hand, to save,  
 280 By loosing thee a while, the whole Race lost.  
 Thou therefore whom<sup>o</sup> thou only canst redeem, *those whom*  
 Thir Nature also to thy Nature joyn;  
 And be thy self Man among men on Earth,  
 Made flesh, when time shall be, of Virgin seed,  
 285 By wondrous birth: Be thou in *Adams* room  
 The Head of all mankind, though *Adams* Son.  
 As in him perish all men, so in thee  
 As from a second root shall be restor'd,  
 As many as are restor'd, without thee none.  
 290 His crime makes guiltie all his Sons, thy merit  
 Imputed shall absolve them who renounce  
 Thir own both righteous and unrighteous deeds,  
 And live in thee transplanted, and from thee  
 Receive new life. So Man, as is most just,  
 295 Shall satisfie for Man, be judg'd and die,  
 And dying rise, and rising with him raise

286 **Head of all mankind.** Cf. 1 Cor. 11:3: "The head of every man is Christ."

288–9. Cf. 1 Cor. 15:22: "For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive."

290–4. Summarizes the reformed doctrine of justification by faith. The merit of Christ attributed vicariously ("imputed") to humans frees from original sin those who renounce their own deeds, both good and bad, and hope to be saved through faith.

293 **transplanted.** Cf. *Christian Doctrine* 1.21, "Of Ingrafting in Christ": "God the Father plants believers in Christ. That is to say, he makes them sharers in Christ." The first effect is "new life and growth."

- His Brethren, ransomed with his own dear life.  
 So Heav'nly love shall outdoo Hellish hate  
 Giving<sup>o</sup> to death, and dying, to redeeme,
- 300 So dearly to redeem what Hellish hate  
 So easily destroy'd, and still destroyes  
 In those who, when they may, accept not grace.  
 Nor shalt thou by descending to assume  
 Mans Nature, less'n or degrade thine owne.
- 305 Because thou hast, though Thron'd in highest bliss  
 Equal to God, and equally enjoying  
 God-like fruition,<sup>o</sup> quitted all to save  
 A World from utter loss, and hast been found  
 By Merit more then Birthright Son of God,
- 310 Found worthiest to be so by being Good,  
 Farr more then Great or High; because in thee  
 Love hath abounded more then Glory abounds,  
 Therefore thy Humiliation shall exalt  
 With thee thy Manhood also to this Throne;
- 315 Here shalt thou sit Incarnate, here shalt Reign  
 Both God and Man, Son both of God and Man,  
 Anointed universal King; all Power  
 I give thee, reign for ever, and assume  
 Thy Merits;<sup>o</sup> under thee as Head Supream
- 320 Thrones, Princedoms, Powers, Dominions I reduce:  
 All knees to thee shall bow; of them that bide  
 In Heaven, or Earth, or under Earth in Hell;  
 When thou attended gloriously from Heav'n  
 Shalt in the sky appeer, and from thee send
- 325 The summoning Arch-Angels to proclaime  
 Thy dread Tribunal: forthwith from all Windes<sup>o</sup>  
 The living, and forthwith the cited<sup>o</sup> dead  
 Of all past Ages to the general Doom  
 Shall hast'n, such a peal shall rouse thir sleep.

*submitting**pleasurable possession**rewards**directions**summoned*

297 **ransomed.** Cf. Matt. 20:28, "The Son of man came . . . to give his life a ransom for many."

309. A heterodox doctrine, that the Son was Son of God by merit. In Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 2.42–3 (George Sandys' translation), Apollo says to his son, Phaeton, "by merit, as by birth, to thee is due that name." Cf. *PL* 2.5.

320. Orders of angels.

321–2. Cf. Phil. 2:10: "At the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth."

323–32. The description of the Last Judgment draws on several biblical texts, among them Matt. 24:30–1 and 25:31–2, 1 Cor. 15:51–2, and 1 Thess. 4:17.

- 330 Then all thy Saints assembl'd, thou shalt judge  
 Bad men and Angels, they arraignd<sup>o</sup> shall sink *accursed*  
 Beneath thy Sentence; Hell her numbers full,  
 Thenceforth shall be fore ever shut. Mean while  
 The World shall burn, and from her ashes spring  
 335 New Heav'n and Earth, wherein the just shall dwell,  
 And after all thir tribulations long  
 See golden days, fruitful of golden deeds,  
 With Joy and Love triumphing, and fair Truth.  
 Then thou thy regal Scepter shalt lay by,  
 340 For regal Scepter then no more shall need,  
 God shall be All in All. But all ye Gods,<sup>o</sup> *angels*  
 Adore him, who to compass all this dies,  
 Adore the Son, and honour him as mee  
 No sooner had th' Almighty ceas't, but all  
 345 The multitude of Angels with a shout  
 Loud as from numbers without number, sweet  
 As from blest voices, uttering joy, Heav'n rung  
 With Jubilee, and loud Hosanna's filld  
 Th'eternal Regions: lowly reverent  
 350 Towards either Throne they bow, and to the ground  
 With solemn adoration down they cast  
 Thir Crowns inwove with Amarant and Gold,  
 Immortal Amarant, a Flour which once  
 In Paradise, fast by<sup>o</sup> the Tree of Life *close by*  
 355 Began to bloom, but soon for mans offence  
 To Heav'n remov'd where first it grew, there grows,  
 And flours aloft shading the Fount of Life,  
 And where the river of Bliss through midst of Heavn  
 Rowls o're *Elisian* Flours her Amber<sup>o</sup> stream; *pure, clear*  
 360 With these<sup>o</sup> that never fade the Spirits elect *amaranth flowers*  
 Bind thir resplendent locks inwreath'd with beams,  
 Now in loose Garlands thick thrown off, the bright  
 Pavement that like a Sea of Jasper shon

334–5. For the fiery destruction and new heavens and earth, see 2 Pet. 3:12–13, and Rev. 21:1.

340–1. Cf. 1 Cor. 15:28: “And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.”

351 **Amarant.** In Greek, unfading, a legendary immortal flower.

350–71. Milton's heaven draws upon imagery from Rev. 4 and 22:1–2 (thrones, harps, golden crowns, sea of jasper, angelic hymns, pure river, tree of life); other details, e.g. the “*Elisian*” flowers, recall classical descriptions of the Elysian Fields.

- Impurpl'd with Celestial Roses smil'd.  
 365 Then Crown'd again thir gold'n Harps they took,  
 Harps ever tun'd, that glittering by thir side  
 Like Quivers hung, and with Præamble<sup>o</sup> sweet *musical prelude*  
 Of charming symphonie they introduce  
 Thir sacred Song, and waken raptures high;  
 370 No voice exempt,<sup>o</sup> no voice but well could joine *excluded*  
 Melodious part, such concord is in Heav'n.  
 Thee Father first they sung Omnipotent,  
 Immutable, Immortal, Infinite,  
 Eternal King; thee Author of all being,  
 375 Fountain of Light, thy self invisible  
 Amidst the glorious brightness where thou sit'st  
 Thron'd inaccessible, but<sup>o</sup> when thou shad'st *except*  
 The full blaze of thy beams, and through a cloud  
 Drawn round about thee like a radiant Shrine,  
 380 Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appeer,  
 Yet dazle Heav'n, that brightest Seraphim  
 Approach not, but with both wings veil thir eyes.  
 Thee next they sang of all Creation first,  
 Begotten Son, Divine Similitude,  
 385 In whose conspicuous count'nance, without cloud  
 Made visible, th' Almighty Father shines,  
 Whom else no Creature can behold; on thee  
 Impresst the effulgence<sup>o</sup> of his Glorie abides, *radiance*  
 Transfus'd on thee his ample Spirit rests.  
 390 Hee Heav'n of Heavens and all the Powers therein  
 By thee created, and by thee threw down  
 Th' aspiring Dominations: thou that day  
 Thy Fathers dreadful Thunder didst not spare,  
 Nor stop thy flaming Chariot wheels, that shook

373. This line is a direct quote from Joshua Sylvester's *Divine Weeks and Works* (1605) 1.1.45, a translation of Du Bartas' *La Semaine* (1578).

381–2. Cf. Isa. 6:2, describing the seraphim around God's throne, "each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face."

383–7. Cf. Col. 1:15–16: "Who is the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of every creature: For by him were all things created, that are in heaven and that are in earth." For Milton the Son is not eternal, as in Trinitarian doctrine, but is God's first creation and the agent through whom he created all other beings. Neither is he omniscient, nor omnipotent, nor immutable, nor co-equal with the Father, but participates in those divine qualities only as the Father devolves them upon him. See *Christian Doctrine* 1.5.

389 **ample Spirit**. The power of God, not the Holy Spirit (see *Christian Doctrine* 1.6).

392 **Dominations**. An angelic order, standing here for all the rebel angels.

392–9. See 6.750–64, 824–92.

- 395 Heav'n's everlasting Frame, while o're the necks  
 Thou drov'st of warring Angels disarraid.<sup>o</sup> *confused*  
 Back from pursuit thy Powers<sup>o</sup> with loud acclaime *angels*  
 Thee only extoll'd, Son of thy Fathers might,  
 To execute fierce vengeance on his foes,
- 400 Not so on Man; him through their malice fall'n,  
 Father of Mercie and Grace, thou didst not doome<sup>o</sup> *judge*  
 So strictly, but much more to pitie encline:  
 No sooner did thy dear and onely Son  
 Perceive thee purpos'd not to doom frail Man
- 405 So strictly, but much more to pitie enclin'd,  
 He to appease thy wrauth, and end the strife  
 Of Mercy and Justice in thy face discern'd,  
 Regardless of the Bliss wherein hee sat  
 Second to thee, offerd himself to die
- 410 For mans offence. O unexempl'd<sup>o</sup> love, *without precedent*  
 Love no where to be found less then Divine!  
 Hail Son of God, Saviour of Men, thy Name  
 Shall be the copious matter of my Song  
 Henceforth, and never shall my Harp thy praise
- 415 Forget, nor from thy Fathers praise disjoine.  
 Thus they in Heav'n, above the starry Sphear,  
 Thir happie hours in joy and hymning spent.  
 Mean while upon the firm opacous<sup>o</sup> Glove *opaque*  
 Of this round World, whose first convex divides
- 420 The luminous inferior Orbs, enclos'd  
 From *Chaos* and th' inroad of Darkness old,  
*Satan* alighted walks: a Globe farr off  
 It seem'd, now seems a boundless Continent  
 Dark, waste, and wild, under the frown of Night
- 425 Starless expos'd, and ever-threatning storms  
 Of *Chaos* blustring round, inclement skie;  
 Save on that side which from the wall of Heav'n  
 Though distant farr som small reflection gains  
 Of glimmering air less vext<sup>o</sup> with tempest loud: *tossed around*
- 430 Here walk'd the Fiend at large in spacious field.

412–15. The shift to first person suggests that Milton is quoting the angels singing as a single chorus, or that he associates himself with their song, or both.

419–22 **first convex**. The outermost of the ten spheres that comprise the universe. Satan “alighted” (both landed, and was illumined by the dim light reflected from heaven) and “walks” on the outer shell of that sphere.

- As when a Vultur on *Imaus* bred,  
 Whose snowie ridge the roving *Tartar* bounds,  
 Dislodging from a Region scarce of prey  
 To gorge the flesh of Lambs or yeanling<sup>o</sup> Kids *newborn*
- 435 On Hills where Flocks are fed, flies toward the Springs  
 Of *Ganges* or *Hydaspes*, *Indian* streams;  
 But in his way lights on the barren Plains  
 Of *Sericana*, where *Chineses* drive  
 With Sails and Wind thir canie Waggons light:
- 440 So on this windie Sea of Land, the Fiend  
 Walk'd up and down alone bent on his prey,  
 Alone, for other Creature in this place  
 Living or liveless to be found was none,  
 None yet, but store<sup>o</sup> hereafter from the earth *plenty*
- 445 Up hither like Aereal vapours flew  
 Of all things transitorie and vain, when Sin  
 With vanity had filld the works of men:  
 Both all things vain, and all who in vain things  
 Built thir fond<sup>o</sup> hopes of Glorie or lasting fame, *foolish*
- 450 Or happiness in this or th' other life;  
 All who have thir reward on Earth, the fruits  
 Of painful<sup>o</sup> Superstition and blind Zeal, *painstaking*  
 Naught seeking but the praise of men, here find  
 Fit retribution, emptie as thir deeds;
- 455 All th' unaccomplisht<sup>o</sup> works of Natures hand, *imperfect*  
 Abortive,<sup>o</sup> monstrous, or unkindly<sup>o</sup> mixt, *premature / unnaturally*  
 Dissolvd on Earth, fleet<sup>o</sup> hither, and in vain, *float*  
 Till final dissolution, wander here,  
 Not in the neighbouring Moon, as some have dreamd;
- 460 Those argent Fields more likely habitants,  
 Translated Saints, or middle Spirits hold  
 Betwixt th' Angelical and Human kinde:

431–9 **Vultur**. Vultures were said to be able to scent their prey across continents. **Imaus**. Mountain ridge extending north through Asia from modern Afghanistan to the Arctic Ocean, the regions (“bounds”) of the pillaging “roving *Tartar*.”

436. The rivers “*Ganges*” and “*Hydaspes*” (a tributary of the Indus) rise the mountains of northern India.

438–9 **Sericana**. A region in northwest China. **canie Waggons**. Juan Gonzales de Mendoza described these Chinese landships, made of cane or bamboo.

440–97. Milton’s *Paradise of Fools* (named in line 496) was inspired by Ariosto’s (less satiric) *Limbo of Vanity* located in the moon (*Orlando Furioso* 34., stanzas 72–87; cf. *PL* 3.459). Milton’s region is reserved for deluded followers of misplaced devotion, chiefly Roman Catholics.

461 **Translated Saints**. Holy patriarchs like Enoch (Gen. 5:24) and Elijah (2 Kgs 2:11), carried to the heavens while yet alive.

Hither of ill-joyned Sons and Daughters born  
 First from the ancient World those Giants came  
 465 With many a vain exploit, though then renownd:  
 The builders next of *Babel* on the Plain  
 Of *Sennaar*, and still with vain designe  
 New *Babels*, had they wherewithall, would build:  
 Others came single; he who to be deemd  
 470 A God, leap'd fondly<sup>o</sup> into *Ætna* flames, foolishly  
*Empedocles*, and hee who to enuoy  
*Plato's Elysium*, leap'd into the Sea,  
*Cleombrotus*; and many more too long,  
 Embryo's and Idiots, Eremitis<sup>o</sup> and Friers hermits  
 475 White, Black, and Grey, with all thir trumperie,<sup>o</sup> paraphernalia  
 Here Pilgrims roam, that stray'd so farr to seek  
 In *Golgotha* him dead, who lives in Heav'n;  
 And they who to be sure of Paradise  
 Dying put on the weeds<sup>o</sup> of *Dominic*, garments  
 480 Or in *Franciscan* think to pass disguis'd;  
 They pass the Planets seven, and pass the fixt,  
 And that Crystalline Sphear whose ballance weighs  
 The Trepidation talkt, and that first mov'd;  
 And now Saint *Peter* at Heav'n's Wicket<sup>o</sup> seems small pedestrian gate  
 485 To wait them with his Keys, and now at foot

463–5 **Giants.** Born of the unnatural marriages between the “sons of God” and the daughters of men (Gen. 6:4). See also *PL* 11.573–627, 683–99.

466 **Babel.** The tower, intended to reach heaven (Gen. 11:3–9), became an emblem of pride and folly.

467 **Sennaar.** (the Vulgate form of Shinar), the plain of Babel on which the tower of “Babel” was built.

469–73 **Empedocles.** A Presocratic philosopher who threw himself into “*Ætna*” to conceal his mortality; the volcano defeated his plan by casting up one of his sandals. **Cleombrotus.** A youth who drowned himself to attain the immortality promised in Plato's *Phaedo*.

474–5 **Embryo's and Idiots.** Those not responsible morally, but still marked by original sin so they could not enter heaven, were said by Catholic theologians to be held in Limbo. The “White” friars (“Friars”) are Carmelites, the “Black” are Dominicans, and the “Grey” Franciscans.

477 **Golgotha.** Golgotha, “Place of the skull,” the hill where Christ was crucified. See Luke 24:5–6, “Why seek ye the living among the dead? He is not here, but is risen.”

478–80. Some try to ensure their salvation by wearing on their deathbed the robes of various religious orders.

481–5. These souls imagine their journey through the spheres in the Ptolemaic system: the seven then known planets, the eighth sphere of the fixed stars, then the “Crystalline Sphear” (added to the Ptolemaic system to account for anomalies in astronomical observations). Its “Trepidation” (oscillation or trembling), measured by Libra (the scales, “ballance”), was much disputed (“talkt”) in Milton's time. After the tenth sphere, the Primum Mobile (“that first mov'd”) which imparts motion to all the rest, they imagine ascent to the empyreal Heaven.

485 **Keys.** Cf. Matt. 16:19: “And I will give unto thee [Peter] the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.” See “Lycidas,” 110.

- Of Heav'ns ascent they lift thir Feet, when loe  
 A violent cross wind from either Coast  
 Blows them transverse ten thousand Leagues awry  
 Into the devious<sup>o</sup> Air; then might ye see *erratic*
- 490 Cowles, Hoods and Habits with thir wearers tost  
 And flutterd into Raggs, then Reliques, Beads,<sup>o</sup> *rosary beads*  
 Indulgences, Dispenses, Pardons, Bulls,<sup>o</sup> *papal edicts*  
 The sport of Winds: all these upwhirld aloft  
 Fly o're the backside of the World farr off
- 495 Into a *Limbo* large and broad, since calld  
 The Paradise of Fools, to few unknown  
 Long after, now unpeopl'd, and untrod;  
 All this dark Globe the Fiend found as he pass'd,  
 And long he wanderd, till at last a gleame
- 500 Of dawning light turnd thither-ward in haste  
 His travell'd<sup>o</sup> steps; farr distant he descries *travel-weary*  
 Ascending by degrees magnificent  
 Up to the wall of Heaven a Structure high,  
 At top whereof, but farr more rich appeerd
- 505 The work as of a Kingly Palace Gate  
 With Frontispiece<sup>o</sup> of Diamond and Gold *portal*  
 Imbellisht, thick with sparkling orient<sup>o</sup> Gemmes *lustrous*  
 The Portal shon, inimitable on Earth  
 By Model, or by shading Pencil drawn.
- 510 The Stairs were such as whereon *Jacob* saw  
 Angels ascending and descending, bands  
 Of Guardians bright, when he from *Esau* fled  
 To *Padan-Aram* in the field of *Luz*,  
 Dreaming by night under the open Skie,
- 515 And waking cri'd, *This is the Gate of Heav'n*.  
 Each Stair mysteriously was meant, nor stood  
 There alwayes, but drawn up to Heav'n somtimes

490. The dress of the various religious orders.

492 **Indulgences, Dispenses** [dispensations], **Pardons**. Various grants set forth by the Roman Catholic Church that could be earned or purchased to free one from the punishment due to sin, or from some religious duty.

They were seen as a scandal by the Protestant reformers. See the Pardoner's Tale in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.  
 510–15 *Jacob* fled to "*Padan-Aram*" (in Syria) after cheating his brother "*Esau*" of their father's blessing. En route, while sleeping in the field of "*Luz*" (Bethel), he dreamed of a ladder reaching to heaven on which angels ascended and descended. When he awoke he cried, "this is none other but the house of God and this is the gate of heaven" (Gen. 28:10–17).

516 **mysteriously**. The episode and the ladder received numerous symbolic and allegorical interpretations.



Viewless,<sup>o</sup> and underneath a bright Sea flow'd invisible  
 Of Jasper, or of liquid Pearle, whereon  
 520 Who after came from Earth, sayling arriv'd,  
 Wafted by Angels, or flew o're the Lake  
 Rapt in a Chariot drawn by fiery Steeds.  
 The Stairs were then let down, whether to dare  
 The Fiend by easie ascent, or aggravate  
 525 His sad exclusion from the dores of Bliss.  
 Direct against which op'nd from beneath,  
 Just o're the blissful seat of Paradise,  
 A passage down to th' Earth, a passage wide,  
 Wider by farr then that of after-times  
 530 Over Mount *Sion*, and, though that were large,  
 Over the *Promis'd Land* to God so dear,  
 By which, to visit oft those happy Tribes,  
 On high behests his Angels to and fro  
 Pass'd frequent, and his eye with choice<sup>o</sup> regard discriminating  
 535 From *Paneas* the fount of *Jordans* flood  
 To *Beersaba*, where the *Holy Land*  
 Borders on *Ægypt* and the *Arabian* shoare;  
 So wide the op'ning seemd, where bounds were set  
 To darkness, such as bound the Ocean wave.  
 540 *Satan* from hence now on the lower stair  
 That scal'd by steps of Gold to Heav'n Gate  
 Looks down with wonder at the sudden view  
 Of all this World at once. As when a Scout  
 Through dark and desart wayes with peril gone  
 545 All night; at last by break of chearful dawne  
 Obtains the brow of some high-climbing Hill,  
 Which to his eye discovers unaware  
 The goodly prospect of some forein land  
 First-seen, or some renown'd Metropolis  
 550 With glistening Spires and Pinnacles adornd,  
 Which now the Rising Sun guilds with his beams.  
 Such wonder seis'd, though after Heaven seen,  
 The Spirit maligne, but much more envy seis'd

518–19. See Rev. 4:6 (“sea of glass like unto crystal”).

521–2. Lazarus was “Wafted” by the angels to heaven (Luke 16:22); Elijah was “Rapt” (carried away) up to heaven in a “Chariot” of fire drawn by “fiery Steeds” (“horses of fire,” 2 Kgs 2:11).

535–7. This later opening to heaven stretched from “*Paneas*” (Greek name for the city of Dan) near the source of the Jordan in the north of Canaan to “*Beersaba*” (Beersheba) near the Egyptian border in the south, giving God a view of the entire land of Israel (cf. 1 Kgs 4:25).

552 **though after Heaven seen.** i.e., “even after having seen heaven.”

- At sight of all this World beheld so faire.  
 555 Round he surveys, and well might, where he stood  
 So high above the circling Canopie  
 Of Nights extended shade; from Eastern Point  
 Of *Libra* to the fleecie Starr that bears  
*Andromeda* farr off *Atlantic* Seas  
 560 Beyond th' *Horizon*; then from Pole to Pole  
 He views in bredth, and without longer pause  
 Down right into the Worlds first Region throws  
 His flight precipitant,<sup>o</sup> and windes with ease *rushing headlong*  
 Through the pure marble<sup>o</sup> Air his oblique way *sparkling, smooth*  
 565 Amongst innumerable Starrs, that shon  
 Stars distant, but nigh hand seemd other Worlds,  
 Or other Worlds they seemd, or happy Iles,  
 Like those *Hesperian* Gardens fam'd of old,  
 Fortunate Fields, and Groves, and flourie Vales,  
 570 Thrice happy Iles, but who dwelt happy there  
 He stayd not to enquire; above them all  
 The golden Sun in splendor likest Heaven  
 Allur'd his eye: Thither his course he bends  
 Through the calm Firmament;<sup>o</sup> but up or downe *sky*  
 575 By center, or eccentric, hard to tell  
 Or Longitude, where the great Luminarie<sup>o</sup> *the sun*  
 Alooff<sup>o</sup> the vulgar<sup>o</sup> Constellations thick, *apart from / common*  
 That from his Lordly eye keep distance due,  
 Dispenses Light from farr; they as they move  
 580 Thir Starry dance in numbers<sup>o</sup> that compute *rhythms*  
 Days, months, & years, towards his all-chearing Lamp  
 Turn swift thir various motions, or are turned  
 By his Magnetic beam, that gently warms  
 The Univers, and to each inward part  
 585 With gentle penetration, though unseen,

557–9. In the zodiac, “*Libra*” in the east is diametrically opposite Aries or the Ram (“the fleecie Starr”) that seems to carry the constellation “*Andromeda*” on its back in the west, in the Atlantic below the “*Horizon*.”

562–5 **first Region**. The upper air down to the Primum Mobile, the crystalline sphere and “innumerable Starrs.”

566–71 **other Worlds**. The plurality of worlds was a topic of much speculation in Milton’s day (see 8.140–52). The gardens of the Hesperides and the Fortunate Isles (“happy Iles”) of Greek mythology, were classical versions of paradise.

574–6. Satan cannot tell if he is flying up or down, or by a centric orbit that has the earth or the sun as its center, or by an eccentric orbit that does not. Nor can he tell the distance he flew measured by degrees (“Longitude”) along the ecliptic, the apparent orbit of the sun around the earth.

582–3. Kepler (in 1609) theorized that the sun’s magnetism caused planetary motion.

Shoots invisible vertue<sup>o</sup> even to the deep: vigor, energy  
 So wondrously was set his Station bright.  
 There lands the Fiend, a spot like which perhaps  
 Astronomer in the Sun's lucent Orbe  
 590 Through his glaz'd Optic Tube yet never saw.  
 The place he found beyond expression bright,  
 Compar'd with aught on Earth, Metal or Stone;  
 Not all parts like, but all alike informd  
 With radiant light, as glowing Iron with fire;  
 595 If mettal, part seems Gold, part Silver cleer;  
 If stone, Carbuncle most or Chrysolite,  
 Rubie or Topaz, to the Twelve that shon  
 In *Aarons* Brest-plate, and a stone besides  
 Imagind rather oft then elsewhere seen,  
 600 That stone, or like to that which here below  
 Philosophers in vain so long have sought,  
 In vain, though by thir powerful Art they binde  
 Volatil *Hermes*, and call up unbound  
 In various shapes old *Proteus* from the Sea,  
 605 Draind through a Limbec to his Native forme.  
 What wonder then if fields and regions here  
 Breathe forth *Elixir* pure, and Rivers run  
 Potable<sup>o</sup> Gold, when with one vertuou<sup>o</sup> touch drinkable / powerful  
 Th' Arch-chimic<sup>o</sup> Sun so farr from us remote chief alchemist  
 610 Produces with Terrestrial Humor<sup>o</sup> mixt earth's moisture  
 Here in the dark so many precious things  
 Of colour glorious and effect so rare?  
 Here matter new to gaze the Devil met  
 Undazl'd, farr and wide his eye commands,  
 615 For sight no obstacle found here, nor shade,

588–90. Galileo first observed sunspots through his telescope (“glaz’d Optic Tube”) in 1610.

596 **Carbuncle.** Any red gemstone. **Chrysolite.** Any green gemstone.

597–8. In Exod. 28:15–21 “*Aarons* Brest-plate” is described as decorated with twelve different gems, corresponding to the twelve tribes of Israel.

598–605. Alchemists identified the philosopher’s stone with the *urim* on Aaron’s breastplate (Exod. 28:30); this stone reputedly could cure all diseases, restore paradise, and transmute base metals to gold. Alchemists would “binde” (solidify) mercury (“*Volatil Hermes*,” the winged god identified with that element) and dissolve, refine, or transform substances (identified with the shape-shifting god “*Proteus*”) to their “Native forme” in a “*Limbec*” (alembic, the distilling apparatus of alchemists).

607 *Elixir.* The liquid form of the philosopher’s stone.

609–12. The sun’s rays were thought to penetrate the earth and produce precious metals and gems.

615–17. Before the Fall (and the consequent tipping of the earth’s axis or change in the path of the sun, see 10.668–89) shadows would disappear daily at noon at the “*Equator*,” where the sun’s beams reach their zenith (“*Culminate*”).

- But all Sun-shine, as when his Beams at Noon  
 Culminate from th' *Æquator*, as they now  
 Shot upward still direct, whence no way round  
 Shadow from body opaque can fall, and the Aire,  
 620 No where so cleer, sharp'nd his visual ray  
 To objects distant farr, whereby he soon  
 Saw within kenn<sup>o</sup> a glorious Angel stand, *range of vision*  
 The same whom *John* saw also in the Sun:  
 His back was turnd, but not his brightness hid;  
 625 Of beaming sunnie Raies, a golden tiar<sup>o</sup> *tiara, crown*  
 Circl'd his Head, nor less his Locks behind  
 Illustrious<sup>o</sup> on his Shoulders fledge<sup>o</sup> with wings *lustrous / feathered*  
 Lay waving round; on som great charge employ'd  
 He seemd, or fixt in cogitation deep.  
 630 Glad was the Spirit impure as now in hope  
 To find who might direct his wandring flight  
 To Paradise the happie seat of Man,  
 His journies end and our beginning woe.  
 But first he casts<sup>o</sup> to change his proper shape, *contrives*  
 635 Which else might work him danger or delay:  
 And now a stripling Cherube he appeers,  
 Not of the prime, yet such as in his face  
 Youth smil'd Celestial, and to every Limb  
 Sutable grace diffus'd, so well he feignd;  
 640 Under a Coronet his flowing haire  
 In curles on either cheek plaid, wings he wore  
 Of many a colourd plume sprinkl'd with Gold,  
 His habit fit for speed succinct,<sup>o</sup> and held *close-fitting*  
 Before his decent<sup>o</sup> steps a Silver wand. *decorous*  
 645 He drew not nigh unheard, the Angel bright,  
 Ere he drew nigh, his radiant visage turnd,  
 Admonisht by his ear, and strait<sup>o</sup> was known *at once*  
 Th' Arch-Angel *Uriel*, one of the seav'n  
 Who in Gods presence, neerest to his Throne  
 650 Stand ready at command, and are his Eyes

620 **visual ray.** The eye was thought to emit a beam onto the object perceived.

622–3. Cf. Rev. 19:17: "I saw an angel standing in the sun."

636–7. A young "stripling" cherub not yet in the "prime" of life, or not of the first rank of angels.

648–53 **Uriel.** In Hebrew "Light [or fire] of God," he is the angel named first among the seven who stood before God's "Throne" in the Apocryphal 1 Enoch 22:1. Zech. 4:10 states that "those seven . . . are the eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro through the whole earth," but Uriel is not mentioned there or anywhere else in the canonical Bible. See also Rev. 1:4.

That run through all the Heav'ns, or down to th' Earth  
 Bear his swift errands over moist and dry,  
 O're Sea and Land: him *Satan* thus accostes.

- Uriel*, for thou of those seav'n Spirits that stand  
 655 In sight of God's high Throne; gloriously bright,  
 The first art wont<sup>o</sup> his great authentic will *accustomed*  
 Interpreter through highest Heav'n to bring,  
 Where all his Sons<sup>o</sup> thy Embassie attend; *angels*  
 And here art likeliest by supream decree  
 660 Like honour to obtain, and as his Eye  
 To visit oft this new Creation round;  
 Unspeakable desire to see, and know  
 All these his wondrous works, but chiefly Man,  
 His chief delight and favour,<sup>o</sup> him for whom *favorite*  
 665 All these his works so wondrous he ordaind,  
 Hath brought me from the Quires of Cherubim  
 Alone thus wandring. Brightest Seraph tell  
 In which of all these shining Orbes hath Man  
 His fixed seat, or fixed seat hath none,  
 670 But all these shining Orbes his choice to dwell;  
 That I may find him, and with secret gaze,  
 Or open admiration him behold  
 On whom the great Creator hath bestowd  
 Worlds, and on whom hath all these graces powrd;  
 675 That both in him and all things, as is meet,  
 The Universal Maker we may praise;  
 Who justly hath drivn out his Rebell Foes  
 To deepest Hell, and to repair that loss  
 Created this new happie Race of Men  
 680 To serve him better: wise are all his wayes.  
 So spake the false dissembler unperceiv'd;  
 For neither Man nor Angel can discern  
 Hypocrisie, the onely evil that walks  
 Invisible, except to God alone,  
 685 By his permissive will, through Heav'n and Earth:  
 And oft though wisdom wake, suspicion sleeps  
 At wisdoms Gate, and to simplicitie  
 Resigns her charge, while goodness thinks no ill  
 Where no ill seems: Which now for once beguil'd  
 690 *Uriel*, though Regent of the Sun, and held  
 The sharpest sighted Spirit of all in Heav'n;  
 Who to the fraudulent Imposter foule

In his uprightness answer thus returnd.

- Fair Angel, thy desire which tends to know  
 695 The works of God, thereby to glorifie  
 The great Work-Maister, leads to no excess  
 That reaches blame, but rather merits praise  
 The more it seems excess, that led thee hither  
 From thy Empyrean Mansion thus alone,  
 700 To witness with thine eyes what some perhaps  
 Contented with report hear onely in heav'n:  
 For wonderful indeed are all his works,  
 Pleasant to know, and worthiest to be all  
 Had in remembrance alwayes with delight;  
 705 But what created mind can comprehend  
 Thir number, or the wisdom infinite  
 That brought them forth, but hid thir causes deep.  
 I saw when at his Word the formless Mass,  
 This worlds material mould,<sup>o</sup> came to a heap: *substance*  
 710 *Confusion* heard his voice, and wilde uproar  
 Stood rul'd, stood vast infinitude confin'd;  
 Till at his second bidding darkness fled,  
 Light shon, and order from disorder sprung:  
 Swift to thir several Quarters hasted then  
 715 The cumbrous Elements, Earth, Flood, Aire, Fire,  
 And this Ethereal quintessence of Heav'n  
 Flew upward, spirited with<sup>o</sup> various forms, *animated by*  
 That rowled orbicular,<sup>o</sup> and turnd to Starrs *in circular orbits*  
 Numberless, as thou seest, and how they move;  
 720 Each had his place appointed, each his course,  
 The rest in circuit walles this Universe.  
 Look downward on that Globe whose hither side  
 With light from hence, though but reflected, shines;  
 That place is Earth the seat of Man, that light  
 725 His day, which else as th' other Hemisphere  
 Night would invade, but there the neighbouring Moon  
 (So call that opposite fair Starr) her aide

695–8. Aristotle in the *Nicomachean Ethics* locates virtue in the mean between excess and privation, but Uriel exempts the glorification of God from that dictum.

705–7. No creature, including the angels and even the Son, know the “secret purposes, the knowledge of which the Father has reserved to himself alone” (*Christian Doctrine* 1.5)

708–20. Compare Raphael’s story of the Creation to Adam in Book 7 below.

716. The fifth element (“*quintessence*,” ether) of which the incorruptible heavenly bodies were made.

721 **The rest.** The stars that form the sphere of the fixed stars, enclosing “this Universe.”

Timely interposes, and her monthly round  
 Still ending, still renewing, through mid Heav'n;  
 730 With borrowed light her countenance triform  
 Hence<sup>o</sup> fills and empties to enlighten th' Earth,  
 And in her pale dominion checks the night.  
 That spot to which I point is *Paradise*,  
*Adams* abode, those loftie shades his Bowre.

*from the sun*

735 Thy way thou canst not miss, me mine requires.

Thus said, he turnd, and *Satan* bowing low,  
 As to superior Spirits is wont in Heaven,  
 Where honour due and reverence none neglects,  
 Took leave, and toward the coast of Earth beneath,  
 740 Down from the Ecliptic,<sup>o</sup> sped with hop'd success,  
 Throws his steep flight in many an Aerie wheele,  
 Nor staid, till on *Niphates* top he lights.

*the sun's orbit*

*The End of the Third Book.*

730 **triform.** Refers to the moon's phases, but also to the ancient poets' description of the moon's triple nature:

Luna in heaven, Diana on earth, Hecate in hell.

742 *Niphates.* A mountain on the border between Armenia and Assyria.

## BOOK 4 THE ARGUMENT

*Satan* now in prospect of *Eden*, and nigh the place where he must now attempt the bold enterprize which he undertook alone against God and Man, falls into many doubts with himself, and many passions, fear, envy, and despare; but at length confirms himself in evil, journeys on to Paradise, whose outward prospect and  
5 scituation is discribed, overleaps the bounds, sits in the shape of a Cormorant on the Tree of life, as highest in the Garden to look about him. The Garden describ'd; *Satans* first sight of *Adam* and *Eve*; his wonder at thir excellent form and happy state, but with resolution to work thir fall; overhears thir discourse, thence gathers that the Tree of knowledge was forbidden them to eat of, under penalty of death; and  
10 thereon intends to found his Temptation, by seducing them to transgress: then leaves them a while, to know further of thir state by some other means. Mean while *Uriel* descending on a Sun-beam warns *Gabriel*, who had in charge the Gate of Paradise, that some evil spirit had escap'd the Deep, and past at Noon by his Sphere in the shape of a good Angel down to Paradise, discovered after by his furious gestures in  
15 the Mount. *Gabriel* promises to find him ere morning. Night coming on, *Adam* and *Eve* discourse of going to thir rest: thir Bower describ'd; thir Evening worship. *Gabriel* drawing forth his Bands of Night-watch to walk the round of Paradise, appoints two strong Angels to *Adams* Bower, least the evill spirit should be there doing some harm to *Adam* or *Eve* sleeping; there they find him at the ear of *Eve*, tempting her  
20 in a dream, and bring him, though unwilling, to *Gabriel*; by whom question'd, he scornfully answers, prepares resistance, but hinder'd by a Sign from Heaven, flies out of Paradise.

O For that warning voice, which he who saw  
Th' *Apocalyps*, heard cry in Heaven aloud,  
Then when the Dragon, put to second rout,  
Came furious down to be reveng'd on men,  
5 *Wo to the inhabitants on Earth!* that now,  
While time was, our first-Parents had bin warnd  
The coming of thir secret foe, and scap'd  
Haply<sup>o</sup> so scap'd his mortal<sup>o</sup> snare; for now *perhaps, happily / deadly*

5. **Cormorant.** A large and voracious black sea-bird.

1–5. John of Patmos heard a cry warning of the “great dragon . . . called the Devil, and Satan” (Rev. 12:9) when he and his angels were put to “second rout” in a second war in heaven: “Woe to the inhabters of the earth and of the sea! for the devil is come down among you, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time” (Rev. 12:12).

2 *Apocalyps*. Apocalypse, “unveiling,” the Greek title of the book of Revelation.



- Satan*, now first inflam'd with rage, came down,  
 10 The Tempter ere<sup>o</sup> th' Accuser of man-kind, before being  
 To wreck<sup>o</sup> on innocent frail man his loss avenge  
 Of that first Battel, and his flight to Hell:  
 Yet not rejoycing in his speed, though bold,  
 Far off and fearless, nor with cause to boast,  
 15 Begins his dire attempt, which nigh the birth  
 Now rowling,<sup>o</sup> boiles in his tumultuous brest, revolving  
 And like a devillish Engine<sup>o</sup> back recoiles cannon, plot  
 Upon himself; horror and doubt distract  
 His troubl'd thoughts, and from the bottom stirr  
 20 The Hell within him, for within him Hell  
 He brings, and round about him, nor from Hell  
 One step no more then from himself can fly  
 By change of place: Now conscience wakes despair  
 That slumberd, wakes the bitter memorie  
 25 Of what he was, what is, and what must be  
 Worse; of worse deeds worse sufferings must ensue.  
 Sometimes towards *Eden* which now in his view  
 Lay pleasant, his grievd look he fixes sad,  
 Sometimes towards Heav'n and the full-blazing Sun,  
 30 Which now sat high in his Meridian Towre:<sup>o</sup> the height of noon  
 Then much revolving, thus in sighs began.  
 O thou that with surpassing Glory crownd,  
 Look'st from thy sole Dominion like the God  
 Of this new World; at whose sight all the Starrs  
 35 Hide thir diminisht heads; to thee I call,  
 But with no friendly voice, and add thy name  
 O Sun, to tell thee how I hate thy beams  
 That bring to my remembrance from what state  
 I fell, how glorious once above thy Spheare;  
 40 Till Pride and worse Ambition threw me down  
 Warring in Heav'n against Heav'ns matchless King:

20–3. See note to lines 75–8.

27–8 *Eden*. The name derives from the Hebrew word for “delight.”

32–41. Milton's nephew Edward Phillips wrote in his “Life of Milton” that these beginning lines of Satan's soliloquy were written several years before the poem was begun, intended then as the beginning of a tragedy on the Fall. See Appendix A for Milton's sketches for such a tragedy. Cf. Aeschylus' tragedy, *Prometheus Bound*, 88–112.

32–113. Compare Satan's soliloquy with Adam's after the Fall (10.720–844).

37. See John 3:20: “Every one that doeth evil hateth the light.”

- Ah wherefore! he deservd no such return  
 From me, whom he created what I was  
 In that bright eminence, and with his good  
 45 Upbraided<sup>o</sup> none; nor was his service hard. *reproached*  
 What could be less then to afford him praise,  
 The easiest recompence, and pay him thanks,  
 How due! yet all his good prov'd ill in me,  
 And wrought but malice; lifted up so high  
 50 I sdeind<sup>o</sup> subjection, and thought one step higher *disdained*  
 Would set me highest, and in a moment quit<sup>o</sup> *cancel*  
 The debt immense of endless gratitude,  
 So burthensome, still<sup>o</sup> paying, still to ow; *continually*  
 Forgetful what from him I still receivd,  
 55 And understood not that a grateful mind  
 By owing<sup>o</sup> owes not, but still pays, at once *owning, acknowledging*  
 Indebted and dischargd; what burden then?  
 O had his powerful Destiny ordaind  
 Me some inferiour Angel, I had stood<sup>o</sup> *remained*  
 60 Then happie; no unbounded hope had rais'd  
 Ambition. Yet why not? som other Power<sup>o</sup> *angel*  
 As great might have aspir'd, and me though mean<sup>o</sup> *of low rank*  
 Drawn to his part; but other Powers as great  
 Fell not, but stand unshak'n, from within  
 65 Or from without, to all temptations arm'd.  
 Hadst thou the same free Will and Power to stand?  
 Thou hadst: whom hast thou then or what to accuse,  
 But Heav'ns free Love dealt equally to all?  
 Be then his Love accurst, since love or hate,  
 70 To me alike, it deals eternal woe.  
 Nay curs'd be thou; since against his thy will  
 Chose freely what it now so justly rues.  
 Me miserable! which way shall I flie  
 Infinite wrauth, and infinite despaire?  
 75 Which way I flie is Hell; my self am Hell;  
 And in the lowest deep a lower deep  
 Still threatning to devour me opens wide,  
 To which the Hell I suffer seems a Heav'n.

43. Compare Satan's claim at 5.857–61.

73 **Me miserable!** A Latinism, *me miserum!*

75–8. Contrast Satan's boast at 1.254–5 and compare Marlowe's Mephistopheles in *Dr. Faustus* 1.3.76, "Why, this is hell, nor am I out of it."

- O then at last relent: is there no place  
 80 Left for Repentance, none for Pardon left?  
 None left but by submission; and that word  
*Disdain* forbids me, and my dread of shame  
 Among the spirits beneath, whom I seduc'd  
 With other promises and other vaunts  
 85 Then to submit, boasting I could subdue  
 Th' Omnipotent. Ay me, they little know  
 How dearly I abide<sup>o</sup> that boast so vaine, *endure*  
 Under what torments inwardly I groane;  
 While they adore me on the Throne of Hell,  
 90 With Diadem<sup>o</sup> and Sceptre high advanc'd *crown*  
 The lower still I fall, onely Supream  
 In miserie; such joy Ambition findes.  
 But say I could repent and could obtaine  
 By Act of Grace my former state; how soon  
 95 Would high recal high thoughts, how soon unsay  
 What feign'd submission swore: ease would recant  
 Vows made in pain, as violent<sup>o</sup> and void. *forced*  
 For never can true reconcilment grow  
 Where wounds of deadly hate have peirc'd so deep:  
 100 Which would but lead me to a worse relapse  
 And heavier fall: so should I purchase deare  
 Short intermission bought with double smart.  
 This knows my punisher; therefore as farr  
 From granting hee, as I from begging peace:  
 105 All hope excluded thus, behold in stead  
 Of us out-cast, exil'd, his new delight,  
 Mankind created, and for him this World.  
 So farwel Hope, and with Hope farwel Fear,  
 Farwel Remorse: all Good to me is lost;  
 110 Evil be thou my Good; by thee at least  
 Divided Empire with Heav'ns King I hold  
 By thee, and more then half perhaps will reigne;<sup>o</sup> *govern*  
 As Man ere long, and this new World shall know.  
 Thus while he spake, each passion dimm'd his face  
 115 Thrice chang'd with pale,<sup>o</sup> ire, envie and despair, *pallor*  
 Which marrd his borrow'd visage, and betraid

79–80. See God's speeches at 3.129–32 and 5.613–15.

94 **Act of Grace.** The legal term for a formal pardon; unmerited favor of God.

110. See Isa. 5:20: "Woe unto them that call evil good, and good evil."

- Him counterfet, if any eye beheld.  
 For heav'nly mindes from such distempers foule  
 Are ever cleer. Whereof hee soon aware,  
 120 Each perturbation smooth'd with outward calme,  
 Artificer of fraud; and was the first  
 That practis'd<sup>o</sup> falshood under saintly shew, *performed*  
 Deep malice to conceale, couch't<sup>o</sup> with revenge: *hidden*  
 Yet not enough had practis'd to deceive
- 125 *Uriel* once warnd; whose eye pursu'd him down  
 The way he went, and on th' *Assyrian* mount<sup>o</sup> *Niphates*  
 Saw him disfigur'd, more then could befall  
 Spirit of happie sort: his gestures fierce  
 He markd and mad demeanour, then alone,
- 130 As he suppos'd, all unobserv'd, unseen.  
 So on he fares, and to the border comes,  
 Of *Eden*, where delicious *Paradise*,  
 Now nearer, Crowns with her enclosure green,  
 As with a rural mound the champain head
- 135 Of a steep wilderness, whose hairie sides  
 With thicket overgrown, grottesque<sup>o</sup> and wilde, *entangled*  
 Access deni'd; and over head up grew  
 Insuperable highth of loftiest shade,  
 Cedar, and Pine, and Firr, and branching Palm,
- 140 A *Silvan Scene*, and as the ranks ascend  
 Shade above shade, a woodie Theatre  
 Of stateliest view. Yet higher then thir tops  
 The verdurous wall of paradise up sprung:  
 Which to our general Sire gave prospect large
- 145 Into his neather Empire neighbouring round.  
 And higher then that Wall a circling row  
 Of goodliest Trees loaden with fairest Fruit,  
 Blossoms and Fruits at once of golden hue  
 Appeerd, with gay enameld<sup>o</sup> colours mixt: *bright, variegated*

118 **distempers.** Disorders arising from an imbalance of the four humors.

132–49. **Paradise** (*paradeisos*, garden) is a delightful (“delicious”) garden in a plateau (“champain head”) on top of a steep, densely wooded hill situated in the east of the land of Eden, between the upper Tigris and Euphrates rivers. Cf. Spenser’s Garden of Adonis (*Faerie Queene* 3.6.42–5).

133–6. A Freudian reading interprets the garden as an image of the female body, with its “mound” suggestive of the *mons veneris*, as in Spenser’s Garden of Adonis (*Faerie Queene* 3.6.43).

140–2 **Silvan Scene.** Echoes “silvus scaena,” *Aeneid* 1.164. As in a Greek amphitheater, the trees are set row on row.

- 150 On which the Sun more glad impress'd his beams  
 Then in fair Evening Cloud, or humid Bow,<sup>o</sup> rainbow  
 When God hath showrd the earth; so lovely seemd  
 That Lantskip:<sup>o</sup> And of pure now purer aire landscape  
 Meets his approach, and to the heart inspires
- 155 Vernal delight and joy, able to drive  
 All sadness but despair: now gentle gales<sup>o</sup> winds  
 Fanning thir odoriferous<sup>o</sup> wings dispense fragrance-bearing  
 Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole  
 Those balmie spoiles. As when to them who saile
- 160 Beyond the *Cape of Hope*,<sup>o</sup> and now are past Cape of Good Hope  
*Mozambic*, off at Sea North-East windes blow  
*Sabean* Odours from the spicie shoare  
 Of *Arabie* the blest, with such delay  
 Well pleas'd they slack thir course, and many a League
- 165 Chear'd with the grateful<sup>o</sup> smell old Ocean smiles. pleasing  
 So entertaind those odorous sweets the Fiend  
 Who came thir bane,<sup>o</sup> though with them better pleas'd poison  
 Then *Asmodeus* with the fishie fume,  
 That drove him, though enamour'd, from the Spouse
- 170 Of *Tobits* Son, and with a vengeance<sup>o</sup> sent curse  
 From *Media* post to *Ægypt*, there fast bound.  
 Now to th' ascent of that steep savage<sup>o</sup> Hill wooded, wild  
*Satan* had journied on, pensive and slow;  
 But further way found none, so thick entwin'd,
- 175 As one continu'd brake,<sup>o</sup> the undergrowth thicket  
 Of shrubs and tangling bushes had perplex'd<sup>o</sup> would have entangled  
 All path of Man or Beast that past that way:  
 One Gate there only was, and that look'd East  
 On th' other side: which when th' arch-fellon saw

156–9. See *Orlando Furioso* 34.51, Ariosto's Paradise, where "from flowers, fruits and grass the breezes stole / The varied perfumes."

161 *Mozambic*. Mozambique, off the southeast coast of Africa, noted for its fertility.

162 *Sabean*. Saba, the biblical Sheba (1 Kgs 10:1–13).

163 *Arabie the blest*. *Arabia Felix*, modern Yemen (incorporating Sheba, above), and noted for the "sweet odors of myrrh and other odoriferous plants" that waft out to sea (Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History* 3.44).

165 *old Ocean*. The Titan Oceanus.

168–71. The Apocryphal book of Tobit (chapters 6–8) tells of Tobias, "*Tobits* Son," who married Sara in "*Media*" and avoided the fate of her previous seven husbands (killed on their wedding night by her demon lover "*Asmodeus*") by following the instructions of the angel Raphael to burn the heart and liver of a fish, producing a fishy smell ("fishie fume") to drive him off. Asmodeus then fled to Egypt where Raphael "bound" him.

- 180 Due entrance he disdaind, and in contempt,  
 At one slight bound high over leap'd all bound  
 Of Hill or highest Wall, and sheer<sup>o</sup> within *straight down*  
 Lights on his feet. As when a prowling Wolfe,  
 Whom hunger drives to seek new haunt for prey,  
 185 Watching where Shepherds pen thir Flocks at eeve  
 In hurdl'd Cotes<sup>o</sup> amid the field secure, *pens of woven reeds*  
 Leaps o're the fence with ease into the Fould:  
 Or as a Thief bent to unhoord the cash  
 Of some rich Burgher,<sup>o</sup> whose substantial dores, *town-dweller*  
 190 Cross-barrd and bolted fast, fear no assault,  
 In at the window climbs, or o're the tiles;  
 So clomb this first grand Thief into Gods Fould:  
 So since into his Church lewd Hirelings climbe.  
 Thence up he flew, and on the Tree of Life,  
 195 The middle Tree and highest there that grew,  
 Sat like a Cormorant; yet not true Life  
 Thereby regaind, but sat devising Death  
 To them who liv'd; nor on the vertue<sup>o</sup> thought *power*  
 Of that life-giving Plant, but only us'd  
 200 For prospect,<sup>o</sup> what well us'd had bin the pledge *as a lookout*  
 Of immortality. So little knows  
 Any, but God alone, to value right  
 The good before him, but perverts best things  
 To worst abuse, or to thir meanest use.  
 205 Beneath him with new wonder now he views  
 To all delight of human sense expos'd  
 In narrow room Natures whole wealth, yea more,  
 A Heaven on Earth, for blissful Paradise  
 Of God the Garden was, by him in the East  
 210 Of *Eden* planted; *Eden* stretchd her Line  
 From *Auran* Eastward to the Royal Towrs

193 **lewd Hirelings.** Base men interested only in money. Milton would have clergy support themselves, doing away with tithes or state support. See his *Considerations touching the Likeliest means to Remove Hirelings out of the Church* (1659), the condemnation of "hireling wolves" in his sonnet "To the Lord Cromwell," and "Lycidas," 113–21.

194 **Tree of Life.** Cf. Gen. 2:9: "And out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food; the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil."

209–10. Cf. Gen. 2:8: "And the Lord God planted a garden eastward in Eden; and there he put the man whom he had formed."

211 **Auran.** The province of Haran or Hauran on the eastern border of Israel.

- Of Great *Seleucia*, built by *Grecian Kings*,  
 Or where the Sons of *Eden* long before  
 Dwelt in *Telassar*: in this pleasant soile
- 215 His farr more pleasant Garden God ordaind;  
 Out of the fertil ground he caus'd to grow  
 All Trees of noblest kind for sight, smell, taste;  
 And all amid them stood the Tree of Life,  
 High eminent, blooming Ambrosial<sup>o</sup> Fruit *divinely fragrant, immortal*
- 220 Of vegetable Gold; and next to Life  
 Our Death the Tree of knowledge grew fast by,  
 Knowledge of Good bought dear by knowing ill.  
 Southward through *Eden* went a River large,  
 Nor chang'd his course, but through the shaggie hill
- 225 Pass'd underneath ingulft, for God had thrown  
 That Mountain as his Garden mould<sup>o</sup> high rais'd *form, rich earth*  
 Upon the rapid current, which through veins  
 Of porous Earth with kindly<sup>o</sup> thirst up drawn, *natural*  
 Rose a fresh Fountain, and with many a rill
- 230 Waterd the Garden; thence united fell  
 Down the steep glade, and met the neather Flood,  
 Which from his darksom passage now appeers,  
 And now divided into four main Streams,  
 Runs divers, wandring many a famous Realme
- 235 And Country whereof here needs no account,  
 But rather to tell how, if Art could tell,  
 How from that Saphire Fount the crisped<sup>o</sup> Brooks, *wavy, rippling*  
 Rowling on Orient<sup>o</sup> Pearl and sands of Gold, *lustrous, precious*  
 With mazie error under pendant shades
- 240 Ran Nectar, visiting each plant, and fed  
 Flours worthy of Paradise which not nice<sup>o</sup> Art *fastidious, precise*  
 In Beds and curious Knots, but Nature boon

212–14 **Great Seleucia.** A powerful city on the Tigris, south of Baghdad, built by Seleucus Nicator, Alexander the Great's general ("Grecian Kings") as seat of government for his Syrian empire. Called "Great" to distinguish it from other cities with the same name, it marks the eastern boundary of Eden. **Telassar.** The ancient name of Seleucia, mentioned in the Old Testament twice as a place where the Assyrians destroyed "the Children of Eden" (2 Kgs 19:12 and Isa. 37:12).

221–2. See *Christian Doctrine* 1.10: "It was called the tree of knowledge of good and evil from the event, for since it was tasted, not only do we know evil, but we do not even know good except through evil."

223 **a River large.** The Tigris, identified at 9.71.

229–35. Cf. Gen. 2:10: "a river went out of Eden to water the garden: and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads."

239 **mazie error.** Meandering as in a maze ("error" here keeps its Latin sense, *errare*, wandering).

242 **curious Knots.** Flower beds laid out in intricate regular designs, associated with Tudor garden art. **boon.** Bountiful.

- Powrd forth profuse on Hill and Dale and Plaine,  
Both where the morning Sun first warmly smote
- 245 The open field, and where the unpierc't shade  
Imbround<sup>o</sup> the noontide Bows: Thus was this place, *darkened*  
A happy rural seat of various view;  
Groves whose rich Trees wept odorous Gumms and Balme,  
Others whose fruit burnisht with Golden Rinde
- 250 Hung amiable,<sup>o</sup> *Hesperian* Fables true, *lovely*  
If true, here only, and of delicious taste:  
Betwixt them Lawns, or level Downs,<sup>o</sup> and Flocks *open land*  
Grasing the tender herb, were interpos'd,  
Or palmie hilloc, or the flourie lap<sup>o</sup> *valley, hollow*
- 255 Of som irriguous<sup>o</sup> Valley spred her store, *well-watered*  
Flours of all hue, and without Thorn the Rose:  
Another side, umbrageous Grots<sup>o</sup> and Caves *shady grottos*  
Of coole recess, o're which the mantling<sup>o</sup> vine *enveloping*  
Layes forth her purple Grape, and gently creeps
- 260 Luxuriant; mean while murmuring waters fall  
Down the slope hills, disperst, or in a Lake,  
That to the fringed Bank with Myrtle crownd,  
Her chrystal mirror holds, unite thir streams.  
The Birds thir quire apply; aires, vernal aires,
- 265 Breathing the smell of field and grove, attune  
The trembling leaves, while Universal *Pan*  
Knit<sup>o</sup> with the *Graces* and the *Hours* in dance *clasping hands*  
Led on th' Eternal Spring. Not that faire field  
Of *Enna*, where *Proserpin* gathering flours
- 270 Her self a fairer Floure by gloomie *Dis*  
Was gatherd, which cost *Ceres* all that pain  
To seek her through the world; nor that sweet Grove  
Of *Daphne* by *Orontes*, and th' inspir'd  
*Castalian* Spring, might with this Paradise

247 *seat*. Like a country estate, with a variety of prospects (“various view”).

250–1 *Hesperian Fables*. By contrast to the feigned golden apples of the Hesperides (fabled paradisaal islands in the Western Ocean) Eden has “true” golden apples.

266–7 *Universal Pan*. The wood-god “*Pan*” was taken as a symbol of “Universal” nature since his name in Greek means “all.” *Graces*. Euphrosyne, Aglaia, and Thalia attend upon Venus, as in Botticelli’s *Primavera*. *Hours*. *Horae*, goddesses of the seasons. See Milton’s “L’Allegro,” 11–24, and *Comus* 986.

268–84. Even as he denies the comparison Milton associates Eden with four famous beauty spots of classical myth.

268–72. *Enna*. A lovely meadow in Sicily from which “*Proserpin*” was kidnapped by “gloomie *Dis*” (Pluto); her mother “*Ceres*” sought her throughout the world.

272–5 *Grove / Of Daphne*. A laurel grove on the river “*Orontes*” in Syria, whose “inspir’d / *Castalian* Spring” was named for the Muses’ fountain near Parnassus and was said to bestow prophetic powers.



- 275 Of *Eden* strive; nor that *Nyseian Ile*  
 Girt with the River *Triton*, where old *Cham*,  
 Whom Gentiles *Ammon* call and *Lybian Jove*,  
 Hid *Amalthea* and her Florid<sup>o</sup> Son *wine-flushed*  
 Young *Bacchus* from his Stepdame *Rhea's* eye;
- 280 Nor where *Abassin* Kings thir issue Guard,  
 Mount *Amara*, though this by som suppos'd  
 True Paradise under the *Ethiop* Line  
 By *Nilus*<sup>o</sup> head, enclosd with shining Rock, *Nile's*  
 A whole days journey high, but wide remote
- 285 From this *Assyrian* Garden,<sup>o</sup> where the Fiend *Eden*  
 Saw undelighted all delight, all kind  
 Of living Creatures new to sight and strange:  
 Two of far nobler shape erect and tall,  
 Godlike erect, with native Honour clad
- 290 In naked Majestie seemd Lords of all,  
 And worthie seemd, for in thir looks Divine  
 The image of thir glorious Maker shon,  
 Truth, wisdom, Sanctitude severe<sup>o</sup> and pure, *austere*  
 Severe but in true filial freedom plac't;
- 295 Whence true autoritie in men; though both  
 Not equal, as thir sex not equal seemd;  
 For contemplation hee and valour formd,  
 For softness shee and sweet attractive Grace,  
 Hee for God only, shee for God in him:
- 300 His fair large Front<sup>o</sup> and Eye sublime<sup>o</sup> declar'd *forehead / noble*  
 Absolute rule; and Hyacinthin Locks  
 Round from his parted forelock manly hung  
 Clustering, but not beneath his shoulders broad:  
 Shee as a vail down to the slender waste

275–9 **Nyseian Ile.** Nysa in the river “*Triton*” in Tunisia was where “*Ammon*,” an Egyptian god, identified with Jupiter (“*Jove*”) and with Noah’s son “*Cham*” (Ham) hid the nymph “*Amalthea*” and his child by her, “*Bacchus*,” from his wife “*Rhea*.”

280–4 **Mount Amara.** At the source of the Nile (“*Nilus* head”) at the Equator (“*Ethiop* Line”), in splendid palaces amid paradisaical gardens, the “*Abassin*” (Abyssinian) kings kept their sons (“issue”) to avoid sedition. Peter Heylyn, in his *Cosmographie* (1652), said it was “a dayes journey high,” and that “some have taken (but mistaken) it for the place of *Paradise*” (4.64).

301 **Hyacinthin.** Curled. Cf. *Odysseus*’ hair that “hung down like hyacinthine petals” shining like “gold on silver” (*Odyssey* 6.231–2).

302–8. See 1 Cor. 11:14–15: “if a man have long hair, it is a shame unto him . . . But if a woman have long hair, it is a glory to her: for her hair is given her for a covering.” The AV glosses “covering” to indicate that “she is under the power of her husband.” Royalists were often derided by Puritans for their long hair. Compare Eve’s “Dishevelld” and “wanton” ringlets to nature in *Eden* (4.236–43).

- 305 Her unadorned golden tresses wore  
 Disheveld, but in wanton<sup>o</sup> ringlets wav'd *unrestrained, luxuriant*  
 As the Vine curls her tendrils, which impli'd  
 Subjection, but requir'd with gentle sway,<sup>o</sup> *persuasion*  
 And by her yielded, by him best receivd,
- 310 Yielded with coy<sup>o</sup> submission, modest pride, *shyly reserved*  
 And sweet reluctant amorous delay.  
 Nor those mysterious<sup>o</sup> parts were then conceald, *secret, awe-inspiring*  
 Then was not guiltie shame, dishonest<sup>o</sup> shame *unchaste*  
 Of natures works, honor dishonorable,
- 315 Sin-bred, how have ye troubl'd all mankind  
 With shews instead, meer shews of seeming pure,  
 And banisht from mans life his happiest life,  
 Simplicitie and spotless innocence.  
 So passd they naked on, nor shund the sight
- 320 Of God or Angel, for they thought no ill:  
 So hand in hand they passd, the lovliest pair  
 That ever since in loves imbraces met,  
*Adam* the goodliest<sup>o</sup> man of men since borne *most handsome*  
 His Sons, the fairest of her Daughters *Eve*.
- 325 Under a tuft of shade that on a green  
 Stood whispering soft, by a fresh Fountain side  
 They sat them down, and after no more toil  
 Of thir sweet Gardning labour then suffic'd  
 To recommend coole *Zephyr*, and made ease
- 330 More easie, wholsom thirst and appetite  
 More grateful, to thir Supper Fruits they fell,  
 Nectarine<sup>o</sup> Fruits which the compliant boughes *sweet as nectar*  
 Yielded them, side-long as they sat recline  
 On the soft downie Bank damask<sup>o</sup> with flours: *interwoven, variegated*
- 335 The savourie pulp they chew, and in the rinde  
 Still as they thirsted scoop the brimming stream;  
 Nor gentle purpose,<sup>o</sup> nor endearing smiles *conversation*  
 Wanted,<sup>o</sup> nor youthful dalliance as beseems *lacked*  
 Fair couple, linkt in happie nuptial League,
- 340 Alone as they. About them frisking playd  
 All Beasts of th' Earth, since wilde, and of all chase<sup>o</sup> *animals (later) hunted*  
 In Wood or Wilderness, Forrest or Den;  
 Sporting the Lion rampd,<sup>o</sup> and in his paw *stood on hind legs*

329 *Zephyr*. God of the west wind, hence, to make a cool breeze welcome.

- Dandl'd the Kid; Bears, Tygers, Ounces,° Pard<sup>o</sup> *lynxes / leopards*  
 345 Gambold before them, th' unwieldy Elephant  
 To make them mirth us'd all his might, and wreathd  
 His Lithe Proboscis;° close the Serpent sly *trunk*  
 Insinuating, wove with Gordian twine  
 His breaded train, and of his fatal guile  
 350 Gave proof unheeded; others on the grass  
 Coucht, and now fild with pasture gazing sat,  
 Or Bedward ruminating:° for the Sun *chewing the cud*  
 Declin'd° was hasting now with prone carreer° *sinking / sharp descent*  
 To th' Ocean Iles,° and in th' ascending Scale° *the Azores / Libra*  
 355 Of Heav'n the Starrs that usher Evening rose:  
 When *Satan* still in gaze, as first he stood,  
 Scarce thus at length faild speech recoverd sad.  
 O Hell! what doe mine eyes with grief behold,  
 Into our room° of bliss thus high advanc't *place*  
 360 Creatures of other mould, earth-born perhaps,  
 Not Spirits, yet to heav'nly Spirits bright  
 Little inferior; whom my thoughts pursue  
 With wonder, and could love, so lively shines  
 In them Divine resemblance, and such grace  
 365 The hand that formd them on thir shape hath pourd.  
 Ah gentle pair, yee little think how nigh  
 Your change approaches, when all these delights  
 Will vanish and deliver ye to woe,  
 More woe, the more your taste is now of joy;  
 370 Happie, but for so happie° ill secur'd *such happiness*  
 Long to continue, and this high seat your Heav'n  
 Ill fenc't for Heav'n to keep out such a foe  
 As now is enterd; yet no purpos'd foe  
 To you whom I could pittie thus forlorne  
 375 Though I unpittied: League with you I seek,  
 And mutual amitie so streight,° so close, *intimate*  
 That I with you must dwell, or you with me  
 Henceforth; my dwelling haply° may not please *perhaps*  
 Like this fair Paradise, your sense, yet such

344. See Isa. 11:6: "The leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together."

348 **Insinuating**. moving sinuously, twisting. **Gordian twine**. cords as convoluted as the Gordian knot which Alexander the Great had to cut with his sword.

361–5. See Ps. 8:5: "For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honour."

- 380 Accept your Makers work; he gave it me,  
Which I as freely give; Hell shall unfold,  
To entertain you two, her widest Gates,  
And send forth all her Kings; there will be room,  
Not like these narrow limits,<sup>o</sup> to receive *the garden's bounds*
- 385 Your numerous offspring; if no better place,  
Thank him who puts me loath to this revenge  
On you who wrong me not for<sup>o</sup> him who wrongd. *in place of*  
And should I at your harmless innocence  
Melt, as I doe, yet public reason just,
- 390 Honour and Empire with revenge enlarg'd,  
By conquering this new World, compels me now  
To do what else though damnd I should abhorre.  
So spake the Fiend, and with necessitie,  
The Tyrants plea, excus'd his devilish deeds.
- 395 Then from his loftie stand on that high Tree  
Down he alights among the sportful Herd  
Of those fourfooted kindes, himself now one,  
Now other, as thir shape servd best his end  
Neerer to view his prey, and unespī'd
- 400 To mark what of thir state he more might learn  
By word or action markt: about them round  
A Lion now he stalkes with fierie glare,  
Then as a Tyger, who by chance hath spi'd  
In some Purlieu<sup>o</sup> two gentle Fawnes at play, *outskirts of a forest*
- 405 Strait couches close, then rising changes oft  
His couchant watch, as one who chose his ground  
Whence rushing he might surest seize them both  
Gript in each paw: When *Adam* first of men  
To first of women *Eve* thus moving speech,
- 410 Turnd him all eare to hear new utterance flow.  
Sole<sup>o</sup> partner and sole<sup>o</sup> part of all these joyes, *only / unique*  
Dearer thy self then all; needs must the Power  
That made us, and for us this ample World  
Be infinitely good, and of his good

383 **Kings.** Cf. Isaiah's prophecy of the fall of Babylon (Isa. 14:9) promising to stir up to "meet thee at thy coming . . . all the chief ones of the earth . . . all the kings of the nations." The reference suggests that Hell is (and will be) populated by kings. Some of the fallen angels bear monarchical titles: Princesdoms, Dominations, Thrones, etc.

389–94. Satan is cast as a Machiavellian politician and tyrant, appealing to reason of state ("public reason"), "Honour and Empire," and "necessitie, / The Tyrants plea" to justify evil deeds.

402–8. When Satan inhabits them, the future predators foreshadow their natures after the Fall. **couchant.** Lying close to the ground, ready to pounce.

- 415 As liberal and free as infinite,  
 That rais'd us from the dust and plac't us here  
 In all this happiness, who at his hand  
 Have nothing merited, nor can performe  
 Aught whereof hee hath need, hee who requires
- 420 From us no other service then to keep  
 This one, this easie charge, of all the Trees  
 In Paradise that bear delicious fruit  
 So various, not to taste that onely Tree  
 Of knowledge, planted by the Tree of Life,
- 425 So neer grows Death to Life, what ere Death is,  
 Som dreadful thing no doubt; for well thou knowst  
 God hath pronounc't it death to taste that Tree,  
 The only sign of our obedience left  
 Among so many signes of power and rule
- 430 Conferd upon us, and Dominion giv'n  
 Over all other Creatures that possess  
 Earth, Aire, and Sea. Then let us not think hard  
 One easie prohibition, who enjoy  
 Free leave so large to all things else, and choice
- 435 Unlimited of manifold delights:  
 But let us ever praise him, and extoll  
 His bountie, following our delightful task  
 To prune these growing Plants, and tend these Flours,  
 Which were it toilsom, yet with thee were sweet.
- 440 To whom thus *Eve* repli'd. O thou for whom  
 And from whom I was formd flesh of thy flesh,  
 And without whom am to no end,<sup>o</sup> my Guide *have no purpose*  
 And Head, what thou hast said is just and right.  
 For wee to him indeed all praises owe,
- 445 And daily thanks, I chiefly who enjoy  
 So farr the happier Lot, enjoying thee  
 Præminent by so much odds, while thou  
 Like consort to thy self canst no where find.

423–7. See Gen. 2:16–17: “Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat: But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die.”

430–2. See Gen. 1:26: “And God said, Let us make man in our image . . . and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle . . . , and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.”

443 **Head.** Cf. 1 Cor. 11:3: “the head of every man is Christ; and the head of the woman is the man; and the head of Christ is God.”

447 **by so much odds.** By such a large difference.

- That day I oft remember, when from sleep  
 450 I first awak't, and found my self repos'd<sup>o</sup> *resting*  
 Under a shade of flours, much wondring where  
 And what I was, whence thither brought, and how.  
 Not distant far from thence a murmuring sound  
 Of waters issu'd from a Cave and spread  
 455 Into a liquid Plain, then stood unmov'd  
 Pure as th' expanse of Heav'n; I thither went  
 With unexperienc't thought, and laid me downe  
 On the green bank, to look into the cleer  
 Smooth Lake, that to me seemd another Skie.  
 460 As I bent down to look, just opposite,  
 A Shape within the watry gleam appeard  
 Bending to look on me, I started back,  
 It started back, but pleas'd I soon returnd,  
 Pleas'd it returnd as soon with answering looks  
 465 Of sympathie and love; there I had fixt  
 Mine eyes till now, and pin'd with vain<sup>o</sup> desire, *futile*  
 Had not a voice thus warnd me, What thou seest,  
 What there thou seest fair Creature is thy self,  
 With thee it came and goes: but follow me,  
 470 And I will bring thee where no shadow staies<sup>o</sup> *hinders, awaits*  
 Thy coming, and thy soft imbraces, hee  
 Whose image thou art, him thou shalt enjoy  
 Inseparablie thine, to him shalt beare  
 Multitudes like thy self, and thence be call'd  
 475 Mother of human Race: what could I doe,  
 But follow strait,<sup>o</sup> invisibly thus led? *at once*  
 Till I espi'd thee, fair indeed and tall,  
 Under a Platan,<sup>o</sup> yet methought less faire, *plane tree*  
 Less winning soft, less amiablie milde,  
 480 Then that smooth watry image; back I turnd,  
 Thou following cryd'st aloud, Return faire *Eve*,  
 Whom fli'st thou? whom thou fli'st, of him thou art,  
 His flesh, his bone; to give thee being I lent  
 Out of my side to thee, neerest my heart

449–91. Compare Adam's account of his creation and marriage to Eve (8.250–520).

456–76. Eve's experience parallels, with significant differences, the story of Narcissus, who fell in love with his own reflection and pined away; he was then transformed into the flower bearing his name (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 3.402–510).

475 **Mother of human Race.** Cf. Gen. 3:20, "Adam called his wife's name Eve, because she was the mother of all the living."

- 485 Substantial Life, to have thee by my side  
 Henceforth an individual<sup>o</sup> solace dear; *inseparable, separate*  
 Part of my Soul I seek thee, and thee claim  
 My other half: with that thy gentle hand  
 Seisd mine, I yielded, and from that time see
- 490 How beauty is excelld by manly grace  
 And wisdom, which alone is truly fair.  
 So spake our general Mother, and with eyes  
 Of conjugal attraction unprov'd,  
 And meek surrender, half embracing leand
- 495 On our first Father, half her swelling Breast  
 Naked met his under the flowing Gold  
 Of her loose tresses hid: he in delight  
 Both of her Beauty and submissive Charms  
 Smil'd with superior Love, as *Jupiter*
- 500 On *Juno* smiles, when he impregns<sup>o</sup> the Clouds *impregnates*  
 That shed *May* Flowers; and press'd her Matron lip  
 With kisses pure: aside the Devil turnd  
 For envie, yet with jealous leer maligne  
 Ey'd them askance, and to himself thus plaind.<sup>o</sup> *complained*
- 505 Sight hateful, sight tormenting! thus these two  
 Imparadis't in one anothers arms  
 The happier *Eden*, shall enjoy thir fill  
 Of bliss on bliss, while I to Hell am thrust,  
 Where neither joy nor love, but fierce desire,
- 510 Among our other torments not the least,  
 Still<sup>o</sup> unfulfill'd with pain of longing pines; *continually*  
 Yet let me not forget what I have gain'd  
 From thir own mouths; all is not theirs it seems:  
 One fatal Tree there stands of Knowledge call'd,
- 515 Forbidden them to taste: Knowledge forbidd'n?  
 Suspicious, reasonless. Why should thir Lord  
 Envie<sup>o</sup> them that? can it be sin to know, *begrudge*  
 Can it be death? and do they onely stand  
 By Ignorance, is that thir happie state,
- 520 The proof of thir obedience and thir faith?  
 O fair foundation laid whereon to build  
 Thir ruine! Hence I will excite thir minds

499–501. In *Iliad* 14.346–51 Zeus (“*Jupiter*”), god of the sky, and Hera (“*Juno*”), goddess of the air, make love under a cloud; their union was sometimes allegorized as a union of aether and air. Milton’s Jupiter impregnates the clouds with the seeds of flowers that grow after rain.

- With more desire to know, and to reject  
 Envious commands, invented with designe  
 525 To keep them low whom knowledge might exalt  
 Equal with Gods; aspiring to be such,  
 They taste and die: what likelier can ensue?  
 But first with narrow search I must walk round  
 This Garden, and no corner leave unspi'd;  
 530 A chance but chance may lead where I may meet  
 Some wandring Spirit of Heav'n, by Fountain side,  
 Or in thick shade retir'd, from him to draw  
 What further would be learnt. Live while ye may,  
 Yet happie pair; enjoy, till I return,  
 535 Short pleasures, for long woes are to succeed.  
     So saying, his proud step he scornful turn'd,  
     But with sly circumspection, and began  
     Through wood, through waste, o're hill, o're dale his roam<sup>o</sup> *wandering*  
     Mean while in utmost Longitude,<sup>o</sup> where Heav'n *farthest west*  
 540 With Earth and Ocean meets, the setting Sun  
 Slowly descended, and with right aspect  
 Against the eastern Gate of Paradise  
 Leveld his eevning Rayes: it was a Rock  
 Of Alablaster, pil'd up to the Clouds,  
 545 Conspicuous farr,<sup>o</sup> winding with one ascent *from afar*  
 Accessible from Earth, one entrance high;  
 The rest was craggie cliff, that overhung  
 Still<sup>o</sup> as it rose, impossible to climbe. *continually*  
 Betwixt these rockie Pillars *Gabriel* sat  
 550 Chief of th' Angelic Guards, awaiting night;  
 About him exercis'd Heroic Games  
 Th' unarmed Youth of Heav'n, but nigh at hand  
 Celestial Armourie, Shields, Helmes, and Speares,  
 Hung high with Diamond flaming, and with Gold.  
 555 Thither came *Uriel*, gliding through the Eeven  
 On a Sun beam, swift as a shooting Starr  
 In *Autumn* thwarts the night, when vapors fir'd  
 Impress the Air, and shews the Mariner  
 From what point of his Compass to beware

544–5 **Alablaster.** White, translucent marble veined with colors.

549 **Gabriel.** Hebrew, "Strength of God." A tradition (see 1 Enoch 20:7) gave Gabriel charge of Paradise.

557–61 **thwarts.** Passes over, obstructs. **vapors fir'd.** Combustible exhalations from the earth, thought to cause shooting stars, which would foretell storms, "Impetuous winds."



560 Impetuous winds: he thus began in haste.

*Gabriel*, to thee thy course by Lot hath giv'n  
Charge and strict watch that to this happie place  
No evil thing approach or enter in;  
This day at highth of Noon came to my Spheare

565 A Spirit, zealous, as he seem'd, to know

More of th' Almightyes works, and chiefly Man  
Gods latest Image: I describ'd<sup>o</sup> his way  
Bent all on speed, and markt his Aerie Gate;<sup>o</sup>  
But in the Mount that lies from *Eden* North,

*descried, observed*  
*journey, gait*

570 Where he first lighted, soon discern'd his looks  
Alien from Heav'n, with passions foul obscur'd:  
Mine eye pursu'd him still, but under shade  
Lost sight of him; one of the banisht crew  
I fear, hath ventur'd from the deep, to raise

575 New troubles; him thy care must be to find.

To whom the winged Warriour thus return'd:

*Uriel*, no wonder if thy perfet sight,  
Amid the Suns bright circle where thou sitst,  
See farr and wide: in at this Gate none pass  
580 The vigilance<sup>o</sup> here plac't, but such as come  
Well known from Heav'n; and since Meridian hour<sup>o</sup>  
No Creature thence: if Spirit of other sort,  
So minded, have oreleapt these earthie bounds  
On purpose, hard thou knowst it to exclude

*vigilant guard*  
*noon*

585 Spiritual substance with corporeal barr.

But if within the circuit of these walks,  
In whatsoever shape he lurk, of whom  
Thou tellst, by morrow dawning I shall know.

So promis'd hee, and *Uriel* to his charge

590 Return'd on that bright beam, whose point now rais'd

Bore him slope downward to the Sun now fall'n  
Beneath th' *Azores*; whither the prime Orb,<sup>o</sup>  
Incredible how swift, had thither rowl'd<sup>o</sup>  
Diurnal,<sup>o</sup> or this less volubil<sup>o</sup> Earth

*the sun*  
*orbited*  
*daily / swift-turning*

595 By shorter flight to th' East, had left him there

Arraying with reflected Purple and Gold  
The Clouds that on his Western Throne attend:  
Now came still Eevning on, and Twilight gray

592–5. Here and elsewhere Milton describes the cosmos in both Ptolemaic and Copernican terms.

- Had in her sober Liverie all things clad;  
 600 Silence accompanied, for Beast and Bird,  
 They to thir grassie Couch, these to thir Nests  
 Were slunk, all but the wakeful Nightingale;  
 She all night long her amorous descant<sup>o</sup> sung; melody  
 Silence was pleas'd: now glow'd the Firmament
- 605 With living Saphirs:<sup>o</sup> *Hesperus*<sup>o</sup> that led stars / Venus, the evening star  
 The starrie Host, rode brightest, till the Moon  
 Rising in clouded Majestie, at length  
 Apparent<sup>o</sup> Queen unvaild her peerless light, manifest  
 And o're the dark her Silver Mantle threw.
- 610 When *Adam* thus to *Eve*: Fair Consort, th' hour  
 Of night, and all things now retir'd to rest  
 Mind us of like repose, since God hath set  
 Labour and rest, as day and night to men  
 Successive, and the timely dew of sleep
- 615 Now falling with soft slumbrous weight inclines  
 Our eye-lids; other Creatures all day long  
 Rove idle unimploid, and less need rest;  
 Man hath his daily work of body or mind  
 Appointed, which declares his Dignitie,
- 620 And the regard<sup>o</sup> of Heav'n on all his waies; attention, esteem  
 While other Animals unactive range,  
 And of thir doings God takes no account.  
 To morrow ere fresh Morning streak the East  
 With first approach of light, we must be ris'n,
- 625 And at our pleasant labour, to reform  
 Yon flourie Arbors, yonder Allies green,  
 Our walk at noon, with branches overgrown,  
 That mock our scant manuring,<sup>o</sup> and require cultivation  
 More hands then ours to lop thir wanton growth:
- 630 Those Blossoms also, and those dropping Gumms,  
 That lie bestrowne unsightly and unsmooth,  
 Ask riddance, if we mean to tread with ease;  
 Mean while, as Nature wills, Night bids us rest.  
 To whom thus *Eve* with perfet beauty adorn'd.
- 635 My Author<sup>o</sup> and Disposer, what thou bidst originator, authority  
 Unargu'd I obey; so God ordains,  
 God is thy Law, thou mine: to know no more  
 Is womans happiest knowledge and her praise.  
 With thee conversing I forget all time,
- 640 All seasons<sup>o</sup> and thir change, all please alike. times of day

- Sweet is the breath of morn, her rising sweet,  
 With charm<sup>o</sup> of earliest Birds; pleasant the Sun song  
 When first on this delightful Land he spreads  
 His orient<sup>o</sup> Beams, on herb, tree, fruit, and flour, from the east, lustrous  
 645 Glistening with dew; fragrant the fertile earth  
 After soft showers; and sweet the coming on  
 Of grateful Eevning milde, then silent Night  
 With this her solemn Bird<sup>o</sup> and this fair Moon, nightingale  
 And these the Gemms of Heav'n, her starrie train:  
 650 But neither breath of Morn when she ascends  
 With charm of earliest Birds, nor rising Sun  
 On this delightful land, nor herb, fruit, floure,  
 Glistening with dew, nor fragrance after showers,  
 Nor grateful Eevning mild, nor silent Night  
 655 With this her solemn Bird, nor walk by Moon,  
 Or glittering Starr-light without thee is sweet.  
 But wherfore all night long shine these, for whom  
 This glorious sight, when sleep hath shut all eyes?  
     To whom our general Ancestor repli'd.  
 660 Daughter of God and Man, accomplisht *Eve*,  
 Those have thir course to finish, round the Earth,  
 By morrow Eevning, and from Land to Land  
 In order, though to Nations yet unborn,  
 Ministring light prepar'd, they set and rise;  
 665 Least total darkness should by Night regaine  
 Her old possession, and extinguish life  
 In Nature and all things, which these soft fires  
 Not only enlighten, but with kindly<sup>o</sup> heate natural, benign  
 Of various influence foment<sup>o</sup> and warme, cherish with heat  
 670 Temper or nourish, or in part shed down  
 Thir stellar vertue on all kinds that grow  
 On Earth, made hereby apter to receive  
 Perfection from the Suns more potent Ray.  
 These then, though unbeheld in deep of night,  
 675 Shine not in vain, nor think, though men were none,  
 That heav'n would want<sup>o</sup> spectators, God want praise; lack

641–56. This embedded love lyric, replete with striking rhetorical figures of circularity and repetition, displays Eve's poetic talents. It is constructed as an epanalepsis, a figure which begins and ends with the same word ("Sweet / sweet") after intervening matter.

670–3 **Temper.** Heal or refresh by restoring the proper balance of elements or humors. The stars were thought to have their own occult influence, and also to moderate that of the sun.

- Millions of spiritual Creatures walk the Earth  
 Unseen, both when we wake, and when we sleep:  
 All these with ceaseless praise his works behold  
 680 Both day and night: how often from the steep  
 Of echoing Hill or Thicket have we heard  
 Celestial voices to the midnight air,  
 Sole, or responsive each to others note  
 Singing thir great Creator: oft in bands  
 685 While they keep watch, or nightly rounding<sup>o</sup> walk, *make their rounds*  
 With Heav'nly touch of instrumental sounds  
 In full harmonic number join'd, thir songs  
 Divide the night, and lift our thoughts to Heaven.  
 Thus talking hand in hand alone they pass'd  
 690 On to thir blissful Bower; it was a place  
 Chos'n by the sovran Planter, when he fram'd<sup>o</sup> *fashioned*  
 All things to mans delightful use; the rooffe  
 Of thickest covert was inwoven shade  
 Laurel and Mirtle, and what higher grew  
 695 Of firm and fragrant leaf; on either side  
*Acanthus*, and each odorous bushie shrub  
 Fenc'd up the verdant wall; each beauteous flour,  
*Iris* all hues, *Roses*, and *Gessamin*<sup>o</sup> *jasmine*  
 Rear'd high thir flourisht<sup>o</sup> heads between, and wrought *flowering*  
 700 Mosaic; underfoot the Violet,  
 Crocus, and Hyacinth with rich inlay  
 Broiderd the ground, more colour'd then with stone  
 Of costliest Emblem:<sup>o</sup> other Creature here *inlaid with gemstones*  
 Beast, Bird, Insect, or Worm durst enter none;  
 705 Such was thir awe of Man. In shadier Bower  
 More sacred and sequesterd,<sup>o</sup> though but feignd, *secluded*  
*Pan* or *Silvanus* never slept, nor Nymph,  
 Nor *Faunus* haunted. Here in close recess  
 With Flowers, Garlands, and sweet-smelling Herbs  
 710 Espoused *Eve* deckt first her Nuptial Bed,  
 And heav'nly Quires the Hymenæan sung,

688 **Divide the night.** Mark the watches of the night; also, perform musical divisions, elaborate melodic passages.

691 **sovran Planter.** See Gen. 2:8: "God planted a garden eastward in Eden."

707–8. Forest and field deities of classical mythology. "*Pan*," "*Silvanus*," and "*Faunus*" were fertility gods, half-man, half-goat.

711 **Hymenæan.** Wedding song. Hymen was the classical god of marriage.

- What day the genial<sup>o</sup> Angel to our Sire  
 Brought her in naked beauty more adorn'd,  
 More lovely then *Pandora*, whom the Gods  
 715 Endowd with all thir gifts, and O too like  
 In sad event,<sup>o</sup> when to the unwiser Son  
 Of *Japhet* brought by *Hermes*, she ensnar'd  
 Mankind with her faire looks, to be aveng'd  
 On him who had stole *Joves* authentic<sup>o</sup> fire. outcome  
 720 Thus at thir shadie Lodge arriv'd, both stood,  
 Both turnd, and under op'n Skie ador'd  
 The God that made both Skie, Air, Earth and Heav'n  
 Which they beheld, the Moons resplendent Globe  
 And starrie Pole:<sup>o</sup> Thou also mad'st the Night, the sky  
 725 Maker Omnipotent, and thou the Day,  
 Which we in our appointed work imployd  
 Have finisht happie in our mutual help  
 And mutual love, the Crown of all our bliss  
 Ordaind by thee, and this delicious place  
 730 For us too large, where thy abundance wants  
 Partakers, and uncropt falls to the ground.  
 But thou hast promis'd from us two a Race  
 To fill the Earth, who shall with us extoll  
 Thy goodness infinite, both when we wake,  
 735 And when we seek, as now, thy gift of sleep.  
 This said unanimous, and other Rites  
 Observing none, but adoration pure  
 Which God likes best, into thir inmost bowre  
 Handed<sup>o</sup> they went; and eas'd<sup>o</sup> the putting off hand in hand / spared  
 740 These troublesom disguises which wee wear,  
 Strait side by side were laid, nor turnd I weene<sup>o</sup> surmise  
*Adam* from his fair Spouse, nor *Eve* the Rites  
 Mysterious<sup>o</sup> of connubial Love refus'd: awe-inspiring, sacred

714–19 *Pandora*. Pandora (Greek, “all gifts”) was an artificial woman, molded of clay, bestowed by the gods on Epimetheus (“afterthought”), brother of Prometheus (“forethought”), who angered the gods by stealing Jove’s fire for man. She brought a box that foolish Epimetheus (“the unwiser Son / Of *Japhet*”) opened, releasing all the ills of the human race, leaving only hope trapped inside. The brothers were sons of the Titan Iapetos, who was often identified with Japhet, the third son of Noah. The Eve–Pandora parallel was often noted.

724–5. See Ps. 74:16: “The day is thine, the night also is thine: thou hast prepared the light and the sun.”

736–8 *Rites*. Like many Puritans, Milton objected to set forms of prayer, so Adam and Eve pray spontaneously, therefore sincerely, though paradoxically they pray together, “unanimous.”

- Whatever Hypocrites austerely talk  
 745 Of puritie and place and innocence,  
 Defaming as impure what God declares  
 Pure, and commands to som, leaves free to all.  
 Our Maker bids increase, who bids abstain  
 But our destroyer, foe to God and Man?
- 750 Haile wedded Love, mysterious Law, true source  
 Of human ofspring, sole proprietie,<sup>o</sup> *only exclusive possession*  
 In Paradise of all things common else.  
 By thee adulterous lust was driv'n from men  
 Among the bestial herds to raunge, by thee
- 755 Founded in Reason, Loyal, Just, and Pure,  
 Relations dear, and all the Charities<sup>o</sup> *loves, affections*  
 Of Father, Son, and Brother first were known.  
 Farr be it, that I should write thee sin or blame,  
 Or think thee unbefitting holiest place,
- 760 Perpetual Fountain of Domestic sweets,  
 Whose bed is undefil'd and chaste pronounc't,  
 Present, or past, as Saints and Patriarchs us'd.  
 Here Love his golden shafts imploies, here lights  
 His constant Lamp, and waves his purple wings,
- 765 Reigns here and revels; not in the bought smile  
 Of Harlots, loveless, joyless, unindeard,<sup>o</sup> *lacking affection*  
 Casual fruition, nor in Court Amours  
 Mixt Dance, or wanton Mask, or Midnight Bal,  
 Or Serenate, which the starv'd Lover sings
- 770 To his proud fair, best quitted with disdain.  
 These lulld by Nightingales imbraceing slept,

744–9. 1 Tim. 4:1–3, applied by Protestants to the Roman Church, warns that “in the latter times some shall depart from the faith . . . Forbidding to marry.” Cf. 1 Cor. 7:9, “But if they cannot contain, let them marry: for it is better to marry than to burn,” and Gen. 1:28: “And God said unto them, Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth.”

750–75. An embedded epithalamium (wedding song originally sung outside the bridal chamber). The Bard takes on the role of celebrator singing outside Adam and Eve's bower as they prepare for sex and sleep, though this couple's wedding night took place at some earlier time.

761. Cf. Heb. 13:4: “Marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled.”

762 **Saints and Patriarchs.** Many of them were married.

763. The “golden shafts” (arrows) of Cupid (Love) were said to produce true love; his lead-tipped arrows, hate.

768 **Mixt Dance.** Men and women dancing together. **wanton Mask.** The ostentatious entertainments of the Stuart court.

769–70 **Serenate.** Milton imagines a Petrarchan serenade (night song) by a lover perishing from the cold (“starv'd”) his “proud” lady exudes by her refusals of love (a typical Petrarchan conceit).

- And on thir naked limbs the flourie roof  
 Showrd Roses, which the Morn repair'd.° Sleep on replaced  
 Blest pair; and O yet happiest if ye seek  
 775 No happier state, and know to know no more.  
 Now had night measur'd with her shaddowie Cone  
 Half way up Hill this vast Sublunar Vault,  
 And from thir Ivorie Port the Cherubim  
 Forth issuing at th' accustomed hour stood armd  
 780 To thir night watches in warlike Parade,  
 When *Gabriel* to his next in power thus spake.  
*Uzziel*, half these draw off, and coast° the South traverse  
 With strictest watch; these other wheel° the North, turn, as around a pivot  
 Our circuit meets full West. As flame they part  
 785 Half wheeling to the Shield,° half to the Spear.° left / right  
 From these, two strong and suttle Spirits he calld  
 That neer him stood, and gave them thus in charge.  
*Ithuriel* and *Zephon*, with wingd speed  
 Search through this Garden, leave unsearcht no nook,  
 790 But chiefly where those two fair Creatures Lodge,  
 Now laid perhaps asleep secure of harme.  
 This Eevning from the Sun's decline arriv'd  
 Who° tells of som infernal Spirit seen one who  
 Hitherward bent (who could have thought?) escap'd  
 795 The barrs of Hell, on errand bad no doubt:  
 Such where ye find, seise fast, and hither bring.  
 So saying, on he led his radiant Files,  
 Daz'ling the Moon; these to the Bower direct  
 In search of whom they sought: him there they found  
 800 Squat like a Toad, close at the eare of *Eve*;  
 Assaying by his Devilish art to reach  
 The Organs of her Fancie, and with them forge  
 Illusions as he list,° Phantasms and Dreams, pleased  
 Or if, inspiring° venom, he might taint breathing into (her)

776–7. The conical shadow cast by the earth has moved “Half way up Hill,” i.e., halfway between the horizon and the zenith, so it is 9 p.m.

778 **Ivorie Port.** The source of false dreams in Homer (*Odyssey* 6.562–5), dreams whose message is never accomplished.

782 **Uzziel.** Hebrew, “Strength of God.” Cabbalistic tradition identified him as one of the seven angels before God’s throne.

788 **Ithuriel.** Hebrew, “Discovery of God.” **Zephon.** Hebrew, “Look-out.” There is no biblical account of angels so named.

802 **Organs.** Instruments. **Fancie.** The faculty that forms mental images.

- 805 Th' animal Spirits that from pure blood arise  
 Like gentle breaths from Rivers pure, thence raise  
 At least distemperd,<sup>o</sup> discontented thoughts, *disordered, troubled*  
 Vaine hopes, vaine aimes, inordinate desires  
 Blown up with high conceits<sup>o</sup> ingendring pride. *notions*
- 810 Him thus intent *Ithuriel* with his Spear  
 Touch'd lightly; for no falshood can endure  
 Touch of Celestial temper, but returns  
 Of force to its own likeness: up he starts  
 Discoverd and surpriz'd. As when a spark
- 815 Lights<sup>o</sup> on a heap of nitrous Powder,<sup>o</sup> laid *alights, kindles / gunpowder*  
 Fit for the Tun<sup>o</sup> som Magazin<sup>o</sup> to store *barrel / storehouse for explosives*  
 Against<sup>o</sup> a rumord Warr, the Smuttie<sup>o</sup> graine *in preparation for / black*  
 With sudden blaze diffus'd, inflames the Aire:  
 So started up in his own shape the Fiend.
- 820 Back stept those two fair Angels half amaz'd  
 So sudden to behold the grieslie King;  
 Yet thus, unmovd with fear, accost him soon.  
 Which of those rebell Spirits adjudg'd to Hell  
 Com'st thou, escap'd thy prison, and transform'd,
- 825 Why satst thou like an enemie in waite  
 Here watching at the head of these that sleep?  
 Know ye not then said *Satan*, fill'd with scorn,  
 Know ye not mee? ye knew me once no mate<sup>o</sup> *equal*  
 For you, there sitting where ye durst not soare;
- 830 Not to know mee argues your selves unknown,  
 The lowest of your throng; or if ye know,  
 Why ask ye, and superfluous begin  
 Your message, like to end as much in vain?  
 To whom thus *Zephon*, answering scorn with scorn.
- 835 Think not, revolted Spirit, thy shape the same,  
 Or undiminisht brightness, to be known  
 As when thou stoodst in Heav'n upright and pure;  
 That Glorie then, when thou no more wast good,  
 Departed from thee, and thou resembl'st now
- 840 Thy sin and place of doom obscure<sup>o</sup> and foule. *dark, lowly, unknown*  
 But come, for thou, be sure, shalt give account

805 **animal Spirits.** The highest of the three kinds of fine vapors produced in the human body: ascending from the blood to the brain, they convey sense data from past experiences, and issue through nerves to impart motion to the body.

812 **Celestial temper.** Ithuriel's spear "tempered" (prepared) in celestial ether.



To him who sent us, whose charge is to keep  
This place inviolable, and these from harm.

So spake the Cherube, and his grave rebuke  
845 Severe in youthful beautie, added grace  
Invincible: abasht the Devil stood,  
And felt how awful<sup>o</sup> goodness is, and saw  
Vertue in her shape how lovly, saw, and pin'd<sup>o</sup>  
His loss; but chiefly to find here observd

*awe-inspiring*  
*mourned*

850 His lustre visibly impar'd; yet seemd  
Undaunted. If I must contend, said he,  
Best with the best, the Sender not the sent,  
Or all at once; more glorie will be wonn,  
Or less be lost. Thy fear, said *Zephon* bold,

855 Will save us trial what the least can doe  
Single<sup>o</sup> against thee wicked, and thence weak.

*in single combat*

The Fiend repli'd not, overcome with rage;  
But like a proud Steed reind, went hautie on,  
Chaumping his iron curb: to strive or flie

860 He held it vain; awe from above had quelld  
His heart, not else dismai'd. Now drew they nigh  
The western Point, where those half-rounding guards  
Just met, and closing stood in squadron joind  
Awaiting next command. To whom thir Chief

865 *Gabriel* from the Front thus calld aloud.

O friends, I hear the tread of nimble feet  
Hasting this way, and now by glimps discern  
*Ithuriel* and *Zephon* through the shade,<sup>o</sup>  
And with them comes a third of Regal port,<sup>o</sup>

*trees*  
*bearing*

870 But faded splendor wan; who by his gate  
And fierce demeanour seems the Prince of Hell,  
Not likely to part hence without contest;  
Stand firm, for in his look defiance lours.<sup>o</sup>

*scowls*

He scarce had ended, when those two approachd  
875 And brief related whom they brought, where found,  
How busied, in what form and posture coucht.

To whom with stern regard thus *Gabriel* spake.  
Why hast thou, *Satan*, broke the bounds prescrib'd  
To thy transgressions, and disturbd the charge<sup>o</sup>

*responsibility*

880 Of others, who approve not to transgress  
By thy example, but have power and right

862 **half-rounding**. Completing the circle of the garden, half having swung left, half right.

- To question thy bold entrance on this place;  
 Imploi'd it seems to violate sleep, and those  
 Whose dwelling God hath planted here in bliss?
- 885 To whom thus *Satan* with contemptuous brow.  
*Gabriel*, thou hadst in Heav'n th' esteem<sup>o</sup> of wise, *reputation*  
 And such I held thee; but this question askt  
 Puts me in doubt. Lives ther who loves his pain?  
 Who would not, finding way, break loose from Hell,
- 890 Though thither doomd? Thou wouldst thy self, no doubt,  
 And boldly venture to whatever place  
 Farthest from pain, where thou mightst hope to change  
 Torment with ease, and soonest recompence<sup>o</sup> *replace*  
 Dole<sup>o</sup> with delight, which in this place I sought;  
*pain, grief*
- 895 To thee no reason; who knowst only good,  
 But evil hast not tri'd: and wilt object  
 His will who bound us? let him surer barr  
 His Iron Gates, if he intends our stay  
 In that dark durance:<sup>o</sup> thus much what was askt. *imprisonment*
- 900 The rest is true, they found me where they say;  
 But that implies not violence or harme.  
 Thus he in scorn. The warlike Angel mov'd,  
 Disdainfully half smiling thus repli'd.  
 O loss of one in Heav'n to judge of wise,
- 905 Since *Satan* fell, whom follie overthrew,  
 And now returns him from his prison scap't,  
 Gravely in doubt whether to hold them wise  
 Or not, who ask what boldness brought him hither  
 Unlicenc't from his bounds in Hell prescrib'd;
- 910 So wise he judges it to fly from pain  
 However,<sup>o</sup> and to scape his punishment. *in any way possible*  
 So judge thou still, presumptuous, till the wrauth,  
 Which thou incurr'st by flying, meet thy flight  
 Seavenfold, and scourge that wisdom back to Hell,
- 915 Which taught thee yet no better, that no pain  
 Can equal anger infinite provok't.  
 But wherefore thou alone? wherefore with thee  
 Came not all Hell broke loose? is pain to them  
 Less pain, less to be fled, or thou then they

896 **object.** Put forward as an objection.

904–5 **O loss.** Irony, i.e., O what a loss to Heaven to lose such a judge of wisdom as Satan, whose folly led to his downfall.

920 Less hardie to endure? courageous Chief,  
 The first in flight from pain, had'st thou alleg'd  
 To thy deserted host this cause of flight,  
 Thou surely hadst not come sole fugitive.

To which the Fiend thus answerd frowning stern.

925 Not that I less endure, or shrink from pain,  
 Insulting Angel, well thou knowst I stood<sup>o</sup> *withstood, endured*  
 Thy fiercest, when in Battel to thy aide  
 The blasting volied Thunder made all speed  
 And seconded thy else not dreaded Spear.

930 But still thy words at random,<sup>o</sup> as before, *wide of the mark*  
 Argue thy inexperience what behooves  
 From<sup>o</sup> hard assaies<sup>o</sup> and ill successes past *after / attacks, attempts*  
 A faithful Leader, not to hazard all  
 Through wayes of danger by himself untri'd,

935 I therefore, I alone first undertook  
 To wing the desolate Abyss, and spie  
 This new created World, whereof in Hell  
 Fame<sup>o</sup> is not silent, here in hope to find *rumor*  
 Better abode, and my afflicted Powers

940 To settle here on Earth, or in mid Aire;  
 Though for possession put<sup>o</sup> to try once more *forced*  
 What thou and thy gay<sup>o</sup> Legions dare against; *ostentatious*  
 Whose easier business were to serve thir Lord  
 High up in Heav'n, with songs to hymne his Throne,

945 And practis'd distances to cringe, not fight.

To whom the warriour Angel, soon repli'd.

To say and strait unsay, pretending first  
 Wise to flie pain, professing next the Spie,  
 Argues no Leader but a lyar trac't,<sup>o</sup> *found out*

950 *Satan*, and couldst thou faithful add? O name,  
 O sacred name of faithfulness profan'd!  
 Faithful to whom? to thy rebellious crew?  
 Armie of Fiends, fit body to fit head;  
 Was this your discipline and faith ingag'd,  
 955 Your military obedience, to dissolve  
 Allegeance to th' acknowledg'd Power supream?  
 And thou sly hypocrite, who now wouldst seem

940 **mid Aire**. Satan will become "prince of the power of the air" (Eph. 2:2).

945 **cringe**. Satan contemptuously parallels the angels' courtly deference, keeping various "distances" before God's throne, with keeping a safe distance from battle.

- Patron<sup>o</sup> of liberty, who more then thou *advocate*  
 Once fawn'd, and cring'd, and servilly ador'd  
 960 Heav'ns awful Monarch? wherefore but in hope  
 To dispossess him, and thy self to reigne?  
 But mark what I arreede<sup>o</sup> thee now, avant;<sup>o</sup> *advise / be gone*  
 Flie thither whence thou fledst: if from this houre  
 Within these hallowd limits thou appeer,  
 965 Back to th' infernal pit I drag thee chaid,  
 And Seale thee so, as henceforth not to scorne  
 The facil<sup>o</sup> gates of hell too slightly barrd. *easily opened*  
 So threatn'd hee, but *Satan* to no threats  
 Gave heed, but waxing<sup>o</sup> more in rage repli'd. *growing*  
 970 Then when I am thy captive talk of chaines,  
 Proud limitarie Cherube, but ere then  
 Farr heavier load thy self expect to feel  
 From my prevailing arme, though Heavens King  
 Ride on thy wings, and thou with thy Compeers,  
 975 Us'd to the yoak, draw'st his triumphant wheels  
 In progress<sup>o</sup> through the rode of Heav'n Star-pav'd. *a state procession*  
 While thus he spake, th' Angelic Squadron bright  
 Turnd fierie red, sharpning in mooned hornes<sup>o</sup> *crescent formation*  
 Thir Phalanx, and began to hemm him round  
 980 With ported Spears, as thick as when a field  
 Of *Ceres* ripe for harvest waving bends  
 Her bearded Grove of ears, which way the wind  
 Swayes them; the careful<sup>o</sup> Plowman doubting stands *anxious*  
 Least on the threshing floore his hopeful sheaves  
 985 Prove chaff. On th' other side *Satan* allarm'd<sup>o</sup> *called to arms*  
 Collecting all his might dilated stood,  
 Like *Teneriff* or *Atlas* unremov'd:  
 His stature reacht the Skie, and on his Crest  
 Sat horror Plum'd; nor wanted in his graspe  
 990 What seemd both Spear and Shield: now dreadful deeds  
 Might have ensu'd, nor onely Paradise  
 In this commotion, but the Starrie Cope<sup>o</sup> *vault*

958–60. See 5.617, 660–71, for Satan's behavior on the day of the Son's exaltation.

971 **limitarie**. Frontier guard, also one of limited authority.

980 **ported Spears**. Held slantways in front.

981 **Ceres**. Roman goddess of agriculture, here a metonymy for grain.

987 **Teneriff**. A mountain in the Canary Islands. **Atlas**. a mountain in Morocco.

**unremov'd**. immovable.

990–7. Cf. 6.668–77.

Of Heav'n perhaps, or all the Elements  
 At least had gon to rack, disturbd and torne  
 995 With violence of this conflict, had not soon  
 Th' Eternal to prevent such horrid fray  
 Hung forth in Heav'n his golden Scales, yet seen  
 Betwixt *Astrea* and the *Scorpion* signe,  
 Wherein all things created first he weighd,  
 1000 The pendulous round Earth with balanc't Aire  
 In counterpoise, now ponders<sup>o</sup> all events, weighs, considers  
 Battels and Realms: in these he put two weights  
 The sequel each of parting and of fight;  
 The latter quick up flew, and kickt the beam;  
 1005 Which *Gabriel* spying, thus bespake the Fiend.  
     *Satan*, I know thy strength, and thou know'st mine,  
 Neither our own but giv'n; what follie then  
 To boast what Arms can doe, since thine no more  
 Then Heav'n permits, nor mine, though doubld now  
 1010 To trample thee as mire: for proof look up,  
 And read thy Lot in yon celestial Sign  
 Where thou art weigh'd, and shown how light, how weak,  
 If thou resist. The Fiend lookt up and knew  
 His mounted scale aloft: nor more; but fled  
 1015 Murmuring, and with him fled the shades of night.

*The End of the Fourth Book.*

997–8 **golden Scales.** The constellation Libra (the Scales) is between Virgo (identified with "*Astraea*," goddess of Justice, who fled the earth at the end of the Golden Age) and Scorpio.

1002–3. In several classical epic similes the fates of opposing heroes are weighed in scales by the gods: cf. *Iliad* 8.69–72, where the destiny of the Greeks is weighed against that of the Trojans, and Virgil, *Aeneid* 12.725–7, where Aeneas' fate is weighed against that of Turnus. See also Isa. 40:12: God "hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance."

1004 **kickt the beam.** i.e., of the scales: the battle desired by Satan proved lighter.

1012. See Dan. 5:27, God's warning to King Belshazzar, "Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting."



Figure 5 Illustration to Book 5, 1688 (John Baptista Medina)

BOOK 5  
THE ARGUMENT

Morning approach't, *Eve* relates to *Adam* her troublesome dream; he likes it not, yet comforts her: They come forth to thir day labours: Thir Morning Hymn at the Door of thir Bower. God to render Man inexcusable sends *Raphael* to admonish him of his obedience, of his free estate, of his enemy near at hand; who he is, and why his enemy,  
5 and whatever else may avail *Adam* to know. *Raphael* comes down to Paradise, his appearance describ'd, his coming discern'd by *Adam* afar off sitting at the door of his Bower; he goes out to meet him, brings him to his lodge, entertains him with the choycest fruits of Paradise got together by *Eve*; thir discourse at Table: *Raphael* performs his message, minds *Adam* of his state and of his enemy; relates at *Adams* request  
10 who that enemy is, and how he came to be so, beginning from his first revolt in Heaven, and the occasion thereof; how he drew his Legions after him to the parts of the North, and there incited them to rebel with him, perswading all but only *Abdiel* a Seraph, who in Argument diswades and opposes him, then forsakes him.

Now Morn her rosie steps in th' Eastern Clime  
Advancing, sow'd the earth with Orient<sup>o</sup> Pearle, lustrous, eastern  
When *Adam* wak't, so customd, for his sleep  
Was Aerie light from pure digestion bred,  
5 And temperat vapors bland,<sup>o</sup> which th' only sound gentle, balmy  
Of leaves and fuming rills, *Aurora's* fan,  
Lightly dispers'd, and the shrill Matin<sup>o</sup> Song morning  
Of Birds on every bough; so much the more  
His wonder was to find unwak'nd *Eve*  
10 With Tresses discompos'd, and glowing Cheek,  
As through unquiet rest: he on his side  
Leaning half-rais'd, with looks of cordial<sup>o</sup> Love heartfelt  
Hung over her enamour'd, and beheld  
Beautie, which whether waking or asleep,  
15 Shot forth peculiar Graces;<sup>o</sup> then with voice her own charms  
Milde, as when *Zephyrus* on *Flora* breathes,

13 **diswades.** To advise or exhort (a person) against.

1–2. Cf. the Homeric descriptive formula, “rosy-fingered dawn” (*Iliad* 1.477).

3–4. Cf. 9.1049–52.

6. Rustling leaves and foaming streams (“fuming rills”) are stirred by the morning breezes (“fan”) of “*Aurora*,” goddess of the dawn.

16 *Zephyrus*. God of the west wind. *Flora*. Goddess of flowers. They were consorts in Ovid, *Fasti* 5.197–207. Cf. Botticelli, *Primavera*.

- Her hand soft touching, whisperd thus. Awake  
 My fairest, my espous'd, my latest found,  
 Heav'ns last best gift, my ever new delight,  
 20 Awake, the morning shines, and the fresh field  
 Calls us, we lose the prime,<sup>o</sup> to mark how spring *first hour of day, 6 a.m.*  
 Our tended Plants, how blows<sup>o</sup> the Citron Grove, *blooms*  
 What drops the Myrrhe, and what the balmie Reed,<sup>o</sup> *tree yielding balm*  
 How Nature paints her colours, how the Bee  
 25 Sits on the Bloom extracting liquid sweet.  
 Such whispering wak'd her, but with startl'd eye  
 On *Adam*, whom imbracing, thus she spake.  
 O Sole<sup>o</sup> in whom my thoughts find all repose, *only one*  
 My Glorie, my Perfection, glad I see  
 30 Thy face, and Morn return'd, for I this Night,  
 Such night till this I never pass'd, have dream'd,  
 If dream'd, not as I oft am wont,<sup>o</sup> of thee, *accustomed*  
 Works of day pass't, or morrows next designe,  
 But of offence and trouble, which my mind  
 35 Knew never till this irksom night; methought  
 Close at mine ear one call'd me forth to walk  
 With gentle voice, I thought it thine; it said,  
 Why sleepest thou *Eve*? now is the pleasant time,  
 The cool, the silent, save where silence yields  
 40 To the night-warbling Bird,<sup>o</sup> that now awake *the nightingale*  
 Tunes sweetest his love-labor'd song; now reignes  
 Full Orb'd the Moon, and with more pleasing light  
 Shadowie sets off the face of things; in vain,  
 If none regard; Heav'n wakes with all his eyes,<sup>o</sup> *stars*  
 45 Whom to behold but thee, Natures desire,  
 In whose sight all things joy, with ravishment  
 Attracted by thy beauty still<sup>o</sup> to gaze. *continually*  
 I rose as at thy call, but found thee not;  
 To find thee I directed then my walk;  
 50 And on, methought, alone I pass'd through ways  
 That brought me on a sudden to the Tree  
 Of interdicted Knowledge: fair it seem'd,

17–25. Adam's morning love song (*aubade*) works variations on Song of Solomon 2:10–12: "Rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away . . . The flowers appear on the earth; the time of the singing of birds is come."

Compare Satan's serenade at 5.38–47.

41 **love-labor'd**. Produced by love and for love.

45–90. Cf. the temptation of Eve at 9.532–48, 568–612, 679–732.



- Much fairer to my Fancie then by day:  
 And as I wondring lookt, beside it stood  
 55 One shap'd and wing'd like one of those from Heav'n  
 By us oft seen; his dewie locks distill'd  
*Ambrosia*;° on that Tree he also gaz'd; *heavenly perfume*  
 And O fair Plant, said he, with fruit surcharg'd,° *overloaded*  
 Deigns none to ease thy load and taste thy sweet,  
 60 Nor God,° nor Man; is Knowledge so despis'd? *angel*  
 Or envie, or what reserve° forbids to taste? *restriction*  
 Forbid who will, none shall from me withhold  
 Longer thy offerd good, why else set here?  
 This said he paus'd not, but with ventrous Arme  
 65 He pluckt, he tasted; mee damp horror chil'd  
 At such bold words voucht° with a deed so bold: *backed*  
 But he thus overjoy'd, O Fruit Divine,  
 Sweet of thy self, but much more sweet thus cropt,  
 Forbidd'n here, it seems, as onely fit  
 70 For God's, yet able to make Gods of Men:  
 And why not Gods of Men, since good, the more  
 Communicated, more abundant growes,  
 The Author not impair'd,° but honourd more? *injured, diminished*  
 Here, happie Creature, fair Angelic *Eve*,  
 75 Partake thou also; happie though thou art,  
 Happier thou mayst be, worthier canst not be:  
 Taste this, and be henceforth among the Gods  
 Thy self a Goddess, not to Earth confind,  
 But somtimes in the Air, as wee, somtimes  
 80 Ascend to Heav'n, by merit thine, and see  
 What life the Gods live there, and such live thou.  
 So saying, he drew nigh, and to me held,  
 Even to my mouth of that same fruit held part  
 Which he had pluckt; the pleasant savourie° smell *appetizing, fragrant*  
 85 So quick'nd appetite, that I, methought,  
 Could not but taste. Forthwith up to the Clouds  
 With him I flew, and underneath beheld  
 The Earth outstretcht immense, a prospect wide  
 And various: wondring at my flight and change  
 90 To this high exaltation; suddenly  
 My Guide was gon, and I, me thought, sunk down,  
 And fell asleep; but O how glad I wak'd  
 To find this but a dream! Thus *Eve* her Night  
 Related, and thus *Adam* answerd sad.° *gravely, soberly*

- 95 Best Image of my self and dearer half,  
 The trouble of thy thoughts this night in sleep  
 Affects me equally; nor can I like  
 This uncouth<sup>o</sup> dream, of evil sprung I fear; *strange, unpleasant*  
 Yet evil whence? in thee can harbour none,
- 100 Created pure. But know that in the Soule  
 Are many lesser Faculties that serve  
 Reason as chief; among these Fansie<sup>o</sup> next *fancy, imagination*  
 Her office holds; of all external things,  
 Which the five watchful Senses represent,<sup>o</sup> *bring into the mind*
- 105 She forms Imaginations,<sup>o</sup> Aerie shapes, *images*  
 Which Reason joyning or disjoyning, frames  
 All what we affirm or what deny, and call  
 Our knowledge or opinion; then retires  
 Into her private Cell<sup>o</sup> when Nature rests. *compartment of the brain*
- 110 Oft in her absence mimic Fansie wakes  
 To imitate her; but misjoyning shapes,  
 Wilde work produces oft, and most in dreams,  
 Ill matching words and deeds long past or late.<sup>o</sup> *recent*  
 Som such resemblances methinks I find
- 115 Of our last Eevnings talk, in this thy dream,  
 But with addition strange; yet be not sad.  
 Evil into the mind of God or Man  
 May come and go, so unapprov'd,<sup>o</sup> and leave *not sanctioned, not acted on*  
 No spot or blame behind: Which gives me hope
- 120 That what in sleep thou didst abhor to dream,  
 Waking thou never wilt consent to do.  
 Be not disheart'nd then, nor cloud those looks  
 That wont<sup>o</sup> to be more chearful and serene *are accustomed*  
 Then when fair Morning first smiles on the World,
- 125 And let us to our fresh employments rise  
 Among the Groves, the Fountains, and the Flours  
 That open now thir choicest bosom'd<sup>o</sup> smells *enclosed*  
 Reservd from night, and kept for thee in store.  
 So cheard he his fair Spouse, and she was cheard,

100–13. Adam's explanation of the dream summarizes the orthodox faculty psychology and dream theory of Milton's time, a knowledge unfallen man possesses. "Fansie" (fancy) forms images of the "external things" the "five watchful Senses" present; "Reason" connects or separates those images, producing "knowledge or opinion." In sleep, reason withdraws and fancy takes over, "misjoyning shapes" and mismatching "words and deeds" from past experience, in "dreams."

117 **God.** Probably angel, as elsewhere, but perhaps also God, whose omniscience includes knowledge of evil.

- 130 But silently a gentle tear let fall  
 From either eye, and wip'd them with her haire;  
 Two other precious drops that ready stood,  
 Each in thir Chrystal sluice, hee ere they fell  
 Kiss'd as the gracious signs of sweet remorse
- 135 And pious<sup>o</sup> awe, that feard to have offended. *devout, dutiful*  
 So all was cleard, and to the Field they haste.  
 But first from under shadie arborous roof,<sup>o</sup> *canopy of trees*  
 Soon as they forth were come to open sight  
 Of day-spring,<sup>o</sup> and the Sun, who scarce up risen *daybreak*
- 140 With wheels yet hov'ring o're the Ocean brim,  
 Shot paralel to the earth his dewie ray,  
 Discovering<sup>o</sup> in wide Lantskip<sup>o</sup> all the East *revealing / landscape*  
 Of Paradise and *Edens* happie Plains,  
 Lowly they bow'd adoring, and began
- 145 Thir Orisons,<sup>o</sup> each Morning duly paid *prayers*  
 In various style, for neither various style  
 Nor holy rapture wanted<sup>o</sup> they to praise *lacked*  
 Thir Maker, in fit strains pronounc't or sung  
 Unmeditated, such prompt eloquence
- 150 Flowd from thir lips, in Prose or numerous<sup>o</sup> Verse, *rhythmic*  
 More tuneable<sup>o</sup> then needed Lute or Harp *melodious*  
 To add more sweetness, and they thus began.  
 These are thy glorious works, Parent of good,  
 Almighty, thine this universal Frame,<sup>o</sup> *structure, the universe*
- 155 Thus wondrous fair; thy self how wondrous then!  
 Unspeakable,<sup>o</sup> who sitst above these Heavens *inexpressible*  
 To us invisible or dimly seen  
 In these thy lowest works, yet these declare<sup>o</sup> *show forth*  
 Thy goodness beyond thought, and Power Divine:
- 160 Speak yee who best can tell, ye Sons of light,  
 Angels, for yee behold him, and with songs  
 And choral symphonies, Day without Night,  
 Circle his Throne rejoycing, yee in Heav'n,  
 On Earth joyn all ye Creatures to extoll
- 165 Him first, him last, him midst, and without end.

140 **wheels.** Helios, or Sol, god of the sun, was imagined to drive the chariot of the sun from east to west.  
 146–52 **various style.** Adam and Eve employ many forms of speech and song that harmonize together in  
 “fit strains” but are at the same time spontaneous and ecstatic, expressing “holy rapture.” Milton, like other  
 Puritans, disapproved of set liturgical forms.

153–208. Their morning hymn works variations on Psalms 148, 104, and 19, as well as the canticle *Benedicite*.

- Fairest of Starrs, last in the train of Night,  
 If better thou belong not to the dawn,  
 Sure pledge of day, that crownst the smiling Morn  
 With thy bright Cirlet, praise him in thy Spheare  
 170 While day arises, that sweet hour of Prime.  
 Thou Sun, of this great World both Eye and Soule,  
 Acknowledge him thy Greater, sound his praise  
 In thy eternal course, both when thou climb'st,  
 And when high Noon hast gaind, and when thou fallst.  
 175 Moon, that now meetst the orient Sun, now fli'st  
 With the fixt Starrs, fixt in thir Orb that flies,  
 And yee five other wandring Fires that move  
 In mystic Dance not without Song, resound  
 His praise, who out of Darkness call'd up Light.  
 180 Aire, and ye Elements the eldest birth  
 Of Natures Womb, that in quaternion<sup>o</sup> run *group of four*  
 Perpetual Circle, multiform; and mix  
 And nourish all things, let your ceaseless change  
 Varie to our great Maker still<sup>o</sup> new praise. *continually*  
 185 Ye Mists and Exhalations that now rise  
 From Hill or steaming Lake, duskie or grey,  
 Till the Sun paint your fleecie skirts with Gold,  
 In honour to the Worlds great Author rise,  
 Whether to deck with Clouds th' uncolourd skie,  
 190 Or wet the thirstie Earth with falling showers,  
 Rising or falling still advance his praise.  
 His praise ye Winds, that from four Quarters blow,  
 Breathe soft or loud; and wave your tops, ye Pines,  
 With every Plant, in sign of Worship wave.  
 195 Fountains and yee, that warble, as ye flow,  
 Melodious murmurs, warbling tune his praise.  
 Joyn voices all ye living Souls; ye Birds,  
 That singing up to Heaven Gate ascend,  
 Bear on your wings and in your notes his praise;

166–8. Venus, the morning star, is the last star to disappear at dawn and (as Hesperus) the first to appear in the evening.

176–8 **Orb that flies.** The orb of the “fixt Starrs” revolves, though the stars remain “fixt” in place. **five other wandring Fires.** The other planets besides the moon and sun, already mentioned, are Mercury, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, and Venus (or earth), which change positions. These motions produce the music of the spheres, audible to unfallen humans.

180–3. The four elements – earth, water, air, fire – are the “eldest birth” of nature, and “nourish” all things by their “ceaseless change” and orderly interactions.

- 200 Yee that in Waters glide, and yee that walk  
 The Earth, and stately tread, or lowly creep;  
 Witness if I be silent, Morn or Eeven,  
 To Hill, or Valley, Fountain, or fresh shade  
 Made vocal by my Song, and taught his praise.
- 205 Hail universal Lord, be bounteous still<sup>o</sup> always  
 To give us onely good; and if the night  
 Have gathered aught of evil or conceald,  
 Disperse it, as now light dispels the dark.  
 So pray'd they innocent, and to thir thoughts
- 210 Firm peace recoverd soon and wonted calm.  
 On to thir mornings rural work they haste  
 Among sweet dewes and flours; where any row  
 Of Fruit-trees overwoodie<sup>o</sup> reachd too farr too bushy  
 Thir pamperd<sup>o</sup> boughes, and needed hands to check not restrained
- 215 Fruitless imbraces: or they led the Vine  
 To wed her Elm; she spous'd about him twines  
 Her marriageable arms, and with her brings  
 Her dowr th' adopted Clusters, to adorn  
 His barren leaves. Them thus imploid beheld
- 220 With pittie Heav'ns high King, and to him call'd  
*Raphael*, the sociable Spirit, that deign'd  
 To travel with *Tobias*, and secur'd  
 His marriage with the seaventimes-wedded Maid.  
*Raphael*, said hee, thou hear'st what stir on Earth
- 225 *Satan* from Hell scap't through the darksom Gulf  
 Hath raisd in Paradise, and how disturbd  
 This night the human pair, how he designes  
 In them at once to ruin all mankind.  
 Go therefore, half this day as friend with friend
- 230 Converse with *Adam*, in what Bowre or shade  
 Thou find'st him from the heat of Noon retir'd,  
 To respit his day-labour with repast,  
 Or with repose; and such discourse bring on,  
 As may advise him of his happie state,

215–19. A familiar emblem of matrimony, the “Elm,” symbolizing masculine strength, and the “Vine,” feminine fruitfulness, softness, and sweetness. But “adopted Clusters” seems to carry matriarchal implications.  
 221–3 *Raphael*. In Hebrew, “Health of God.” He was the advisor of “*Tobias*” in winning his wife (see 4.168–71 and note), and told him how to cure Tobit’s blindness (Apocrypha: Tobit 11:7–14). In cabbalism he is one of the four angels (with Gabriel, Michael, and Uriel) in charge of the four corners of the earth.  
 229–30. God spoke to Moses, “face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend” (Exod. 33:11).

- 235 Happiness in his power left free to will,  
 Left to his own free Will, his Will though free,  
 Yet mutable; whence warne him to beware  
 He swerve not too secure:<sup>o</sup> tell him withall *overconfident*  
 His danger, and from whom, what enemie
- 240 Late falln himself from Heav'n, is plotting now  
 The fall of others from like state of bliss;  
 By violence, no, for that shall be withstood,  
 But by deceit and lies; this let him know,  
 Least wilfully transgressing he pretend<sup>o</sup> *plead*
- 245 Surprisal, unadmonisht, unforewarnd.  
 So spake th' Eternal Father, and fulfilld  
 All Justice: nor delaid the winged Saint<sup>o</sup> *angel*  
 After his charge receivd; but from among  
 Thousand Celestial Ardors, where he stood
- 250 Vaild with his gorgeous wings, up springing light  
 Flew through the midst of Heav'n; th' angelic Quires  
 On each hand parting, to his speed gave way  
 Through all th' Empyrean<sup>o</sup> road; till at the Gate *heavenly*  
 Of Heav'n arriv'd, the gate self-opens wide
- 255 On golden Hinges turning, as by work  
 Divine the sov'ran Architect had fram'd.  
 From hence, no cloud, or, to obstruct his sight,  
 Starr interpos'd, however small he sees,  
 Not unconform to other shining Globes,
- 260 Earth and the Gard'n of God, with Cedars crown'd  
 Above all Hills. As when by night the Glass<sup>o</sup> *telescope*  
 Of *Galileo*, less assur'd, observes  
 Imagind Lands and Regions in the Moon:  
 Or Pilot from amidst the *Cyclades*
- 265 *Delos* or *Samos* first appeering kenns<sup>o</sup> *discerns*  
 A cloudy spot. Down thither prone<sup>o</sup> in flight *bent forward*  
 He speeds, and through the vast Ethereal Skie  
 Sailes between worlds and worlds, with steddie wing

249 **Ardors.** Spirits (angels) burning in love, from the Latin *ardere*, "to burn."

261–3 **Galileo.** Cf. 1.288–91.

264–6 **Cyclades.** A circular group of islands in the south Aegean sea. The two islands a "Pilot" might see as "spots" from within the archipelago are "*Delos*" (the traditional center but famous for having floated adrift) and "*Samos*," outside the group, off the coast of Asia Minor.

266–76. Raphael's descent is an epic topos, modeled on the descents of Virgil's Mercury (*Aeneid* 4.238–58) and Tasso's Michael (*Gerusalemme Liberata* 9.60–2).

- Now on the polar windes, then with quick Fann<sup>o</sup>  
 270 Winnows the buxom<sup>o</sup> Air; till within soare<sup>o</sup> *flutter*  
 Of Towing Eagles, to all the Fowles he seems *yielding / highest flight*  
 A *Phænix*, gaz'd by all, as that sole Bird  
 When to enshrine his reliques in the Sun's  
 Bright Temple, to *Ægyptian Theb's* he flies.
- 275 At once on th' Eastern cliff of Paradise  
 He lights, and to his proper shape returns  
 A Seraph wingd; six wings he wore, to shade  
 His lineaments<sup>o</sup> Divine; the pair that clad *parts of the body*  
 Each shoulder broad, came mantling<sup>o</sup> o're his brest *covering*
- 280 With regal Ornament; the middle pair  
 Girt like a Starrie Zone<sup>o</sup> his waste, and round *belt*  
 Skirted his loines and thighes with downie Gold  
 And colours dipt in Heav'n; the third his feet  
 Shaddowd from either heele with featherd maile<sup>o</sup> *plumage like armor*
- 285 Skie-tinctur'd grain.<sup>o</sup> Like *Maia's* son he stood, *dye*  
 And shook his Plumes, that Heav'nly fragrance filld  
 The circuit wide. Strait knew him all the Bands  
 Of Angels under watch; and to his state,<sup>o</sup> *rank*  
 And to his message high in honour rise;
- 290 For on som message high they guessd him bound.  
 Thir glittering Tents he passd, and now is come  
 Into the blissful field, through Groves of Myrrhe,  
 And flouring Odours, Cassia, Nard, and Balme;  
 A Wilderness of sweets; for Nature here
- 295 Wantond<sup>o</sup> as in her prime, and plaid<sup>o</sup> at will *revell'd / sported*  
 Her Virgin Fancies, pouring forth more sweet,  
 Wilde above Rule or Art; enormous<sup>o</sup> bliss. *immense, beyond rule*  
 Him through the spicie Forrest onward com  
*Adam* discern'd, as in the dore he sat

272 *Phænix*. A mythical, unique bird ("sole") who lived five hundred years, was consumed by fire, and was reborn from the ashes which it then carried to the Temple of the Sun at Heliopolis in Egypt ("*Ægyptian Theb's*").

276–85 **proper shape**. Modeled on the description of the Seraphim in Isa. 6:2; "each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly."

285 *Maia's son*. Mercury, messenger of the gods.

293 *Cassia*. A cinnamon. **Nard**. Spikenard. **Balme**. Balsam. All were used to make perfumed ointments.

299–300. Raphael's visit to Adam is modeled on Abraham's entertainment of three angels: "[Abraham] sat in the tent door in the heat of the day; And he lift up his eyes and looked, and, lo, three men stood by him." He and his wife Sarah prepared a meal for the angels, but most Christian commentators agreed that these angels, being spirits, ate only in show (Gen. 18:1–8).

- 300 Of his coole Bowre, while now the mounted Sun  
 Shot down direct his fervid Raies to warme  
 Earths inmost womb, more warmth then *Adam* needs;  
 And *Eve* within, due<sup>o</sup> at her hour prepar'd *fittingly*  
 For dinner savourie fruits, of taste to please
- 305 True appetite, and not disrelish thirst  
 Of nectarous draughts between, from milkie stream,  
 Berrie or Grape: to whom thus *Adam* call'd.  
 Haste hither *Eve*, and worth thy sight behold  
 Eastward among those Trees, what glorious shape
- 310 Comes this way moving; seems another Morn  
 Ris'n on mid-noon; som great behest from Heav'n  
 To us perhaps he brings, and will voutsafe<sup>o</sup> *grant*  
 This day to be our Guest. But goe with speed,  
 And what thy stores contain, bring forth and poure
- 315 Abundance, fit to honour and receive  
 Our Heav'nly stranger; well we may afford  
 Our givers thir own gifts, and large bestow  
 From large bestowd, where Nature multiplies  
 Her fertil growth, and by disburd'ning grows
- 320 More fruitful, which instructs us not to spare.  
 To whom thus *Eve*. *Adam*, earths hallowd mould,<sup>o</sup> *pattern, model*  
 Of God inspir'd,<sup>o</sup> small store will serve, where store, *given breath of life*  
 All seasons, ripe for use hangs on the stalk;  
 Save what by frugal storing firmness gains
- 325 To nourish, and superfluous moist consumes:  
 But I will haste and from each bough and break,  
 Each Plant and juiciest Gourd<sup>o</sup> will pluck such choice *type of melon*  
 To entertain our Angel guest, as hee  
 Beholding shall confess that here on Earth
- 330 God hath dispenst his bounties as in Heav'n.  
 So saying, with dispatchful looks in haste  
 She turns, on hospitable thoughts intent  
 What choice to chuse for delicacie best,  
 What order, so contriv'd as not to mix
- 335 Tastes, not well joynd, inelegant, but bring  
 Taste after taste upheld<sup>o</sup> with kindest<sup>o</sup> change, *sustained / most natural*

304–7. *Eve* prepared sweet drinks (“nectarous draughts”) from juices (“milkie stream”) of “Berrie or Grape,” to be enjoyed “between” courses of “savourie fruits.”

322 **small store.** Reserve. **store.** Abundance.



- Bestirs her then, and from each tender stalk  
 Whatever Earth all-bearing Mother yields  
 In *India* ° East or West, or middle shoare *Indies*  
 340 In *Pontus* or the *Punic* Coast, or where  
*Alcinous* reign'd, fruit of all kindes, in coate,  
 Rough, or smooth rin'd, or bearded husk, or shell  
 She gathers, Tribute large, and on the board  
 Heaps with unsparing hand; for drink the Grape  
 345 She crushes, inoffensive moust, and meathes  
 From many a berrie, and from sweet kernels prest  
 She tempers ° dulcet ° creams, nor these to hold *blends / sweet*  
 Wants ° her fit vessels pure, then strews the ground *lacks*  
 With Rose and Odours from the shrub unfum'd.  
 350 Mean while our Primitive ° great Sire, to meet *original*  
 His god-like Guest, walks forth, without more train ° *attendants*  
 Accompani'd then with his own compleat  
 Perfections, in himself was all his state, ° *stateliness, rank*  
 More solemn then the tedious pomp that waits  
 355 On Princes, when thir rich Retinue long  
 Of Horses led, and Grooms besmeard with Gold  
 Dazles the croud, and sets them all agape.  
 Neerer his presence *Adam* though not awd,  
 Yet with submiss approach and reverence meek,  
 360 As to a superior Nature, bowing low,  
 Thus said. Native of Heav'n, for other place  
 None can then Heav'n such glorious shape contain;  
 Since by descending from the Thrones above,  
 Those happie places thou hast deign'd a while  
 365 To want, ° and honour these, voutsafe with us *be parted from*  
 Two onely, who yet by sov'ran gift possess  
 This spacious ground, in yonder shadie Bowre  
 To rest, and what the Garden choicest bears  
 To sit and taste, till this meridian ° heat *noontime*  
 370 Be over, and the Sun more coole decline.

339–41 **middle shoare.** “*Pontus*,” the south coast of the Black Sea, was famous for nuts and fruits; the “*Punic*” (Carthaginian) coast of North Africa on the Mediterranean, was famous for figs; the garden of *Alcinous* in the mythical island of *Scheria* is described in *Odyssey* 7.113–28 as perpetually fruitful.

345 **inoffensive moust.** Unfermented grape juice. **meathes.** Meads, honey-sweetened drinks.

349 **unfum'd.** Naturally scented, not needing to be burned as incense.

354–7 **tedious pomp.** The showy display of kings like Charles II whose pageantry “Dazles the croud” but falls far short of the “solemn” natural majesty of *Adam*.

Whom thus the Angelic Vertue answerd milde.  
*Adam*, I therefore came, nor art thou such  
 Created, or such place hast here to dwell,  
 As may not oft invite, though Spirits of Heav'n  
 375 To visit thee; lead on then where thy Bowre  
 Oreshades; for these mid-hours, till Eevning rise  
 I have at will. So to the Silvan Lodge  
 They came, that like *Pomona's* Arbour smil'd  
 With flourets deck't<sup>o</sup> and fragrant smells; but *Eve* covered  
 380 Undeckt, save with her self more lovely fair  
 Then Wood-Nymph, or the fairest Goddess feign'd  
 Of three that in Mount *Ida* naked strove,  
 Stood to entertain her guest from Heav'n; no vaile  
 Shee needed, Vertue-proof,<sup>o</sup> no thought infirme armored in virtue  
 385 Alterd her cheek. On whom the Angel *Haile*  
 Bestowd, the holy salutation us'd  
 Long after to blest *Marie*, second *Eve*.  
 Haile Mother of Mankind, whose fruitful Womb  
 Shall fill the World more numerous with thy Sons  
 390 Then with these various fruits the Trees of God  
 Have heap'd this Table. Rais'd of grassie terf  
 Thir Table was, and mossie seats had round,  
 And on her ample Square from side to side  
 All *Autumn* pil'd, though *Spring* and *Autumn* here  
 395 Danc'd hand in hand. A while discourse they hold;  
 No fear lest Dinner coole; when thus began  
 Our Authour.<sup>o</sup> Heav'nly stranger, please to taste originator, ancestor  
 These bounties which our Nourisher, from whom  
 All perfet good unmeasur'd out, descends,  
 400 To us for food and for delight hath caus'd

371 **Vertue.** One of the traditional nine orders of angels in the scheme of Dionysius the Areopagite: Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones, Dominions, Virtues, Powers, Principalities, Archangels, Angels. Milton uses these titles freely, in the Protestant manner, without regard to this hierarchical order. Some angels are given more than one title: Raphael is called "Vertue" here, "Seraph" at line 277, and "Arch-Angel" at 7.41.  
 378 **Pomona.** Roman goddess of fruit trees.

381–2 **three.** On "Mount *Ida*," Venus, Juno, and Minerva "naked strove" for the apple of discord inscribed "for the fairest." Paris awarded the prize to Aphrodite ("the fairest Goddess") in return for the love of Helen, which led to her rape and the Trojan War.

385–8. Cf. the angel's words to Mary announcing that she would bear a son, Jesus (Luke 1:28): "Hail, thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women." For Mary as "second Eve" see *PL* 10.183.

398–400 **our Nourisher.** Cf. Jas. 1:17, "Every good gift and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh down from the Father of lights."

The Earth to yield; unsavourie food perhaps  
 To spiritual Natures; only this I know,  
 That one Celestial Father gives to all.

- To whom the Angel. Therefore what he gives  
 405 (Whose praise be ever sung) to man in part  
 Spiritual, may of purest Spirits be found  
 No ingrateful<sup>o</sup> food: and food alike those pure *unwelcome*  
 Intellectual substances<sup>o</sup> require *angels*  
 As doth your Rational; and both contain  
 410 Within them every lower facultie  
 Of sense, whereby they hear, see, smell, touch, taste,  
 Tasting concoct, digest, assimilate,  
 And corporeal to incorporeal turn.  
 For know, whatever was created, needs  
 415 To be sustaind and fed; of Elements  
 The grosser feeds the purer, Earth the Sea,  
 Earth and the Sea feed Air, the Air those Fires<sup>o</sup> *heavenly bodies*  
 Ethereal, and as lowest first the Moon;  
 Whence in her visage round those spots, unpurg'd  
 420 Vapours not yet into her substance turnd.  
 Nor doth the Moon no nourishment exhale  
 From her moist Continent to higher Orbes.  
 The Sun that light imparts to all, receives  
 From all his alimental<sup>o</sup> recompence *nourishing*  
 425 In humid exhalations, and at Even  
 Sups with the Ocean: though in Heav'n the Trees  
 Of life ambrosial<sup>o</sup> frutage bear, and vines *heavenly, fragrant*  
 Yield Nectar, though from off the boughs each Morn

404–500. Raphael's discourse and dialogue about the nature of things recall Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* ("Of the Nature of Things"), often termed a philosophic epic; Raphael chooses a brief version of that genre for his exposition.

404–13. As a monist who believed that all creation is of "one first matter" (472; see also *Christian Doctrine* 1.7), Milton denied the more common (dualistic) idea that angels are pure spirits (who would not eat or have any experiences pertaining to the senses); he held instead that angels are of a very highly refined material substance .

412 **concoct, digest, assimilate.** The three stages of digestion.

414–26 **The grosser feeds the purer.** That all features of the natural world require sustenance from creatures below them in the scale of being was a commonplace (Cf. Pliny, *Natural History* 2.9). Robert Fludd, *Utriusque cosmi historia* (1617), has an engraving that shows the sun supping with the ocean (1.5–6).

418–20 **spots.** Raphael describes moonspots as undigested vapors not yet assimilated to the moon's substance.

Cf. 1.287–91, where those spots are described in Galileo's terms as features of the moon's landscape.

427–30. "Nectar" and "ambrosia" are the drink and food of the classical gods; Milton adds "pearly grain," like the manna showered on the Israelites in the desert (Cf. Exod. 16:14).

- We brush mellifluous<sup>o</sup> Dewes, and find the ground  
 430 Cover'd with pearly grain: yet God hath here  
 Varied his bounty so with new delights,  
 As may compare with Heaven; and to taste  
 Think not I shall be nice.<sup>o</sup> So down they sat,  
 And to thir viands fell, nor seemingly<sup>o</sup> *finicky, fastidious*  
 435 The Angel, nor in mist, the common gloss *in show*  
 Of Theologians, but with keen dispatch  
 Of real hunger, and concoctive<sup>o</sup> heate *digestive*  
 To transubstantiate; what redounds, transpires  
 Through Spirits with ease; nor wonder; if by fire  
 440 Of sooty coal the Empiric<sup>o</sup> Alchemist *experimental*  
 Can turn, or holds it possible to turn  
 Metals of drossiest Ore to perfet Gold  
 As from the Mine. Mean while at Table *Eve*  
 Ministerd naked, and thir flowing cups  
 445 With pleasant liquors crown'd:<sup>o</sup> O innocence *filled to the brim*  
 Deserving Paradise! if ever, then,  
 Then had the Sons of God excuse to have bin  
 Enamour'd at that sight; but in those hearts  
 Love unlibidinous<sup>o</sup> reign'd, nor jealousy *without lust*  
 450 Was understood, the injur'd Lovers Hell.  
 Thus when with meats and drinks they had suffic'd  
 Not burd'nd Nature, sudden mind arose  
 In *Adam*, not to let th' occasion pass  
 Given him by this great Conference to know  
 455 Of things above his World, and of thir being  
 Who dwell in Heav'n, whose excellence he saw  
 Transcend his own so farr, whose radiant forms  
 Divine effulgence,<sup>o</sup> whose high Power so far *shining*  
 Exceeded human, and his wary speech  
 460 Thus to th' Empyrean Minister he fram'd.  
 Inhabitant with God, now know I well

435 **in mist.** The usual explanation (“common gloss”) of orthodox theologians was that when angels appeared to humans they took bodies of air. See lines 299–300 above, and note.

438 **transubstantiate.** In common theological use, the Roman Catholic doctrine that the bread and wine of the eucharist are in their substance transformed into the body and blood of Christ. Milton vigorously denied that doctrine, describing as a true transubstantiation the angels’ transformation of earthly food into their more highly refined substance. The residue (“what redounds”) passes out as vapor through the pores (“transpires”) – the angelic form of excretion.

446–8 **Sons of God.** A patristic tradition identifies them with angels (as here) though they are usually said to be human sons of Seth, as in 11.621–2. Gen. 6:2 tells of their marriage to the daughters of men.

- Thy favour, in this honour done to man,  
 Under whose lowly roof thou hast voutsaf't  
 To enter, and these earthly fruits to taste,  
 465 Food not of Angels, yet accepted so,  
 As that more willingly thou couldst not seem  
 At Heav'n's high feasts to have fed: yet what compare?  
 To whom the winged Hierarch<sup>o</sup> repli'd. *potentate*  
 O *Adam*, one Almighty is, from whom  
 470 All things proceed, and up to him return,  
 If not depriv'd from good, created all  
 Such to perfection, one first matter all,  
 Indu'd with various forms, various degrees  
 Of substance, and in things that live, of life;  
 475 But more refin'd, more spiritous, and pure,  
 As neerer to him plac't or neerer tending  
 Each in thir several active Sphears assignd,  
 Till body up to spirit work, in bounds<sup>o</sup> *limits, leaps*  
 Proportiond to each kind. So from the root  
 480 Springs lighter the green stalk, from thence the leaves  
 More aerie, last the bright consummate<sup>o</sup> floure *complete, perfect*  
 Spirits odorous breathes: flours and thir fruit  
 Mans nourishment, by gradual scale sublim'd  
 To vital Spirits aspire, to animal,  
 485 To intellectual, give both life and sense,  
 Fansie and understanding, whence the Soule  
 Reason receives, and reason is her being,  
 Discursive, or Intuitive; discourse  
 Is ofttest yours, the latter most is ours,

469–79. Milton held that the universe was created out of Chaos, not out of nothing (*ex nihilo*), the orthodox position. The primal matter of Chaos had its origin in God, who subsequently created all things from that matter (see 7.168–73). This materialist monism denies sharp distinctions between angels and men, spirit and matter, all being of one substance with different degrees of refinement. The universe Raphael describes is hierarchical but also dynamic and striving, as beings become increasingly spiritual (“spiritous”) or increasingly gross depending on their moral choices (see *Christian Doctrine* 1.7).

479–87. The plant figure provides an illustration of the dynamism of being in Milton’s universe, and further explains why Raphael can eat the fruit. That fruit is transformed into various orders of “spirits”: “vital,” fluids in the blood sustaining life; “animal,” produced from the vital spirits and controlling sensation and motion; and “intellectual,” spirits controlling the faculties of the soul – fancy, understanding, and reason. The soul derives her being from the spirits and so is material.

483 **sublim'd**. Raised to a higher state, an alchemical term referring to the change of a solid into a gas.

488–90 **Discursive, or Intuitive**. According to the traditional dualist assumption, angels are pure spirits whose intuition (immediate apprehension of truth) is absolutely distinct from human reason (which involved combining data and arguing from premises to conclusions). Milton makes the distinction only relative, “Differing but in degree.”

- 490 Differing but in degree, of kind the same.  
 Wonder not then, what God for you saw good  
 If I refuse not, but convert, as you,  
 To proper<sup>o</sup> substance; time may come when men *my own*  
 With Angels may participate, and find
- 495 No inconvenient Diet, nor too light Fare:  
 And from these corporal nutriments perhaps  
 Your bodies may at last turn all to Spirit,  
 Improv'd by tract<sup>o</sup> of time, and wing'd ascend *passage*  
 Ethereal, as wee, or may at choice
- 500 Here or in Heav'nly Paradises dwell;  
 If ye be found obedient, and retain  
 Unalterably firm his love entire  
 Whose progenie you are. Mean while enjoy  
 Your fill what happiness this happie state
- 505 Can comprehend, incapable<sup>o</sup> of more. *unable to contain*  
 To whom the Patriarch of mankind repli'd.  
 O favourable spirit, propitious<sup>o</sup> guest, *gracious*  
 Well hast thou taught the way that might direct  
 Our knowledge, and the scale of Nature set
- 510 From center to circumference, whereon  
 In contemplation of created things  
 By steps we may ascend to God. But say,  
 What meant that caution joind, *if ye be found*  
*Obedient?* can we want<sup>o</sup> obedience then *lack*
- 515 To him, or possibly his love desert  
 Who form'd us from the dust, and plac'd us here  
 Full to the utmost measure of what bliss  
 Human desires can seek or apprehend?  
 To whom the Angel. Son of Heav'n and Earth,
- 520 Attend: That thou art happie, owe to God;  
 That thou continu'st such, owe to thy self,  
 That is, to thy obedience; therein stand.  
 This was that caution giv'n thee; be advis'd.  
 God made thee perfet, not immutable;<sup>o</sup> *unchangeable*
- 525 And good he made thee, but to persevere  
 He left it in thy power, ordain'd thy will

498–501. Cf. 7.157–61.

509 **scale of Nature.** The “Chain of Being” extending from God down to the lowest element of creation (see, e.g., Macrobius, *In Somnium Scipionis* 1.14.15).

520–43. Cf. 3.93–128.

By nature free, not over-rul'd by Fate  
 Inextricable, or strict necessity;  
 Our voluntarie service he requires,  
 530 Not our necessitated, such with him  
 Findes no acceptance, nor can find, for how  
 Can hearts, not free, be tri'd whether they serve  
 Willing or no, who will but what they must  
 By Destinie, and can no other choose?  
 535 My self and all th' Angelic Host that stand  
 In sight of God enthron'd, our happie state  
 Hold, as you yours, while our obedience holds;  
 On other surety<sup>o</sup> none; freely we serve, *guarantee*  
 Because we freely love, as in our will  
 540 To love or not; in this we stand or fall:  
 And som are fall'n, to disobedience fall'n,  
 And so from Heav'n to deepest Hell; O fall  
 From what high state of bliss into what woe!  
 To whom our great Progenitor. Thy words  
 545 Attentive, and with more delighted eare,  
 Divine instructor, I have heard, then when  
 Cherubic Songs<sup>o</sup> by night from neighbouring Hills *songs of Cherubim*  
 Aereal Music send: nor knew I not  
 To be both will and deed created free;  
 550 Yet that we never shall forget to love  
 Our maker, and obey him whose command  
 Single, is yet so just, my constant thoughts  
 Assur'd me, and still assure: though what thou tellst  
 Hath past in Heav'n, som doubt within me move,  
 555 But more desire to hear, if thou consent,  
 The full relation, which must needs be strange,  
 Worthy of Sacred silence to be heard;  
 And we have yet large day, for scarce the Sun  
 Hath finisht half his journey, and scarce begins  
 560 His other half in the great Zone<sup>o</sup> of Heav'n. *zodiac*  
 Thus *Adam* made request, and *Raphael*  
 After short pause assenting, thus began.  
 High matter thou injoinst me, O prime<sup>o</sup> of men, *first, most excellent*

557 **Worthy of Sacred silence.** Translates Horace, *Odes* 2.13.29, referring to songs sung by Alcaeus and Sappho in Hades; their words are "sacro digna silentio."

563 **High matter.** Raphael's account of the war in Heaven is an epic device, a narrative of past action; it is also a mini-epic itself, with traditional battles, challenges, and single combats. As an "epic" poet treating sacred matter, Raphael confronts a narrative challenge similar to Milton's own.

- Sad task and hard, for how shall I relate  
 565 To human sense th' invisible exploits  
 Of warring Spirits; how without remorse<sup>o</sup> *sorrow*  
 The ruin of so many glorious once  
 And perfet while they stood; how last unfould  
 The secrets of another world, perhaps  
 570 Not lawful to reveal? yet for thy good  
 This is dispenc't,<sup>o</sup> and what surmounts the reach *permitted*  
 Of human sense, I shall delineate so,  
 By lik'ning spiritual to corporal forms,  
 As may express them best, though what if Earth  
 575 Be but the shaddow of Heav'n, and things therein  
 Each to other like, more then on earth is thought?  
 As yet this World was not, and *Chaos* wilde  
 Reignd where these Heav'ns now rowl, where Earth now rests  
 Upon her Center pois'd, when on a day  
 580 (For Time, though in Eternitie, appli'd  
 To motion, measures all things durable  
 By present, past, and future) on such day  
 As Heav'ns great Year brings forth, th' Empyreal Host  
 Of Angels by Imperial summons call'd,  
 585 Innumerable before th' Almightyes Throne  
 Forthwith from all the ends of Heav'n appeerd  
 Under thir Hierarchs<sup>o</sup> in orders bright *leaders, potentates*  
 Ten thousand thousand Ensignes high advanc'd,  
 Standards and Gonfalons twixt Van and Reare  
 590 Streame in the Aire, and for distinction serve  
 Of Hierarchies, of Orders, and Degrees;  
 Or in thir glittering Tissues<sup>o</sup> bear imblaz'd *fine cloth*  
 Holy Memorials, acts of Zeale and Love  
 Recorded eminent. Thus when in Orbes  
 595 Of circuit<sup>o</sup> inexpressible they stood, *circumference*  
 Orb within Orb, the Father infinite,

571–6. Raphael first explains his narrative strategy in terms of the traditional notion of “accommodation,” couching spiritual matters in “corporal” terms that humans can understand; but he then extends the Platonic idea that earth is a shadow of heaven (*Republic* 10.397B–598D) to suggest that the two realms are more similar than earthly thinkers have supposed.

580–2. Countering a long philosophical tradition, Milton asserts the existance of time and motion in Heaven, before the creation of the universe (see *Christian Doctrine* 1.7).

583 **great Year.** The cycle completed when all the heavenly bodies simultaneously return to their original positions (see, e.g., Plato, *Timaeus* 39d). A common estimate of that cycle was 36,000 earth years.

589 **Gonfalons.** Flags hung from a crossbar. **Van.** Vanguard.



- By whom in bliss imbosom'd sat the Son,  
 Amidst as from a flaming Mount, whose top  
 Brightness had made invisible, thus spake.
- 600 Hear all ye Angels, Progenie of Light,  
 Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Vertues, Powers,  
 Hear my Decree, which unrevok't shall stand.  
 This day I have begot whom I declare  
 My onely Son, and on this holy Hill
- 605 Him have anointed, whom ye now behold  
 At my right hand; your Head I him appoint;  
 And by my Self have sworn to him shall bow  
 All knees in Heav'n, and shall confess him Lord:  
 Under his great Vice-gerent<sup>o</sup> Reign abide
- 610 United as one individual<sup>o</sup> Soule *deputy, vice-regent*  
*inseparable, indivisible*  
 For ever happie: him who disobeyes  
 Mee disobeyes, breaks union, and that day  
 Cast out from God and blessed vision, falls  
 Into utter<sup>o</sup> darkness, deep ingulft, his place *total, outer*
- 615 Ordaind without redemption, without end.  
 So spake th' Omnipotent, and with his words  
 All seemd well pleas'd, all seem'd, but were not all.  
 That day, as other solemn<sup>o</sup> dayes, they spent *ceremonial, festival*  
 In song and dance about the sacred Hill,
- 620 Mystical dance, which yonder starrie Spheare<sup>o</sup> *the heavens*  
 Of Planets and of fixt<sup>o</sup> in all her Wheelles *fixed stars*  
 Resembles nearest, mazes intricate,  
 Eccentric, intervold,<sup>o</sup> yet regular *intertwined*  
 Then most, when most irregular they seem,
- 625 And in thir motions harmonie Divine  
 So smooths her charming tones, that Gods own ear  
 Listens delighted. Eevning now approach'd  
 (For wee have also our Eevning and our Morn,

603–5: Cf. Ps. 2:7: “I will declare the decree . . . Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee.” This episode refers to the exaltation of the Son as King, not his actual begetting, since he is elsewhere described as “of all Creation first” (3.383), and as God’s agent in creating the angels and everything else (5.835–8).

606: Cf. Col. 2:10: “Ye are complete in him, which is the head of all principality and power.”

607–8 **by my Self have sworn**. At Gen. 22:16, God swears by himself to bless Abraham. See Phil. 2:9–11: “God also hath highly exalted him . . . That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth” (cf. Isa. 45:23).

620–7 **Mystical dance**. The “intricate” dance of the angels produces “harmonie Divine,” like the “intricate” movements of the stars and the planets in both circular and noncircular (“Eccentric”) orbits that produce the music of the spheres according to the Pythagorean theory.

- Wee ours for change delectable, not need)
- 630 Forthwith from dance to sweet repast they turn  
 Desirous; all in Circles as they stood,  
 Tables are set, and on a sudden pil'd  
 With Angels Food, and rubied Nectar flows  
 In Pearl, in Diamond, and massie Gold,
- 635 Fruit of delicious Vines, the growth of Heav'n.  
 On flours repos'd, and with fresh flourets crownd,  
 They eate, they drink, and in communion sweet  
 Quaff immortalitie and joy, secure  
 Of surfet where full measure onely bounds
- 640 Excess, before th' all bounteous King, who showrd  
 With copious hand, rejoycing in thir joy.  
 Now when ambrosial<sup>o</sup> Night with Clouds exhal'd *fragrant*  
 From that high mount of God, whence light & shade  
 Spring both, the face of brightest Heav'n had changd
- 645 To grateful<sup>o</sup> Twilight (for Night comes not there *pleasing*  
 In darker veile) and roseat<sup>o</sup> Dewes dispos'd *rose-scented*  
 All but the unsleeping eyes of God to rest,  
 Wide over all the Plain, and wider farr  
 Then all this globous Earth in Plain out spred,
- 650 (Such are the Courts of God). Th' Angelic throng  
 Disperst in Bands and Files thir Camp extend  
 By living Streams among the Trees of Life,  
 Pavilions numberless, and sudden reard,  
 Celestial Tabernacles, where they slept
- 655 Fannd with coole Winds, save those who in thir course<sup>o</sup> *appointed task*  
 Melodious Hymns about the sovran Throne  
 Alternate all night long: but not so wak'd  
*Satan*, so call him now, his former name  
 Is heard no more in Heav'n; he of the first,
- 660 If not the first Arch-Angel, great in Power,  
 In favour and præeminence, yet fraught  
 With envie against the Son of God, that day  
 Honour'd by his great Father, and proclaim'd  
*Messiah* King anointed, could not beare
- 665 Through pride that sight, & thought himself impaird.<sup>o</sup> *reduced, disrespected*

658–9 **former name.** Traditionally understood to be Lucifer: “How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning” (Isa. 14:12). The poem claims that his former name was blotted from the books of life (see *PL* 1.361–5).

664 **Messiah.** In Hebrew the name means “anointed.”

Deep malice thence conceiving and disdain,  
 Soon as midnight brought on the duskie houre  
 Friendliest to sleep and silence, he resolv'd  
 With all his Legions to dislodge,<sup>o</sup> and leave *leave camp*  
 670 Unworshipt, unobey'd the Throne supream  
 Contemptuous, and his next subordinate  
 Awak'ning, thus to him in secret spake.  
     Sleepst thou, Companion dear, what sleep can close  
 Thy eye-lids? and remembrest what Decree  
 675 Of yesterday, so late hath past the lips  
 Of Heav'ns Almightye. Thou to me thy thoughts  
 Wast wont, I mine to thee was wont to impart;  
 Both waking we were one; how then can now  
 Thy sleep dissent? new Laws thou seest impos'd;  
 680 New Laws from him who reigns, new minds may raise  
 In us who serve, new Counsels, to debate<sup>o</sup> *discuss*  
 What doubtful may ensue; more in this place  
 To utter is not safe. Assemble thou  
 Of all those Myriads which we lead the chief;  
 685 Tell them that by command, ere yet dim Night  
 Her shadowie Cloud withdraws, I am to haste,  
 And all who under me thir Banners wave,  
 Homeward with flying march where we possess  
 The Quarters of the North, there to prepare  
 690 Fit entertainment to receive our King  
 The great *Messiah*, and his new commands,  
 Who speedily through all the Hierarchies  
 Intends to pass triumphant, and give Laws.  
     So spake the false Arch-Angel, and infus'd  
 695 Bad influence into th' unwarie brest  
 Of his Associate; hee together calls,  
 Or several one by one, the Regent Powers,  
 Under him Regent, tells, as he was taught,  
 That the most High commanding, now ere Night,  
 700 Now ere dim Night had disincumberd Heav'n,  
 The great Hierarchal Standard was to move;

671 **next subordinate.** His original name in Heaven is also lost, but he will come to be known as Beelzebub (2.299–300).

673 **Sleepst thou.** In many epics a voice awakens heroes or villains from sleep and lures them to rash or adventurous acts.

689 **North.** The traditional site of Lucifer's throne. See Isa. 14:13: "I will exalt my throne above the stars of God . . . in the sides of the north."

- Tells the suggested<sup>o</sup> cause, and casts between  
 Ambiguous words and jealousies,<sup>o</sup> to sound<sup>o</sup>  
 Or taint integritie; but all obey'd
- 705 The wonted<sup>o</sup> signal, and superior voice  
 Of thir great Potentate;<sup>o</sup> for great indeed  
 His name, and high was his degree in Heav'n;  
 His count'nance, as the Morning Starr that guides  
 The starrie flock, allur'd them, and with lyes
- 710 Drew after him the third part of Heav'ns Host:  
 Mean while th' Eternal eye, whose sight discernes  
 Abstrusest<sup>o</sup> thoughts, from forth his holy Mount  
 And from within the golden Lamps that burne  
 Nightly before him, saw without thir light
- 715 Rebellion rising, saw in whom, how spread  
 Among the sons of Morn,<sup>o</sup> what multitudes  
 Were banded to oppose his high Decree;  
 And smiling to his onely Son thus said.  
 Son, thou in whom my glory I behold
- 720 In full resplendence, Heir of all my might,  
 Neerly<sup>o</sup> it now concernes us to be sure  
 Of our Omnipotence, and with what Arms  
 We mean to hold what anciently we claim  
 Of Deitie or Empire, such a foe
- 725 Is rising, who intends to erect his Throne  
 Equal to ours, throughout the spacious North;  
 Nor so content, hath in his thought to try<sup>o</sup>  
 In battel, what our Power is, or our right.  
 Let us advise, and to this hazard draw
- 730 With speed what force is left, and all imploy  
 In our defense, lest unawares we lose  
 This our high place, our Sanctuarie, our Hill.  
 To whom the Son with calm aspect and cleer  
 Light'ning Divine, ineffable, serene,
- 735 Made answer. Mightie Father, thou thy foes  
 Justly hast in derision, and secure  
 Laugh'st at thir vain designes and tumults vain,

708 **Morning Starr.** An allusion to Satan as Lucifer, compared to the star Venus or Hesperus which bore the name Lucifer when it appeared as the first star in the morning (see notes to lines 166 and 658 above).

710 **third part.** Cf. Rev. 12:4: "And his [the dragon's] tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth."

735-7. Cf. Ps. 2:4: "He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh: the Lord shall have them in derision."

- Matter to mee of Glory, whom thir hate  
 Illustrates,° when they see all Regal Power *makes illustrious*  
 740 Giv'n me to quell thir pride, and in event° *by the outcome*  
 Know whether I be dextrous to subdue  
 Thy Rebels, or be found the worst in Heav'n.  
 So spake the Son, but *Satan* with his Powers° *armies*  
 Far was advanc't on winged speed, an Host  
 745 Innumerable as the Starrs of Night,  
 Or Starrs of Morning, Dew-drops, which the Sun  
 Impearls on every leaf and every flouer.  
 Regions they pass'd, the mightie Regencies° *dominions*  
 Of Seraphim and Potentates and Thrones  
 750 In thir triple Degrees, Regions to° which *compared to*  
 All thy Dominion, *Adam*, is no more  
 Then what this Garden is to all the Earth,  
 And all the Sea, from one entire globose° *sphere, globe*  
 Stretcht into Longitude;° which having pass'd *spread out flat*  
 755 At length into the limits° of the North *regions*  
 They came, and *Satan* to his Royal seat  
 High on a Hill, far blazing, as a Mount  
 Rais'd on a Mount, with Pyramids and Towrs  
 From Diamond Quarries hew'n, and Rocks of Gold,  
 760 The Palace of great *Lucifer*, (so call  
 That Structure in the Dialect of men  
 Interpreted) which not long after, he  
 Affecting° all equality with God, *arrogating to himself*  
 In imitation of that Mount whereon  
 765 *Messiah* was declar'd in sight of Heav'n,  
 The Mountain of the Congregation call'd;  
 For thither he assembl'd all his Train,  
 Pretending so commanded to consult  
 About the great reception of thir King,  
 770 Thither to come, and with calumnious Art  
 Of counterfeted truth thus held thir ears.  
 Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Vertues, Powers,  
 If these magnific Titles yet remain

741 **dextrous**. Skillful, but also with the Latin meaning of "right hand," in reference to the Son at God's right hand (606 above).

750. See note to line 371, above.

766 **Mountain of the Congregation**. Cf. Isa. 14:13–14, where Lucifer is quoted, "I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the north: . . . I will be like the most High."

- Not meerly titular, since by Decree  
 775 Another now hath to himself ingross't<sup>o</sup> *monopolized*  
 All Power, and us eclipst under the name  
 Of King anointed, for whom all this haste  
 Of midnight march, and hurried meeting here,  
 This onely to consult how we may best  
 780 With what may be devis'd of honours new  
 Receive him coming to receive from us  
 Knee-tribute yet unpaid, prostration vile,  
 Too much to one, but double how endur'd,  
 To one and to his image now proclaim'd?  
 785 But what if better counsels might erect  
 Our minds and teach us to cast off this Yoke?  
 Will ye submit your necks, and chuse to bend  
 The supple knee? ye will not, if I trust  
 To know ye right, or if ye know your selves  
 790 Natives and Sons of Heav'n possesst before  
 By none, and if not equal all, yet free,  
 Equally free; for Orders and Degrees  
 Jarr not with liberty, but well consist.  
 Who can in reason then or right assume  
 795 Monarchie over such as live by right  
 His equals, if in power and splendor less,  
 In freedome equal? or can introduce  
 Law and Edict on us, who without law  
 Erre not, much less for this to be our Lord,  
 800 And look for adoration to th' abuse  
 Of those Imperial Titles which assert  
 Our being ordain'd to govern, not to serve?  
 Thus farr his bold discourse without controule<sup>o</sup> *hindrance*  
 Had audience,<sup>o</sup> when among the Seraphim *hearing*  
 805 *Abdiel*, then whom none with more zeale ador'd  
 The Deitie, and divine commands obei'd,  
 Stood up, and in a flame of zeale severe  
 The current of his fury thus oppos'd.

787–802. Compare Milton's republican theory, stated in the *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*: "No man who knows ought, can be so stupid to deny that all men naturally were borne free, being the image and resemblance of God himself, and were by privilege above all the creatures, born to command and not to obey: and that they liv'd so" (until Adam's sin necessitated magistrates and laws, though sovereign power always remained with the people). Cf. Adam's natural republicanism, when learning of the first king, Nimrod (*PL* 12.64–71).

805 *Abdiel*. Hebrew, "Servant of God."

O argument blasphemous, false and proud!  
 810 Words which no eare ever to hear in Heav'n  
 Expected, least of all from thee, ingrate  
 In place thy self so high above thy Peeres.  
 Canst thou with impious obloquie<sup>o</sup> condemne  
 The just Decree of God, pronounc't and sworn,  
 815 That to his only Son by right endu'd  
 With Regal Scepter, every Soule in Heav'n  
 Shall bend the knee, and in that honour due  
 Confess him rightful King? unjust thou saist  
 Flatly unjust, to binde with Laws the free,  
 820 And equal over equals to let Reigne,  
 One over all with unsucceeded<sup>o</sup> power.  
 Shalt thou give Law to God, shalt thou dispute  
 With him the points of libertie, who made  
 Thee what thou art, and formd the Pow'rs of Heav'n  
 825 Such as he pleas'd, and circumscrib'd thir being?  
 Yet by experience taught we know how good,  
 And of our good, and of our dignitie  
 How provident he is, how farr from thought  
 To make us less, bent rather to exalt  
 830 Our happie state under one Head more near  
 United. But to grant it thee unjust,  
 That equal over equals Monarch Reigne:  
 Thy self though great and glorious dost thou count,  
 Or all Angelic Nature joind in one,  
 835 Equal to him begotten Son, by whom  
 As by his Word the mighty Father made  
 All things, ev'n thee, and all the Spirits of Heav'n  
 By him created in thir bright degrees,<sup>o</sup>  
 Crownd them with Glory, and to thir Glory nam'd  
 840 Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Vertues, Powers,  
 Essential Powers, nor by his Reign obscur'd,  
 But more illustrious made, since he the Head

*abusive speech**without successor**illustrious ranks*

811 **ingrate.** Cf. 3.97.

822–5. Cf. Rom. 9:20: “O man, who art thou that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus?”

833–40. Cf. Col. 1:16: “For by him [the Son, the image of God] were all things created, that are in heaven, and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers, all things were created by him, and for him.” Milton believed that God created the Son “the firstborn of every creature” (Col. 1:15), who then created the angels; as Abdiel argues, there can be no equality between Creator and creature.

One of our number thus reduc't becomes,  
 His Laws our Laws, all honour to him done  
 845 Returns our own. Cease then this impious rage,  
 And tempt not these; but hast'n to appease  
 Th' incensed Father, and th' incensed Son,  
 While Pardon may be found in time besought.  
 So spake the fervent Angel, but his zeale  
 850 None seconded, as out of season judg'd,  
 Or singular and rash, whereat rejoic'd  
 Th' Apostat, and more haughty thus repli'd.  
 That we were formd then saist thou? and the work  
 Of secundarie hands, by task transferd  
 855 From Father to his Son? strange point and new!  
 Doctrin which we would know whence learnt: who saw  
 When this creation was? rememberst thou  
 Thy making, while the Maker gave thee being?  
 We know no time when we were not as now;  
 860 Know none before us, self-begot, self-rais'd  
 By our own quick'ning power, when fatal course<sup>o</sup> *ordained by fate*  
 Had circl'd his full Orbe, the birth mature  
 Of this our native Heav'n, Ethereal Sons.  
 Our puissance<sup>o</sup> is our own, our own right hand *power*  
 865 Shall teach us highest deeds, by proof to try  
 Who is our equal: then thou shalt behold  
 Whether by supplication we intend  
 Address,<sup>o</sup> and to begirt<sup>o</sup> th' Almighty Throne *dutiful approach / surround*  
 Beseeching or besieging. This report,  
 870 These tidings carrie to th' anointed King;  
 And fly, ere evil intercept thy flight.  
 He said, and as the sound of waters deep  
 Hoarce murmur echo'd to his words applause  
 Through the infinite Host, nor less for that  
 875 The flaming Seraph fearless, though alone  
 Encompass'd round with foes, thus answerd bold.  
 O alienate from God, O spirit accurst,  
 Forsak'n of all good; I see thy fall  
 Determind, and thy hapless crew involv'd  
 880 In this perfidious fraud, contagion spread

843 **reduc't**. Suggests something like an incarnation of the Son for the angels.

856–9. Cf. 8.250–1, 276–82, Adam's comment on his recollection of origins; also cf. 4.43–5.

875 **Seraph**. Hebrew, "to burn."



Both of thy crime and punishment: henceforth  
 No more be troubl'd how to quit the yoke  
 Of Gods *Messiah*; those indulgent Laws  
 Will not now be voutsaf't, other Decrees  
 885 Against thee are gon forth without recall;  
 That Golden Scepter which thou didst reject  
 Is now an Iron Rod to bruise and breake  
 Thy disobedience. Well thou didst advise,  
 Yet not for thy advise or threats I fly  
 890 These wicked Tents devoted,° least the wrauth  
 Impendent,° raging into sudden flame *doomed*  
 Distinguish not: for soon expect to feel *impending*  
 His Thunder on thy head, devouring fire.  
 Then who created thee lamenting learne,  
 895 When who can uncreate thee thou shalt know.  
     So spake the Seraph *Abdiel* faithful found,  
 Among the faithless, faithful only hee;  
 Among innumerable false, unmov'd,  
 Unshak'n, uneduc'd, unterrifi'd  
 900 His Loyaltie he kept, his Love, his Zeale;  
 Nor number, nor example with him wrought  
 To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind  
 Though single. From amidst them forth he passd,  
 Long way through hostile scorn, which he susteind  
 905 Superior, nor of violence fear'd aught;  
 And with retorted° scorn his back he turn'd *returned*  
 On those proud Towrs to swift destruction doom'd.

*The End of the Fifth Book.*

882–8. Abdiel speaks as an inspired prophet.

887 **Iron Rod**. See 2.327–8 and note.

889–93. Cf. Moses' warning to the Israelites not to join Korah's rebellion: "Depart, I pray you, from the tents of these wicked men . . . lest ye be consumed in all their sins" (Num. 16:26). Cf. also Heb. 12:29: "For our God is a consuming fire."

## BOOK 6

### THE ARGUMENT

*Raphael* continues to relate how *Michael* and *Gabriel* were sent forth to battle against *Satan* and his Angels. The first Fight describ'd: *Satan* and his Powers retire under Night: He calls a Council, invents devilish Engines, which in the second dayes Fight put *Michael* and his Angels to some disorder; but, they at length pulling up  
 5 Mountains overwhelm'd both the force and Machins of *Satan*: Yet the Tumult not so ending, God on the third day sends *Messiah* his Son, for whom he had reserv'd the glory of that Victory: Hee in the Power of his Father coming to the place, and causing all his Legions to stand still on either side, with his Chariot and Thunder driving into the midst of his Enemies, pursues them unable to resist towards the wall  
 10 of Heaven; which opening, they leap down with horror and confusion into the place of punishment prepar'd for them in the Deep: *Messiah* returns with triumph to his Father.

All night the dreadless<sup>o</sup> Angel unpursu'd *fearless*  
 Through Heav'ns wide Champain<sup>o</sup> held his way, till Morn, *plain*  
 Wak't by the circling Hours, with rosie hand  
 Unbarr'd the gates of Light. There is a Cave  
 5 Within the Mount of God, fast by his Throne,  
 Where light and darkness in perpetual round  
 Lodge and dislodge by turns, which makes through Heav'n  
 Grateful vicissitude,<sup>o</sup> like Day and Night; *delightful change*  
 Light issues forth, and at the other dore  
 10 Obsequious<sup>o</sup> darkness enters, till her houre *dutiful*  
 To veile the Heav'n, though darkness there might well  
 Seem twilight here; and now went forth the Morn  
 Such as in highest Heav'n, arrayd in Gold  
 Empyrean,<sup>o</sup> from before her vanisht Night, *heavenly*  
 15 Shot through with orient<sup>o</sup> Beams: when all the Plain *from the east, lustrous*  
 Coverd with thick embattel'd<sup>o</sup> Squadrons bright, *set in battle array*  
 Chariots and flaming Armes, and fierie Steeds  
 Reflecting blaze on blaze, first met his view:  
 Warr he perceav'd, warr in procinct,<sup>o</sup> and found *readiness*

3 **devilish Engines.** Artillery, cannon.

2–3 **Morn.** Aurora, goddess of the dawn. **Hours.** daughters of Jove who control the seasons and guard the gates of Heaven. **rosie hand.** echoes the Homeric formula “rosy-fingered dawn” (*Iliad* 1.477).

4–14. Hesiod's cave in the abyss where Night and Day alternate (*Theogony* 744–57), here relocated “fast by” (next to) God's throne.

- 20 Already known what he for news had thought  
 To have reported: gladly then he mixt  
 Among those friendly Powers who him receav'd  
 With joy and acclamations loud, that one  
 That of so many Myriads fall'n, yet one
- 25 Returnd not lost: On to the sacred hill  
 They led him high applauded, and present  
 Before the seat supream; from whence a voice  
 From midst a Golden Cloud thus milde was heard.  
 Servant of God, well done, well hast thou fought
- 30 The better fight, who single hast maintaind  
 Against revolted multitudes the Cause  
 Of Truth, in word mightier then they in Armes;  
 And for the testimonie of Truth hast born  
 Universal reproach, far worse to beare
- 35 Then violence: for this was all thy care  
 To stand approv'd in sight of God, though Worlds  
 Judg'd thee perverse: the easier conquest now  
 Remains thee, aided by this host of friends,  
 Back on thy foes more glorious to return
- 40 Then scornd thou didst depart, and to subdue  
 By force, who reason for thir Law refuse,  
 Right reason for thir Law, and for thir King  
*Messiah*, who by right of merit Reigns.  
 Go *Michael* of Celestial Armies Prince,
- 45 And thou in Military prowess next  
*Gabriel*, lead forth to Battel these my Sons<sup>o</sup> *angels*  
 Invincible, lead forth my armed Saints  
 By Thousands and by Millions rang'd for fight;  
 Equal in number to that Godless crew
- 50 Rebellious, them with Fire and hostile Arms  
 Fearless assault, and to the brow<sup>o</sup> of Heav'n *edge*

29–30 **Servant of God.** Literal translation of the Hebrew name Abdiel. Echoes the parable of the talents (Matt. 25:21), “Well done, thou good and faithful servant.” **better fight.** Cf. 1 Tim. 6:12, “Fight the good fight of faith.”

42 **Right reason.** True, upright reason, translating the Stoic and Scholastic *recta ratio*.

43 **by right of merit.** See 3.309 and 2.5–6.

44 **Michael.** Hebrew, “Who is like God”; in Jewish and patristic tradition he is prince of the angels. Cf. Rev. 12:7–9 for his role in the battle in Heaven.

46 **Gabriel.** Hebrew, “Strength of God.”

49 **Equal in number.** As one-third of the angels rebelled, God sends out only an equal number of those who remained loyal.

- Pursuing drive them out from God and bliss,  
 Into thir place of punishment, the Gulf  
 Of *Tartarus*,<sup>o</sup> which ready opens wide Hell
- 55 His fiery *Chaos* to receive thir fall.  
 So spake the Sovran voice, and Clouds began  
 To darken all the Hill, and smoak to rowl  
 In duskie wreathes, reluctant<sup>o</sup> flames, the signe writhing  
 Of wrauth awak't: nor with less dread the loud
- 60 Ethereal Trumpet from on high gan<sup>o</sup> blow: began to  
 At which command the Powers Militant,  
 That stood for Heav'n, in mighty Quadrate<sup>o</sup> joyn'd square formation  
 Of Union irresistible, mov'd on  
 In silence thir bright Legions, to the sound
- 65 Of instrumental Harmonie that breath'd  
 Heroic Ardor to advent'rous deeds  
 Under thir God-like Leaders, in the Cause  
 Of God and his *Messiah*. On they move  
 Indissolubly firm; nor obvious<sup>o</sup> Hill, standing in the way
- 70 Nor streit'ning<sup>o</sup> Vale, nor Wood, nor Stream divides enclosing  
 Thir perfet ranks; for high above the ground  
 Thir march was, and the passive Air upbore  
 Thir nimble tread, as when the total kind  
 Of Birds in orderly array on wing
- 75 Came summond over *Eden* to receive  
 Thir names of thee; so over many a tract  
 Of Heav'n they march'd, and many a Province wide  
 Tenfold the length of this terrene:<sup>o</sup> at last earth, terrain  
 Farr in th' Horizon to the North appeer'd
- 80 From skirt to skirt<sup>o</sup> a fierie Region, stretcht edge to edge  
 In battailous<sup>o</sup> aspect, and neerer view warlike  
 Bristl'd with upright beams<sup>o</sup> innumerable shafts  
 Of rigid Spears, and Helmets throng'd, and Shields  
 Various, with boastful Argument<sup>o</sup> portraid, heraldic devices
- 85 The banded Powers of *Satan* hasting on  
 With furious expedition;<sup>o</sup> for they weend<sup>o</sup> speed / thought  
 That self same day by fight, or by surprize  
 To win the Mount of God, and on his Throne

64–6 **instrumental Harmonie**. Cf. 1.549–53, where the fallen angels march to music by flutes and recorders in the Dorian mode, also prompting to heroic action.

73–6. Similes comparing armies to birds are epic commonplaces (cf. *Iliad* 2.459–64, *Aeneid* 7.699–701), but Raphael adapts his simile to Adam's experience (cf. *PL* 8.349–54).

- To set the envier of his State, the proud  
 90 Aspirer, but thir thoughts prov'd fond<sup>o</sup> and vain *foolish*  
 In the mid way: though strange to us it seemd  
 At first, that Angel should with Angel warr,  
 And in fierce hosting<sup>o</sup> meet, who wont<sup>o</sup> to meet *hostility / were used*  
 So oft in Festivals of joy and love
- 95 Unanimous, as sons of one great Sire  
 Hymning th' Eternal Father: but the shout  
 Of Battel now began, and rushing sound  
 Of onset ended soon each milder thought.  
 High in the midst exalted as a God
- 100 Th' Apostate in his Sun-bright Chariot sate  
 Idol of Majesty Divine, enclos'd  
 With Flaming Cherubim, and golden Shields;  
 Then lighted from his gorgeous Throne, for now  
 'Twixt Host and Host but narrow space was left,
- 105 A dreadful intervall, and Front to Front  
 Presented stood in terrible array  
 Of hideous length: before the cloudie Van,<sup>o</sup> *frowning vanguard*  
 On the rough edge<sup>o</sup> of battel ere it joyn'd, *front line*  
*Satan* with vast and haughtie strides advanc't,
- 110 Came towring, armd in Adamant and Gold;  
*Abdiel* that sight endur'd not, where he stood  
 Among the mightiest, bent on highest deeds,  
 And thus his own undaunted heart explores.  
 O Heav'n! that such resemblance of the Highest
- 115 Should yet remain, where faith and realtie<sup>o</sup> *sincerity*  
 Remain not; wherefore should not strength and might  
 There fail where Vertue fails, or weakest prove  
 Where boldest; though to sight<sup>o</sup> unconquerable? *apparently*  
 His puissance,<sup>o</sup> trusting in th' Almighty's aide, *power*
- 120 I mean to try, whose Reason I have tri'd<sup>o</sup> *proved by trial*  
 Unsound and false; nor is it aught but just,  
 That he who in debate of Truth hath won,  
 Should win in Arms, in both disputes alike  
 Victor; though brutish that contest and foule,
- 125 When Reason hath to deal with force, yet so  
 Most reason is that Reason overcome.  
 So pondering, and from his armed Peers

105 **intervall.** Latin, *intervallum*, the space between two armed camps.

110 **Adamant.** A mythical substance of great hardness.

- Forth stepping opposite, half way he met  
 His daring foe, at this prevention<sup>o</sup> more
- 130 Incens't, and thus securely<sup>o</sup> him defi'd. *obstruction  
confidently*  
     Proud, art thou met? thy hope was to have reacht  
 The highth of thy aspiring unoppos'd,  
 The Throne of God unguarded, and his side  
 Abandon'd at the terror of thy Power
- 135 Or potent tongue; fool, not to think how vain  
 Against th' Omnipotent to rise in Arms;  
 Who out of smallest things could without end  
 Have rais'd incessant Armies to defeat  
 Thy folly; or with solitarie hand
- 140 Reaching beyond all limit at one blow  
 Unaided could have finisht thee, and whelmd  
 Thy Legions under darkness; but thou seest  
 All are not of thy Train; there be<sup>o</sup> who Faith *there are those*  
 Prefer, and Pietie to God, though then
- 145 To thee not visible, when I alone  
 Seemd in thy World erroneous to dissent  
 From all: my Sect thou seest, now learn too late  
 How few somtimes may know, when thousands err.  
     Whom the grand foe with scornful eye askance
- 150 Thus answerd. Ill for thee, but in wisht houre  
 Of my revenge, first sought for thou returnst  
 From flight, seditious Angel, to receive  
 Thy merited reward, the first assay<sup>o</sup> *trial, attack*  
 Of this right hand provok't, since first that tongue
- 155 Inspir'd with contradiction durst oppose  
 A third part of the Gods, in Synod met  
 Thir Deities to assert, who while they feel  
 Vigour Divine within them, can allow  
 Omnipotence to none. But well thou comst
- 160 Before thy fellows, ambitious to win

145–8 **dissent**. Puritans who refused to adhere to the national church after the Restoration were termed dissenters. **Sect**. A term used by adherents of the Church of England and by Presbyterians to smear those who separated from the national church. Abdiel's terms align him with those Puritan schismatics – Baptists, Quakers, Socinians, and others – whom Milton often defended in his prose tracts; like them Abdiel claims that truth may reside with a single “dissenter” or sect of a few.

152–6 **seditious**. Treasonous. Satan's language aligns him with those Anglicans after the Restoration who denounced dissenters as traitors, with Presbyterians who look to a “Synod” (a Presbyterian assembly) to define truth, and with conformists of all stripes who think truth is confirmed by numbers (“A third part of the Gods”).

From me som Plume,<sup>o</sup> that thy success may show trophy  
 Destruction to the rest: this pause between  
 (Unanswerd least thou boast) to let thee know;  
 At first I thought that Libertie and Heav'n  
 165 To heav'nly Soules had bin all one; but now  
 I see that most through sloth had rather serve,  
 Ministring Spirits, traind up in Feast and Song;  
 Such hast thou arm'd, the Minstrelsie of Heav'n,  
 Servilitie with freedom to contend,  
 170 As both thir deeds compar'd this day shall prove.  
     To whom in brief thus *Abdiel* stern repli'd.  
 Apostat, still thou errst, nor end wilt find  
 Of erring, from the path of truth remote:  
 Unjustly thou deprav'st<sup>o</sup> it with the name vilify, pervert  
 175 Of *Servitude* to serve whom God ordains,  
 Or Nature; God and Nature bid the same,  
 When he who rules is worthiest, and excells  
 Them whom he governs. This is servitude,  
 To serve th' unwise, or him who hath rebelld  
 180 Against his worthier, as thine now serve thee,  
 Thy self not free, but to thy self enthralld;  
 Yet leudly<sup>o</sup> dar'st our ministring upbraid. ignorantly, basely  
 Reign thou in Hell thy Kingdom, let mee serve  
 In Heav'n God ever blest, and his Divine  
 185 Behests obey, worthiest to be obey'd,  
 Yet Chains in Hell, not Realms expect: mean while  
 From mee returnd, as erst<sup>o</sup> thou saidst, from flight, formerly  
 This greeting on thy impious Crest receive.  
     So saying, a noble stroke he lifted high,  
 190 Which hung not, but so swift with tempest fell  
 On the proud Crest of *Satan*, that no sight,  
 Nor motion of swift thought, less could his Shield  
 Such ruin intercept: ten paces huge  
 He back recoild; the tenth on bended knee

163 **Unanswerd least thou boast.** i.e., lest you boast that I did not answer your argument.

167–9 **Ministring.** Satan's contemptuous pun links the angels' service ("ministring"), which he terms "Servilitie," with the street songs of minstrels ("Minstrelsie of Heav'n").

174–81 **Nature.** Abdiel cites a "natural law" principle set forth by Aristotle and by Milton in the *Second Defense*, that when one man excels all the rest in worthiness he should rule.

178–81 **servitude.** See 12.90–101. Milton often invoked the principle that tyrants are enslaved to their own passions.

183–4. Cf. Satan's words at 1.263.

- 195 His massie Spear upstaid; as if on Earth  
 Winds under ground or waters forcing way  
 Sidelong, had push't a Mountain from his seat  
 Half sunk with all his Pines. Amazement seis'd  
 The Rebel Thrones, but greater rage to see
- 200 Thus foil'd thir mightiest, ours joy filld, and shout,  
 Presage of Victorie and fierce desire  
 Of Battel: whereat *Michael* bid sound  
 Th' Arch-Angel trumpet; through the vast<sup>o</sup> of Heaven *immense space*  
 It sounded, and the faithful Armies rung<sup>o</sup> *proclaimed aloud*
- 205 *Hosanna* to the Highest: nor stood at gaze  
 The adverse Legions, nor less hideous joyn'd  
 The horrid shock: now storming furie rose,  
 And clamour such as heard in Heav'n till now  
 Was never, Arms on Armour clashing bray'd<sup>o</sup> *made a harsh jarring noise*
- 210 Horrible discord, and the madding<sup>o</sup> Wheelles *furiously whirling*  
 Of brazen Chariots rag'd; dire was the noise  
 Of conflict; over head the dismal hiss  
 Of fiery Darts in flaming volies flew,  
 And flying vaulted either Host with fire.
- 215 So under fierie Cope<sup>o</sup> together rush'd *sky*  
 Both Battels maine,<sup>o</sup> with ruinous assault *main sections of the armies*  
 And inextinguishable rage; all Heav'n  
 Resounded, and had Earth bin then, all Earth  
 Had to her Center shook. What wonder? when
- 220 Millions of fierce encountring Angels fought  
 On either side, the least of whom could weild  
 These Elements, and arm him with the force  
 Of all thir Regions: how much more of Power  
 Armie against Armie numberless to raise
- 225 Dreadful combustion<sup>o</sup> warring, and disturb, *tumult*  
 Though not destroy, thir happie Native seat;  
 Had not th' Eternal King Omnipotent  
 From his strong hold of Heav'n high over-rul'd  
 And limited thir might; though numberd such<sup>o</sup> *so numerous*
- 230 As each divided Legion might have seemd  
 A numerous Host, in strength each armed hand

196 **Winds under ground.** The supposed cause of earthquakes.

199 **Rebel Thrones.** Here as elsewhere Milton uses the name of one angelic order to stand for all. But the term is politically suggestive, linking monarchs with rebellion against God. Cf. 12.36, Michael's comment that the first king, Nimrod, derived his name from "Rebellion."



- A Legion; led in fight, yet Leader seemd  
 Each Warriour single as in Chief, expert  
 When to advance, or stand, or turn the sway<sup>o</sup> force
- 235 Of Battel, open when, and when to close  
 The ridges of grim Warr; no thought of flight,  
 None of retreat, no unbecoming deed  
 That argu'd fear; each on himself reli'd,  
 As<sup>o</sup> onely in his arm the moment<sup>o</sup> lay as if / deciding factor
- 240 Of victorie; deeds of eternal fame  
 Were don, but infinite: for wide was spred  
 That Warr and various; somtimes on firm ground  
 A standing fight, then soaring on main<sup>o</sup> wing powerful  
 Tormented<sup>o</sup> all the Air; all Air seemd then agitated
- 245 Conflicting Fire: long time in eeven scale  
 The Battel hung; till *Satan*, who that day  
 Prodigious power had shewn, and met in Armes  
 No equal, raunging through the dire attack  
 Of fighting Seraphim confus'd, at length
- 250 Saw where the Sword of *Michael* smote, and fell'd  
 Squadrons at once, with huge two-handed sway  
 Brandisht aloft the horrid edge came down  
 Wide wasting; such destruction to withstand  
 He hasted, and oppos'd the rockie Orb
- 255 Of tenfold Adamant, his ample Shield  
 A vast circumference: At his approach  
 The great Arch-Angel from his warlike toile  
 Surceas'd, and glad as hoping here to end  
 Intestine<sup>o</sup> War in Heav'n, the arch foe subdu'd civil war
- 260 Or Captive drag'd in Chains, with hostile frown  
 And visage all enflam'd first thus began.  
 Author of evil, unknown till thy revolt,  
 Unnam'd in Heav'n, now plenteous, as thou seest  
 These Acts of hateful strife, hateful to all,
- 265 Though heaviest by just measure on thy self  
 And thy adherents: how hast thou disturb'd  
 Heav'ns blessed peace, and into Nature brought  
 Miserie, uncreated till the crime

232–5. i.e., they had leaders, yet each single warrior seemed like a commander-in-chief, skilled in all military operations.

254–5 **rockie Orb**. Satan's "ample Shield" made of "tenfold Adamant," a mythical impenetrable substance imagined as folded ten times in thickness. Cf. 542–3 below.

- Of thy Rebellion? how hast thou instill'd  
 270 Thy malice into thousands, once upright  
 And faithful, now prov'd false. But think not here  
 To trouble Holy Rest; Heav'n casts thee out  
 From all her Confines. Heav'n the seat of bliss  
 Brooks<sup>o</sup> not the works of violence and Warr. *endures*
- 275 Hence then, and evil go with thee along  
 Thy offspring, to the place of evil, Hell,  
 Thou and thy wicked crew; there mingle<sup>o</sup> broiles, *concoct*  
 Ere this avenging Sword begin thy doome,  
 Or som more sudden vengeance wing'd from God
- 280 Precipitate thee with augmented paine.  
 So spake the Prince of Angels; to whom thus  
 The Adversarie. Nor think thou with wind  
 Of airie threats to aw whom yet with deeds  
 Thou canst not. Hast thou turnd the least of these
- 285 To flight, or if to fall, but that they rise  
 Unvanquisht, easier to transact with mee  
 That thou shouldst hope, imperious, and with threats  
 To chase me hence? erre not<sup>o</sup> that so shall end *don't falsely suppose*  
 The strife which thou call'st evil, but wee style
- 290 The strife of Glorie: which we mean to win,  
 Or turn this Heav'n it self into the Hell  
 Thou fablest, here however to dwell free,  
 If not to reign: mean while thy utmost force,  
 And join him nam'd *Almighty* to thy aid,
- 295 I flie not, but have sought thee farr and nigh.  
 They ended parle,<sup>o</sup> and both addresst<sup>o</sup> for fight *parlay / prepared*  
 Unspeakable; for who, though with the tongue  
 Of Angels, can relate, or to what things  
 Liken on Earth conspicuous, that may lift
- 300 Human imagination to such highth  
 Of Godlike Power: for likest Gods they seemd,  
 Stood they or mov'd, in stature, motion, arms  
 Fit to decide the Empire of great Heav'n.  
 Now wav'd thir fierie Swords, and in the Aire
- 305 Made horrid Circles; two broad Suns thir Shields  
 Blaz'd opposite, while expectation stood  
 In horror; from each hand with speed retir'd

Where erst<sup>o</sup> was thickest fight, th' Angelic throng, *formerly*  
 And left large field, unsafe within the wind  
 310 Of such commotion, such as to set forth  
 Great things by small, if Natures concord broke,  
 Among the Constellations warr were sprung,  
 Two Planets rushing from aspect maligne  
 Of fiercest opposition in mid Skie,  
 315 Should combat, and thir jarring Sphears confound.  
 Together both with next to Almighty Arme,  
 Uplifted imminent one stroke they aim'd  
 That might determine,<sup>o</sup> and not need repeate, *decide the issue*  
 As not of power,<sup>o</sup> at once; nor odds<sup>o</sup> appeerd *not able / inequality*  
 320 In might or swift prevention;<sup>o</sup> but the sword  
 Of *Michael* from the Armorie of God  
 Was giv'n him temperd so, that neither keen  
 Nor solid might resist that edge: it met  
 The sword of *Satan* with steep force to smite  
 325 Descending, and in half cut sheere, nor staid,  
 But with swift wheele reverse, deep entring shar'd<sup>o</sup> *sheared, cut off*  
 All his right side; then *Satan* first knew pain,  
 And writh' d him to and fro convolv'd;<sup>o</sup> so sore<sup>o</sup> *contorted / painfully*  
 The griding<sup>o</sup> sword with discontinuous<sup>o</sup> wound *keenly cutting / gaping*  
 330 Pass'd through him, but th' Ethereal substance clos'd  
 Not long divisible, and from the gash  
 A stream of Nectarous humor issuing flow'd  
 Sanguin, such as Celestial Spirits may bleed,  
 And all his Armour staid ere while so bright.  
 335 Forthwith on all sides to his aide was run  
 By Angels many and strong, who interpos'd  
 Defence, while others bore him on thir Shields  
 Back to his Chariot; where it stood retir'd  
 From off the files of warr; there they him laid  
 340 Gnashing for anguish and despite and shame  
 To find himself not matchless, and his pride  
 Humbl'd by such rebuke, so farr beneath  
 His confidence to equal God in power.

310–15 **to set forth / Great things by small.** A Virgilian formula, here introducing an epic simile comparing the single combat of Satan and Michael (“great things”) with war among the planets (“small” by comparison), prompted by the clash of two planets from opposed positions causing a “malign” influence and throwing into discord the music of the spheres (“jarring Sphears”).

330–3 **Nectarous humor.** The fluid angels bleed because they drink nectar; cf. the ichor that flows from Aphrodite's wound, which also heals itself promptly (*Iliad* 5.339–42). **Sanguin.** Blood red.

- Yet soon he heal'd; for Spirits that live throughout  
 345 Vital in every part, not as frail man  
 In Entrails, Heart or Head, Liver or Reines;<sup>o</sup> kidneys  
 Cannot but by annihilating die;  
 Nor in thir liquid texture mortal wound  
 Receive, no more then can the fluid Aire:  
 350 All Heart they live, all Head, all Eye, all Eare,  
 All Intellect, all Sense, and as they please,  
 They Limb themselves, and colour, shape or size  
 Assume, as likes<sup>o</sup> them best, condense or rare. pleases  
 Mean while in other parts like deeds deservd  
 355 Memorial, where the might of *Gabriel* fought,  
 And with fierce Ensignes pierc'd the deep array  
 Of *Moloc* furious King, who him defi'd  
 And at his Chariot wheeles to drag him bound  
 Threatn'd, nor from the Holie One of Heav'n  
 360 Refrein'd his tongue blasphemous; but anon  
 Down clov'n to the waste, with shatterd Armes  
 And uncouth<sup>o</sup> paine fled bellowing. On each wing unfamiliar  
*Uriel* and *Raphael* his vaunting foe,  
 Though huge, and in a Rock of Diamond Armd,  
 365 Vanquish'd *Adramelec*, and *Asmadai*,  
 Two potent Thrones, that to be less then Gods  
 Disdain'd, but meaner thoughts learnd in thir flight,  
 Mangl'd with gastly wounds through Plate and Maile,  
 Nor stood unmindful *Abdiel* to annoy<sup>o</sup> injure  
 370 The Atheist crew, but with redoubl'd blow  
*Ariel* and *Arioc*, and the violence  
 Of *Ramiel* scorcht and blasted overthrew.  
 I might relate of thousands, and thir names  
 Eternize here on Earth; but those elect  
 375 Angels contented with thir fame in Heav'n  
 Seek not the praise of men: the other sort  
 In might though wondrous and in Acts of Warr,

350–3. Cf. 1.423–31.

**limb themselves.** Provide themselves with limbs, dense or aery.355–6 **might of Gabriel.** Mighty Gabriel (Homeric diction).**Ensignes.** Banners, which identify theseveral divisions of troops. **array.** Thick rows of troops.365. **Adramelec.** King of fire, the Babylonian sun god worshiped in Samaria with human sacrifice (2 Kgs 17:31).**Asmadai.** Asmodeus, creature of judgment, the evil spirit of the Apocryphal book of Tobit (see PL 4.168).371–2 **Ariel.** “Lion of God.”**Arioc.** “Lion-like.”**Ramiel.** “Thunder of God,” one of the angels

fornicating with women in 1 Enoch 6:7. All three names are used of good and bad angels in rabbinical and demonological texts.

- Nor of Renown less eager, yet by doome  
 Canceled from Heav'n and sacred memorie,  
 380 Nameless in dark oblivion let them dwell.  
 For strength from Truth divided and from Just,  
 Illaudable,<sup>o</sup> naught merits but dispraise *unworthy of praise*  
 And ignominie, yet to glorie aspires  
 Vain glorious, and through infamie seeks fame:  
 385 Therefore Eternal silence be thir doome.  
 And now thir Mightiest quell'd, the battel swerv'd,<sup>o</sup> *army fell back*  
 With many an inrode gor'd,<sup>o</sup> deformed rout *passage penetrated*  
 Enter'd, and foul disorder; all the ground  
 With shiverd armour strow'n, and on a heap  
 390 Chariot and Charioter lay overturn'd  
 And fierie foaming Steeds; what<sup>o</sup> stood, recoyld *those who*  
 Orewearied, through the faint Satanic Host  
 Defensive scarce, or with pale fear surpris'd,  
 Then first with fear surpris'd and sense of paine  
 395 Fled ignominious, to such evil brought  
 By sin of disobedience, till that hour  
 Not liable to fear or flight or paine.  
 Far otherwise th' inviolable Saints<sup>o</sup> *angels*  
 In Cubic Phalanx<sup>o</sup> firm advanc't entire, *cube formation*  
 400 Invulnerable, impenitrably arm'd:  
 Such high advantages thir innocence  
 Gave them above thir foes, not to have sinnd,  
 Not to have disobey'd; in fight they stood  
 Unwearied, unobnoxious<sup>o</sup> to be pain'd *not liable, unable*  
 405 By wound, though from thir place by violence mov'd.  
 Now Night her course began, and over Heav'n  
 Inducing darkness, grateful truce impos'd,  
 And silence on the odious dinn of Warr:  
 Under her Cloudie covert both retir'd,  
 410 Victor and Vanquisht: on the foughten field<sup>o</sup> *battlefield*  
 Michael and his Angels prevalent<sup>o</sup> *victorious*  
 Encamping, plac'd in Guard thir Watches round,  
 Cherubic waving fires: on th' other part  
 Satan with his rebellious disappeerd,  
 415 Far in the dark dislodg'd,<sup>o</sup> and void of rest, *shifted quarters*

383 **ignominie**. Literally, namelessness (Latin).393 **Defensive scarce**. Scarcely able to defend themselves.

His Potentates to Council call'd by night;  
And in the midst thus undismay'd began.

- O now in danger tri'd, now known in Armes  
Not to be overpowerd, Companions deare,  
420 Found worthy not of Libertie alone,  
Too mean pretense,<sup>o</sup> but what we more affect,<sup>o</sup> *low aim / desire*  
Honour, Dominion, Glorie, and renowne,  
Who have sustaind one day in doubtful<sup>o</sup> fight *indecisive*  
(And if one day, why not Eternal dayes?)  
425 What Heavens Lord had powerfulest to send  
Against us from about his Throne, and judg'd  
Sufficient to subdue us to his will,  
But proves not so: then fallible, it seems,  
Of future<sup>o</sup> we may deem him, though till now *about the future*  
430 Omniscient thought. True is, less firmly arm'd,  
Some disadvantage we endur'd and paine,  
Till now not known, but known as soon contemnd,  
Since now we find this our Empyreal form  
Incapable of mortal injurie  
435 Imperishable, and though pierc'd with wound,  
Soon closing, and by native vigour heal'd.  
Of evil then so small as easie think  
The remedie; perhaps more valid<sup>o</sup> Armes, *powerful*  
Weapons more violent, when next we meet,  
440 May serve to better us, and worse<sup>o</sup> our foes, *make worse, injure*  
Or equal what between us made the odds,  
In Nature none: if other hidden cause  
Left them Superiour, while we can preserve  
Unhurt our mindes, and understanding sound,  
445 Due search and consultation will disclose.  
He sat; and in th' assembly next upstood  
Nisroc, of Principalities the prime;  
As one he stood escap't from cruel fight,  
Sore toild, his riv'n<sup>o</sup> Armes to havoc hewn, *cut to pieces*  
450 And cloudie in aspect thus answering spake.  
Deliverer from new Lords, leader to free  
Enjoyment of our right as Gods; yet hard

416. Nocturnal councils called by an army defeated in a battle are common in epic.

441–2 **made the odds**. Gave them the advantage, since “Nature” gives them none.

447 **Nisroc**. An Assyrian god worshiped by Sennacherib (2 Kgs 19:36–7). His Hebrew name means “flight.”

- For Gods, and too unequal work we find  
 Against unequal arms to fight in paine,  
 455 Against unpaid, impassive;° from which evil *not liable to suffer*  
 Ruin must needs ensue; for what availes  
 Valour or strength, though matchless, quelld with pain  
 Which all subdues, and makes remiss° the hands *slack, weak*  
 Of Mightiest. Sense of pleasure we may well  
 460 Spare out of life perhaps, and not repine,  
 But live content, which is the calmest life:  
 But pain is perfet miserie, the worst  
 Of evils, and excessive, overturnes  
 All patience. He who therefore can invent  
 465 With what more forcible we may offend° *injure, attack*  
 Our yet unwounded Enemies, or arme  
 Our selves with like defence, to me° deserves *in my opinion*  
 No less then for deliverance what we owe.  
 Whereto with look compos'd *Satan* repli'd.  
 470 Not uninvented that, which thou aright  
 Believst so main° to our success, I bring; *essential*  
 Which of us who beholds the bright surface  
 Of this Ethereous mould° whereon we stand, *ethereal ground*  
 This continent of spacious Heav'n, adorn'd  
 475 With Plant, Fruit, Flour Ambrosial, Gemms & Gold,  
 Whose Eye so superficially surveyes  
 These things, as not to mind° from whence they grow *remember, consider*  
 Deep under ground, materials dark and crude,  
 Of spiritous and fierie spume, till toucht  
 480 With Heav'ns ray, and temperd they shoot forth  
 So beauteous, op'ning° to the ambient° light. *enveloping*  
 These in thir dark Nativitie the Deep  
 Shall yield us pregnant with infernal° flame, *from underground*  
 Which into hallow Engins° long and round *cannon*  
 485 Thick-rammd, at th' other bore with touch of fire  
 Dilated and infuriate shall send forth

468. i.e., We would owe such a one our deliverance.

477–82 **spiritous and fierie spume**. See below, lines 511–12, “Sulphurous and Nitrous Foame”; these “dark and crude” materials touched by “Heav'ns ray” become all the “beauteous” features of Heaven's landscape (474–5). Satan proposes to mine these elements in their “dark Nativitie.”

485–6 **Thick-rammd**. Compactly packed. **bore**. The touch-hole into which gunpowder is poured to serve as fuse for the charge. **Dilated and infuriate**. Exploding violently. Cannon and gunpowder were often described as originating in hell.

- From far with thundring noise among our foes  
Such implements of mischief as shall dash  
To pieces, and orewhelm whatever stands  
490 Adverse, that they shall fear we have disarm'd  
The Thunderer of his only<sup>o</sup> dreaded bolt. *unique*  
Nor long shall be our labour, yet ere dawne,  
Effect shall end our wish. Mean while revive;  
Abandon fear; to strength and counsel joind  
495 Think nothing hard, much less to be despair'd.  
He ended, and his words thir drooping chere<sup>o</sup> *spirits*  
Enlightn'd, and thir languisht hope reviv'd.  
Th' invention all admir'd,<sup>o</sup> and each, how hee *marvelled at*  
To be th' inventor miss'd, so easie it seem'd  
500 Once found, which yet unfound most would have thought  
Impossible: yet haply<sup>o</sup> of thy Race *by chance*  
In future dayes, if Malice should abound,  
Some one intent on mischief, or inspir'd  
With dev'lish machination might devise  
505 Like instrument to plague the Sons of men  
For sin, on warr and mutual slaughter bent.  
Forthwith from Council to the work they flew,  
None arguing stood, innumerable hands  
Were ready, in a moment up they turnd  
510 Wide the Celestial soile, and saw beneath  
Th' originals<sup>o</sup> of Nature in thir crude *original elements*  
Conception; Sulphurous and Nitrous<sup>o</sup> Foame *saltpeter*  
They found, they mingl'd, and with suttile Art,  
Concocted<sup>o</sup> and adusted<sup>o</sup> they reduc'd *heated / dried*  
515 To blackest grain, and into store convey'd:  
Part hidd'n veins diggd up (nor hath this Earth  
Entrails unlike) of Mineral and Stone,  
Whereof to found thir Engins and thir Balls  
Of missive ruin; part incentive reed  
520 Provide, pernicious<sup>o</sup> with one touch to fire. *destructive*  
So all ere day-spring,<sup>o</sup> under conscious<sup>o</sup> Night *dawn / witnessing*

493. i.e., we will achieve ("effect") our "wish."

515 **blackest grain.** Gunpowder; its ingredients are saltpeter and sulphur (512).

516–20 **Part.** Some of them cast ("found") cannon and cannonballs ("Engins" and "Balls") sending a message of destruction ("missive ruin"), with a play on missile. **part.** Some "Provide" the kindling ("incentive reed") to ignite ("fire") the cannon.



- Secret they finish'd, and in order set,  
 With silent circumspection unesp'd.  
 Now when fair Morn Orient° in Heav'n appeerd East  
 525 Up rose the Victor Angels, and to Arms  
 The matin° Trumpet Sung: in Arms they stood morning  
 Of Golden Panoplie,° refulgent° Host, full armor / shining  
 Soon banded; others from the dawning Hills  
 Lookd round, and Scouts each Coast light-armed scoure,  
 530 Each quarter, to descrie the distant foe,  
 Where lodg'd, or whither fled, or if for fight,  
 In motion or in alt:° him soon they met halt  
 Under spred Ensignes° moving nigh, in slow battle flags  
 But firm Battalion; back with speediest Sail  
 535 *Zophiel*, of Cherubim the swiftest wing,  
 Came flying, and in mid Aire aloud thus cri'd.  
 Arme, Warriours, Arme for fight, the foe at hand,  
 Whom fled we thought, will save us long pursuit  
 This day, fear not his flight; so thick a Cloud  
 540 He comes, and settl'd in his face I see  
 Sad° resolution and secure:° let each sober / confident  
 His Adamantine° coat gird well, and each impenetrable  
 Fit well his Helme, gripe fast his orb'd Shield,  
 Born eevn° or high, for this day will pour down, in front  
 545 If I conjecture aught, no drizzling showr,  
 But ratling storm of Arrows barbd with fire.  
 So warnd he them aware themselves, and soon  
 In order, quit of all impediment;° military baggage  
 Instant without disturb they took Allarm,  
 550 And onward move Embattelld;° when behold in battle formation  
 Not distant far with heavie pace the Foe  
 Approaching gross° and huge; in hollow Cube compact  
 Training° his devilish Enginrie, impal'd° hauling / fenced in  
 On every side with shadding Squadrons Deep,  
 555 To hide the fraud. At interview° both stood mutual view  
 A while, but suddenly at head appeerd  
*Satan*: And thus was heard Commanding loud.  
 Vanguard, to Right and Left the Front unfould;  
 That all may see who hate us, how we seek

535 *Zophiel*. Hebrew, "Spy of God."549 **without disturb**. Without loss of composure.**took Allarm**. Responded to the call to arms.

- 560 Peace and composure, and with open brest  
 Stand readie to receive them, if they like  
 Our overture, and turn not back perverse;  
 But that I doubt, however witness Heaven,  
 Heav'n witness thou anon, while we discharge  
 565 Freely our part; yee who appointed stand  
 Do as you have in charge, and briefly touch  
 What we propound, and loud that all may hear.  
 So scoffing in ambiguous words, he scarce  
 Had ended; when to Right and Left the Front  
 570 Divided, and to either Flank retir'd.  
 Which to our eyes discoverd new and strange,  
 A triple mounted row<sup>o</sup> of Pillars laid *in three tiers*  
 On Wheels (for like to Pillars most they seem'd  
 Or hollow'd bodies made of Oak or Firr  
 575 With branches lopt, in Wood or Mountain fell'd)  
 Brass, Iron, Stonie mould,<sup>o</sup> had not thir mouthes *composition*  
 With hideous orifice gap't on us wide,  
 Portending hollow<sup>o</sup> truce; at each behind *insincere*  
 A Seraph stood, and in his hand a Reed  
 580 Stood waving tipt with fire; while we suspense,<sup>o</sup> *waiting*  
 Collected stood within our thoughts amus'd,<sup>o</sup> *puzzled*  
 Not long, for sudden all at once thir Reeds  
 Put forth, and to a narrow vent<sup>o</sup> appli'd *touch hole*  
 With nicest<sup>o</sup> touch. Immediate in a flame, *most exact*  
 585 But soon obscur'd with smoak, all Heav'n appeerd,  
 From those deep throated Engins belcht, whose roar  
 Emboweld<sup>o</sup> with outrageous noise the Air, *filled*  
 And all her entrails tore, disgorging foule  
 Thir devilish glut, chaind Thunderbolts and Hail  
 590 Of Iron Globes, which on the Victor Host  
 Level'd, with such impetuous furie smote,  
 That whom they hit, none on thir feet might stand,

560–7. The passage is full of puns, e.g., “Peace” (and piece, a weapon); “composure” (settlement of disputes and construction [of weapons]); “brest” (heart/the forward line of a military formation); “overture” (offer to negotiate/opening, the bore of the cannon); “discharge . . . charge” (perform our duty/fire our explosives); “appointed” (chosen/equipped); “touch” (state/ignite, touch off); “propound” (propose/crush by beating).

576–90. These lines contain numerous debased puns relating to bodily functions, e.g., “mouthes,” “orifice,” “behind,” “narrow vent,” “deep throated,” “belcht,” “Emboweld,” “entrails,” “disgorging,” “glut,” “Iron Globes.”

589 **chaind Thunderbolts.** Chain shot, cannonballs linked together.

- Though standing else as Rocks, but down they fell  
 By thousands, Angel on Arch-Angel rowl'd;  
 595 The sooner for thir Arms, unarm'd they might  
 Have easily as Spirits evaded swift  
 By quick contraction or remove; but now  
 Foule dissipation<sup>o</sup> follow'd and forc't rout; *dispersal*  
 Nor serv'd it to relax thir serried<sup>o</sup> files. *close, tight*
- 600 What should they do? if on they rusht, repulse  
 Repeated, and indecent<sup>o</sup> overthrow *shameful, graceless*  
 Doubl'd, would render them yet more despis'd,  
 And to thir foes a laughter; for in view  
 Stood rankt of Seraphim another row
- 605 In posture to displode<sup>o</sup> thir second tire<sup>o</sup> *explode / volley*  
 Of Thunder: back defeated to return  
 They worse abhorr'd. *Satan* beheld thir plight,  
 And to his Mates thus in derision call'd.
- O Friends, why come not on these Victors proud?
- 610 Ere while they fierce were coming, and when wee,  
 To entertain them fair with open Front  
 And Brest, (what could we more?) propounded terms  
 Of composition, strait they chang'd thir minds,  
 Flew off, and into strange vagaries<sup>o</sup> fell, *fantastic motions*
- 615 As they would dance, yet for a dance they seemd  
 Somwhat extravagant and wilde, perhaps  
 For joy of offerd peace: but I suppose  
 If our proposals once again were heard  
 We should compel them to a quick result.
- 620 To whom thus *Belial* in like gamesom mood.  
 Leader, the terms we sent were terms of weight,  
 Of hard contents, and full of force urg'd home,  
 Such as we might perceiv amus'd them all,  
 And stumbl'd many, who receives them right,
- 625 Had need from head to foot well understand;  
 Not understood, this gift they have besides,  
 They shew us when our foes walk not upright.

611–12. More puns: “entertain” (welcome/engage an enemy); “open Front” (candid face/front rank of troops); “Brest” (heart/forward line of a military company).

613 **composition**. Another pun (truce/composition of gunpowder).

621–7. *Belial* puns on “terms of weight” (solid negotiating terms/heavy cannonballs); “amus’d” (held their attention/bewildered them); “stumbl’d” (nonplussed/tripped up); “understand” (comprehend/support); “walk not upright” (deal dishonestly/cannot stand on their feet).

- So they among themselves in pleasant<sup>o</sup> veine  
 Stood scoffing, highthn'd in thir thoughts beyond  
 630 All doubt of Victorie, eternal might  
 To match with thir inventions they presum'd  
 So easie, and of his Thunder made a scorn,  
 And all his Host derided, while they stood  
 A while in trouble; but they stood not long,  
 635 Rage prompted them at length, and found them arms  
 Against such hellish mischief fit to oppose.  
 Forthwith (behold the excellence, the power  
 Which God hath in his mighty Angels plac'd)  
 Thir Arms away they threw, and to the Hills  
 640 (For Earth hath this variety from Heav'n  
 Of pleasure situate in Hill and Dale)  
 Light as the Lightning glimps they ran, they flew,  
 From thir foundations loosning to and fro  
 They pluckt the seated<sup>o</sup> Hills with all thir load,  
 645 Rocks, Waters, Woods, and by the shaggy tops  
 Up lifting bore them in thir hands: Amaze,<sup>o</sup>  
 Be sure, and terrour seis'd the rebel Host,  
 When coming towards them so dread<sup>o</sup> they saw  
 The bottom of the Mountains upward turn'd,  
 650 Till on those cursed Engins triple-row  
 They saw them whelm'd, and all thir confidence  
 Under the weight of Mountains buried deep,  
 Themselves invaded<sup>o</sup> next, and on thir heads  
 Main<sup>o</sup> Promontories flung, which in the Air  
 655 Came shadowing, and opprest<sup>o</sup> whole Legions arm'd,  
 Thir armor help'd thir harm, crush't in and bruis'd  
 Into thir substance pent,<sup>o</sup> which wrought them pain  
 Implacable,<sup>o</sup> and many a dolorous groan,  
 Long struggling underneath, ere they could wind  
 660 Out of such prison, though Spirits of purest light,  
 Purest at first, now gross by sinning grown.  
 The rest in imitation to like Armes  
 Betook them, and the neighbouring Hills uptore;  
 So Hills amid the Air encounterd Hills  
 665 Hurl'd to and fro with jaculation<sup>o</sup> dire,  
 That under ground they fought in dismal shade;

*jesting**fixed**astonishment**dreadful**attacked**massive, solid**pressed down**confined**impossible to relieve**the action of throwing*

643–6. The hurling of “Hills” as missiles is taken from the war between the Olympian gods and the Titans in Hesiod’s *Theogony* 713–20.

Infernal noise; Warr seem'd a civil<sup>o</sup> Game *humane, civilized*  
 To<sup>o</sup> this uproar; horrid confusion heapt *compared to*  
 Upon confusion rose: and now all Heav'n  
 670 Had gone to wrack, with ruin overspred,  
 Had not th' Almightye Father where he sits  
 Shrin'd in his Sanctuarie of Heav'n secure,  
 Consulting<sup>o</sup> on the sum of things, foreseen *deliberating*  
 This tumult, and permitted all, advis'd:<sup>o</sup> *having considered*  
 675 That his great purpose he might so fulfill,  
 To honour his Anointed Son aveng'd  
 Upon his enemies, and to declare<sup>o</sup> *show forth*  
 All power on him transferr'd: whence to his Son  
 Th' Assessor<sup>o</sup> of his Throne he thus began. *associate, sharer*  
 680 Effulgence of my Glorie, Son below'd,  
 Son in whose face invisible is beheld  
 Visibly, what by Deitie I am,  
 And in whose hand what by Decree I doe,  
 Second Omnipotence, two dayes are past,  
 685 Two dayes, as we compute the dayes of Heav'n,  
 Since *Michael* and his Powers went forth to tame  
 These disobedient; sore hath been thir fight,  
 As likeliest was, when two such Foes met arm'd;  
 For to themselves I left them, and thou knowst,  
 690 Equal in thir Creation they were form'd,  
 Save what sin hath impaird, which yet hath wrought  
 Insensibly,<sup>o</sup> for I suspend thir doom; *imperceptibly*  
 Whence in perpetual fight they needs must last  
 Endless, and no solution will be found:  
 695 Warr wearied hath perform'd what Warr can do,  
 And to disorder'd rage let loose the reines,  
 With Mountains as with Weapons arm'd, which makes  
 Wild work in Heav'n, and dangerous to the maine.<sup>o</sup> *whole place*  
 Two dayes are therefore past, the third is thine;  
 700 For thee I have ordain'd it, and thus farr  
 Have sufferd,<sup>o</sup> that the Glorie may be thine *permitted*  
 Of ending this great Warr, since none but Thou  
 Can end it. Into thee such Vertue and Grace

680–2 **Effulgence**. Radiance. cf. Heb. 1:3, describing the Son as “the brightness of his glory and the express image of his person.” **invisible**. Cf. Col. 1:15, “Who is the image of the invisible God.”

684 **Second Omnipotence**. Two omnipotences are a logical impossibility. Cf. John 5:19, “The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do,” a text Milton cites in *Christian Doctrine* 1.5, to argue that the Son derives all power from the Father.

- Immense I have transfus'd, that all may know  
 705 In Heav'n and Hell thy Power above compare,  
 And this perverse Commotion governd thus,  
 To manifest thee worthiest to be Heir  
 Of all things, to be Heir and to be King  
 By Sacred Unction,<sup>o</sup> thy deserved right. *anointing*
- 710 Go then thou Mightiest in thy Fathers might,  
 Ascend my Chariot, guide the rapid Wheelles  
 That shake Heav'ns basis,<sup>o</sup> bring forth all my Warr,  
 My Bow and Thunder, my Almighty Arms *foundation*  
 Gird on, and Sword upon thy puissant Thigh;  
 715 Pursue these sons of Darkness, drive them out  
 From all Heav'ns bounds into the utter<sup>o</sup> Deep: *outer*  
 There let them learn, as likes them, to despise  
 God and *Messiah* his anointed King.  
 He said, and on his Son with Rayes direct  
 720 Shon full, he all his Father full exprest  
 Ineffably<sup>o</sup> into his face receiv'd, *inexpressibly, mysteriously*  
 And thus the filial Godhead answering spake.  
 O Father, O Supream of heav'nly Thrones,  
 First, Highest, Holiest, Best, thou alwayes seekst  
 725 To glorifie thy Son, I alwayes thee,  
 As is most just; this I my Glorie account,  
 My exaltation, and my whole delight,  
 That thou in me well pleas'd, declarst thy will  
 Fulfill'd, which to fulfil is all my bliss.  
 730 Scepter and Power, thy giving, I assume,  
 And gladlier shall resign, when in the end  
 Thou shalt be All in All, and I in thee  
 For ever, and in mee all whom thou lov'st:  
 But whom thou hat'st, I hate, and can put on  
 735 Thy terrors, as I put thy mildness on,  
 Image of thee in all things; and shall soon,  
 Armd with thy might, rid heav'n of these rebell'd,  
 To thir prepar'd ill Mansion driven down  
 To chains of darkness, and th' undying Worm,  
 740 That from thy just obedience could revolt,

728–9. Cf. Matt. 3:17, “my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.”

731–3. Cf. 1 Cor. 15:24, 28: “Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God . . . then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all” (See *PL* 3.339–41).

739 **undying Worm**. Cf. Mark 9:44: “[Hell is] Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.”

- Whom to obey is happiness entire.  
 Then shall thy Saints unmixt, and from th' impure  
 Farr separate, circling thy holy Mount  
 Unfeigned *Halleluiahs* to thee sing,  
 745 Hymns of high praise, and I among them chief.  
 So said, he o're his Scepter bowing, rose  
 From the right hand of Glorie where he sate,  
 And the third sacred Morn began to shine  
 Dawning through Heav'n: forth rush'd with whirl-wind sound  
 750 The Chariot of Paternal Deitie,  
 Flashing thick flames, Wheele within Wheele undrawn,  
 It self instinct<sup>o</sup> with Spirit, but convoyd *animated by*  
 By four Cherubic shapes, four Faces each  
 Had wondrous, as with Starrs thir bodies all  
 755 And Wings were set with Eyes, with Eyes the wheels  
 Of Beril, and careering<sup>o</sup> Fires between; *moving back and forth*  
 Over thir heads a chrystal Firmament,  
 Whereon a Saphir Throne, inlaid with pure  
 Amber, and colours of the showrie Arch<sup>o</sup> *rainbow*  
 760 Hee in Celestial Panoplie all armd  
 Of radiant *Urim*, work divinely wrought,  
 Ascended, at his right hand Victorie  
 Sate Eagle-wing'd, beside him hung his Bow  
 And Quiver with three-bolted Thunder stor'd,  
 765 And from about him fierce Effusion<sup>o</sup> rowld *copious emission*  
 Of smoak and bickering<sup>o</sup> flame, and sparkles dire;  
 Attended with ten thousand thousand Saints,  
 He onward came, farr off his coming shon,  
 And twentie thousand (I thir number heard)  
 770 Chariots of God, half on each hand were seen:  
 Hee on the wings of Cherub rode sublime<sup>o</sup> *lifted up*  
 On the Chrystallin Skie, in Saphir Thron'd.

750–61 **Chariot of Paternal Deitie.** The Son's living chariot, with its four-faced Cherubim – the faces being man, lion, ox (or cherub), and eagle – is taken from Ezek. 1 and 10. See especially 10:12, "And their whole body, and their backs, and their hands, and their wings, and the wheels, were full of eyes round about, even the wheels that they four had."

751 **Undrawn.** Moving by its own power.

761 **Urim.** Gems worn by the high priest Aaron on his breastplate of judgment (Exod. 28:30).

762–4 **Victorie.** Milton's personification is based on Nike, the winged Greek goddess of victory, and on Jove's bird, the eagle. **three-bolted Thunder.** Jove's weapon is the three-forked thunderbolt.

769–72 **Chariots of God.** Cf. Ps. 68:17, "The chariots of God are twenty thousand, even thousands of angels: the Lord is among them." **wings of Cherub.** Cf. Ps. 18:10, "And he rode upon a cherub."

**Saphir Thron'd.** Cf. Ezek. 1:26, "the likeness of a throne, as the appearance of a sapphire stone."

- Illustrious<sup>o</sup> farr and wide, but by his own *shining*  
 First seen, them unexpected joy surpriz'd,  
 775 When the great Ensign of *Messiah* blaz'd  
 Aloft by Angels born, his Sign in Heav'n:  
 Under whose Conduct *Michael* soon reduc'd<sup>o</sup> *led back*  
 His Armie, circumfus'd<sup>o</sup> on either Wing, *spread about*  
 Under thir Head imbodyed all in one.  
 780 Before him Power Divine his way prepar'd;  
 At his command the uprooted Hills retir'd  
 Each to his place, they heard his voice and went  
 Obsequious,<sup>o</sup> Heav'n his wonted face renewd, *compliant*  
 And with fresh Flourets Hill and Valley smil'd.  
 785 This saw his hapless Foes but stood obdur'd,<sup>o</sup> *hardened*  
 And to rebellious fight rallied thir Powers  
 Insensate,<sup>o</sup> hope conceiving from despair. *senseless*  
 In heav'nly Spirits could such perverseness dwell?  
 But to convince the proud what Signs availe,  
 790 Or Wonders move th' obdurate to relent?  
 They hard'nd more by what might most reclame,  
 Grieving<sup>o</sup> to see his Glorie, at the sight *aggrieved*  
 Took envie, and aspiring to his highth,  
 Stood reimbattell'd fierce, by force or fraud  
 795 Weening<sup>o</sup> to prosper, and at length prevaile *thinking*  
 Against God and *Messiah*, or to fall  
 In universal ruin last, and now  
 To final Battel drew, disdainning flight,  
 Or faint retreat; when the great Son of God  
 800 To all his Host on either hand thus spake.  
 Stand still in bright array ye Saints, here stand  
 Ye Angels arm'd, this day from Battel rest;  
 Faithful hath been your warfare, and of God  
 Accepted, fearless in his righteous Cause,  
 805 And as ye have receivd, so have ye don  
 Invincibly; but of this cursed crew  
 The punishment to other hand belongs,  
 Vengeance is his, or whose he sole appoints;  
 Number to this dayes work is not ordain'd  
 810 Nor multitude, stand onely and behold

801–11 **Stand still.** Echoes Moses' words when God destroyed the Egyptians in the Red Sea (Exod. 14:13):

"Fear ye not, stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord which he will shew to you to day."

808 **Vengeance is his.** Cf. Rom. 12:19, "Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord."



Gods indignation on these Godless pourd  
 By mee, not you but mee they have despis'd,  
 Yet envied; against mee is all thir rage,  
 Because the Father, t' whom in Heav'n supream  
 815 Kingdom and Power and Glorie appertains,  
 Hath honourd me according to his will.  
 Therefore to mee thir doom he hath assign'd;  
 That they may have thir wish, to trie with mee  
 In Battel which the stronger proves, they all,  
 820 Or I alone against them, since by strength  
 They measure all, of other excellence  
 Not emulous, nor care who them excells;  
 Nor other strife with them do I voutsafe. ° *grant*

So spake the Son, and into terrour chang'd  
 825 His count'nance too severe to be beheld  
 And full of wrauth bent on his Enemies.  
 At once the Four spred out thir Starrie wings  
 With dreadful shade contiguous, and the Orbes  
 Of his fierce Chariot rowld, as with the sound  
 830 Of torrent Floods, or of a numerous Host.  
 Hee on his impious Foes right onward drove,  
 Gloomie ° as Night; under his burning Wheelles *dark*  
 The stedfast Empyrean shook throughout,  
 All but the Throne it self of God. Full soon  
 835 Among them he arriv'd; in his right hand  
 Grasping ten thousand Thunders, which he sent  
 Before him, such as in thir Soules infix'd  
 Plagues; they astonisht ° all resistance lost, *bewildered, stupefied*  
 All courage; down thir idle weapons drop'd;  
 840 O're Shields and Helmes, and helmed heads he rode  
 Of Thrones and mighty Seraphim prostrate,  
 That wisht the Mountains now might be again  
 Thrown on them as a shelter from his ire.  
 Nor less on either side tempestuous fell  
 845 His arrows, from the fourfold-visag'd Foure,  
 Distinct ° with eyes, and from the living Wheelles, *adorned*

815 **Kingdom and Power and Glorie.** Cf. Matt. 6:13, "For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever."

827 **the Four.** The Four "Cherubic shapes" of line 753.

842-3 **Mountains . . . shelter.** Cf. Rev. 6:16, the cry of the damned to the mountains, "Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb."

845. See lines 753 and 827.

- Distinct alike with multitude of eyes,  
 One Spirit in them rul'd, and every eye  
 Glar'd lightning, and shot forth pernicious<sup>o</sup> fire *destructive*
- 850 Among th' accurst, that witherd all thir strength,  
 And of thir wonted<sup>o</sup> vigour left them draind, *accustomed*  
 Exhausted, spiritless, afflicted, fall'n.  
 Yet half his strength he put not forth, but check'd  
 His Thunder in mid Volie,<sup>o</sup> for he meant *salvo*
- 855 Not to destroy, but root them out of Heav'n:  
 The overthrown he rais'd, and as a Heard  
 Of Goats or timerous flock together throngd  
 Drove them before him Thunder-struck, pursu'd  
 With terrors and with furies to the bounds
- 860 And Chrystal wall of Heav'n, which op'ning wide,  
 Rowld<sup>o</sup> inward, and a spacious Gap disclos'd *turned*  
 Into the wastful<sup>o</sup> Deep; the monstrous sight *desolate*  
 Strook them with horror backward, but far worse  
 Urg'd them behind; headlong themselves they threw
- 865 Down from the verge of Heav'n, Eternal wrauth  
 Burnt after them to the bottomless pit.  
 Hell heard th' unsufferable noise, Hell saw  
 Heav'n ruining<sup>o</sup> from Heav'n and would have fled *falling*  
 Affrighted; but strict Fate had cast too deep
- 870 Her dark foundations, and too fast had bound.  
 Nine dayes they fell; confounded *Chaos* roard,  
 And felt tenfold confusion in thir fall  
 Through his wilde Anarchie, so huge a rout<sup>o</sup> *defeated army*  
 Incumberd<sup>o</sup> him with ruin: Hell at last *burdened*
- 875 Yawning receavd them whole, and on them clos'd,  
 Hell thir fit habitation fraught with fire  
 Unquenchable, the house of woe and paine.  
 Disburdnd Heav'n rejoic'd, and soon repaird  
 Her mural<sup>o</sup> breach, returning whence it rowld. *in the wall*
- 880 Sole Victor from th' expulsion of his Foes  
*Messiah* his triumphal Chariot turnd:  
 To meet him all his Saints, who silent stood

853. Cf. Hesiod's Zeus, who put forth all his strength against the Titans (*Theogony* 687–9).

856–7 **Heard / Of Goats.** In the parable of the sheep and the goats, the latter were sent “into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels” (Matt. 25:33, 41).

871. In Hesiod's *Theogony* (720–5) the Titans fell nine days from heaven to earth, and nine more days from earth to Tartarus.

Eye witnesses of his Almighty Acts,  
 With Jubilee<sup>o</sup> advanc'd; and as they went, *joyful shout*  
 885 Shaded with branching Palme, each order bright,  
 Sung Triumph, and him sung Victorious King,  
 Son, Heir, and Lord, to him Dominion giv'n,  
 Worthiest to Reign: he celebrated rode  
 Triumphant through mid Heav'n, into the Courts  
 890 And Temple of his mightie Father Thron'd  
 On high: who into Glorie him receav'd,  
 Where now he sits at the right hand of bliss.  
 Thus measuring things in Heav'n by things on Earth  
 At thy request, and that thou maist beware  
 895 By what is past, to thee I have reveal'd  
 What might have else to human Race bin hid;  
 The discord which befel, and Warr in Heav'n  
 Among th' Angelic Powers,<sup>o</sup> and the deep fall *armies*  
 Of those too high aspiring, who rebelld  
 900 With *Satan*, hee who envies now thy state,  
 Who now is plotting how he may seduce  
 Thee also from obedience, that with him  
 Bereavd of happiness thou maist partake  
 His punishment, Eternal miserie;  
 905 Which would be all his solace and revenge,  
 As a despite don against the most High,  
 Thee once to gaine Companion of his woe.  
 But list'n not to his Temptations, warne  
 Thy weaker; let it profit thee to have heard  
 910 By terrible Example the reward  
 Of disobedience; firm they might have stood,  
 Yet fell; remember, and fear to transgress.

*The End of the Sixth Book.*

885 **Palme**. An emblem of victory, cf. Christ's entry into Jerusalem (Matt. 21:5–9).

892 **right hand**. Cf. Heb. 1:2–3: "the Son . . . sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on High."

909 **weaker**. Eve, as the "weaker vessel" (1 Pet. 3:7). She is present for this story, see *PL* 7.50–1.

## BOOK 7 THE ARGUMENT

*Raphael* at the request of *Adam* relates how and wherefore this world was first created; that God, after the expelling of *Satan* and his Angels out of Heaven, declar'd his pleasure to create another World and other Creatures to dwell therein; sends his Son with Glory and attendance of Angels to perform the work of Creation in six  
5 dayes: the Angels celebrate with Hymns the performance thereof, and his reascension into Heaven.

Descend from Heav'n *Urania*, by that name  
If rightly thou art call'd, whose Voice divine  
Following, above th' *Olympian* Hill I soare,  
Above the flight of *Pegasean* wing.  
5 The meaning, not the Name I call: for thou  
Nor of the Muses nine, nor on the top  
Of old *Olympus* dwell'st, but Heav'nlie borne,  
Before the Hills appeerd, or Fountain flow'd,  
Thou with Eternal Wisdom didst converse,  
10 Wisdom thy Sister, and with her didst play  
In presence of th' Almighty Father, pleas'd  
With thy Celestial Song. Up led by thee  
Into the Heav'n of Heav'ns I have presum'd,  
An Earthlie Guest, and drawn Empyrean Aire,  
15 Thy tempering;<sup>o</sup> with like safetie guided down *moderating*  
Return me to my Native Element:  
Least from this flying Steed unrein'd, (as once  
*Bellerophon*, though from a lower Clime)<sup>o</sup> *region*

1–39. The third invocation or proem.

1 **Descend from Heav'n.** Echoes Horace's invocation of the Muse Calliope, "Descende caelo" (*Odes* 3.4.1).

*Urania.* The classical Muse of astronomy who had been made into the Muse of Christian poetry by Du Bartas and other religious poets ("Urania" means "heavenly"). Milton constructs another derivation for her (5–12).

3 **Olympian Hill.** Mount Olympus, the home of the classical gods and Muses.

4 **Pegasean.** Pegasus, the winged horse of inspired poetry, had created the Muses' spring, Hippocrene; he is associated with Bellerophon (18–20 below, and note).

9–12 **Eternal Wisdom.** In Prov. 8:22–31 Wisdom tells of her activities before the Creation. "Then I was by him [God], as one brought up with him; and I was daily his delight, rejoicing always before him." Milton devises a myth in which that "Wisdom" which is a personification of God's wisdom is the "Sister" of Urania as the Muse of divine poetry ("Celestial Song," line 12); therefore, Urania also originates from God.

18–20 **Bellerophon.** He incurred the gods' anger when he tried to fly to heaven on Pegasus. Zeus sent a gadfly to sting the horse, and Bellerophon fell down to the "*Aleian* Field," where he wandered "Erroneous" (translates "*Aleian*," Greek for wandering), alone ("forlorn"), and in some accounts blind.

- Dismounted, on th' *Aleian* Field I fall  
 20 Erroneous there to wander and forlorne.  
 Half yet remains unsung, but narrower bound  
 Within the visible Diurnal Spheare;  
 Standing on Earth, not rapt<sup>o</sup> above the Pole, *transported, enraptured*  
 More safe I Sing with mortal voice, unchang'd  
 25 To hoarce or mute, though fall'n on evil dayes,  
 On evil dayes though fall'n, and evil tongues;  
 In darkness, and with dangers compast round,  
 And solitude; yet not alone, while thou  
 Visit'st my slumbers Nightly, or when Morn  
 30 Purples the East: still govern thou my Song,  
*Urania*, and fit audience find, though few.  
 But drive farr off the barbarous dissonance  
 Of *Bacchus* and his revellers, the Race  
 Of that wilde Rout that tore the *Thracian* Bard  
 35 In *Rhodope*, where Woods and Rocks had Eares  
 To rapture, till the savage clamor dround  
 Both Harp and Voice; nor could the Muse defend  
 Her Son. So fail not thou, who thee implores:  
 For thou art Heav'nlie, shee an empty dreame.  
 40 Say Goddess, what ensu'd when *Raphael*,  
 The affable Arch-Angel, had forewarn'd  
*Adam* by dire example to beware  
 Apostasie,<sup>o</sup> by what befell in Heaven *renunciation of faith*  
 To those Apostates, least the like befall  
 45 In Paradise to *Adam* or his Race,  
 Charg'd not to touch the interdicted<sup>o</sup> Tree, *forbidden*  
 If they transgress, and slight that sole command,

22 **Diurnal Spheare.** The universe, which seems to rotate daily, is the scene for the remainder of the epic. 25–8. After the Restoration of Charles II (May 1660) until the passage of the Act of Oblivion (August 1660), Milton was in danger of death and dismemberment (like Orpheus, lines 34–5). Several of his republican colleagues were hanged, drawn, and quartered for their part in the revolution and regicide.

29–30. Milton's early biographers report that he composed at night or in the early hours of the morning, then waited for a scribe to take down his dictation.

32–7 **Thracian Bard.** Orpheus, the archtypal poet, whose "Harp and Voice" charmed even "Woods and Rocks," but were drowned out by the Bacchantes, a "wilde Rout" of screaming women who murdered and dismembered him in the "*Rhodope*" mountains in Thrace, and threw his body parts into the river Hebrus (cf. "*Lycidas*," 58–63). Milton fears that a similar "barbarous dissonance" unleashed by the Restoration royalists will drown his voice and threaten his life.

37–8 **Muse.** Calliope, the Muse of epic poetry, was the mother of Orpheus.

40–50. The second epic question (paralleling 1.27–33), signals that Book 7 is the beginning, structurally, of the poem's second half; Virgil makes a similar gesture in Book 7 of the *Aeneid*.

- So easily obeyd amid the choice  
 Of all tastes else to please thir appetite,  
 50 Though wandring. He with his consorted<sup>o</sup> *Eve* *wedded, accompanied*  
 The storie heard attentive, and was fill'd  
 With admiration,<sup>o</sup> and deep Muse<sup>o</sup> to heare *wonder / meditation*  
 Of things so high and strange, things to thir thought  
 So unimaginable as hate in Heav'n,  
 55 And Warr so neer the Peace of God in bliss  
 With such confusion: but the evil soon  
 Driv'n back redounded<sup>o</sup> as a flood on those *flowed back*  
 From whom it sprung, impossible to mix  
 With Blessedness. Whence *Adam* soon repeal'd<sup>o</sup> *abandoned*  
 60 The doubts that in his heart arose: and now  
 Led on, yet<sup>o</sup> sinless, with desire to know *still*  
 What neerer might concern him, how this World  
 Of Heav'n and Earth conspicuous<sup>o</sup> first began, *visible*  
 When, and whereof created, for what cause,  
 65 What within *Eden* or without was done  
 Before his memorie, as one whose drouth<sup>o</sup> *thirst*  
 Yet scarce allay'd still eyes the current<sup>o</sup> streame, *flowing*  
 Whose liquid murmur heard new thirst excites,  
 Proceeded thus to ask his Heav'nly Guest.  
 70 Great things, and full of wonder in our eares,  
 Farr differing from this World, thou hast reveal'd  
 Divine interpreter, by favour sent  
 Down from the Empyrean to forewarne  
 Us timely of what might else have bin our loss,  
 75 Unknown, which human knowledg could not reach:  
 For which to the infinitely Good we owe  
 Immortal thanks, and his admonishment  
 Receave with solemne purpose to observe  
 Immutably his sovran will, the end<sup>o</sup> *purpose*  
 80 Of what we are. But since thou hast voutsaf't<sup>o</sup> *granted*  
 Gently for our instruction to impart  
 Things above Earthly thought, which yet concernd  
 Our knowing, as to highest wisdom seemd,  
 Deign to descend now lower, and relate  
 85 What may no less perhaps availe us known,  
 How first began this Heav'n which we behold  
 Distant so high, with moving Fires<sup>o</sup> adorn'd *stars*

72 **Divine interpreter.** Echoes Mercury's title as messenger of the gods, "interpres divum" (*Aeneid* 4.378).

- Innumerable, and this which yeelds or fills  
 All space, the ambient Aire wide interfus'd
- 90 Imbracing round this florid<sup>o</sup> Earth, what cause *flourishing*  
 Mov'd the Creator in his holy Rest  
 Through all Eternitie so late to build  
 In *Chaos*, and the work begun, how soon  
 Absolv'd,<sup>o</sup> if unforbid thou maist unfould *finished*
- 95 What wee, not to explore the secrets aske  
 Of his Eternal Empire, but the more  
 To magnifie<sup>o</sup> his works, the more we know. *glorify*  
 And the great Light of Day yet wants to run  
 Much of his Race though steep, suspens<sup>o</sup> in Heav'n *suspended, attentive*
- 100 Held by thy voice, thy potent voice he heares,  
 And longer will delay to heare thee tell  
 His Generation,<sup>o</sup> and the rising Birth *of his creation*  
 Of Nature from the unapparent Deep:  
 Or if the Starr of Eevning<sup>o</sup> and the Moon *Hesperus*
- 105 Haste to thy audience, Night with her will bring  
 Silence, and Sleep listning to thee will watch<sup>o</sup> *stay awake*  
 Or we can bid his absence, till thy Song  
 End, and dismiss thee ere the Morning shine.
- Thus *Adam* his illustrious Guest besought:  
 110 And thus the Godlike Angel answerd milde.  
 This also thy request with caution askt  
 Obtaine: though to recount Almightye works  
 What words or tongue of Seraph can suffice,  
 Or heart of man suffice to comprehend?
- 115 Yet what thou canst attain, which best may serve  
 To glorifie the Maker, and inferr<sup>o</sup> *cause to be*  
 Thee also happier, shall not be withheld  
 Thy hearing, such Commission from above  
 I have receav'd, to answer thy desire
- 120 Of knowledge within bounds; beyond abstain  
 To ask, nor let thine own inventions<sup>o</sup> hope *speculations*

88–9 **ambient Aire**. The surrounding air “yeelds” to solids or “fills” the spaces between them. **interfus'd**. *Interfusus*, poured between (Latin).

90–3. Adam’s question about God’s actions before the Creation was often cited by theologians as an example of presumptuous and dangerous speculation, especially when, as here, it implies mutability in God. But in Milton’s Eden error that is not deliberate is not sinful.

98–106. Pleas to continue a story are common in epic, see *Odyssey* 11.372–6, where Alcinous urges Odysseus to continue speaking until dawn.

103 **Deep**. Chaos, invisible (“unapparent”) because dark and without form.

- Things not reveal'd, which th' invisible King,  
 Onely Omniscient, hath suppress in Night,  
 To none communicable in Earth or Heaven:  
 125 Anough is left besides to search and know.  
 But Knowledge is as food, and needs no less  
 Her Temperance over Appetite, to know  
 In measure what the mind may well contain,  
 Oppresses else with Surfet, and soon turns  
 130 Wisdom to Folly, as Nourishment to Winde.  
 Know then, that after *Lucifer* from Heav'n  
 (So call him, brighter once amidst the Host  
 Of Angels, then that Starr the Starrs among)  
 Fell with his flaming Legions through the Deep  
 135 Into his place, and the great Son returnd  
 Victorious with his Saints,<sup>o</sup> th' Omnipotent  
 Eternal Father from his Throne beheld  
 Thir multitude, and to his Son thus spake.  
 At least our envious Foe hath fail'd, who thought  
 140 All like himself rebellious, by whose aid  
 This inaccessible high strength, the seat  
 Of Deitie supream, us dispossesst,  
 He trusted to have seis'd, and into fraud<sup>o</sup>  
 Drew many, whom thir place knows here no more;  
 145 Yet farr the greater part have kept, I see,  
 Thir station, Heav'n yet populous retaines  
 Number sufficient to possess her Realmes  
 Though wide, and this high Temple to frequent  
 With Ministeries due and solemn Rites:  
 150 But least his heart exalt him in the harme  
 Already done, to have dispeopl'd Heav'n  
 My damage fondly<sup>o</sup> deem'd, I can repaire  
 That detriment, if such it be to lose
- angels
- error, faithlessness
- foolishly

126–30 **Knowledge is as food.** A commonplace. Cf. Davanant, *Gondibert* (1651): “For though books serve as diet for the mind, / If knowledge, early got, self-value breeds, / By false digestion it is turned to wind, / And what would nourish on the eater feeds” (2.8.22–5).

131–3 **Lucifer.** Now known as Satan, he is brighter among the angels than the morning star of that name is among the other stars.

142 **us dispossesst.** Once he had dispossessed us (a Latinism).

144 **thir place.** Echoes Job 7:10, about the dead: “He shall return no more to his house, neither shall his place know him any more.”

145 **greater part.** Cf. Satan’s conflicting representations of the numbers of the rebels (1.633, 6.156. 9.141–2) and see 2.692.



- Self-lost, and in a moment will create  
 155 Another World, out of one man a Race  
 Of men innumerable, there to dwell,  
 Not here, till by degrees of merit rais'd  
 They open to themselves at length the way  
 Up hither, under long obedience tri'd,  
 160 And Earth be chang'd to Heav'n, & Heav'n to Earth,  
 One Kingdom, Joy and Union without end.  
 Mean while inhabit laxe,<sup>o</sup> ye Powers of Heav'n,  
 And thou my Word, begotten Son, by thee spread out  
 This I perform, speak thou, and be it don:  
 165 My overshadowing Spirit and might with thee  
 I send along, ride forth, and bid the Deep  
 Within appointed bounds be Heav'n and Earth,  
 Boundless the Deep, because I am who fill  
 Infinitude, nor vacuous the space.  
 170 Though I uncircumscrib'd my self retire,  
 And put not forth my goodness, which is free  
 To act or not, Necessitie and Chance  
 Approach not mee, and what I will is Fate.  
 So spake th' Almighty, and to what he spake  
 175 His Word, the Filial Godhead, gave effect.  
 Immediate are the Acts of God, more swift

154 **in a moment.** See below, 176–8.

156–9 **under long obedience tri'd.** Cf. Raphael's explanation of how man was intended to improve (5.469–503). See *Areopagitica* on human nature and life in Eden: "many there be that complain of divin Providence for suffering *Adam* to transgresse, foolish tongues! when God gave him reason, he gave him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing . . . God therefore left him free, set before him a provoking object, ever almost in his eyes; herein consisted his merit, herein the right of his reward, the praise of his abstinence. Wherefore did he creat passions within us, pleasures round about us, but that these rightly temper'd are the very ingredients of vertu?"

163–5. Milton's God identifies himself as Creator and the Son as his agent, speaking his creating word; cf. *Christian Doctrine* 1.5: "The Son . . . was the first of the whole creation, by whom afterwards all other things were made." The "Spirit" probably means the power of God, as *Christian Doctrine* 1.7 indicates.

168–73. Milton's God creates out of Chaos, not out of nothing (*ex nihilo*) as most theologians held. The matter of Chaos emanated from God, and because God fills "Infinitude" Chaos ("the Deep") is infinite. God chooses when to "retire" or restrict his "goodness" (active power) to the empyreal heavens, leaving Chaos subject to "Chance" and to other agents. God also freely chooses when to put forth that "goodness" into Chaos and create heaven, the universe, and all creatures from it; his power is limited neither by "Necessitie" nor "Chance," which are causes of creation in some ancient philosophy (cf. *Christian Doctrine* 1.7; *PL* 2.955–1009, 10.282–305).

169–9. Raphael explains the principle of accommodation, whereby God's acts, which are "Immediate" and so described in some commentary on Genesis, are translated into the narrative terms humans can understand, here, a six-day Creation. This principle allows an escape from biblical literalism. Cf. the Creation account given by Uriel to Satan disguised as a Cherub (3.705–21).

- Then time or motion, but to human ears  
 Cannot without process of speech be told,  
 So told as earthly notion<sup>o</sup> can receive. *human understanding*
- 180 Great triumph and rejoycing was in Heav'n  
 When such was heard declar'd the Almighty's will;  
 Glorie they sung to the most High, good will  
 To future men, and in thir dwellings peace:  
 Glorie to him whose just avenging ire
- 185 Had driven out th' ungodly from his sight  
 And th' habitations of the just; to him  
 Glorie and praise, whose wisdom had ordain'd  
 Good out of evil to create, in stead  
 Of Spirits maligne a better Race to bring
- 190 Into thir vacant room, and thence diffuse  
 His good to Worlds<sup>o</sup> and Ages infinite. *universes*  
 So sang the Hierarchies:<sup>o</sup> Mean while the Son *angelic ranks*  
 On his great Expedition now appeer'd,  
 Girt with Omnipotence, with Radiance crown'd
- 195 Of Majestie Divine, Sapience<sup>o</sup> and Love *wisdom*  
 Immense, and all his Father in him shon.  
 About his Chariot numberless were pour'd<sup>o</sup> *arrayed, spread out*  
 Cherub and Seraph, Potentates and Thrones,  
 And Vertues, winged Spirits, and Chariots wing'd,
- 200 From the Armoury of God, where stand of old  
 Myriads between two brazen Mountains lodg'd  
 Against<sup>o</sup> a solemn day, harnest at hand, *in preparation for*  
 Celestial Equipage;<sup>o</sup> and now came forth *chariots with horses*  
 Spontaneous, for within them Spirit livd,
- 205 Attendant on thir Lord: Heav'n op'nd wide  
 Her ever during<sup>o</sup> Gates, Harmonious sound *everlasting*  
 On golden Hinges moving, to let forth  
 The King of Glorie in his powerful Word  
 And Spirit coming to create new Worlds.
- 210 On heav'nly ground they stood, and from the shore  
 They view'd the vast immeasurable Abyss  
 Outrageous<sup>o</sup> as a Sea, dark, wasteful,<sup>o</sup> wilde, *enormous, violent / desolate*

182–3. Cf. Luke 2:14, the angels' song at the birth of Jesus: "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men."

199–201 **Chariots wing'd**. Cf. Zech. 6:1, "behold, there came four chariots out from between two mountains . . . of brass."

205–9 **Harmonious sound**. Cf. 2.880–1, and 565–8 below and note.

- Up from the bottom turn'd by furious windes  
 And surging waves, as Mountains to assault  
 215 Heav'ns highth, and with the Center mix the Pole.  
 Silence, ye troubl'd waves, and thou Deep, peace,  
 Said then th' Omnific<sup>o</sup> Word, your discord end: *all-creating*  
 Nor staid, but on the Wings of Cherubim  
 Uplifted, in Paternal Glorie rode  
 220 Farr into *Chaos*, and the World unborn;  
 For *Chaos* heard his voice: him all his Train  
 Follow'd in bright procession to behold  
 Creation, and the wonders of his might.  
 Then staid the fervid<sup>o</sup> Wheelles, and in his hand *burning*  
 225 He took the golden Compasses, prepar'd  
 In Gods Eternal store, to circumscribe  
 This Universe, and all created things:  
 One foot he center'd, and the other turn'd  
 Round through the vast profunditie obscure,  
 230 And said, thus farr extend, thus farr thy bounds,  
 This be thy just<sup>o</sup> Circumference, O World.<sup>o</sup> *exact / universe*  
 Thus God the Heav'n created, thus the Earth,  
 Matter unform'd and void: Darkness profound  
 Cover'd th' Abyss: but on the watrie calme  
 235 His brooding wings the Spirit of God outspred,  
 And vital vertue<sup>o</sup> infus'd, and vital warmth *life-giving power*  
 Throughout the fluid Mass, but downward purg'd  
 The black tartareous cold Infernal dregs  
 Adverse to life: then founded,<sup>o</sup> then conglob'd<sup>o</sup> *formed / gathered into spheres*  
 240 Like things to like, the rest to several place  
 Disparted,<sup>o</sup> and between spun out the Air, *distributed*  
 And Earth self ballanc't on her Center hung.  
 Let ther be Light, said God, and forthwith Light  
 Ethereal, first of things, quintessence pure

225 **golden Compasses.** Wisdom, in Prov. 8:27, declares, "When he prepared the heavens, I was there: when he set a compass upon the face of the depth."

233–5 **Matter unform'd and void.** Cf. Gen. 1:2, "And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." Cf. *PL* 1.21–2.

237–8 **tartareous.** Crusty, gritty matter ("infernal dregs"), purged from the universe and associated with Tartarus, hell.

243. God's creating words, here and later, are quoted almost exactly from Gen. 1 (cf. chapters 1 and 2), but Milton freely elaborates the creatures' responses.

244 **Ethereal.** Ether was thought to be a fifth element or "quintessence," the substance of the celestial bodies above the moon.

- 245 Sprung from the Deep, and from her Native East  
 To journie through the airie gloom began,  
 Sphear'd in a radiant Cloud, for yet the Sun  
 Was not; shee<sup>o</sup> in a cloudie Tabernacle<sup>o</sup> *light / temporary dwelling*  
 Sojourn'd the while. God saw the Light was good;
- 250 And light from darkness by the Hemisphere  
 Divided: Light the Day, and Darkness Night  
 He nam'd. Thus was the first Day Eev'n and Morn:  
 Nor past uncelebrated, nor unsung  
 By the Celestial Quires, when Orient<sup>o</sup> Light *shining*
- 255 Exhaling<sup>o</sup> first from Darkness they beheld; *rising as vapor*  
 Birth-day of Heav'n<sup>o</sup> and Earth; with joy and shout  
 The hollow Universal Orb they fill'd, *the sky*  
 And touch'd thir Golden Harps, and hymning prais'd  
 God and his works, Creatour him they sung,
- 260 Both when first Eevning was, and when first Morn.  
 Again, God said, let ther be Firmament  
 Amid the Waters, and let it divide  
 The Waters from the Waters: and God made  
 The Firmament, expanse of liquid, pure,
- 265 Transparent, Elemental Air, diffus'd  
 In circuit to the uttermost convex<sup>o</sup> *vault*  
 Of this great Round:<sup>o</sup> partition firm and sure, *universe*  
 The Waters underneath from those above  
 Dividing: for as Earth, so he the World
- 270 Built on circumfluous<sup>o</sup> Waters calme, in wide *flowing around*  
 Crystallin Ocean, and the loud misrule  
 Of Chaos farr remov'd, least fierce extreames  
 Contiguous might distemper<sup>o</sup> the whole frame: *disturb*  
 And Heav'n<sup>o</sup> he nam'd the Firmament: So Eev'n *the sky*
- 275 And Morning *Chorus* sung the second Day.  
 The Earth was form'd, but in the Womb as yet

252 **Eev'n and Morn.** One twenty-four-hour period measured from sundown to sundown, in the Jewish manner.

261–75 **Firmament.** The space between the earth and the outer shell (“uttermost convex”) of the universe, filled with transparent air; it is the visible “Heav’n” or sky (274), not the ethereal heaven where God and the angels reside. The “Waters underneath” are the oceans on which the earth rests; the waters “above” are the “circumfluous Waters,” comprising a “Crystallin Ocean” that surrounds the outer shell of the universe; “Chaos” is thereby “farr remov’d” from creation.

276–81. Earth is at first an “Embryo” enveloped in a “Womb . . . / Of Waters”; then she is herself the “great Mother” made ready (“Fermented”) to conceive and bear every other creature. Milton draws on Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* (2.991–8), for the concept of earth as *Magna Mater* and also on Ovid’s account of Creation (*Metamorphoses* 1.1–51).

- Of Waters, Embryon<sup>o</sup> immature involv'd,<sup>o</sup> *embryo / enfolded*  
 Appeer'd not: over all the face of Earth  
 Main<sup>o</sup> Ocean flow'd, not idle, but with warme *continuous*  
 280 Prolific humour<sup>o</sup> soft'ning all her Globe, *life-producing liquid*  
 Fermented the great Mother to conceive,  
 Sate with genial<sup>o</sup> moisture, when God said *generative*  
 Be gather'd now ye Waters under Heav'n  
 Into one place, and let dry Land appeer.
- 285 Immediately the Mountains huge appeer  
 Emergent, and thir broad bare backs upheave  
 Into the Clouds, thir tops ascend the Skie:  
 So high as heav'd the tumid<sup>o</sup> Hills, so low *swollen*  
 Down sunk a hollow bottom broad and deep,
- 290 Capacious bed of Waters: thither they  
 Hasted with glad precipitance,<sup>o</sup> upworld *headlong fall*  
 As drops on dust conglobing<sup>o</sup> from the drie; *forming round shapes*  
 Part rise in crystal Wall, or ridge direct,<sup>o</sup> *throw up waves*  
 For haste; such flight the great command impress'd
- 295 On the swift flouds: as Armies at the call  
 Of Trumpet (for of Armies thou hast heard)  
 Troop to thir Standard, so the watrie throng,  
 Wave rowling<sup>o</sup> after Wave, where way they found, *billowing*  
 If steep, with torrent rapture,<sup>o</sup> if through Plaine, *powerful force*
- 300 Soft-ebbing; nor withstood them Rock or Hill,  
 But they, or under ground, or circuit wide  
 With Serpent error<sup>o</sup> wandring, found thir way, *winding course*  
 And on the washie Oose deep Channels wore;  
 Easie, e're God had bid the ground be drie,
- 305 All but within those banks, where Rivers now  
 Stream, and perpetual draw thir humid traine.<sup>o</sup> *liquid currents*  
 The dry Land, Earth, and the great receptacle  
 Of congregated Waters he call'd Seas:  
 And saw that it was good, and said, Let th' Earth
- 310 Put forth the verdant Grass, Herb yielding Seed,  
 And Fruit Tree yielding Fruit after her kind;  
 Whose Seed is in her self upon the Earth.  
 He scarce had said, when the bare Earth, till then  
 Desert and bare, unsightly, unadorn'd,
- 315 Brought forth the tender Grass, whose verdure clad  
 Her Universal Face with pleasant green,  
 Then Herbs of every leaf, that sudden flour'd  
 Op'ning thir various colours, and made gay

- Her bosom smelling sweet: and these scarce blown,<sup>o</sup> *blossomed*
- 320 Forth flourish't thick the clustring Vine, forth crept  
The swelling Gourd, up stood the cornie Reed  
Embattell'd in her field: and the humble<sup>o</sup> Shrub, *low-growing*  
And Bush with frizl'd hair implicit:<sup>o</sup> last *tangled branches*  
Rose as in Dance the stately Trees, and spred<sup>o</sup> *put forth*
- 325 Thir branches hung with copious Fruit; or gemm'd<sup>o</sup> *adorned*  
Thir blossoms: with high woods the hills were crown'd,  
With tufts the vallies and each fountain side,  
With borders long the Rivers. That Earth now  
Seemd like to Heav'n, a seat where Gods might dwell,
- 330 Or wander with delight, and love to haunt  
Her sacred shades: though God had yet not rain'd  
Upon the Earth, and man to till the ground  
None was, but from the Earth a dewie Mist  
Went up and waterd all the ground, and each
- 335 Plant of the field, which e're it was in the Earth  
God made, and every Herb, before it grew  
On the green stemm; God saw that it was good.  
So Eev'n and Morn recorded the Third Day.
- Again th' Almightye spake: Let there be Lights
- 340 High in th' expanse of Heaven<sup>o</sup> to divide *the sky*  
The Day from Night; and let them be for Signes,  
For Seasons, and for Dayes, and circling Years,  
And let them be for Lights as I ordaine  
Thir Office in the Firmament of Heav'n
- 345 To give Light on the Earth; and it was so.  
And God made two great Lights, great for thir use  
To Man, the greater to have rule by Day,  
The less by Night alterne:<sup>o</sup> and made the Starrs, *in turns*  
And set them in the Firmament of Heav'n
- 350 To illuminate the Earth, and rule the Day  
In thir vicissitude,<sup>o</sup> and rule the Night, *alternation*  
And Light from Darkness to divide. God saw,  
Surveying his great Work, that it was good:  
For of Celestial Bodies first the Sun

321–2 **cornie Reed.** Stalks bearing grain; they appear as a forest of spears uplifted by a battalion (“Embattell’d”). Cf. 4.980–3.

331–7. Cf. Gen. 2:5–6: “[God made] every plant of the field before it was in the earth, and every herb of the field before it grew: for the Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth, and there was not a man to till the ground. But there went up a mist from the earth, and watered the whole face of the ground.”

- 355 A mightie Spheare he fram'd, unlightsom first,  
 Though of Ethereal<sup>o</sup> Mould: then form'd the Moon *fashioned from ether*  
 Globose, and every magnitude of Starrs,  
 And sowd with Starrs the Heav'n thick as a field:  
 Of Light by farr the greater part he took,
- 360 Transplanted from her cloudie Shrine, and plac'd  
 In the Suns Orb, made porous to receive  
 And drink the liquid Light, firm to retaine  
 Her gather'd beams, great Palace now of Light.  
 Hither as to thir Fountain other Starrs
- 365 Repairing, in thir gold'n Urns draw Light,  
 And hence the Morning Planet guilds her horns;  
 By tincture<sup>o</sup> or reflection they augment *infusion*  
 Thir small peculiar,<sup>o</sup> though from human sight *own small light*  
 So farr remote, with diminution seen.
- 370 First in the East his glorious Lamp was seen,  
 Regent of Day, and all th' Horizon round  
 Invested with bright Rayes, jocond<sup>o</sup> to run *merry*  
 His Longitude through Heav'n's high rode: the gray  
 Dawn, and the *Pleiades* before him danc'd
- 375 Shedding sweet influence: less bright the Moon,  
 But opposite in leveld<sup>o</sup> West was set *on the same plane*  
 His mirror, with full face borrowing her Light  
 From him, for other light she needed none  
 In that aspect,<sup>o</sup> and still that distance keepe *when full*
- 380 Till night, then in the East her turn she shines,  
 Revolvd on Heav'ns great Axle, and her Reign  
 With thousand lesser Lights dividual<sup>o</sup> holds, *divided, shared*  
 With thousand thousand Starres, that then appear'd  
 Spangling the Hemisphere: then first adornd
- 385 With thir bright Luminaries that Set and Rose,  
 Glad Eevning and glad Morn crownd the fourth day.  
 And God said, let the Waters generate

360 **cloudie Shrine.** The "cloudie Tabernacle" (248 above) where light had been stored.

366 **Morning Planet.** probably Venus, which Galileo's telescope found to be crescent-shaped ("guilds her horns") in her first quarter. The 1667 edition has "his horns" which would refer to Lucifer, who was named by Raphael as the brightest star at 7.131 and is designated as the morning star in the Nativity Ode, 74. The change accommodates Gallileo's finding.

373 **Longitude.** Course round the ecliptic, from east to west (not the modern use of the term).

374-5 **Pleiades.** Seven daughters of Atlas, transformed to a cluster of stars known as the Seven Sisters; they rise in the spring and are thought to shed fertility ("sweet influence") into the earth. Cf. Job 38:31, "Canst thou bind the sweet influences of Pleiades?"

- Reptil with Spawn abundant, living Soule:  
 And let Fowle flie above the Earth, with wings
- 390 Displayd<sup>o</sup> on the op'n Firmament of Heav'n. *spread out*  
 And God created the great Whales, and each  
 Soul living, each that crept, which plenteously  
 The waters generated by thir kindes,  
 And every Bird of wing after his kinde;
- 395 And saw that it was good, and bless'd them, saying,  
 Be fruitful, multiply, and in the Seas  
 And Lakes and running Streams the waters fill;  
 And let the Fowle be multiply'd on the Earth.  
 Forthwith the Sounds and Seas, each Creek and Bay
- 400 With Frie<sup>o</sup> innumerable swarme, and Shoales *young fish*  
 Of Fish that with thir Finns and shining Scales  
 Glide under the green Wave, in Sculles that oft  
 Bank the mid Sea: part single or with mate  
 Graze the Sea weed thir pasture, and through Groves
- 405 Of Coral stray, or sporting with quick glance  
 Show to the Sun thir wav'd<sup>o</sup> coats dropt<sup>o</sup> with Gold, *striped / flecked*  
 Or in thir Pearlie shells at ease, attend<sup>o</sup> *watch for*  
 Moist nutriment, or under Rocks thir food  
 In jointed Armour watch: on smooth<sup>o</sup> the Seale, *stretch of calm water*
- 410 And bended<sup>o</sup> Dolphins play: part huge of bulk *curved in leaping*  
 Wallowing unweildie, enormous in thir Gate  
 Tempest<sup>o</sup> the Ocean: there Leviathan *stir up violently*  
 Hugest of living Creatures, on the Deep  
 Stretcht like a Promontorie sleeps or swimmes,
- 415 And seems a moving Land, and at his Gilles  
 Draws in, and at his Trunck spouts out a Sea.  
 Mean while the tepid Caves, and Fens and shoares  
 Thir Brood as numerous hatch, from the Egg that soon  
 Bursting with kindly<sup>o</sup> rupture forth disclos'd *natural*
- 420 Thir callow young, but featherd soon and fledge  
 They summ'd thir Penns, and soaring th' air sublime<sup>o</sup> *aloft*  
 With clang<sup>o</sup> despis'd the ground, under a cloud *harsh cry*

388 **Reptil.** All creatures that crawl or creep. They are the first animate creatures, having a "living Soule."  
 402–3. The fishes' darting motions resemble boats ("Sculles") oared now on one side, now on the other; as  
 they turn they seem to form a "Bank" within the sea.

412 **Leviathan.** The great whale (cf. 1.200–8).

420–1 **callow.** Unfeathered, but soon they have full plumage ("fledge") and the wing feathers ("summ'd thir  
 Penns") needed for flight.

422–3 **despis'd.** Looked down upon (the literal meaning); the ground seemed to be under a cloud of birds.



- In prospect; there the Eagle and the Stork  
 On Cliffs and Cedar tops thir Eyries build:
- 425 Part loosly<sup>o</sup> wing the Region,<sup>o</sup> part more wise *separately / sky*  
 In common, rang'd in figure wedge<sup>o</sup> thir way, *fly in wedge formation*  
 Intelligent<sup>o</sup> of seasons, and set forth *understanding*  
 Thir Aierie Caravan high over Sea's  
 Flying, and over Lands with mutual wing
- 430 Easing thir flight; so steers the prudent Crane  
 Her annual Voiage, born on Windes; the Aire,  
 Floats,<sup>o</sup> as they pass, fann'd with unnumber'd plumes: *undulates*  
 From Branch to Branch the smaller Birds with song  
 Solac'd the Woods, and spred thir painted wings
- 435 Till Ev'n, nor then the solemn Nightingal  
 Ceas'd warbling, but all night tun'd her soft layes:  
 Others on Silver Lakes and Rivers Bath'd  
 Thir downie Brest; the Swan with Arched neck  
 Between her white wings mantling proudly, Rowes
- 440 Her state with Oarie feet: yet oft they quit  
 The Dank,<sup>o</sup> and rising on stiff Pennons,<sup>o</sup> towre<sup>o</sup> *water / wings / soar*  
 The mid Aereal Skie: Others on ground  
 Walk'd firm; the crested Cock whose clarion<sup>o</sup> sounds *shrill trumpet*  
 The silent hours, and th' other<sup>o</sup> whose gay Traine *the peacock*
- 445 Adorns him, colour'd with the Florid hue  
 Of Rainbows and Starrie Eyes. The Waters thus  
 With Fish replenisht, and the Aire with Fowle,  
 Ev'ning and Morn solemniz'd the Fift day.  
 The Sixt, and of Creation last arose
- 450 With Eevning Harps and Mattin,<sup>o</sup> when God said, *morning chant*  
 Let th' Earth bring forth Soul living in her kinde,  
 Cattel<sup>o</sup> and Creeping things, and Beast of the Earth, *domestic livestock*  
 Each in their kinde. The Earth obey'd, and strait  
 Op'ning her fertile Woomb teem'd<sup>o</sup> at a Birth *brought forth*
- 455 Innumeros<sup>o</sup> living Creatures, perfet formes, *numberless*  
 Limb'd and full grown: out of the ground up rose  
 As from his Laire the wilde Beast where he wonns<sup>o</sup> *dwells*  
 In Forrest wilde, in Thicket, Brake, or Den;  
 Among the Trees in Pairs they rose, they walk'd:

429–30 **mutual wing**. Birds were thought to support each other when they fly in formation.

438–40. The swan's outstretched ("mantling") wings seem to form a cloak; it resembles a monarch on a royal barge ("state"), rowing itself with its "Oarie" feet.

- 460 The Cattel in the Fields and Meddowes green:  
 Those rare and solitarie, these in flocks  
 Pasturing at once, and in broad Herds upsprung.  
 The grassie Clods now Calv'd, now half appeer'd  
 The Tawnie Lion, pawing to get free
- 465 His hinder parts, then springs as broke from Bonds,  
 And Rampant shakes his Brinded<sup>o</sup> main; the Ounce,<sup>o</sup> *streaked / lynx*  
 The Libbard,<sup>o</sup> and the Tyger, as the Moale *leopard*  
 Rising, the crumbl'd Earth above them threw  
 In Hillocks; the swift Stag from under ground
- 470 Bore up his branching head: scarce from his mould  
*Behemoth* biggest born of Earth upheav'd  
 His vastness: Fleec't the Flocks and bleating rose,  
 As Plants: ambiguous<sup>o</sup> between Sea and Land *amphibious*  
 The River Horse and scalie Crocodile.
- 475 At once came forth whatever creeps the ground,  
 Insect or Worme; those wav'd thir limber fans  
 For wings, and smallest Lineaments exact  
 In all the Liveries dect of Summers pride  
 With spots of Gold and Purple, azure and green:
- 480 These as a line thir long dimension drew,  
 Streaking the ground with sinuous trace; not all  
 Minims<sup>o</sup> of Nature; some of Serpent kinde *smallest animals*  
 Wondrous in length and corpulence involv'd<sup>o</sup> *coiled*  
 Thir Snakie foulds, and added wings. First crept
- 485 The Parsimonious Emmet, provident  
 Of future, in small room large heart enclos'd,  
 Pattern of just equalitie perhaps  
 Hereafter, join'd in her popular Tribes  
 Of Commonaltie: swarming next appeer'd

460–2 **Those.** The wild beasts who come forth “in Pairs” and spread out (“rare”) at wide intervals.

**these.** Domestic cattle, who come forth “in flocks” and “broad Herds,” and at once find pasture.

471 **Behemoth.** A huge biblical beast (Job. 40:15–24), often identified with the elephant.

474 **River Horse.** Translates the Greek hippopotamus.

476 **Worme.** Any creeping creature, including serpents.

485–9 **Parsimonious Emmet.** The thrifty ant, with its capacious intellect (“large heart”) will become the symbol of a frugal and self-governing republic (“Pattern of just equalitie”), with the “popular” (populous, plebeian) tribes of common people (“Commonaltie”) joining in rule. In *The Ready and Easy Way*, Milton makes ant colonies a symbol “of a frugal and self governing democratie or Commonwealth; safer and more thriving in the joint providence and counsel of many industrious equals, then under the single domination of one imperious Lord.”

489–92 **Deliciously.** Bees here suggest delightful ease but become a symbol of monarchy associated with Hell (1.768–75).

- 490 The Female Bee that feeds her Husband Drone  
 Deliciously, and builds her waxen Cells  
 With Honey stor'd: the rest are numberless,  
 And thou thir Natures know'st, & gav'st them Names,  
 Needless to thee repeated; nor unknown
- 495 The Serpent suttl'st Beast of all the field,  
 Of huge extent sometimes, with brazen Eyes  
 And hairie Main terrific,<sup>o</sup> though to thee *terrifying*  
 Not noxious,<sup>o</sup> but obedient at thy call. *harmful*  
 Now Heav'n in all her Glorie shon, and rowld
- 500 Her motions, as the great first-Movers hand  
 First wheeld thir course; Earth in her rich attire  
 Consummate<sup>o</sup> lovly smil'd; Aire, Water, Earth, *complete, perfect*  
 By Fowl, Fish, Beast, was flown, was swum, was walkt  
 Frequent;<sup>o</sup> and of the Sixt day yet remain'd; *in throngs, abundantly*
- 505 There wanted yet the Master work, the end<sup>o</sup> *purpose*  
 Of all yet don; a Creature who not prone  
 And Brute as other Creatures, but endu'd  
 With Sanctitie of Reason, might erect  
 His Stature, and upright with Front<sup>o</sup> serene *brow, face*
- 510 Govern the rest, self-knowing, and from thence  
 Magnanimous to correspond with Heav'n,  
 But grateful to acknowledge whence his good  
 Descends, thither with heart and voice and eyes  
 Directed in Devotion, to adore
- 515 And worship God Supream, who made him chief  
 Of all his works: therefore the Omnipotent  
 Eternal Father (For where is not hee  
 Present) thus to his Son audibly spake.  
 Let us make now Man in our image, Man
- 520 In our similitude, and let them rule

493. See *PL* 8.342–4 and Gen. 2:19–20.

495–7 **hairie Main**. Evokes the sea serpents (*Aeneid* 2.203–11) who emerged from the sea to destroy Laocoon and his sons, and so was instrumental in the fall of Troy.

508–9 **erect**. Both “stand erect” and “elevate his condition.” His erect stance was understood to signify that he was intended for Heaven; see 8.257–61.

511 **Magnanimous**. Noble, great-souled. **correspond**. Both “be in harmony with” and “communicate with.”

519–22 **similitude**. Likeness; cf. Gen. 1:26: “Let us make man in our image, after our likeness.” The Geneva Bible comments that humans were created “after God in righteousness & true holines, meaning by these two wordes all perfection, as wisdom, trueth, innocencie, power.” Commenting on Gen. 1:27, “So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him; male and female created he them,” Milton in *Tetrachordon* defines the divine image in man as “Wisdom, Purity, Justice, and rule over all creatures.”

- Over the Fish and Fowle of Sea and Aire,  
 Beast of the Field, and over all the Earth,  
 And every creeping thing that creeps the ground.  
 This said, he formd thee, *Adam*, thee O Man  
 525 Dust of the ground, and in thy nostrils breath'd  
 The breath of Life; in his own Image hee  
 Created thee, in the Image of God  
 Express,<sup>o</sup> and thou becam'st a living Soul. *exact*  
 Male he created thee, but thy consort  
 530 Female for Race;<sup>o</sup> then bless'd Mankinde, and said, *propagation*  
 Be fruitful, multiplie, and fill the Earth,  
 Subdue it, and throughout Dominion hold  
 Over Fish of the Sea, and Fowle of the Aire,  
 And every living thing that moves on the Earth.  
 535 Wherever thus created, for no place  
 Is yet distinct by name, thence,<sup>o</sup> as thou know'st *from there*  
 He brought thee into this delicious<sup>o</sup> Grove, *delightful*  
 This Garden, planted with the Trees of God,  
 Delectable both to behold and taste;  
 540 And freely all thir pleasant fruit for food  
 Gave thee, all sorts are here that all th' Earth yields,  
 Varietie without end; but of the Tree  
 Which tasted works knowledge of Good and Evil,  
 Thou mai'st not; in the day thou eat'st, thou di'st;  
 545 Death is the penaltie impos'd, beware,  
 And govern well thy appetite, least sin  
 Surprise<sup>o</sup> thee, and her black attendant Death. *betray*  
 Here finish'd hee, and all that he had made  
 View'd, and behold all was entirely good;  
 550 So Ev'n and Morn accomplish't the Sixt day:  
 Yet not till the Creator from his work  
 Desisting, though unwearied, up returnd  
 Up to the Heav'n of Heav'ns his high abode,  
 Thence to behold this new created World  
 555 Th' addition of his Empire, how it shew'd  
 In prospect from his Throne, how good, how faire,  
 Answering his great Idea. Up he rode  
 Followd with acclamation and the sound

524–8. Cf. Gen. 2:7: "And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul."

557 **Idea**. Eternal archetype or pattern, as in Plato; concept in the mind of God.

- Symphonious of ten thousand Harpes that tun'd<sup>o</sup> *performed*  
 560 Angelic harmonies: the Earth, the Aire  
 Resounded, (thou remember'st for thou heardst)  
 The Heav'ns and all the Constellations rung,  
 The Planets in thir stations list'ning stood,  
 While the bright Pomp<sup>o</sup> ascended jubilant. *triumphal procession*  
 565 Open, ye everlasting Gates, they sung,  
 Open, ye Heav'ns, your living dores; let in  
 The great Creator from his work returnd  
 Magnificent, his Six days work, a World;  
 Open, and henceforth oft; for God will deigne  
 570 To visit oft the dwellings of just Men  
 Delighted, and with frequent intercourse<sup>o</sup> *going back and forth*  
 Thither will send his winged Messengers  
 On errands of supernal<sup>o</sup> Grace. So sung *heavenly*  
 The glorious Train ascending: He through Heav'n,  
 575 That open'd wide her blazing<sup>o</sup> Portals, led *radiant*  
 To Gods Eternal house direct the way,  
 A broad and ample rode, whose dust is Gold  
 And pavement Starrs, as Starrs to thee appeer,  
 Seen in the Galaxie, that Milkie way  
 580 Which nightly as a circling Zone<sup>o</sup> thou seest *belt*  
 Pouderd<sup>o</sup> with Starrs. And now on Earth the Seventh *scattered thickly*  
 Eev'ning arose in *Eden*, for the Sun  
 Was set, and twilight from the East came on,  
 Forerunning Night; when at the holy mount  
 585 Of Heav'ns high-seated top, th' Impereal Throne  
 Of Godhead, fixt for ever firm and sure,  
 The Filial Power arriv'd, and sate him down  
 With his great Father, for he<sup>o</sup> also went *the Father*  
 Invisible, yet staid (such priviledge  
 Hath Omnipresence) and the work ordain'd,  
 Author and end of all things, and from work  
 Now resting, bless'd and hallowd the Sev'nth day,  
 As resting on that day from all his work,  
 But not in silence holy kept; the Harp  
 595 Had work and rested not, the solemn Pipe,  
 And Dulcimer, all Organs<sup>o</sup> of sweet stop, *wind instruments*  
 All sounds on Fret by String or Golden Wire

565–7. Cf. Ps. 24:7: “Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lifted up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of glory shall come in.” See lines 205–9 above.

596–7 **Dulcimer.** The Hebrew bagpipe (Dan. 3:5).

**Fret.** Bar on the fingerboard of a stringed instrument.

Temper'd° soft Tunings,° intermixt with Voice *harmonized / sounds*  
 Choral° or Unison; of incense Clouds *in parts*  
 600 Fuming from Golden Censers hid the Mount.  
 Creation and the Six dayes acts they sung,  
 Great are thy works, *Jehovah*, infinite  
 Thy power; what thought can measure thee or tongue  
 Relate thee; greater now in thy return  
 605 Then from the Giant Angels; thee that day  
 Thy Thunders magnifi'd; but to create  
 Is greater then created to destroy.  
 Who can impair thee, mighty King, or bound  
 Thy Empire? easily the proud attempt  
 610 Of Spirits apostat and thir Counsels vaine  
 Thou hast repeld, while impiously they thought  
 Thee to diminish, and from thee withdraw  
 The number of thy worshippers. Who seekes  
 To lessen thee, against his purpose serves  
 615 To manifest the more thy might: his evil  
 Thou usest, and from thence creat'st more good.  
 Witness this new-made World, another Heav'n  
 From Heaven Gate not farr, founded in view  
 On the cleer *Hyaline*, the Glassie Sea;  
 620 Of amplitude almost immense,° with Starr's *immeasurable*  
 Numerous, and every Starr perhaps a World  
 Of destind habitation; but thou know'st  
 Thir seasons: among these the seat of men,  
 Earth with her nether Ocean circumfus'd,° *surrounded*  
 625 Thir pleasant dwelling place. Thrice happie men,  
 And sons of men, whom God hath thus advanc't,  
 Created in his Image, there to dwell  
 And worship him, and in reward to rule  
 Over his Works, on Earth, in Sea, or Air,  
 630 And multiply a Race of Worshippers

600 **Golden Censers.** Incense burners, cf. Rev. 8:3–4: “another angel came and stood at the altar, having a golden censer; and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all the saints . . . And the smoke of the incense . . . ascended up before God.”

605 **Giant Angels.** This allusion to the Giants' revolt against Jove implies that the Greek myth is a classical type or version of the angels' rebellion.

618–20 **Hyaline.** From the Greek for glass (Rev. 4:6, “a sea of glass like unto crystal”). The universe is constructed (“founded”) on this sea, the “Crystallin Ocean” above the firmament (see line 271 above), as opposed to the “nether Ocean” (624), the earth's seas.

Holy and just: thrice happie if they know  
Thir happiness, and persevere upright.

So sung they, and the Empyrean rung,  
With *Halleluiahs*: Thus was Sabbath kept.

635 And thy request think now fulfill'd, that ask'd  
How first this World and face of things<sup>o</sup> began,  
And what before thy memorie was don  
From the beginning, that posteritie  
Informd by thee might know; if else thou seek'st  
640 Aught, not surpassing human measure, say.

*outward form*

*The End of the Seventh Book.*

631–2. Contrast Virgil, *Georgics* 2.458–9, on the happiness of farmers who live in harmony with an abundant nature: “O happy husbandmen! too happy, should they come to know their blessings!”

634 *Halleluiahs*. Hebrew, Praise the Lord.



Figure 6 Illustration to Book 8, 1688 (John Baptista Medina)



## BOOK 8 THE ARGUMENT

*Adam* inquires concerning celestial Motions, is doubtfully answer'd, and exhorted to search rather things more worthy of knowledg: *Adam* assents, and still desirous to detain *Raphael*. relates to him what he remember'd since his own Creation, his placing in Paradise, his talk with God concerning solitude and fit society, his first meeting and  
5 Nuptials with *Eve*, his discourse with the Angel thereupon; who after admonitions repeated departs.

The Angel ended, and in *Adams* Eare  
So Charming<sup>o</sup> left his voice, that he a while *spellbinding*  
Thought him still speaking, still stood fixt to hear;  
Then as new wak't thus gratefully repli'd.  
5 What thanks sufficient, or what recompence  
Equal have I to render thee, Divine  
Hystorian, who thus largely hast allayd  
The thirst I had of knowledge, and voutsaf't  
This friendly condescension<sup>o</sup> to relate *courteous disregard of rank*  
10 Things else by me unsearchable, now heard  
With wonder, but delight, and, as is due,  
With glorie attributed to the high  
Creator; something yet of doubt remaines,  
Which onely thy solution can resolve.  
15 When I behold this goodly Frame, this World<sup>o</sup> *universe*  
Of Heav'n and Earth consisting, and compute,  
Thir magnitudes, this Earth a spot, a graine,  
An Atom, with the Firmament compar'd  
And all her numberd<sup>o</sup> Starrs, that seem to rowle *numerous*  
20 Spaces incomprehensible (for such  
Thir distance argues and thir swift return  
Diurnal)<sup>o</sup> meerly to officiate<sup>o</sup> light *daily / minister*  
Round this opacous<sup>o</sup> Earth, this punctual<sup>o</sup> spot, *dark / pointlike*

1 **doubtfully**. Ambiguously.

14. Introducing Raphael's prototype of astronomical treatises, notably Galileo's *Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems* (Italian, 1632; Latin and English trans., 1635). Adam stands in the place of Galileo's Sagredo, an intelligent inquirer who seeks to be informed about the movement of the planets, while Raphael takes on the role, first, of the Ptolemaic apologist (Simplicio), then of the Copernican (Salviati).

15–38. Relying on his senses, Adam assumes the universe is Ptolemaic, but finds logical difficulties in that system. Cf. Eve's question at 4:657–8, and Adam's answer.

- One day and night; in all thir vast survey  
 25 Useless besides, reasoning I oft admire,<sup>o</sup> *wonder*  
 How Nature wise and frugal could commit  
 Such disproportions, with superfluous hand  
 So many nobler Bodies to create,  
 Greater so manifold<sup>o</sup> to this one use, *so much greater than*  
 30 For aught appears,<sup>o</sup> and on thir Orbs impose *as it seems*  
 Such restless revolution day by day  
 Repeated, while the sedentarie<sup>o</sup> Earth, *motionless, slothful*  
 That better might with farr less compass<sup>o</sup> move, *roundabout course*  
 Serv'd by more noble then her self, attaines  
 35 Her end without least motion, and receives,  
 As Tribute such a sumless<sup>o</sup> journey brought *incalculable*  
 Of incorporeal<sup>o</sup> speed, her warmth and light; *like that of spirits*  
 Speed, to describe whose swiftnes Number failes.  
 So spake our Sire, and by his count'nance seemd  
 40 Entring on studious thoughts abstruse, which *Eve*  
 Perceiving where she sat retir'd in sight,  
 With lowliness Majestic from her seat,  
 And Grace that won who saw to wish her stay,  
 Rose, and went forth among her Fruits and Flours,  
 45 To visit<sup>o</sup> how they prosper'd, bud and bloom, *inspect*  
 Her Nurserie;<sup>o</sup> they at her coming sprung *objects of care, garden nursery*  
 And toucht by her fair tendance gladlier grew.  
 Yet went she not, as not with such discourse  
 Delighted, or not capable her eare  
 50 Of what was high: such pleasure she reserv'd,  
*Adam* relating, she sole Auditress;  
 Her Husband the Relater she preferr'd  
 Before the Angel, and of him to ask  
 Chose rather; hee, she knew would intermix  
 55 Grateful<sup>o</sup> digressions, and solve high dispute *gratifying*  
 With conjugal Caresses, from his Lip  
 Not Words alone pleas'd her. O when meet now  
 Such pairs, in Love and mutual Honour joyn'd?  
 With Goddess-like demeanour forth she went;  
 60 Not unattended, for on her as Queen

52–7 **preferr'd**. The emphasis on Eve's choice indicates that she is not bound by Paul's prohibition in 1 Cor. 14:35, "If they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home: for it is a shame for women to speak in the church," but observes this hierarchical decorum for her own pleasure.

- A pomp<sup>o</sup> of winning Graces waited still,<sup>o</sup> *retinue / continually*  
 And from about her shot Darts of desire  
 Into all Eyes to wish her still in sight.  
 And *Raphael* now to *Adam's* doubt propos'd  
 65 Benevolent and facil<sup>o</sup> thus repli'd. *easy, affable*  
     To ask or search I blame thee not, for Heav'n  
 Is as the Book of God before thee set,  
 Wherein to read his wondrous Works, and learne  
 His Seasons, Hours, or Dayes, or Months, or Yeares:  
 70 This to attain, whether Heav'n move or Earth,  
 Imports not, if thou reck'n right, the rest  
 From Man or Angel the great Architect  
 Did wisely to conceal, and not divulge  
 His secrets to be scann'd<sup>o</sup> by them who ought *examined*  
 75 Rather admire;<sup>o</sup> or if they list to try *marvel*  
     Conjecture, he his Fabric<sup>o</sup> of the Heav'ns  
     Hath left to thir disputes, perhaps to move *edifice, frame*  
     His laughter at thir quaint<sup>o</sup> Opinions wide<sup>o</sup> *ingenious / wide of the mark*  
     Hereafter, when they come to model Heav'n  
 80 And calculate<sup>o</sup> the Starrs, how they will weild<sup>o</sup> *predict the motions of / direct*  
     The mightie frame, how build, unbuild, contrive  
     To save appeerances, how gird the Sphear  
     With Centric and Eccentric scribl'd o're,  
     Cycle and Epicycle, Orb in Orb:  
 85 Alreadie by thy reasoning this I guess,  
 Who art to lead thy ofspring, and supposest  
 That bodies bright and greater should not serve  
 The less not bright, nor Heav'n such journies run,  
 Earth sitting still, when she alone receives

61 **Graces.** The attendants of Venus.

62–3 **Darts of desire.** The Petrarchan language identifies Eve's graces as prompting desire, but the next line redefines that desire in non-sexual terms.

67 **Book of God.** The Book of Nature, commonly understood as a second divine revelation.

71–5 **the rest.** Presumably, God's purposes and designs throughout the whole universe ("His secrets") – as opposed to the specific factual issue, "whether Heav'n move or Earth" (70), which may be blamelessly searched but which "Imports not" to a proper admiration of God's "wondrous Works" (68).

82 **save appeerances.** Find ways of explaining discrepancies between their astronomical theories and the observed movements of the heavenly bodies.

83–4 **Eccentric.** Off-center. In the Ptolemaic system, observed irregularities in the motion of heavenly bodies were first explained by hypothesizing orbits with the earth off-center, then by adding "Epicycles," which were smaller orbits whose centers ride on fixed points on the circumferences of the main orbits, and carry the planets. The Copernican system also had some recourse to epicycles.

- 90 The benefit: consider first, that Great  
 Or Bright inferrs<sup>o</sup> not Excellence: the Earth *implies*  
 Though, in comparison of Heav'n, so small,  
 Nor glistening,<sup>o</sup> may of solid good containe *gleaming*  
 More plenty then the Sun that barren shines,
- 95 Whose vertue on it self workes no effect,  
 But in the fruitful Earth; there first receavd  
 His beams, unactive<sup>o</sup> else, thir vigour find. *ineffective*  
 Yet not to Earth are those bright Luminaries  
 Officious,<sup>o</sup> but to thee Earths habitant. *attentive, dutiful*
- 100 And for the Heav'ns wide Circuit, let it speak  
 The Makers high magnificence, who built  
 So spacious, and his Line stretcht out so farr;  
 That Man may know he dwells not in his own;  
 An Edifice too large for him to fill,
- 105 Lodg'd in a small partition, and the rest  
 Ordain'd for uses to his Lord best known.  
 The swiftness of those Circles<sup>o</sup> attribute, *planets, orbits*  
 Though numberless,<sup>o</sup> to his Omnipotence, *incalculable*  
 That to corporeal substances could adde
- 110 Speed almost Spiritual;<sup>o</sup> mee thou thinkst not slow, *as that of angels*  
 Who since the Morning hour set out from Heav'n  
 Where God resides, and ere mid-day arriv'd  
 In *Eden*, distance inexpressible  
 By Numbers that have name. But this I urge,
- 115 Admitting Motion in the Heav'ns, to shew  
 Invalid that which thee to doubt it mov'd;  
 Not that I so affirm, though so it seem  
 To thee who hast thy dwelling here on Earth.  
 God to remove his wayes from human sense,
- 120 Plac'd Heav'n from Earth so farr, that earthly sight,  
 If it presume, might erre in things too high,  
 And no advantage gaine. What if the Sun  
 Be Center to the World,<sup>o</sup> and other Starrs *universe*  
 By his attractive vertue<sup>o</sup> and their own *power, magnetism*
- 125 Incited, dance about him various rounds?<sup>o</sup> *circular dances*

90. Raphael here begins his rationale for the Ptolemaic system.

117–18 **Not that I so affirm.** Raphael refuses to “reveal” astronomical truth to Adam, leaving that matter open to human scientific speculation. He suggests that Adam’s Ptolemaic assumptions result from his earth-bound perspective, and implies that angels from their perspective see the cosmos in other terms.

122–58. Raphael now argues the case for Copernican astronomy and introduces still more advanced scientific notions that Adam had not imagined – multiple universes and other inhabited planets.

Thir wandering course now high, now low, then hid,  
 Progressive, retrograde, or standing still,  
 In six thou seest, and what if sev'nth to these  
 The Planet Earth, so stedfast though she seem,  
 130 Insensibly three different Motions move?  
 Which else to several Spheres thou must ascribe,  
 Mov'd contrarie with thwart obliquities,  
 Or save the Sun his labour, and that swift  
 Nocturnal and Diurnal rhomb suppos'd,  
 135 Invisible else above all Starrs, the Wheele  
 Of Day and Night; which needs not thy beleefe,  
 If Earth industrious of her self fetch Day  
 Travelling East, and with her part averse  
 From the Suns beam meet Night, her other part  
 140 Still luminous by his ray. What if that light  
 Sent from her through the wide transpicuous<sup>o</sup> aire,  
*transparent*  
*earth's moon*  
 To the terrestrial Moon<sup>o</sup> be as a Starr  
 Enlightning her by Day, as she by Night  
 This Earth? reciprocal, if Land be there,  
 145 Feilds and Inhabitants: Her spots thou seest  
 As Clouds, and Clouds may rain, and Rain produce  
 Fruits in her soft'nd Soile, for some to eate  
 Allotted there; and other Suns perhaps  
 With thir attendant Moons thou wilt descric  
 150 Communicating Male and Femal Light,  
 Which two great Sexes animate the World,

126 **wandering**. Elliptical. The word planet comes from the Greek word for wanderer.

127 **Progressive**. Moving west to east. **retrograde**. Moving east to west (contrary to the order of the zodiac signs).

128 **six**. The six planets we see move: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, and the moon. Raphael suggests that "the Planet Earth" rather than the sun may be the "sev'nth," moving imperceptibly ("Insensibly").

130 **three different Motions**. According to Copernicus the three motions are daily rotation, annual revolution around the sun, and "motion in declination" to align the earth's axis always with the same point in the celestial sphere.

132 **thwart obliquities**. Irregular and "contrarie" paths that cross each other, which, if the earth doesn't rotate, you must "else" ascribe to the planets (131).

133–6 **rhomb**. Greek, wheel. The invisible tenth or outer sphere (Primum Mobile), "suppos'd" by Ptolemaic astronomers to revolve every twenty-four hours ("Nocturnal and Diurnal") carrying the planets with it; this concept is necessary if you would "save the Sun his labour," but if the earth rotates it "needs not thy beleefe."

148–9 **Moons**. Planets "attendant" upon a sun; they exchange reflected light reciprocally but also have some "peculiar" light of their own (7.368). Galileo had discovered four of the moons of Jupiter.

150–1 **Male and Femal Light**. The sun and moon had long been gendered, through association of the sun with Apollo and the moon with Diana; here their light is imagined to be a sexually active force, "perhaps" endowing the several planets with life ("animate").

- Stor'd in each Orb perhaps with some that live.  
 For such vast room in Nature unpossesst  
 By living Soule, desert and desolate,  
 155 Onely to shine, yet scarce to contribute  
 Each Orb a glimps of Light, conveyd so farr  
 Down to this habitable,<sup>o</sup> which returnes *inhabited place, earth*  
 Light back to them, is obvious<sup>o</sup> to dispute. *open*  
 But whether thus these things, or whether not,  
 160 Whether the Sun predominant in Heav'n  
 Rise on the Earth, or Earth rise on the Sun,  
 Hee from the East his flaming rode begin,  
 Or Shee from West her silent course advance  
 With inoffensive<sup>o</sup> pace that spinning sleeps *unobstructed, harmless*  
 165 On her soft Axle, while she paces Eev'n,  
 And beares thee soft with the smooth Air along,  
 Sollicit<sup>o</sup> not thy thoughts with matters hid, *disturb, unsettle*  
 Leave them to God above, him serve and feare;  
 Of other Creatures, as him pleases best,  
 170 Wherever plac't, let him dispose: joy thou  
 In what he gives to thee, this Paradise  
 And thy faire *Eve*; Heav'n is for thee too high  
 To know what passes there; be lowlie wise:  
 Think onely what concernes thee and thy being;  
 175 Dream not of other Worlds, what Creatures there  
 Live, in what state, condition or degree,  
 Contented that thus farr hath been reveal'd  
 Not of Earth onely but of highest Heav'n.  
 To whom thus *Adam* cleerd of doubt, repli'd.  
 180 How fully hast thou satisfi'd me, pure  
 Intelligence<sup>o</sup> of Heav'n, Angel serene, *spirit*  
 And freed from intricacies, taught to live  
 The easiest way, nor with perplexing thoughts  
 To interrupt the sweet of Life, from which  
 185 God hath bid dwell farr off all anxious cares,  
 And not molest us, unless we our selves  
 Seek them with wandring thoughts, and notions vain.  
 But apt the Mind or Fancie is to roave  
 Uncheckt, and of her roaving is no end;

152. Bruno and Descartes were among those who accepted the idea that suns, planets, and moons were inhabited; Kepler rejected the idea.

187–9. Cf. Belial's "thoughts that wander through Eternity" (2.148).

- 190 Till warn'd, or by experience taught, she learne,  
 That not to know at large of things remote  
 From use, obscure and suttle, but to know  
 That which before us lies in daily life,  
 Is the prime Wisdom, what is more, is fume,<sup>o</sup> *vapor*
- 195 Or emptiness, or fond impertinence,<sup>o</sup> *foolish irrelevance*  
 And renders us in things that most concerne  
 Unpractis'd, unprepar'd, and still to seek.<sup>o</sup> *always seeking*  
 Therefore from this high pitch<sup>o</sup> let us descend *summit*  
 A lower flight, and speak of things at hand
- 200 Useful, whence haply<sup>o</sup> mention may arise *perhaps*  
 Of somthing not unseasonable to ask  
 By sufferance,<sup>o</sup> and thy wonted<sup>o</sup> favour deign'd. *permission / usual*  
 Thee I have heard relating what was don  
 Ere my remembrance: now hear mee relate
- 205 My Storie, which perhaps thou hast not heard;  
 And Day is yet not spent; till then thou seest  
 How suttly to detain thee I devise,  
 Inviting thee to hear while I relate,  
 Fond,<sup>o</sup> were it not in hope of thy reply: *foolish*
- 210 For while I sit with thee, I seem in Heav'n,  
 And sweeter thy discourse is to my eare  
 Then Fruits of Palm-tree pleasantest to thirst  
 And hunger both, from labour, at the houre  
 Of sweet repast; they satiate, and soon fill,
- 215 Though pleasant, but thy words with Grace Divine  
 Imbu'd, bring to thir sweetness no satietie.  
 To whom thus *Raphael* answer'd heav'nly meek.  
 Nor are thy lips ungraceful, Sire of men,  
 Nor tongue ineloquent; for God on thee
- 220 Abundantly his gifts hath also pour'd  
 Inward and outward both, his image faire:  
 Speaking or mute all comliness and grace  
 Attends thee, and each word, each motion formes,  
 Nor less think wee in Heav'n of thee on Earth
- 225 Then of our fellow servant, and inquire  
 Gladly into the wayes of God with Man:  
 For God we see hath honour'd thee, and set  
 On Man his Equal Love: say therefore on;  
 For I that Day was absent, as befell,<sup>o</sup> *as it happened*

225. In Rev. 22:9 an angel says to St. John, "I am thy fellowservant."

- 230 Bound on a voyage uncouth<sup>o</sup> and obscure,  
 Farr on excursion toward the Gates of Hell;  
 Squar'd<sup>o</sup> in full Legion (such command we had)  
 To see that none thence issu'd forth a spie,  
 Or enemie, while God was in his work,
- 235 Least hee incenst at such eruption bold,  
 Destruction with Creation might have mixt.  
 Not that they durst without his leave attempt,  
 But us he sends upon his high behests  
 For state,<sup>o</sup> as Sovran King, and to enure<sup>o</sup>
- 240 Our prompt obedience. Fast we found, fast shut  
 The dismal Gates, and barricado'd<sup>o</sup> strong;  
 But long ere our approaching heard within  
 Noise, other then the sound of Dance or Song,  
 Torment, and loud lament, and furious rage.
- 245 Glad we return'd up to the coasts of Light  
 Ere Sabbath Eev'ning: so we had in charge.  
 But thy relation now; for I attend,  
 Pleas'd with thy words no less then thou with mine.  
 So spake the Godlike Power, and thus our Sire.
- 250 For Man to tell how human Life began  
 Is hard; for who himself beginning knew?  
 Desire with thee still longer to converse  
 Induc'd me. As new wak't from soundest sleep  
 Soft on the flourie herb<sup>o</sup> I found me laid
- 255 In Balmie<sup>o</sup> Sweat, which with his Beames the Sun  
 Soon dri'd, and on the reaking<sup>o</sup> moisture fed.  
 Strait toward Heav'n my wondring Eyes I turnd,  
 And gaz'd a while the ample Skie, till rais'd  
 By quick instinctive motion up I sprung,
- 260 As thitherward endeavoring, and upright  
 Stood on my feet; about me round I saw  
 Hill, Dale, and shadie Woods, and sunnie Plaines,  
 And liquid Lapse<sup>o</sup> of murmuring Streams; by these,  
 Creatures that livd, and movd, and walk'd, or flew,
- 265 Birds on the branches warbling; all things smil'd,  
 With fragrance and with joy my heart oreflow'd.  
 My self I then perus'd, and Limb by Limb

*strange, unfamiliar**in square formation**ceremony / strengthen**barred**grass with flowers**fragrant**steaming**gliding flow*

250–333. Cf. Eve's recollection of her earliest moments of consciousness (4.449–76).

250–1. Cf. Satan's inability to remember his creation (5.859–63) and the very different inference he draws from that fact.



- Survey'd, and sometimes went,<sup>o</sup> and sometimes ran *walked*  
 With supple joints, as lively vigour led:
- 270 But who I was, or where, or from what cause,  
 Knew not; to speak I tri'd, and forthwith spake,  
 My Tongue obey'd and readily could name  
 What e're I saw. Thou Sun, said I, faire Light,  
 And thou enlight'nd Earth, so fresh and gay,<sup>o</sup> *brightly colored*
- 275 Ye Hills and Dales, ye Rivers, Woods, and Plaines,  
 And ye that live and move, fair Creatures, tell,  
 Tell, if ye saw, how came I thus, how here?  
 Not of my self; by some great Maker then,  
 In goodness and in power præeminent;
- 280 Tell me, how may I know him, how adore,  
 From whom I have that thus I move and live,  
 And feel that I am happier then I know.  
 While thus I call'd, and stray'd I knew not whither,  
 From where I first drew Aire, and first beheld
- 285 This happie Light, when answer none return'd,  
 On a green shadie Bank profuse of Flours  
 Pensive I sate me down; there gentle sleep  
 First found me, and with soft oppression<sup>o</sup> seis'd *pressure*  
 My droused sense, untroubl'd, though I thought
- 290 I then was passing to my former state  
 Insensible, and forthwith to dissolve:  
 When suddenly stood at my Head a dream,  
 Whose inward apparition gently mov'd  
 My fancy to believe I yet had being,
- 295 And livd: One came, methought, of shape Divine,  
 And said, thy Mansion wants<sup>o</sup> thee, *Adam*, rise, *lacks*  
 First Man, of Men innumerable ordain'd  
 First Father, call'd by thee I come thy Guide  
 To the Garden of bliss, thy seat<sup>o</sup> prepar'd. *residence*
- 300 So saying, by the hand he took me rais'd,  
 And over Fields and Waters, as in Aire  
 Smooth sliding without step, last led me up

271–3. Many exegetes speculated that Adam spontaneously spoke Hebrew; Milton in his *Art of Logic* did not specify the language but wrote that it was “without doubt divinely given.” Adam’s ability to name the creatures was taken to indicate his intuitive understanding of their natures.

273–82. Adam instinctively works out the central principles of natural theology: that there is a Creator and that he should be adored.

292 at my Head a dream. In the *Iliad* (2.20) a dream sent by Zeus in the guise of Nestor stands at Agamemnon’s head. Compare Eve’s dream (4.800–9, 5.30–93).

A woodie Mountain; whose high top was plaine,  
 A Circuit wide, enclos'd, with goodliest Trees  
 305 Planted, with Walks, and Bowers, that what I saw  
 Of Earth before scarce pleasant seemd. Each Tree  
 Load'n with fairest Fruit, that hung to the Eye  
 Tempting, stirr'd in me sudden appetite  
 To pluck and eate; whereat I wak'd, and found  
 310 Before mine Eyes all real, as the dream  
 Had lively<sup>o</sup> shadowd: Here had new begun *realistically, vividly*  
 My wandring, had not hee who was my Guide  
 Up hither, from among the Trees appeer'd  
 Presence Divine. Rejoycing, but with aw  
 315 In adoration at his feet I fell  
 Submit: he rear'd me, and Whom thou soughtst I am,  
 Said mildely, Author of all this thou seest  
 Above, or round about thee or beneath.  
 This Paradise I give thee, count it thine  
 320 To Till and keep,<sup>o</sup> and of the Fruit to eate: *care for*  
 Of every Tree that in the Garden growes  
 Eate freely with glad heart; fear here no dearth:  
 But of the Tree whose operation<sup>o</sup> brings *effect*  
 Knowledg of good and ill, which I have set  
 325 The Pledge of thy Obedience and thy Faith,  
 Amid the Garden by the Tree of Life,  
 Remember what I warne thee, shun to taste,  
 And shun the bitter consequence: for know,  
 The day thou eat'st thereof, my sole command  
 330 Transgrest, inevitably thou shalt dye;  
 From that day mortal, and this happie State  
 Shalt loose, expell'd from hence into a World  
 Of woe and sorrow. Sternly he pronounc'd  
 The rigid interdiction,<sup>o</sup> which resounds *prohibition*  
 335 Yet dreadful in mine eare, though in my choice  
 Not to incur; but soon his cleer aspect<sup>o</sup> *benign look*  
 Return'd and gracious purpose<sup>o</sup> thus renew'd. *discourse*  
 Not onely these fair bounds, but all the Earth  
 To thee and to thy Race I give; as Lords  
 340 Possess it, and all things that therein live,  
 Or live in Sea, or Aire, Beast, Fish, and Fowle.  
 In signe whereof each Bird and Beast behold

- After thir kinde; I bring them to receive  
 From thee thir Names, and pay thee fealtie  
 345 With low subjection; understand the same  
 Of Fish within thir watry residence,  
 Not hither summon'd, since they cannot change  
 Thir Element to draw the thinner Aire.  
 As thus he spake, each Bird and Beast behold  
 350 Approaching two and two, These<sup>o</sup> cowering<sup>o</sup> low *the beasts / bowing*  
 With blandishment, each Bird stoop'd on his wing.  
 I nam'd them, as they pass'd, and understood  
 Thir Nature, with such knowledg God endu'd  
 My sudden apprehension: but in these  
 355 I found not what me thought I wanted still;  
 And to the Heav'nly vision thus presum'd.<sup>o</sup> *dared to speak*  
 O by what Name, for thou above all these,  
 Above mankinde, or aught then mankinde higher,  
 Surpassest farr my naming, how may I  
 360 Adore thee, Author of this Universe,  
 And all this good to man, for whose well being  
 So amply, and with hands so liberal  
 Thou hast provided all things: but with mee  
 I see not who partakes. In solitude  
 365 What happiness, who can enjoy alone,  
 Or all enjoying, what contentment find?  
 Thus I presumptuous; and the vision bright,  
 As with a smile more bright'nd, thus repli'd.  
 What call'st thou solitude, is not the Earth  
 370 With various living creatures, and the Aire  
 Replenisht,<sup>o</sup> and all these at thy command *fully stocked*  
 To come and play before thee, know'st thou not  
 Thir language and thir wayes, they also know,  
 And reason not contemptibly; with these  
 375 Find pastime, and beare rule; thy Realm is large.  
 So spake the Universal Lord, and seem'd  
 So ordering. I with leave of speech implor'd,  
 And humble deprecation<sup>o</sup> thus repli'd. *intercession*

351. **blandishment.** Flattering gestures. **stoop'd.** Bowed.

352–4. Adam has already named the sun and features of the earth (272–3); here he names, and thereby understands by intuition (“sudden apprehension”), all living creatures.

357–60. Adam cannot name, and thereby indicates that he cannot understand, God, except as God reveals himself.

- Let not my words offend thee, Heav'nly Power,  
 380 My Maker, be propitious<sup>o</sup> while I speak. *gracious*  
 Hast thou not made me here thy substitute,<sup>o</sup> *deputy*  
 And these inferiour farr beneath me set?  
 Among unequals what societie<sup>o</sup> *companionship*  
 Can sort,<sup>o</sup> what harmonie or true delight? *suit, be fitting*  
 385 Which must be mutual, in proportion due  
 Giv'n and receiv'd; but in disparitie  
 The one intense, the other still remiss  
 Cannot well suite with either, but soon prove  
 Tedious alike: Of fellowship I speak  
 390 Such as I seek, fit to participate<sup>o</sup> *share*  
 All rational delight, wherein the brute  
 Cannot be human consort; they rejoyce  
 Each with thir kinde, Lion with Lioness;  
 So fitly them in pairs thou hast combin'd;  
 395 Much less can Bird with Beast, or Fish with Fowle  
 So well converse,<sup>o</sup> nor with the Ox the Ape; *associate*  
 Wors then can Man with Beast, and least of all.  
 Whereto th' Almighty answer'd, not displeas'd.  
 A nice<sup>o</sup> and suttile happiness I see *discriminating*  
 400 Thou to thyself proposest, in the choice  
 Of thy Associates, *Adam*, and wilt taste  
 No pleasure, though in pleasure, solitarie.  
 What think'st thou then of mee, and this my State,  
 Seem I to thee sufficiently possest  
 405 Of happiness, or not? who am alone  
 From all Eternitie, for none I know  
 Second to mee or like, equal much less.  
 How have I then with whom to hold converse  
 Save with the Creatures which I made, and those  
 410 To me inferiour, infinite descents  
 Beneath what other Creatures are to thee?  
 He ceas'd, I lowly answer'd. To attaine  
 The highth and depth of thy Eternal wayes  
 All human thoughts come short, Supream of things;  
 415 Thou in thy self art perfet, and in thee

384–8 **harmonie**. As with poorly matched musical instruments, Adam's string is too taut ("intense") and the animals' string is too slack ("remiss") to be in harmony ("suite").

402 **pleasure**. "Eden" is Hebrew for "pleasure."

415–17 **perfet**. God is absolutely perfect, man is perfect only "in degree," relatively.

- Is no deficiencie found; not so is Man,  
 But<sup>o</sup> in degree, the cause of his desire *except*  
 By conversation with his like to help,  
 Or solace<sup>o</sup> his defects. No need that thou *alleviate, assuage*  
 420 Shouldst propagat, already infinite;  
 And through all numbers absolute, though One;  
 But Man by number is to manifest  
 His single imperfection, and beget  
 Like of his like, his Image multipli'd,  
 425 In unitie<sup>o</sup> defective, which requires *singleness*  
 Collateral<sup>o</sup> love, and deerest amitie. *mutual*  
 Thou in thy secresie<sup>o</sup> although alone, *seclusion*  
 Best with thy self accompanied, seek'st not  
 Social communication, yet so pleas'd,  
 430 Canst raise thy Creature to what highth thou wilt  
 Of Union or Communion, deifi'd;  
 I by conversing cannot these erect  
 From prone, nor in thir wayes complacence<sup>o</sup> find. *satisfaction, pleasure*  
 Thus I embold'nd spake, and freedom us'd  
 435 Permissive,<sup>o</sup> and acceptance found, which gain'd *allowed*  
 This answer from the gracious voice Divine.  
 Thus farr to try thee, *Adam*, I was pleas'd,  
 And finde thee knowing not of Beasts alone,  
 Which thou hast rightly nam'd, but of thy self,  
 440 Expressing well the spirit within thee free,  
 My Image, not imparted to the Brute,  
 Whose fellowship therefore unmeet<sup>o</sup> for thee *unsuitable*  
 Good reason was thou freely shouldst dislike,  
 And be so minded still; I, ere thou spak'st,  
 445 Knew it not good for Man to be alone,  
 And no such companie as then thou saw'st  
 Intended thee, for trial onely brought,

421. God, though One, contains all numbers.

423 **single imperfection.** The imperfection of being alone; humans need to perfect themselves through social intercourse ("by number").

431 **deifi'd.** Made, by grace, able to rise to "Union or Communion" with God.

437 **try.** God has played the role of a Socratic teacher, offering Adam erroneous formulations and thereby prodding him to discover for himself essential truths about human nature.

444–50. Cf. Gen. 2:18: "And the Lord God said, It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him an help meet for him." Milton's gloss on "help meet" in *Tetrachordon*, "God as it were not satisfy'd with the naming of a help, goes on describing *another self, a second self, a very self it self,*" and God's words in the epic, "Thy likeness, thy fit help, thy other self," reinforce Milton's ideal of companionate marriage. These words even seem to posit gender equality, by contrast to the hierarchy affirmed elsewhere.

- To see how thou could'st judge of fit and meet:  
 What next I bring shall please thee, be assur'd,  
 450 Thy likeness, thy fit help, thy other self,  
 Thy wish exactly to thy hearts desire.  
 Hee ended, or I heard no more, for now  
 My earthly<sup>o</sup> by his Heav'nly overpowerd, *earthly nature*  
 Which it had long stood under,<sup>o</sup> streind to the highth *been exposed to*  
 455 In that celestial Colloquie sublime,  
 As with an object that excels<sup>o</sup> the sense, *exceeds*  
 Daz'd and spent, sunk down, and sought repair  
 Of sleep, which instantly fell on me, call'd  
 By Nature as in aide, and clos'd mine eyes.  
 460 Mine eyes he clos'd, but op'n left the Cell  
 Of Fancie my internal sight, by which  
 Abstract<sup>o</sup> as in a transe methought I saw, *withdrawn*  
 Though sleeping, where I lay, and saw the shape  
 Still glorious before whom awake I stood;  
 465 Who stooping op'nd my left side, and took  
 From thence a Rib, with cordial spirits warme,  
 And Life-blood streaming fresh; wide was the wound,  
 But suddenly with flesh fill'd up and heal'd:  
 The Rib he formd and fashond with his hands;  
 470 Under his forming hands a Creature grew,  
 Manlike, but different Sex, so lovly faire,  
 That what seemd fair in all the World, seemd now  
 Mean, or in her summ'd up, in her containd  
 And in her looks, which from that time infus'd  
 475 Sweetness into my heart, unfelt before,  
 And into all things from her Aire<sup>o</sup> inspir'd<sup>o</sup> *mien, manner / breathed*  
 The spirit of love and amorous delight.  
 Shee disappeerd, and left me dark, I wak'd  
 To find her, or for ever to deplore  
 480 Her loss, and other pleasures all abjure:  
 When out of hope, behold her, not farr off,  
 Such as I saw her in my dream, adornd  
 With what all Earth or Heaven could bestow  
 To make her amiable:<sup>o</sup> On she came, *lovable, lovely*

460–1 **Cell / Of Fancie**. Cf. Adam's explanation of the role of Fancy to Eve (5.100–13).

465 **left side**. Some commentators explained that the left side is nearest the heart; others pointed to the left as the "sinister" side, foreshadowing Eve's role in the Fall.

466 **cordial spirits**. The so-called "vital spirits" that the heart distributes throughout the body.

478–520. Cf. Eve's version of these events (4.467–91).

- 485 Led by her Heav'nly Maker, though unseen,  
 And guided by his voice, nor uninformed  
 Of nuptial Sanctitie and marriage Rites:  
 Grace was in all her steps, Heav'n in her Eye,  
 In every gesture dignitie and love.
- 490 I overjoyd could not forbear<sup>o</sup> aloud. *keep from (speaking)*  
 This turn hath made amends; thou hast fulfill'd  
 Thy words, Creator bounteous and benigne,  
 Giver of all things faire, but fairest this  
 Of all thy gifts, nor enviest.<sup>o</sup> I now see *(do you) give reluctantly*
- 495 Bone of my Bone, Flesh of my Flesh, my Self  
 Before me; Woman is her Name, of Man  
 Extracted; for this cause he shall forgoe  
 Father and Mother, and to his Wife adhere;  
 And they shall be one Flesh, one Heart, one Soule.
- 500 She heard me thus, and though divinely brought,  
 Yet Innocence and Virgin Modestie,  
 Her vertue and the conscience<sup>o</sup> of her worth, *consciousness*  
 That would be woo'd, and not unsought be won,  
 Not obvious,<sup>o</sup> not obtrusive,<sup>o</sup> but retir'd, *standing in the way / forward*
- 505 The more desirable, or to say all,  
 Nature her self, though pure of sinful thought,  
 Wrought in her so, that seeing me, she turn'd;  
 I follow'd her, she what was Honour knew,  
 And with obsequious<sup>o</sup> Majestie approv'd *compliant*
- 510 My pleaded reason. To the Nuptial Bowre  
 I led her blushing like the Morn: all Heav'n,  
 And happie Constellations on that houre  
 Shed thir selectest influence; the Earth  
 Gave sign of gratulation,<sup>o</sup> and each Hill; *rejoicing*
- 515 Joyous the Birds; fresh Gales<sup>o</sup> and gentle Aires<sup>o</sup> *winds / breezes, melodies*  
 Whisper'd it to the Woods, and from thir wings  
 Flung Rose, flung Odours from the spicie Shrub,  
 Disporting,<sup>o</sup> till the amorous Bird of Night<sup>o</sup> *frolicking / nightingale*  
 Sung Spousal, and bid haste the Eevning Starr

495–9. Cf. Gen. 2:23–4: “And Adam said, This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of Man. Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife: and they shall be one flesh.”

511. Cf. Raphael's “rosie red” glow at 8.618–19.

519–20 **Eevning Starr**. The rising of Hesperus was the signal among the ancients for lighting the “bridal Lamp” and conducting the bride to the bridegroom.

- 520 On his Hill top, to light the bridal Lamp.  
 Thus I have told thee all my State,<sup>o</sup> and brought *condition*  
 My Storie to the sum of earthly bliss  
 Which I enjoy, and must confess to find  
 In all things else delight indeed, but such
- 525 As us'd or not, works in the mind no change,  
 Nor vehement desire, these delicacies  
 I mean of Taste, Sight, Smell, Herbs, Fruits and Flours,  
 Walks, and the melodie of Birds; but here  
 Farr otherwise, transported<sup>o</sup> I behold, *enraptured*
- 530 Transported touch; here passion first I felt,  
 Commotion strange, in all enjoyments else  
 Superiour and unmov'd, here onely weake  
 Against the charm of Beauties powerful glance.  
 Or<sup>o</sup> Nature faild in mee, and left some part *either*
- 535 Not proof<sup>o</sup> enough such Object to sustain,<sup>o</sup> *strong / withstand*  
 Or from my side subducting,<sup>o</sup> took perhaps *subtracting*  
 More then enough; at least on her bestow'd  
 Too much of Ornament, in outward shew  
 Elaborate, of inward less exact.<sup>o</sup> *perfect, finished*
- 540 For well I understand in the prime end  
 Of Nature her th' inferiour, in the mind  
 And inward Faculties, which most excell,  
 In outward also her resembling less  
 His Image who made both, and less expressing
- 545 The character of that Dominion giv'n  
 O're other Creatures; yet when I approach  
 Her loveliness, so absolute<sup>o</sup> she seems *perfect, independent*  
 And in her self compleat, so well to know  
 Her own, that what she wills to do or say,
- 550 Seems wisest, vertuousest, discreetest,<sup>o</sup> best; *most discerning*  
 All higher knowledge in her presence falls  
 Degraded, Wisdom in discourse with her  
 Looses discount'nanc't, and like folly shewes;  
 Authority and Reason on her waite,
- 555 As one intended first, not after made  
 Occasionally; and to consummate all,

543–4 **resembling less.** Most commentators on Genesis agreed that Eve was a less perfect image of God than was Adam.

553 **Looses.** Becomes unstable. **discount'nanc't.** Disconcerted.

556 **Occasionally.** Contingently, to meet Adam's need.



- Greatness of mind and nobleness thir seat  
 Build in her loveliest, and create an awe  
 About her, as a guard Angelic plac't.  
 560 To whom the Angel with contracted brow.  
     Accuse not Nature, she hath don her part;  
     Do thou but thine, and be not diffident<sup>o</sup> *mistrustful*  
     Of Wisdom, she deserts thee not, if thou  
     Dismiss not her, when most thou needst her nigh,  
 565 By attributing overmuch to things  
     Less excellent, as thou thy self perceav'st.  
     For what admir'st thou, what transports thee so,  
     An outside? fair no doubt, and worthy well  
     Thy cherishing, thy honouring, and thy love,  
 570 Not thy subjection: weigh with her thy self;  
     Then value: Oft times nothing profits more  
     Then self esteem, grounded on just and right  
     Well manag'd; of that skill the more thou know'st,  
     The more she will acknowledge thee her Head,  
 575 And to realities yield all her shows:  
     Made so adorn for thy delight the more,  
     So awful,<sup>o</sup> that with honour thou maist love *awe-inspiring*  
     Thy mate, who sees when thou art seen least wise.  
     But if the sense of touch whereby mankind  
 580 Is propagated seem such dear delight  
     Beyond all other, think the same voutsaf't  
     To Cattel and each Beast; which would not be  
     To them made common and divulg'd,<sup>o</sup> if aught *imparted*  
     Therein enjoy'd were worthy to subdue  
 585 The Soule of Man, or passion in him move.  
     What higher in her societie thou findst  
     Attractive, human, rational, love still;  
     In loving thou dost well, in passion not,  
     Wherein true Love consists not; love refines  
 590 The thoughts, and heart enlarges,<sup>o</sup> hath his seat *makes more capacious*

557 **Greatness of mind.** Intellectual excellence and also magnanimity.

574 **Head.** See 1 Cor. 11:3, "The head of every man is Christ; and the head of the woman is the man; and the head of Christ is God."

585 **passion.** Most commentators on Genesis agreed that Adam and Eve did not feel passion before the Fall. Raphael seems to indicate that they should not (588–9) but he may not understand the human condition fully, or he may mean simply that passions, which clearly Adam and Eve do feel in the state of innocence, must not overthrow reason. See *Areopagitica*: "Wherefore did he creat passions within us, pleasures round about us, but that these rightly temper'd are the very ingredients of vertu?"

- In Reason, and is judicious, is the scale  
 By which to heav'nly Love thou maist ascend,  
 Not sunk in carnal pleasure, for which cause  
 Among the Beasts no Mate for thee was found.
- 595 To whom thus half abash't *Adam* repli'd.  
 Neither her out-side formd so fair, nor aught  
 In procreation common to all kindes  
 (Though higher of the genial<sup>o</sup> Bed by far, *marital, generative*  
 And with mysterious reverence I deem)
- 600 So much delights me as those graceful acts,  
 Those thousand decencies<sup>o</sup> that daily flow *fitting acts*  
 From all her words and actions mixt with Love  
 And sweet compliance, which declare unfeign'd  
 Union of Mind, or in us both one Soule;
- 605 Harmonie to behold in wedded pair  
 More grateful then harmonious sound to the eare.  
 Yet these subject not; I to thee disclose  
 What inward thence I feel, not therefore foild,<sup>o</sup> *overcome*  
 Who meet with various objects, from the sense
- 610 Variously representing; yet still free  
 Approve the best, and follow what I approve.  
 To love thou blam'st me not, for love thou saist  
 Leads up to Heav'n, is both the way and guide;  
 Bear with me then, if lawful what I ask;
- 615 Love not the heav'nly Spirits, and how thir Love  
 Express they, by looks onely, or do they mix  
 Irradiance, virtual or immediate<sup>o</sup> touch? *actual*  
 To whom the Angel with a smile that glow'd  
 Celestial rosie red, Loves proper hue,
- 620 Answer'd. Let it suffice thee that thou know'st  
 Us happie, and without Love no happiness.

591–2 **scale**. Raphael summarizes the Neoplatonic ladder of love (see Plato, *Symposium* 211C–D), by which humans may move from sensual love to higher stages of human love, and ultimately to love of the Good, or God.

598–600. Adam takes respectful issue with Raphael's apparent denigration of human sex in his account of the Neoplatonic ladder. **mysterious**. At Eph. 5:31–2 Paul speaks of the marital union ("one flesh") as a "great mystery," as it reflects the union of Christ and the Church.

609–10. i.e., "various objects, variously represented to me by my senses."

619. Red is the color traditionally associated with Seraphim, who burn with ardor. Raphael's smile also glows with friendship for Adam, and appreciation of his perceptive inference about angelic sex. Given the monism Raphael explains in Book 5 (469–500) and demonstrates by eating human food, Raphael has to be made to qualify his apparent Neoplatonic dualism in seeming so sharply to separate physical and spiritual love.

- Whatever pure thou in the body enjoy'st  
 (And pure thou wert created) we enjoy  
 In eminence,<sup>o</sup> and obstacle find none *superlatively*
- 625 Of membrane, joynt, or limb, exclusive barrs:  
 Easier then Air with Air, if Spirits embrace,  
 Total they mix, Union of Pure with Pure  
 Desiring; nor restrain'd conveyance<sup>o</sup> need *restricting sexual organs*  
 As Flesh to mix with Flesh, or Soul with Soul.
- 630 But I can now no more; the parting Sun  
 Beyond the Earths green Cape and verdant Isles  
*Hesperian* sets, my Signal to depart.  
 Be strong, live happie, and love, but first of all  
 Him whom to love is to obey, and keep
- 635 His great command; take heed lest Passion sway  
 Thy Judgment to do aught, which else free Will  
 Would not admit; thine and of all thy Sons  
 The weal or woe in thee is plac't; beware.  
 I in thy persevering shall rejoyce,
- 640 And all the Blest: stand fast; to stand or fall  
 Free in thine own Arbitrement<sup>o</sup> it lies. *decision, choice*  
 Perfet within, no outward aid require;<sup>o</sup> *need*  
 And all temptation to transgress repel.  
 So saying, he arose; whom *Adam* thus
- 645 Follow'd with benediction. Since<sup>o</sup> to part, *since we have*  
 Go heavenly Guest, Ethereal<sup>o</sup> Messenger, *celestial*  
 Sent from whose sovran goodness I adore.  
 Gentle to me and affable hath been  
 Thy condescension,<sup>o</sup> and shall be honour'd ever *courtesy*
- 650 With grateful Memorie: thou to mankind  
 Be good and friendly still, and oft return.  
 So parted they, the Angel up to Heav'n  
 From the thick shade, and *Adam* to his Bowre.

*The End of the Eighth Book.*

631 **Earths green Cape.** Cape Verde near Dakar and the islands off that coast are the westernmost ("Hesperian") points of Africa.

634–5. Cf. 1 John 5:3: "this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments."



Figure 7 Illustration to Book 9, 1688 (John Baptista Medina)

BOOK 9  
THE ARGUMENT

*Satan* having compast the Earth, with meditated guile returns as a mist by Night into Paradise, enters into the Serpent sleeping. *Adam* and *Eve* in the Morning go forth to thir labours, which *Eve* proposes to divide in several places, each labouring apart: *Adam* consents not, alledging the danger, lest that Enemy, of whom they were fore-  
5 warn'd, should attempt her found alone: *Eve* loath to be thought not circumspect or firm enough, urges her going apart, the rather desirous to make tryal of her strength; *Adam* at last yields: The Serpent finds her alone; his subtle approach, first gazing, then speaking, with much flattery extolling *Eve* above all other Creatures. *Eve* wondring to hear the Serpent speak, asks how he attain'd to human speech and  
10 such understanding not till now; the Serpent answers, that by tasting of a certain Tree in the Garden he attain'd both to Speech and Reason, till then void of both: *Eve* requires him to bring her to that Tree, and finds it to be the Tree of Knowledge forbidden: The Serpent now grown bolder, with many wiles and arguments induces her at length to eat; she pleas'd with the taste deliberates a while whether to impart  
15 thereof to *Adam* or not, at last brings him of the Fruit, relates what perswaded her to eat thereof: *Adam* at first amaz'd, but perceiving her lost, resolves through vehemence of love to perish with her; and extenuating the trespass, eats also of the Fruit: The Effects thereof in them both; they seek to cover thir nakedness; then fall to variance and accusation of one another.

No more of talk where God or Angel Guest  
With Man, as with his Friend, familiar us'd  
To sit indulgent,<sup>o</sup> and with him partake *gracious*  
Rural repast, permitting him the while  
5 Venial<sup>o</sup> discourse unblam'd: I now must change *excusable*  
Those Notes to Tragic; foul distrust, and breach  
Disloyal on the part of Man, revolt,  
And disobedience: On the part of Heav'n  
Now alienated, distance and distaste,<sup>o</sup> *aversion*  
10 Anger and just rebuke, and judgement giv'n,  
That brought into this World a world of woe,  
Sinne and her shadow Death, and Miserie

16 **amaz'd.** Stunned.

1–47. In this fourth Proem, Milton does not invoke the Muse but testifies (21–2) to her customary nightly visits, “unimplor’d.”

1–6. The Miltonic Bard declares a shift in mode from the pastoral of “rural repast” and eclogue (which here includes georgic labor, physical and intellectual) to “Tragic.”

- Deaths Harbinger: Sad task, yet argument<sup>o</sup> subject  
 Not less but more Heroic then the wrauth
- 15 Of stern *Achilles* on his Foe pursu'd  
 Thrice Fugitive about *Troy Wall*; or rage  
 Of *Turnus* for *Lavinia* disespous'd,  
 Or *Neptun's* ire or *Juno's*, that so long  
 Perplex'd<sup>o</sup> the *Greek* and *Cytherea's* Son; tormented
- 20 If answerable<sup>o</sup> style I can obtaine suited to the subject  
 Of my Celestial Patroness, who deignes  
 Her nightly visitation unimplor'd,  
 And dictates to me slumbring, or inspires  
 Easie my unpremeditated Verse:
- 25 Since first this Subject for Heroic Song  
 Pleas'd me long choosing, and beginning late;  
 Not sedulous<sup>o</sup> by Nature to indite<sup>o</sup> eager / write about  
 Warrs, hitherto the onely Argument  
 Heroic deem'd, chief maistrie<sup>o</sup> to dissect art, skill
- 30 With long and tedious havoc<sup>o</sup> fabl'd Knights fighting, destruction  
 In Battels feign'd; the better fortitude  
 Of Patience and Heroic Martyrdom  
 Unsung; or to describe Races and Games,  
 Or tilting Furniture, emblazon'd Shields,
- 35 Impreses quaint, Caparisons and Steeds;  
 Bases and tinsel Trappings, gorgious Knights  
 At Joust and Torneament; then marshal'd Feast

13–19. The Bard proposes that the tragedy of the Fall surpasses the tragic element in several classical epics: “*Achilles*” pursuing the fleeing (“Fugitive”) *Hector* (“his Foe”) three times around “*Troy Wall*” before killing him; “*Turnus*” fighting and then killed by *Aeneas*, who had received as wife *Turnus*’ betrothed (“*Lavinia* disespous’d”); *Odysseus* (“the *Greek*”) tormented by “*Neptun’s* ire” for blinding his son *Polyphemus*; and *Aeneas* (“*Cytherea’s* [*Venus’s*] Son”) plagued by “*Juno’s*” anger because *Venus* had been judged by *Paris* to be more beautiful than *Juno* or *Minerva*.

21 **Celestial Patroness.** *Urania*, named in 7.1.

22–4 **dictates to me slumbering.** Milton’s verses seem to pour forth directly (“unpremeditated”) from the Muse’s inspiration; they are the product of a lifetime of study, thought, and experience. Milton’s nephew, *Edward Phillips*, reports that Milton often awoke in the morning with lines of poetry fully formed and ready to be dictated to an amanuensis.

25–6. See Introduction, pp. xviii–xix, for an account of Milton’s “long” consideration of possible epic subjects and plans.

30–1 **Battels feign’d.** Milton disparages the customary subjects of epic and romance, with allusion to the Arthurian matter he once considered as subject for a national epic, but then rejected as merely fables.

34–7. Milton now rejects several familiar elements of contemporary romantic epics (*Ariosto*, *Tasso*, *Spenser*).  
**tilting Furniture.** Equipment for jousting. **Impreses quaint.** Ingenious heraldic devices on shields.  
**Caparisons.** Ornamental coverings or armor for horses. **Bases.** Cloth coverings for horses.  
**tinsel Trappings.** Coverings over the harness or saddle of horses, ornamented with gold or silver threads.

37 **marshal’d Feast.** Well ordered, with guests arranged according to rank.

- Serv'd up in Hall with Sewers,<sup>o</sup> and Seneshals;<sup>o</sup> *waiters / stewards*  
 The skill of Artifice or Office mean,  
 40 Not that which justly gives Heroic name  
 To Person or to Poem. Mee of these  
 Nor skilld nor studious, higher Argument  
 Remaines, sufficient of it self to raise  
 That name, unless an age too late, or cold  
 45 Climat, or Years damp my intended wing  
 Deprest, and much they may, if all be mine,  
 Not Hers who brings it nightly to my Ear.  
 The Sun was sunk, and after him the Starr  
 Of *Hesperus*, whose Office is to bring  
 50 Twilight upon the Earth, short Arbitr<sup>o</sup> *mediator*  
 Twixt Day and Night, and now from end to end  
 Nights Hemisphere had veild the Horizon round:  
 When *Satan* who late<sup>o</sup> fled before the threats *recently*  
 Of *Gabriel* out of *Eden*, now improv'd<sup>o</sup> *augmented*  
 55 In meditated fraud and malice, bent  
 On mans destruction, maugre<sup>o</sup> what might hap *despite*  
 Of heavier<sup>o</sup> on himself, fearless return'd. *heavier punishment*  
 By Night he fled, and at Midnight return'd  
 From compassing the Earth, cautious of day,  
 60 Since *Uriel* Regent of the Sun descri'd<sup>o</sup> *observed*  
 His entrance, and forewarnd the Cherubim  
 That kept thir watch; thence full of anguish driv'n,  
 The space of seven continu'd Nights he rode  
 With darkness, thrice the Equinoctial Line  
 65 He circl'd, four times cross'd the Carr of Night  
 From Pole to Pole, traversing each Colure;  
 On the eighth return'd, and on the Coast averse<sup>o</sup> *the side opposite*  
 From entrance or Cherubic Watch, by stealth  
 Found unsuspected way. There was a place,

44–6 **That name.** The designation, heroic poem. **age too late.** The Restoration era might well be unresponsive to this poem. **cold / Climat.** Milton long believed that England's climate was less amenable to epic poetry than the warmth of the Mediterranean region. **Years.** His own advanced age (he was in his fifties when writing the poem). **damp.** Benumb. **intended wing / Deprest.** Purposed poetic flights held down, kept from soaring.

49–50 **Hesperus.** The evening star, actually the planet Venus.

62–6. By circling the globe from east to west at the equator ("Equinoctial Line") for three nights and then longitudinally for four nights over the north and south poles ("From Pole to Pole") Satan can remain in darkness ("rode / With darkness"), keeping himself always in the earth's shadow, ahead of the advancing edge of the sun's light. **Carr of Night.** The earth's shadow, imagined as a chariot driven by the goddess, Night. **Colure.** The colures were two great circles intersecting at right angles at the poles.

- 70 Now not, though Sin, not Time, first wraught the change,  
 Where *Tigris* at the foot of Paradise  
 Into a Gulf shot under ground, till part  
 Rose up a Fountain by the Tree of Life;  
 In with the River sunk, and with it rose
- 75 *Satan* involv'd in rising Mist, then sought  
 Where to lie hid; Sea he had searcht and Land  
 From *Eden* over *Pontus*, and the Poole  
*Mæotis*, up beyond the River *Ob*;  
 Downward as farr Antartic; and in length
- 80 West from *Orontes* to the Ocean barr'd  
 At *Darien*, thence to the Land where flowes  
*Ganges* and *Indus*: thus the Orb he roam'd  
 With narrow search; and with inspection deep  
 Consider'd every Creature, which of all
- 85 Most opportune might serve his Wiles, and found  
 The Serpent suttlest Beast of all the Field.  
 Him after long debate, irresolute  
 Of° thoughts revolv'd, his final sentence° chose *among / decision*  
 Fit Vessel, fittest Imp° of fraud, in whom *offspring, offshoot*
- 90 To enter, and his dark suggestions hide  
 From sharpest sight: for in the wilie Snake,  
 Whatever sleights° none would suspicious mark, *artifices*  
 As from his wit and native suttletie  
 Proceeding, which in other Beasts observ'd
- 95 Doubt° might beget of Diabolic pow'r *suspicion*  
 Active within beyond the sense of brute.  
 Thus he resolv'd, but first from inward griefe  
 His bursting passion into plaints thus pour'd:  
 O Earth, how like to Heav'n, if not preferr'd
- 100 More justly, Seat worthier of Gods, as built  
 With second thoughts, reforming what was old!  
 For what God after better worse would build?

70 **Now not.** No longer existing.

71 *Tigris.* Cf. Gen. 2:10, one of the four rivers that flowed out of the garden ("Paradise").

77–82. A reprise of Satan's journey in geographical terms. In his north–south circles he passed the Black Sea ("*Pontus*"), thence to the Sea of Azov in Russia ("*Mæotis*"), then beyond the River Obi ("*Ob*") in Siberia, which flows into the Arctic Ocean, then south to Antarctica ("*Antartic*"). His westward circles bring him from the Syrian river "*Orontes*" flowing into the Mediterranean Sea, then across the Atlantic which is "barr'd" at the Isthmus of Panama ("*Darien*"), then across the Pacific and Asia to India, where the "*Ganges*" and "*Indus*" rivers flow.

86. The serpent is so described in Gen. 3:1.



- Terrestrial Heav'n, danc't round by other Heav'ns  
 That shine, yet bear thir bright officious<sup>o</sup> Lamps, *dutiful*  
 105 Light above Light, for thee alone, as seems,  
 In thee concentring all thir precious beams  
 Of sacred influence: As God in Heav'n  
 Is Center, yet extends to all, so thou  
 Centring<sup>o</sup> receav'st from all those Orbs; in thee, *remaining in the center*  
 110 Not in themselves, all thir known vertue appeers  
 Productive in Herb, Plant, and nobler birth  
 Of Creatures animate with gradual<sup>o</sup> life *in graded steps*  
 Of Growth, Sense, Reason, all summ'd up in Man.  
 With what delight could I have walkt thee round,  
 115 If I could joy in aught, sweet interchange  
 Of Hill, and Vallie, Rivers, Woods and Plaines,  
 Now Land, now Sea, and Shores with Forrest crownd,  
 Rocks, Dens, and Caves; but I in none of these  
 Find place or refuge; and the more I see  
 120 Pleasures about me, so much more I feel  
 Torment within me, as from the hateful siege  
 Of contraries; all good to me becomes  
 Bane,<sup>o</sup> and in Heav'n much worse would be my state. *poison*  
 But neither here seek I, no nor in Heav'n  
 125 To dwell, unless by maistring Heav'ns Supream;e;  
 Nor hope to be my self less miserable  
 By what I seek, but others to make such  
 As I, though thereby worse to me redound:<sup>o</sup> *recoil upon me*  
 For onely in destroying I find ease  
 130 To my relentless thoughts; and him destroyd,  
 Or won to what may work his utter loss,  
 For whom all this was made, all this will soon  
 Follow, as to him linkt in weal<sup>o</sup> or woe, *happiness*  
 In wo then: that destruction wide may range:  
 135 To mee shall be the glorie sole among  
 The infernal Powers, in one day to have marr'd  
 What he *Almightie* styl'd, six Nights and Days  
 Continu'd making, and who knows how long  
 Before had bin contriving, though perhaps  
 140 Not longer then since I in one Night freed

105–7. Cf. the different views of the cosmos held by Eve (4.657–8), Adam (8.15–38), and Raphael (8.98–9, 114–78).

- From servitude inglorious welnigh half  
 Th' Angelic Name, and thinner left the throng  
 Of his adorers: hee to be aveng'd,  
 And to repaire his numbers thus impair'd,  
 145 Whether such vertue<sup>o</sup> spent of old now faild *power*  
 More Angels to Create, if they at least  
 Are his Created, or to spite us more,  
 Determin'd to advance into our room  
 A Creature form'd of Earth, and him endow,  
 150 Exalted from so base original,<sup>o</sup> *origin*  
 With Heav'nly spoils, our spoils: What he decreed  
 He effected; Man he made, and for him built  
 Magnificent this World, and Earth his seat,  
 Him Lord pronounc'd, and, O indignitie!  
 155 Subjected to his service Angel wings,  
 And flaming Ministers to watch and tend  
 Thir earthy Charge: Of these the vigilance  
 I dread, and to elude, thus wrapt in mist  
 Of midnight vapor glide obscure, and prie  
 160 In every Bush and Brake, where hap<sup>o</sup> may finde *luck*  
 The Serpent sleeping, in whose mазie foulds  
 To hide me, and the dark intent I bring.  
 O foul descent! that I who erst contended  
 With Gods to sit the highest, am now constraind  
 165 Into a Beast, and mixt with bestial slime,  
 This essence to incarnate and imbrute,  
 That to the hight of Deitie aspir'd;  
 But what will not Ambition and Revenge  
 Descend to? who aspires must down as low  
 170 As high he soard, obnoxious<sup>o</sup> first or last *exposed*  
 To basest things. Revenge, at first though sweet,  
 Bitter ere long back on it self recoiles;  
 Let it; I reck<sup>o</sup> not, so it light well aim'd, *care*  
 Since higher I fall short, on him who next  
 175 Provokes my envie, this new Favorite  
 Of Heav'n, this Man of Clay, Son of despite,

141–2. Cf. the conflicting estimates of the rebel numbers at 1.632–3, 2.692, and 6.156. Cf. Rev. 12:3–4, the casting down of “the third part of the stars of heaven.”

146–7 **his Created**. Cf. 5.853–63 and 4.43.

151 **spoils**. Goods seized from a defeated enemy.

156 **flaming Ministers**. Cf. Heb. 1:7: “Who maketh his angels spirits and his ministers a flame of fire.”

166 **imbrute**. Satan embodying his “essence” in a snake parodies the Son becoming “incarnate” as man.

- Whom us the more to spite his Maker rais'd  
 From dust: spite then with spite is best repaid.  
 So saying, through each Thicket Danck or Drie,  
 180 Like a black mist low creeping, he held on  
 His midnight search, where soonest he might finde  
 The Serpent: him fast sleeping soon he found  
 In Labyrinth of many a round self-rowld,<sup>o</sup> *coiled*  
 His head the midst, well stor'd with suttile wiles:  
 185 Not yet in horrid Shade<sup>o</sup> or dismal Den, *bristling shrubs*  
 Nor nocent<sup>o</sup> yet, but on the grassie Herbe *harmful, guilty*  
 Fearless unfeard he slept: in at his Mouth  
 The Devil enterd, and his brutal<sup>o</sup> sense, *animal*  
 In heart or head, possessing soon inspir'd  
 190 With act intelligential; but his sleep  
 Disturbd not, waiting close<sup>o</sup> th' approach of Morn. *concealed*  
 Now when as sacred Light began to dawne  
 In *Eden* on the humid Flours, that breathd  
 Thir morning incense, when all things that breath,  
 195 From th' Earths great Altar send up silent praise  
 To the Creator, and his Nostrils fill  
 With grateful<sup>o</sup> Smell, forth came the human pair *pleasing, thankful*  
 And joind thir vocal Worship to the Quire  
 Of Creatures wanting<sup>o</sup> voice, that done, partake *lacking*  
 200 The season, prime<sup>o</sup> for sweetest Sents and Aires:<sup>o</sup> *best / breezes, songs*  
 Then commune how that day they best may ply  
 Thir growing work: for much thir work outgrew  
 The hands dispatch of two Gardning so wide.  
 And *Eve* first to her Husband thus began.  
 205 *Adam*, well may we labour still<sup>o</sup> to dress *continually*  
 This Garden, still to tend Plant, Herb and Flour,  
 Our pleasant task enjoyn'd,<sup>o</sup> but till more hands *commanded*  
 Aid us, the work under our labour grows,  
 Luxurious<sup>o</sup> by restraint; what we by day *luxuriant*  
 210 Lop overgrown, or prune, or prop, or bind,  
 One night or two with wanton<sup>o</sup> growth derides *profuse, unruly*  
 Tending to wilde. Thou therefore now advise  
 Or hear what to my minde first thoughts present,  
 Let us divide our labours, thou where choice  
 215 Leads thee, or where most needs, whether to wind  
 The Woodbine<sup>o</sup> round this Arbour, or direct *honeysuckle*

183 **Labyrinth.** Home of the monstrous Minotaur.190 **act intelligential.** Power of intelligent action.

- The clasping Ivie where to climb, while I  
 In yonder Spring<sup>o</sup> of Roses intermixt *growth, thicket*  
 With Myrtle, find what to redress<sup>o</sup> till Noon: *set upright*
- 220 For while so near each other thus all day  
 Our taske we choose, what wonder if so near  
 Looks intervene and smiles, or object new  
 Casual discourse draw on, which intermits<sup>o</sup> *interrupts*  
 Our dayes work brought to little, though begun
- 225 Early, and th' hour of Supper comes unearn'd.  
 To whom mild answer *Adam* thus return'd.  
 Sole<sup>o</sup> *Eve*, Associate sole,<sup>o</sup> to me beyond *unrivalled / only*  
 Compare above all living Creatures deare,  
 Well hast thou motion'd,<sup>o</sup> well thy thoughts imployd *proposed*
- 230 How we might best fulfill the work which here  
 God hath assign'd us, nor of me shalt pass  
 Unprais'd: for nothing lovelier can be found  
 In Woman, then to studie household good,  
 And good workes in her Husband to promote.
- 235 Yet not so strictly hath our Lord impos'd  
 Labour, as to debarr us when we need  
 Refreshment, whether food, or talk between,<sup>o</sup> *at intervals of work*  
 Food of the mind, or this sweet intercourse  
 Of looks and smiles, for smiles from Reason flow,
- 240 To brute deni'd, and are of Love the food,  
 Love not the lowest end of human life.  
 For not to irksom toile, but to delight  
 He made us, and delight to Reason joynd.  
 These paths & Bowers doubt not but our joynt hands
- 245 Will keep from Wilderness with ease, as wide  
 As we need walk, till younger hands ere long  
 Assist us: But if much converse perhaps  
 Thee satiate, to short absence I could yield.  
 For solitude somtimes is best societie,
- 250 And short retirement urges sweet returne.  
 But other doubt possesses me, least harm  
 Befall thee sever'd from me; for thou knowst  
 What hath bin warn'd us, what malicious Foe  
 Envyng our happiness, and of his own

231–4. Adam's praises invite comparison with the qualities of a virtuous wife set forth in Prov. 31, especially verses 27–8: "She looketh well to the ways of her household, and eateth not the bread of idleness. Her children arise up and call her blessed; her husband also, and he praiseth her."

- 255 Despairing, seeks to work us woe and shame  
 By sly assault; and somewhere nigh at hand  
 Watches, no doubt, with greedy hope to find  
 His wish and best advantage, us asunder,  
 Hopeless to circumvent us joynd, where each
- 260 To other speedie aide might lend at need;  
 Whether his first design be to withdraw  
 Our fealtie<sup>o</sup> from God, or to disturb *loyalty, feudal duty*  
 Conjugal Love, then which perhaps no bliss  
 Enjoy'd by us excites his envie more;
- 265 Or<sup>o</sup> this, or worse, leave not the faithful side *whether*  
 That gave thee being, still shades thee and protects.  
 The Wife, where danger or dishonour lurks,  
 Safest and seemliest by her Husband staies,  
 Who guards her, or with her the worst endures.
- 270 To whom the Virgin Majestie of *Eve*,  
 As one who loves, and some unkindness meets,  
 With sweet austere composure thus reply'd.  
 Ofspring of Heav'n and Earth, and all Earths Lord,  
 That such an Enemie we have, who seeks
- 275 Our ruin, both by thee informd I learne,  
 And from the parting Angel over-heard  
 As in a shadie nook I stood behind,  
 Just then returnd at shut of Evening Flours.  
 But that thou shouldst my firmness therfore doubt
- 280 To God or thee, because we have a foe  
 May tempt it, I expected not to hear.  
 His violence thou fear'st not, being such,  
 As wee, not capable of death or paine,  
 Can either not receive, or can repell.
- 285 His fraud is then thy fear, which plain inferrs<sup>o</sup> *clearly suggests*  
 Thy equal fear that my firm Faith and Love  
 Can by his fraud be shak'n or seduc't;  
 Thoughts, which how found they harbour in thy brest  
*Adam*, misthought<sup>o</sup> of her to thee so dear? *misjudged*
- 290 To whom with healing words *Adam* replyd.

270 **Virgin**. Unspotted, peerless. Virginity in Puritan usage can include chaste marriage. See Calvin, *Institutes* 4.12:28: "the second sort of virginity is the chaste love of matrimony." Cf. *PL* 4.737–73.

275–8 **over-heard**. Eve had been "attentive" to all of Raphael's story about Satan (7:51), but evidently hears his reiterated warnings from a "shadie nook" when she returns from tending her flowers just as he departs (8:41–51, 633–643).

- Daughter of God and Man, immortal *Eve*,  
 For such thou art, from sin and blame entire:<sup>o</sup> *unblemished*  
 Not diffident<sup>o</sup> of thee do I dissuade *distrustful*  
 Thy absence from my sight, but to avoid  
 295 Th' attempt it self, intended by our Foe.  
 For hee who tempts, though in vain, at least asperses<sup>o</sup> *bespatters*  
 The tempted with dishonour foul, suppos'd  
 Not incorruptible of Faith, not proof  
 Against temptation: thou thy self with scorne  
 300 And anger wouldst resent the offer'd wrong,  
 Though ineffectual found: misdeem<sup>o</sup> not then, *do not misinterpret*  
 If such affront I labour to avert  
 From thee alone, which on us both at once  
 The Enemie, though bold, will hardly dare,  
 305 Or daring, first on mee th' assault shall light.  
 Nor thou his malice and false guile contemn;<sup>o</sup> *disdain*  
 Suttle he needs must be, who could seduce  
 Angels nor think superfluous others aid.  
 I from the influence of thy looks receive  
 310 Access<sup>o</sup> in every Vertue, in thy sight *increase*  
 More wise, more watchful, stronger, if need were  
 Of outward strength; while shame, thou looking on,  
 Shame to be overcome or over-reacht<sup>o</sup> *outwitted*  
 Would utmost vigor raise, and rais'd unite.  
 315 Why shouldst not thou like sense within thee feel  
 When I am present, and thy trial choose  
 With me, best witness of thy Vertue tri'd.  
 So spake domestick *Adam* in his care  
 And Matrimonial Love; but *Eve*, who thought  
 320 Less<sup>o</sup> attributed to her Faith sincere, *too little*  
 Thus her reply with accent sweet renewd.  
 If this be our condition, thus to dwell  
 In narrow circuit strait'nd<sup>o</sup> by a Foe, *confined*  
 Suttle or violent, we not endu'd  
 325 Single with like<sup>o</sup> defence, wherever met, *equal*  
 How are we happie, still<sup>o</sup> in fear of harm? *always*

309–12. In Renaissance Neoplatonism, love (and especially the sight of the beloved) inspired the lover to virtue.

322–41. Compare and contrast *Areopagitica*: "I cannot praise a fugitive and cloister'd vertue, unexercis'd & unbreath'd, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortall garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat. Assuredly we bring not innocence into the world, we bring impurity much rather: that which purifies us is triall, and triall is by what is contrary."

- But harm precedes not sin: onely our Foe  
 Tempting affronts<sup>o</sup> us with his foul esteem insults  
 Of our integritie: his foul esteeme
- 330 Sticks no dishonor on our Front,<sup>o</sup> but turns forehead, face  
 Foul on himself; then wherefore shund or feard  
 By us? who rather double honour gaine  
 From his surmise prov'd false, find peace within,  
 Favour from Heav'n, our witness from th' event.<sup>o</sup> outcome
- 335 And what is Faith, Love, Vertue unassaid  
 Alone, without exterior help sustaind?  
 Let us not then suspect our happie State  
 Left so imperfet by the Maker wise,  
 As not secure to single<sup>o</sup> or combin'd. one alone
- 340 Fraile is our happiness, if this be so,  
 And *Eden* were no *Eden* thus expos'd.  
     To whom thus *Adam* fervently<sup>o</sup> repli'd. passionately  
 O Woman, best are all things as the will  
 Of God ordain'd them, his creating hand
- 345 Nothing imperfet or deficient left  
 Of all that he Created, much less Man,  
 Or aught that might his happie State secure,  
 Secure from outward force; within himself  
 The danger lies, yet lies within his power:
- 350 Against his will he can receive no harme.  
 But God left free the Will, for what obeyes  
 Reason, is free, and Reason he made right,  
 But bid her well beware, and still erect,<sup>o</sup> always alert  
 Least by some faire appeering good surpris'd
- 355 She dictate false, and misinforme the Will  
 To do what God expresly hath forbid,  
 Not then mistrust, but tender love enjoynes,<sup>o</sup> dictates  
 That I should mind<sup>o</sup> thee oft, and mind thou me. remind, pay heed to  
 Firm we subsist,<sup>o</sup> yet possible to swerve, stand, exist
- 360 Since Reason not impossibly may meet  
 Some specious<sup>o</sup> object by the Foe suborn'd,<sup>o</sup> deceptively attractive / corrupted  
 And fall into deception unaware,  
 Not keeping strictest watch, as she was warnd.  
 Seek not temptation then, which to avoide

349–56 **Reason he made right.** Right Reason, a classical concept accommodated to Christian (Scholastic) philosophy, is the God-given power to apprehend truth and the moral law. See *Christian Doctrine* 1.4: “Reason has been implanted in all, by which they may of themselves resist bad desires.” Also, cf. *PL* 5.520–9.

- 365 Were better, and most likeli if from mee  
 Thou sever not: Trial will come unsought.  
 Wouldst thou approve<sup>o</sup> thy constancie, approve<sup>o</sup> *give proof of*  
 First thy obedience; th' other who can know,  
 Not seeing thee attempted, who attest?
- 370 But if thou think, trial unsought may finde  
 Us both securer<sup>o</sup> then thus warnd thou seemst, *more careless*  
 Go; for thy stay, not free, absents thee more;  
 Go in thy native innocence, relie  
 On what thou hast of vertue, summon all,
- 375 For God towards thee hath done his part, do thine.  
 So spake the Patriarch of Mankinde, but *Eve*  
 Persisted, yet submiss,<sup>o</sup> though last, repli'd. *still submissive*  
 With thy permission then, and thus forewarnd  
 Chiefly by what thy own last reasoning words
- 380 Touchd onely, that our trial, when least sought,  
 May finde us both perhaps farr less prepar'd,  
 The willinger I goe, nor much expect  
 A Foe so proud will first the weaker seek;  
 So bent,<sup>o</sup> the more shall shame him his repulse. *if he does so*
- 385 Thus saying, from her Husbands hand her hand  
 Soft she withdrew, and like a Wood-Nymph light  
*Oread* or *Dryad*, or of *Delia's* Traine,  
 Betook her to the Groves, but *Delia's* self  
 In gate<sup>o</sup> surpass'd and Goddess-like deport,<sup>o</sup> *movement / bearing*
- 390 Though not as shee with Bow and Quiver armd,  
 But with such Gardning Tools as Art yet rude,  
 Guiltless of fire had formd, or Angels brought.  
 To *Pales*, or *Pomona* thus adornd,  
 Likest she seemd, *Pomona* when she fled
- 395 *Vertumnus*, or to *Ceres* in her Prime,  
 Yet Virgin of *Proserpina* from *Jove*.  
 Her long with ardent look his Eye pursu'd

386–90 **light**. Light-footed, quick, but with overtones of fickle or frivolous. **Oread**. A mountain-nymph.

**Dryad**. A wood-nymph. **Delia**. Diana, born on the isle of Delos, hunted with a "Traine" of nymphs, and with "Bow and Quiver."

392 **Guiltless of fire**. Without experience of fire, unneeded in Paradise. So Eve's gardening tools are necessarily "rude." A possible allusion also to the guilt of Prometheus, who stole fire from heaven.

393–6 **Pales**. Goddess of flocks and pastures. **Pomona**. Goddess of fruit-trees; she was chased by the wood-god "*Vertumnus*" in many guises, before surrendering to him. **Ceres**. Goddess of harvests, in the springtime ("Prime") of life before she was impregnated by "*Jove*" with "*Proserpina*," whose abduction by Pluto to Hades brought winter to the world.



- Delighted, but desiring more her stay.  
 Oft he to her his charge of quick returne  
 400 Repeated, shee to him as oft engag'd  
 To be returnd by Noon amid the Bowre,  
 And all things in best order to invite  
 Noontide repast, or Afternoons repose.  
 O much deceav'd, much failing,<sup>o</sup> hapless<sup>o</sup> Eve, *erring / unlucky*  
 405 Of thy presum'd return! event perverse!  
 Thou never from that houre in Paradise  
 Foundst either sweet repast, or sound repose;  
 Such ambush hid among sweet Flours and Shades  
 Waited with hellish rancour imminent<sup>o</sup> *looming*  
 410 To intercept thy way, or send thee back  
 Despoild of Innocence, of Faith, of Bliss.  
 For now, and since first break of dawne the Fiend,  
 Meer Serpent in appearance, forth was come,  
 And on his Quest, where likeliest he might finde  
 415 The onely two of Mankinde, but in them  
 The whole included Race, his purposed prey.  
 In Bowre and Field he sought, where any tuft  
 Of Grove or Garden-Plot more pleasant lay,  
 Thir tendance<sup>o</sup> or Plantation for delight, *object of care*  
 420 By Fountain or by shadie Rivulet  
 He sought them both, but wish'd his hap<sup>o</sup> might find *luck*  
 Eve separate, he wish'd, but not with hope  
 Of what so seldom chanc'd, when to his wish,  
 Beyond his hope, Eve separate he spies,  
 425 Veild in a Cloud of Fragrance, where she stood,  
 Half spi'd, so thick the Roses bushing round  
 About her glowd, oft stooping to support  
 Each Flour of slender stalk, whose head though gay  
 Carnation, Purple, Azure, or spect with Gold,  
 430 Hung drooping unsustaind, them she upstaies  
 Gently with Mirtle band, mindless<sup>o</sup> the while, *heedless*  
 Her self, though fairest unsupported Flour,  
 From her best prop so farr, and storm so nigh.  
 Neerer he drew, and many a walk travers'd  
 435 Of stateliest Covert,<sup>o</sup> Cedar, Pine, or Palme, *shelter*

404–11. The author's direct address to a character is a Homeric formula.

431–3. Echoing 4:268–72, the conceit of Eve as Proserpine, the flower-gatherer who was herself gathered by "gloomie Dis."

- Then voluble<sup>o</sup> and bold, now hid, now seen  
 Among thick-wov'n Arborets<sup>o</sup> and Flours  
 Imborderd on each Bank, the hand<sup>o</sup> of *Eve*:  
 Spot more delicious then those Gardens feign'd  
 440 Or<sup>o</sup> of reviv'd *Adonis*, or renownd  
*Alcinous*, host of old *Laertes* Son,  
 Or that, not Mystic, where the Sapiant King  
 Held dalliance with his fair *Egyptian* Spouse.  
 Much hee the Place admir'd, the Person more.
- 445 As one who long in populous City pent,  
 Where Houses thick and Sewers annoy<sup>o</sup> the Aire,  
 Forth issuing on a Summers Morn to breathe  
 Among the pleasant Villages and Farmes  
 Adjoynd, from each thing met conceaves delight,  
 450 The smell of Grain, or tedded<sup>o</sup> Grass, or Kine,<sup>o</sup>  
 Or Dairie, each rural sight, each rural sound;  
 If chance with Nymphlike step fair Virgin pass,  
 What pleasing seemd, for<sup>o</sup> her now pleases more,  
 She most, and in her look summs all Delight.
- 455 Such Pleasure took the Serpent to behold  
 This Flourie Plat,<sup>o</sup> the sweet recess<sup>o</sup> of *Eve*  
 Thus earlie, thus alone; her Heav'nly forme  
 Angelic, but more soft, and Feminine,  
 Her graceful Innocence, her every Aire<sup>o</sup>  
 460 Of gesture or lest action overawd  
 His Malice, and with rapine sweet bereav'd  
 His fierceness of the fierce intent it brought:  
 That space the Evil one abstracted<sup>o</sup> stood  
 From his own evil, and for the time remaind  
 465 Stupidly good,<sup>o</sup> of enmitie disarm'd,  
 Of guile, of hate, of envie, of revenge;  
 But the hot Hell that alwayes in him burnes,  
 Though in mid Heav'n, soon ended his delight,  
 And tortures him now more, the more he sees

*gliding, undulating**small trees**handiwork**either**make noisome, pollute**spread out to dry / cattle**because of**plot / retreat**manner**withdrawn**good because in a stupor*

440–1 **reviv'd *Adonis***. The Garden of Adonis was a beautiful pleasure garden named for the lovely youth loved by Venus, killed by a boar, and, in some versions of the myth, revived and enjoyed by Venus in that garden (cf. *Faerie Queene* 3.6.29–46). ***Alcinous***. The Phæacian king who entertained “*Laertes* Son” Odysseus in magnificent gardens (*Odyssey* 7.112–35).

442–3 **Sapiant King**. Solomon, noted for his wisdom (sapience) entertained his “fair *Egyptian* Spouse,” the queen of Sheba, in a lovely garden (S. of S. 6:2) that was real, not mythic (“Mystic”) as the others were.

461 **rapine sweet**. From Latin *rapere*, to seize, the root of both “rape” and “rapture,” underscoring the paradox of the ravisher (temporarily) ravished. **bereav'd**. Took from.

- 470 Of pleasure not for him ordain'd: then soon  
 Fierce hate he recollects, and all his thoughts  
 Of mischief, gratulating,<sup>o</sup> thus excites. welcoming  
 Thoughts, whither have ye led me, with what sweet  
 Compulsion thus transported<sup>o</sup> to forget entranced
- 475 What hither brought us, hate, not love, nor hope  
 Of Paradise for Hell, hope here to taste  
 Of pleasure, but all pleasure to destroy,  
 Save what is in destroying, other joy  
 To me is lost. Then let me not let pass
- 480 Occasion which now smiles, behold alone  
 The Woman, opportune<sup>o</sup> to all attempts, open, exposed  
 Her Husband, for I view far round, not nigh,  
 Whose higher intellectual more I shun,  
 And strength, of courage hautie,<sup>o</sup> and of limb exalted
- 485 Heroic built, though of terrestrial mould,<sup>o</sup> earthly substance  
 Foe not formidable, exempt from wound,  
 I not; so much hath Hell debas'd, and paine  
 Infeebld me, to<sup>o</sup> what I was in Heav'n. in comparison with  
 Shee fair, divinely fair, fit Love for Gods,
- 490 Not terrible,<sup>o</sup> though terrour<sup>o</sup> be in Love terrifying / awe  
 And beautie, not<sup>o</sup> approacht by stronger hate, unless  
 Hate stronger, under shew of Love well feign'd,  
 The way which to her ruin now I tend.  
 So spake the Enemie of Mankind, enclos'd
- 495 In Serpent, Inmate bad, and toward Eve  
 Address'd his way, not with indented<sup>o</sup> wave, undulating, zigzagging  
 Prone on the ground, as since, but on his reare,  
 Circular base of rising foulds, that tour'd<sup>o</sup> towered  
 Fould above fould a surging Maze, his Head
- 500 Crested aloft, and Carbuncle<sup>o</sup> his Eyes; deep red  
 With burnisht Neck of verdant Gold, erect  
 Amidst his circling Spires,<sup>o</sup> that on the grass coils  
 Floted redundant:<sup>o</sup> pleasing was his shape, in swelling waves  
 And lovely, never since of Serpent kind
- 505 Lovelier, not those that in *Illyria* chang'd  
*Hermione* and *Cadmus*, or the God

505–7 *Cadmus*. The legendary founder of Thebes, and his wife Harmonia (“*Hermione*”) were changed to serpents when they went to “*Illyria*” (Albania) in old age. **the God**. Aesculapius, god of healing, sometimes came forth as a serpent from his temple in “*Epidaurus*” – erect, crested, and with gilded folds like Satan’s serpent (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 15.622–744).

- In *Epidaurus*; nor to which transformd  
*Ammonian Jove*, or *Capitoline* was seen,  
 Hee with *Olympias*, this with her who bore  
 510 *Scipio* the highth of *Rome*. With tract<sup>o</sup> oblique course  
 At first, as one who sought access, but feard  
 To interrupt, side-long he works his way.  
 As when a Ship by skilful Stearsman wrought<sup>o</sup> worked (sailed)  
 Nigh Rivers mouth or Foreland, where the Wind  
 515 Veres oft, as oft so steers, and shifts her Saile;  
 So varied hee, and of his tortuous Train<sup>e</sup> twisting tail  
 Curld many a wanton<sup>o</sup> wreath in sight of *Eve*, luxuriant, sportive  
 To lure her Eye; shee busied heard the sound  
 Of rusling Leaves, but minded not, as us'd  
 520 To such disport before her through the Field,  
 From every Beast, more duteous at her call,  
 Then at *Circean* call the Herd disguis'd.  
 Hee boulder now, uncall'd before her stood;  
 But as in gaze admiring: Oft he bowd  
 525 His turret Crest, and sleek enamel'd<sup>o</sup> Neck, multicolored, jewel-like  
 Fawning, and lick'd the ground whereon she trod.  
 His gentle dumb expression turnd at length  
 The Eye of *Eve* to mark his play; he glad  
 Of her attention gaind, with Serpent Tongue  
 530 Organic, or impulse of vocal Air,  
 His fraudulent temptation thus began.  
 Wonder not, sovrان Mistress, if perhaps  
 Thou canst, who art sole Wonder, much less arm  
 Thy looks, the Heav'n of mildness, with disdain,  
 535 Displeas'd that I approach thee thus, and gaze  
 Insatiate, I thus single, nor have feard  
 Thy awful<sup>o</sup> brow, more awful thus retir'd. inspiring awe  
 Fairest resemblance of thy Maker faire,

507–10 *Ammonian Jove*. Jupiter Ammon made love to “*Olympias*” in the form of a serpent, and sired Alexander the Great. *Capitoline*. Jupiter Capitolinus in serpent form sired “*Scipio*” Africanus, the “highth of *Rome*” (greatest Roman), who defeated Hannibal.

521–2 *Circean call*. The witch Circe transformed men into a “Herd disguis'd” of fawning animals (*Odyssey* 10:212–19; *Metamorphoses* 14.45f).

529–30 *Organic*. Satan either used the actual tongue (organ) of the serpent or else produced vibrations (“impulse”) in the air to produce speech.

532–48. Satan’s entire speech is couched in the extravagant phrases and conceits of the Petrarchan love tradition; cf. *Eve’s* dream at 5.38–93.

- Thee all things living gaze on, all things thine  
 540 By gift, and thy Celestial Beautie adore  
 With ravishment beheld, there best beheld  
 Where universally admir'd; but here  
 In this enclosure wild, these Beasts among,  
 Beholders rude, and shallow<sup>o</sup> to discern *superficial*  
 545 Half what in thee is fair, one man except,  
 Who sees thee? (and what is one?) who shouldst be seen  
 A Goddess among Gods, ador'd and serv'd  
 By Angels numberless, thy daily Train.<sup>o</sup> *retinue*  
 So glorz'd<sup>o</sup> the Tempter, and his Proem<sup>o</sup> tun'd;  
 550 Into the Heart of *Eve* his words made way,  
 Though at the voice much marveling; at length  
 Not unamaz'd she thus in answer spake.  
 What may this mean? Language of Man pronounc't  
 By Tongue of Brute, and human sense exprest?  
 555 The first at lest of these I thought deni'd  
 To Beasts, whom God on thir Creation-Day  
 Created mute to all articulat sound;  
 The latter I demurre,<sup>o</sup> for in thir looks *hesitate to affirm*  
 Much reason, and in thir actions oft appeers.  
 560 Thee, Serpent, subtlest beast of all the field  
 I knew, but not with human voice endu'd;<sup>o</sup> *endowed*  
 Redouble then this miracle, and say,  
 How cam'st thou speakable<sup>o</sup> of mute, and how *capable of speech*  
 To me so friendly grown above the rest  
 565 Of brutal kind,<sup>o</sup> that daily are in sight? *the animals*  
 Say, for such wonder claims attention due.  
 To whom the guileful Tempter thus reply'd.  
 Empress of this fair World, resplendent *Eve*,  
 Easie to mee it is to tell thee all  
 570 What thou commandst and right thou shouldst be obeyd:  
 I was at first as other Beasts that graze  
 The trodden Herb, of abject thoughts and low,  
 As was my food, nor aught but food discern'd  
 Or Sex, and apprehended nothing high:  
 575 Till on a day roaving the field, I chanc'd  
 A goodly Tree farr distant to behold  
 Loaden with fruit of fairest colours mixt,  
 Ruddle and Gold: I nearer drew to gaze;  
 When from the boughes a savorie<sup>o</sup> odour blow'n, *appetizing*  
 580 Grateful<sup>o</sup> to appetite, more pleas'd my sense *pleasing*

- Then smell of sweetest Fenel, or the Teats  
 Of Ewe or Goat dropping with Milk at Eevn,  
 Unsuckt of Lamb or Kid, that tend thir play.  
 To satisfie the sharp desire I had
- 585 Of tasting those fair Apples, I resolv'd  
 Not to deferr; hunger and thirst at once,  
 Powerful perswaders, quick'nd at the scent  
 Of that alluring fruit, urg'd me so keene.  
 About the mossie Trunk I wound me soon,
- 590 For high from ground the branches would require  
 Thy utmost reach or *Adams*: Round the Tree  
 All other Beasts that saw, with like desire  
 Longing and envying stood, but could not reach.  
 Amid the Tree now got, where plenty hung
- 595 Tempting so nigh, to pluck and eat my fill  
 I spar'd<sup>o</sup> not, for such pleasure till that hour  
 At Feed or Fountain never had I found. *refrained*  
 Sated at length, ere long I might perceave  
 Strange alteration in me, to degree
- 600 Of Reason in my inward Powers, and Speech  
 Wanted<sup>o</sup> not long, though to this shape retain'd. *lacked*  
 Thenceforth to Speculations high or deep  
 I turnd my thoughts, and with capacious mind  
 Considerd all things visible in Heav'n,
- 605 Or Earth, or Middle,<sup>o</sup> all things fair and good; *regions between*  
 But all that fair and good in thy Divine  
 Semblance, and in thy Beauties heav'nly Ray  
 United I beheld; no Fair<sup>o</sup> to thine *beauty*  
 Equivalent or second, which compel'd
- 610 Mee thus, though importune<sup>o</sup> perhaps, to come *unfit, untimely*  
 And gaze, and worship thee of right declar'd  
 Sovran of Creatures, universal Dame.<sup>o</sup> *mistress of the universe*  
 So talk'd the spirited sly Snake; and *Eve*

581–2 **sweetest Fenel**. According to Pliny serpents ate fennel to aid in shedding their skins and to sharpen their eyesight; folklore had it that they drank the milk of sheep and goats.

585 **fair Apples**. Genesis does not identify the forbidden fruit as apples, but that identification became conventional, probably because in Latin *malum* means both apple and evil (*malus*).

599–604 **to degree**. To bring on by degrees “Of Reason.” There is no precedent in Genesis or the interpretative tradition for Satan’s argument by analogy based on the snake’s supposed experience of attaining to reason and speech by eating the forbidden fruit.

606–12. Satan continues his Petrarchan language of courtship.

613 **spirited**. Both inspired by and possessed by an evil spirit, Satan.

- Yet more amaz'd unwarie thus reply'd.  
 615 Serpent, thy overpraising leaves in doubt  
 The vertue<sup>o</sup> of that Fruit, in thee first prov'd:<sup>o</sup> *power / tested*  
 But say, where grows the Tree, from hence how far?  
 For many are the Trees of God that grow  
 In Paradise, and various, yet<sup>o</sup> unknown *still*  
 620 To us, in such abundance lies our choice,  
 As leaves a greater store of Fruit untoucht,  
 Still hanging incorruptible, till men  
 Grow up to thir provision,<sup>o</sup> and more hands *what is provided*  
 Help to disburden Nature of her Bearth.<sup>o</sup> *birth, what she bears*  
 625 To whom the wilie Adder, blithe and glad.  
 Empress, the way is readie,<sup>o</sup> and not long, *nearby*  
 Beyond a row of Myrtles, on a Flat,  
 Fast by a Fountain, one small Thicket past  
 Of blowing Myrrh and Balme; if thou accept  
 630 My conduct, I can bring thee thither soon.  
 Lead then, said *Eve*. Hee leading swiftly rowld  
 In tangles, and made intricate seem strait,  
 To mischief swift. Hope elevates, and joy  
 Bright'ns his Crest, as when a wandring Fire  
 635 Compact of unctuous vapor, which the Night  
 Condenses, and the cold invirons round,<sup>o</sup> *envelops*  
 Kindl'd through agitation to a Flame,  
 Which oft, they say, some evil Spirit attends  
 Hovering and blazing with delusive Light,  
 640 Misleads th' amaz'd Night-wanderer from his way  
 To Boggs and Mires, and oft through Pond or Poole,  
 There swallow'd up and lost, from succour farr.  
 So glister'd<sup>o</sup> the dire Snake, and into fraud<sup>o</sup> *glittered / deception*  
 Led *Eve* our credulous Mother, to the Tree  
 645 Of prohibition, root of all our woe;  
 Which when she saw, thus to her guide she spake.  
 Serpent, we might have spar'd our coming hither,  
 Fruitless to mee, though Fruit be here to excess,  
 The credit of whose vertue<sup>o</sup> rest with thee, *power*  
 650 Wondrous indeed, if cause of such effects.

629 **blowing**. Blossoming trees that exude the aromatic gums, "Myrrh" and "Balme" (balsam).

634–42 **wandring Fire**. Will-o'-the-wisp, phosphorescent marsh gas, composed ("compact") of an oily ("unctuous") exhalation kindled through friction ("agitation") to a "Flame." Often mistaken for "evil Spirits," such fires frightened and misled the bewildered ("amaz'd") "Night-wanderer" into "Boggs and Mires."

But of this Tree we may not taste nor touch;  
 God so commanded, and left that Command  
 Sole Daughter of his voice; the rest, we live  
 Law to our selves, our Reason is our Law.

655 To whom the Tempter guilefully repli'd.  
 Indeed? hath God then said that of the Fruit  
 Of all these Garden Trees ye shall not eate,  
 Yet Lords declar'd of all in Earth or Aire?

To whom thus *Eve* yet<sup>o</sup> sinless. Of the Fruit  
 660 Of each Tree in the Garden we may eate,  
 But of the Fruit of this fair Tree amidst  
 The Garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eate  
 Thereof, nor shall ye touch it, least ye die.

*still*

She scarce had said, though brief, when now more bold  
 665 The Tempter, but with shew of Zeale and Love  
 To Man, and indignation at his wrong,  
 New part<sup>o</sup> puts on, and as to passion mov'd,  
 Fluctuats<sup>o</sup> disturbd, yet comely and in act  
 Rais'd, as of som great matter to begin.

*role*

*moves like a wave*

670 As when of old som Orator renound  
 In *Athens* or free *Rome*, where Eloquence  
 Flourishd, since mute, to som great cause address,  
 Stood in himself collected, while each part,  
 Motion,<sup>o</sup> each act won audience ere the tongue,<sup>o</sup>  
 675 Somtimes in highth<sup>o</sup> began, as no delay  
 Of Preface brooking through his Zeal of Right.  
 So standing, moving, or to highth upgrown  
 The Tempter all impassiond thus began.

*gesture / before speaking*

*the high style*

653–4 **Daughter of his voice.** A Hebraism, *Bath Kol*, daughter of a voice. This is God's "Sole" direct commandment; otherwise their unfallen "Reason" leads them to understand and follow the moral "Law" of nature.

659–63. Cf. Gen. 3:1–3: "Now the serpent was more subtil than any beast of the field which the Lord God had made. And he said unto the woman, Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden? And the woman said unto the serpent, We may eat of the fruit of the trees of the garden: But of the fruit of the tree which is in the midst of the garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat of it, neither shall ye touch it, lest ye die." Eve's formulation indicates her "sufficient" understanding of the prohibition.

668–9 **act / Rais'd.** Drawn up to full dignity.

670–2 **som Orator renound.** Like the Athenian Demosthenes or the Roman Cicero, defending liberty "som great cause." **free Rome.** Rome when it was a republic. **since mute.** Such oratory no longer exists, presumably because such love of liberty (in monarchical Europe, and now including England) no longer exists.

675–8 **brooking.** Allowing; Satan omits the usual rhetorical practice of beginning with a "Preface" and rising by stages to "highth" of style, but rather begins his speech at once in an "impassion'd" high style ("to highth upgrown").



O Sacred, Wise, and Wisdom-giving Plant,  
 680 Mother of Science,<sup>o</sup> Now I feel thy Power *knowledge*  
 Within me cleere, not onely to discerne  
 Things in thir Causes, but to trace the wayes  
 Of highest Agents, deemd however wise.  
 Queen of this Universe, doe not believe  
 685 Those rigid threats of Death; ye shall not Die:  
 How should ye? by the Fruit? it gives you Life  
 To<sup>o</sup> Knowledge. By the Threatner? look on mee, *leading to*  
 Mee who have touch'd and tasted, yet both live,  
 And life more perfet have attaind then Fate  
 690 Meant mee, by ventring higher then my Lot.  
 Shall that be shut to Man, which to the Beast  
 Is open? or will God incense<sup>o</sup> his ire *kindle*  
 For such a petty Trespass, and not praise  
 Rather your dauntless vertue,<sup>o</sup> whom the pain<sup>o</sup> *courage / punishment*  
 695 Of Death denounc't,<sup>o</sup> whatever thing Death be, *threatened*  
 Deterred not from atchieving what might leade  
 To happier life, knowledge of Good and Evil;  
 Of good, how just? of evil, if what is evil  
 Be real, why not known, since easier shunnd?  
 700 God therefore cannot hurt ye, and be just;  
 Not just, not God; not feard then, nor obeyd:  
 Your feare it self of Death removes the feare.  
 Why then was this forbid? Why but to awe,  
 Why but to keep ye low and ignorant,  
 705 His worshippers; he knows that in the day  
 Ye Eate thereof, your Eyes that seem so cleere,  
 Yet are but dim, shall perfetly be then  
 Op'nd and cleerd, and ye shall be as Gods,  
 Knowing both Good and Evil as they know.  
 710 That ye should be as Gods, since I as Man,  
 Internal Man, is but proportion meet,

685 **ye shall not Die.** Cf. Gen. 3:4, "And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die."

689 **Fate.** As often before, Satan ascribes ultimate agency to Fate rather than God.

695 **whatever thing Death be.** Satan has of course met Death (2.781–814; cf. 4.425–7).

698–9 **if what is evil / Be real.** Theologians normally defined evil as a privation of or turning away from good; on that assumption Satan argues that evil has no real existence.

708 **Gods.** Satan often equivocates with the term suggesting the angels' equality with God; throughout this passage he explicitly describes them as a pantheon of gods (cf. 718–19).

711 **proportion meet.** Satan invites Adam and Eve to aspire to divinity based on analogy with the supposed experience of the snake.

- I of brute human, yee of human Gods.  
 So ye shall die perhaps, by putting off  
 Human, to put on Gods, death to be wisht,  
 715 Though threat'nd, which no worse then this can bring.  
 And what are Gods that Man may not become  
 As they, participating<sup>o</sup> God-like food? *sharing, partaking of*  
 The Gods are first, and that advantage use  
 On our belief, that all from them proceeds;  
 720 I question it, for this fair Earth I see,  
 Warm'd by the Sun, producing every kind,  
 Them nothing: If they all<sup>o</sup> things, who enclos'd *produce all*  
 Knowledge of Good and Evil in this Tree,  
 That whoso eats thereof, forthwith attains  
 725 Wisdom without their leave? and wherein lies  
 Th' offence, that Man should thus attain to know?  
 What can your knowledge hurt him, or this Tree  
 Impart against his will if all be his?  
 Or is it envie, and can envie dwell  
 730 In Heav'nly brests? these, these and many more  
 Causes import<sup>o</sup> your need of this fair Fruit. *prove*  
 Goddess humane,<sup>o</sup> reach then, and freely taste. *human, gracious*  
 He ended, and his words replete with guile  
 Into her heart too easie entrance won:  
 735 Fixt on the Fruit she gaz'd, which to behold  
 Might tempt alone, and in her ears the sound  
 Yet rung of his perswasive words, impregn'd<sup>o</sup> *impregnated, filled*  
 With Reason, to her seeming, and with Truth;  
 Mean while the hour of Noon drew on, and wak'd  
 740 An eager appetite, rais'd by the smell  
 So savorie<sup>o</sup> of that Fruit, which with desire, *appetizing*  
 Inclivable<sup>o</sup> now grown to touch or taste, *disposed*  
 Sollicated her longing eye; yet first  
 Pausing a while, thus to her self she mus'd.

713–15. Satan perverts the Pauline concept of death to sin (Col. 3:3, 9–10): “For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God . . . ye have put off the old man with his deeds; And have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him.”

716–17. Compare and contrast Raphael’s prediction of human evolution (5.491–500).

729–30. An echo of Virgil’s comment on Juno’s anger (*Aeneid* 1.11), “Can so much anger dwell in heavenly hearts.”

735–40 **eager appetite**. Cf. Gen. 3:6: “the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise.”

744 **Pausing a while**. The pause makes Eve’s action a matter of willed choice, not merely impulsive.

- 745 Great are thy Vertues,<sup>o</sup> doubtless, best of Fruits, *powers*  
 Though kept from Man, and worthy to be admir'd,  
 Whose taste, too long forborn, at first assay<sup>o</sup> *trial, test*  
 Gave elocution<sup>o</sup> to the mute, and taught *utterance, eloquence*  
 The Tongue not made for Speech to speak thy praise:
- 750 Thy praise hee also who forbids thy use,  
 Conceales not from us, naming thee the Tree  
 Of Knowledge, knowledge both of good and evil;  
 Forbids us then to taste, but his forbidding  
 Commends thee more, while it inferrs<sup>o</sup> the good *implies*
- 755 By thee communicated, and our want:<sup>o</sup> *lack*  
 For good unknown, sure is not had, or had  
 And yet unknown, is as not had at all.  
 In plain<sup>o</sup> then, what forbids he but to know, *in plain words*  
 Forbids us good, forbids us to be wise?
- 760 Such prohibitions binde not. But if Death  
 Bind us with after-bands,<sup>o</sup> what profits then *later bonds*  
 Our inward freedom? In the day we eate  
 Of this fair Fruit, our doom is, we shall die.  
 How dies the Serpent? hee hath eat'n and lives,
- 765 And knows, and speaks, and reasons, and discerns,  
 Irrational till then. For us alone  
 Was death invented? or to us deni'd  
 This intellectual food, for beasts reserv'd?  
 For Beasts it seems: yet that one Beast which first
- 770 Hath tasted, envies<sup>o</sup> not, but brings with joy *begrudges*  
 The good befall'n him, Author unsuspect,<sup>o</sup> *beyond suspicion*  
 Friendly to man, farr from deceit or guile.  
 What fear I then, rather what know to feare  
 Under this ignorance of good and Evil,
- 775 Of God or Death, of Law or Penaltie?  
 Here grows the Cure of all, this Fruit Divine,  
 Fair to the Eye, inviting to the Taste,  
 Of vertue<sup>o</sup> to make wise: what hinders then *power*  
 To reach, and feed at once both Bodie and Mind?
- 780 So saying, her rash hand in evil hour  
 Forth reaching to the Fruit, she pluck'd, she eat:

745–81. See *Christian Doctrine*, ch. 11, on the two parts of sin, evil desire and evil action.

781 *eat*. Ate, an accepted past tense, pronounced "et."

- Earth felt the wound, and Nature from her seat  
 Sighing through all her Works gave signs of woe,  
 That all was lost. Back to the Thicket slunk  
 785 The guiltie Serpent, and well might, for *Eve*  
 Intent now wholly on her taste, naught else  
 Regarded, such delight till then, as seemd,  
 In Fruit she never tasted, whether true  
 Or fansied so, through expectation high  
 790 Of knowledg, nor was God-head from her thought.  
 Greedily she ingorg'd without restraint,  
 And knew not eating Death: Satiatē at length,  
 And hight'nd as with Wine, jocond<sup>o</sup> and boon,<sup>o</sup> *merry / jolly*  
 Thus to her self she pleasingly began.
- 795 O Sovran, vertuous,<sup>o</sup> precious of all Trees *powerful*  
 In Paradise, of operation blest  
 To Sapience,<sup>o</sup> hitherto obscur'd, infam'd,<sup>o</sup> *wisdom / slandered*  
 And thy fair Fruit let hang, as to no end  
 Created; but henceforth my early care,  
 800 Not without Song, each Morning, and due praise  
 Shall tend thee, and the fertil burden ease  
 Of thy full branches offer'd free to all;  
 Till dieted by thee I grow mature  
 In knowledge, as the Gods who all things know;  
 805 Though others envie what they cannot give;  
 For had the gift bin theirs, it had not here  
 Thus grown. Experience, next to thee I owe,  
 Best guide; not following thee, I had remaind  
 In ignorance, thou op'nst Wisdoms way,  
 810 And giv'st access, though secret<sup>o</sup> she retire. *hidden*  
 And I perhaps am secret; Heav'n is high,  
 High and remote to see from thence distinct  
 Each thing on Earth; and other care perhaps  
 May have diverted from continual watch  
 815 Our great Forbidder, safe with all his Spies  
 About him. But to *Adam* in what sort<sup>o</sup> *guise*  
 Shall I appeer? shall I to him make known  
 As yet my change, and give him to partake

782–4. **Earth felt the wound.** Cf. Rom. 8:22: “we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together.” See also 9.1000–4 and 10.651–714.

795–807. Cf. Adam and Eve’s morning hymn (5:144–208).

804 **Gods.** Like Satan, Eve now refers to a pantheon of gods.

- Full happiness with mee, or rather not,  
 820 But keep the odds<sup>o</sup> of Knowledge in my power *advantage*  
 Without Copartner? so to add what wants<sup>o</sup> *lacks*  
 In Femal Sex, the more to draw his Love,  
 And render me more equal, and perhaps,  
 A thing not undesireable, sometime  
 825 Superior: for inferior who is free?  
 This may be well: but what if God have seen,  
 And Death ensue? then I shall be no more,  
 And *Adam* wedded to another *Eve*,  
 Shall live with her enjoying, I extinct;  
 830 A death to think. Confirm'd then I resolve,  
*Adam* shall share with me in bliss or woe:  
 So dear I love him, that with him all deaths  
 I could endure, without him live no life.  
 So saying, from the Tree her step she turnd,  
 835 But first low Reverence don, as to the power  
 That dwelt within, whose presence had infus'd  
 Into the plant sciential<sup>o</sup> sap, deriv'd *knowledge-inducing*  
 From Nectar, drink of Gods. *Adam* the while  
 Waiting desirous her return, had wove  
 840 Of choicest Flours a Garland to adorne  
 Her Tresses, and her rural labours crown,  
 As Reapers oft are wont thir Harvest Queen.  
 Great joy he promis'd to his thoughts, and new  
 Solace in her return, so long delay'd;  
 845 Yet oft his heart, divine of<sup>o</sup> somthing ill, *anticipating*  
 Misgave him; hee the faultring measure<sup>o</sup> felt; *heartbeat*  
 And forth to meet her went, the way she took  
 That Morn when first they parted; by the Tree  
 Of Knowledge he must pass, there he her met,  
 850 Scarce from the Tree returning; in her hand  
 A bough of fairest fruit that downie smil'd,  
 New gatherd, and ambrosial<sup>o</sup> smell diffus'd. *fragrant*  
 To him she hasted, in her face excuse  
 Came Prologue, and Apologie to prompt,  
 855 Which with bland<sup>o</sup> words at will she thus address. *smooth, coaxing*  
 Hast thou not wonderd, *Adam*, at my stay?

835–7 **low Reverence.** Eve's idolatry of the "power" within the tree recalls the idolatrous reverence the rebel angels offered to Satan (2.477–9).

853–4 **excuse.** Eve's expression as she approached Adam first registered "excuse," like the "Prologue" in a play, and "Apologie" (justification, self-defense) served as prompter to her speech.

- Thee I have misst, and thought it long, depriv'd  
 Thy presence, agonie of love till now  
 Not felt, nor shall be twice, for never more  
 860 Mean I to trie, what rash untri'd I sought,  
 The pain of absence from thy sight. But strange  
 Hath bin the cause, and wonderful to heare:  
 This Tree is not as we are told, a Tree  
 Of danger tasted, nor to evil unknown  
 865 Op'ning the way, but of Divine effect  
 To open Eyes, and make them Gods who taste;  
 And hath bin tasted such: the Serpent wise,  
 Or not restrain'd as wee, or not obeying,  
 Hath eat'n of the fruit, and is become,  
 870 Not dead, as we are threatn'd, but thenceforth  
 Endu'd with human voice and human sense,  
 Reasoning to admiration,<sup>o</sup> and with mee *produce wonder*  
 Perswasively hath so prevail'd, that I  
 Have also tasted, and have also found  
 875 Th' effects to correspond, opener mine Eyes  
 Dimm erst,<sup>o</sup> dilated Spirits, ampler Heart, *before*  
 And growing up to Godhead; which for thee  
 Chiefly I sought, without thee can despise.  
 For bliss, as thou hast part, to me is bliss,  
 880 Tedious, unshar'd with thee, and odious soon.  
 Thou therefore also taste, that equal Lot<sup>o</sup> *fortune, fate*  
 May joyne us, equal Joy, as equal Love;  
 Least thou not tasting, different degree<sup>o</sup> *rank*  
 Disjoyne us, and I then too late renounce  
 885 Deitie for thee, when Fate will not permit.  
 Thus *Eve* with Countnance blithe<sup>o</sup> her storie told; *sprightly, merry*  
 But in her Cheek distemper flushing glowd.  
 On th' other side, *Adam*, soon as he heard  
 The fatal Trespass don by *Eve*, amaz'd,  
 890 Astonied<sup>o</sup> stood and Blank,<sup>o</sup> while horror chill *turned to stone / dazed*  
 Ran through his veins, and all his joynts relax'd;  
 From his slack hand the Garland wreath'd for *Eve*  
 Down drop'd, and all the faded Roses shed:  
 Speechless he stood and pale, till thus at length

867 **tasted**. Proved by tasting, also, experienced, tested.

887 **distemper**. Disturbance of the balance of humors in the body, here causing agitation and wild excitement, marked by a hectic "flushing."

- 895 First to himself he inward silence broke.  
 O fairest of Creation, last and best  
 Of all Gods works, Creature in whom excell'd  
 Whatever can to sight or thought be formd,  
 Holy, divine, good, amiable,<sup>o</sup> or sweet! *lovable, lovely*
- 900 How art thou lost, how on a sudden lost,  
 Defac't, deflour'd, and now to Death devote?<sup>o</sup> *doomed*  
 Rather how hast thou yeelded to transgress  
 The strict forbiddance, how to violate  
 The sacred Fruit forbidd'n! som cursed fraud
- 905 Of Enemie hath beguil'd thee, yet unknown,  
 And mee with thee hath ruind, for with thee  
 Certain my resolution is to Die;  
 How can I live without thee, how forgoe  
 Thy sweet Converse<sup>o</sup> and Love so dearly joyn'd, *conversation*
- 910 To live again in these wilde Woods forlorn?  
 Should God create another Eve, and I  
 Another Rib afford, yet loss of thee  
 Would never from my heart; no no, I feel  
 The Link of Nature draw me: Flesh of Flesh,
- 915 Bone of my Bone thou art, and from thy State  
 Mine never shall be parted, bliss or woe.  
 So having said, as one from sad dismay  
 Recomforted, and after thoughts disturbd  
 Submitting to what seemd remediless,
- 920 Thus in calm mood his Words to *Eve* he turnd.  
 Bold deed thou hast presum'd, adventrous *Eve*  
 And peril great provok't, who thus hath dar'd  
 Had it been onely coveting to Eye  
 That sacred Fruit, sacred<sup>o</sup> to abstinence, *set apart, consecrated*
- 925 Much more to taste it under banne to touch.  
 But past who can recall, or don undoe?  
 Not God Omnipotent, nor Fate, yet<sup>o</sup> so *even*  
 Perhaps thou shalt not Die, perhaps the Fact<sup>o</sup> *crime, deed*  
 Is not so hainous now, foretasted Fruit,
- 930 Profan'd first by the Serpent, by him first  
 Made common and unhallowd ere our taste;

895–916. Compare Eve in soliloquy (816–33).

914–15. Adam echoes Gen. 2:23–4: “This is now bone of my bones, and flesh of my flesh: . . . Therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife: and they shall be one flesh.” Cf. 8.495 above.

- Nor yet on him found deadly, he yet lives,  
 Lives, as thou saidst, and gaines to live as Man  
 Higher degree of Life, inducement strong
- 935 To us, as likely tasting to attaine  
 Proportional ascent, which cannot be  
 But to be Gods, or Angels Demi-gods.  
 Nor can I think that God, Creator wise,  
 Though threatning, will in earnest so destroy
- 940 Us his prime Creatures, dignifi'd so high,  
 Set over all his Works, which in our Fall,  
 For us created, needs with us must faile,  
 Dependent made; so God shall uncreate,  
 Be frustrate, do, undo, and labour loose,
- 945 Not well conceav'd of God, who though his Power  
 Creation could repeate, yet would be loath  
 Us to abolish, least the Adversary<sup>o</sup> Satan  
 Triumph and say; Fickle their State whom God  
 Most Favors, who can please him long; Mee first
- 950 He ruind, now Mankind; whom will he next?  
 Matter of scorne, not to be given the Foe,  
 However I with thee have fixt my Lot,  
 Certain<sup>o</sup> to undergoe like doom, if Death resolved  
 Consort<sup>o</sup> with thee, Death is to mee as Life; accompany
- 955 So forcible within my heart I feel  
 The Bond of Nature draw me to my owne,  
 My own in thee, for what thou art is mine;  
 Our State cannot be severd, we are one,  
 One Flesh; to loose thee were to loose my self.
- 960 So *Adam*, and thus *Eve* to him repli'd.  
 O glorious trial of exceeding<sup>o</sup> Love, exceedingly great, excessive  
 Illustrious evidence, example high!  
 Ingaging me to emulate, but short  
 Of thy perfection, how shall I attaine,
- 965 *Adam*, from whose deare side I boast me sprung,  
 And gladly of our Union hear thee speak,  
 One Heart, one Soul in both; whereof good prooff  
 This day affords, declaring thee resolv'd,  
 Rather then Death or aught<sup>o</sup> then Death more dread anything other
- 970 Shall separate us, linkt in Love so deare,  
 To undergoe with mee one Guilt, one Crime,



- If any be, of tasting this fair Fruit,  
 Whose vertue,<sup>o</sup> for of good still good proceeds, power  
 Direct, or by occasion hath presented
- 975 This happie trial of thy Love, which else  
 So eminently never had bin known.  
 Were it<sup>o</sup> I thought Death menac't would ensue<sup>o</sup> if / result from  
 This my attempt, I would sustain alone  
 The worst, and not perswade thee, rather die
- 980 Deserted, then oblige<sup>o</sup> thee with a fact<sup>o</sup> bind / deed  
 Pernicious to thy Peace, chiefly assur'd  
 Remarkably so late of thy so true,  
 So faithful Love unequald; but I feel  
 Farr otherwise th' event,<sup>o</sup> not Death, but Life result
- 985 Augmented, op'nd Eyes, new Hopes, new Joyes,  
 Taste so Divine, that what of sweet before  
 Hath toucht my sense, flat seems to<sup>o</sup> this, and harsh. compared to  
 On my experience, *Adam*, freely taste,  
 And fear of Death deliver to the Windes.
- 990 So saying, she embrac'd him, and for joy  
 Tenderly wept, much won that he his Love  
 Had so enobl'd, as of choice to incurr  
 Divine displeasure for her sake, or Death.  
 In recompence (for such compliance bad<sup>o</sup> unworthy submission
- 995 Such recompence best merits) from the bough  
 She gave him of that fair enticing Fruit  
 With liberal hand: he scrupl'd not to eat  
 Against his better knowledge, not deceav'd,  
 But fondly<sup>o</sup> overcome with Femal charm. foolishly, affectionately
- 1000 Earth trembl'd from her entrails, as again  
 In pangs, and Nature gave a second groan,  
 Skie lowr'd<sup>o</sup> and muttering Thunder, som sad drops threatened  
 Wept at compleating of the mortal Sin  
 Original; while *Adam* took no thought,
- 1005 Eating his fill, nor *Eve* to iterate<sup>o</sup> repeat  
 Her former trespass fear'd, the more to soothe

974–5 **Direct, or by occasion.** The direct or indirect “good” of tasting the fruit has been the “happie trial” of Adam’s love.

977–81. Cf. Eve’s earlier comment (826–33).

997–9. Cf. 1 Tim. 2:14: “And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression.”

1003–4 **Sin / Original.** The theological doctrine that all Adam’s descendants are stained by Adam’s sin and thereby subject to physical death and (unless saved by grace) to damnation. Cf. *Christian Doctrine* 1.11.

- Him with her lov'd societie, that now  
 As with new Wine intoxicated both  
 They swim in mirth, and fansie that they feel
- 1010 Divinitie within them breeding wings  
 Wherewith to scorne the Earth: but that false Fruit  
 Farr other operation<sup>o</sup> first displaid, *effect*  
 Carnal desire enflaming, hee on *Eve*  
 Began to cast lascivious Eyes, she him
- 1015 As wantonly repaid; in Lust they burne:  
 Till *Adam* thus 'gan *Eve* to dalliance<sup>o</sup> move. *erotic play*  
 Eve, now I see thou art exact of taste,  
 And elegant,<sup>o</sup> of Sapience<sup>o</sup> no small part, *refined / wisdom, taste*  
 Since to each meaning savour we apply,
- 1020 And Palate call judicious; I the praise  
 Yeild thee, so well this day thou hast purvey'd.<sup>o</sup> *provided food*  
 Much pleasure we have lost, while we abstain'd  
 From this delightful Fruit, nor known till now  
 True relish, tasting; if such pleasure be
- 1025 In things to us forbidden, it might be wish'd,  
 For this one Tree had bin forbidden ten.  
 But come, so well refresh't, now let us play,<sup>o</sup> *have sex*  
 As meet<sup>o</sup> is, after such delicious Fare; *appropriate*  
 For never did thy Beautie since the day
- 1030 I saw thee first and wedded thee, adorn'd  
 With all perfections, so enflame my sense  
 With ardor to enjoy thee, fairer now  
 Then ever, bountie of this vertuous Tree.  
 So said he, and forbore not glance or toy<sup>o</sup> *caress*
- 1035 Of amorous intent, well understood  
 Of *Eve*, whose Eye darted contagious Fire.  
 Her hand he seis'd, and to a shadie bank,  
 Thick overhead with verdant roof imbowr'd  
 He led her nothing loath; Flours were the Couch,
- 1040 Pansies, and Violets, and Asphodel,  
 And Hyacinth, Earths freshest softest lap.  
 There they thir fill of Love and Loves disport  
 Took largely, of thir mutual guilt the Seale,

1026 **ten**. Looks forward to the Mosaic covenant, with its ten commandments.

1029–32. Echoes Zeus' amorous invitation to Hera (*Iliad* 14.314–28), and also Paris to Helen (*Iliad* 3.441–6).

1037. Cf. other places where Adam and Eve join and disjoin hands: 4.321, 488–9, 9.385–6, 12.648.

1039–45. Cf. Adam and Eve's lovemaking in innocence: 4:705–10, 738–43, 771–3.

- The solace of thir sin, till dewie sleep  
 1045 Oppress'd them, wearied with thir amorous play.  
 Soon as the force of that fallacious<sup>o</sup> Fruit, *deceptive*  
 That with exhilerating vapour bland<sup>o</sup> *pleasing*  
 About thir spirits had plaid, and inmost powers  
 Made erre, was now exhal'd, and grosser sleep  
 1050 Bred of unkindly<sup>o</sup> fumes, with conscios<sup>o</sup> dreams *unnatural / guilty*  
 Encumberd, now had left them, up they rose  
 As from unrest, and each the other viewing,  
 Soon found thir Eyes how op'nd, and thir minds  
 How dark'nd; innocence, that as a veile  
 1055 Had shadow'd them from knowing ill, was gon,  
 Just confidence, and native righteousness  
 And honour from about them, naked left  
 To guiltie shame: hee cover'd, but his Robe  
 Uncover'd more. So rose the *Danite* strong  
 1060 *Herculean Samson* from the Harlot-lap  
 Of *Philistean Dalilah*, and wak'd  
 Shorn of his strength, They destitute<sup>o</sup> and bare *bereft*  
 Of all thir vertue: silent, and in face  
 Confounded long they sate, as struck'n mute,  
 1065 Till *Adam*, though not less then *Eve* abasht,  
 At length gave utterance to these words constraind.<sup>o</sup> *forced*  
 O *Eve*, in evil hour thou didst give eare  
 To that false Worm, of whomsoever taught  
 To counterfet Mans voice, true in our Fall,  
 1070 False in our promis'd Rising; since our Eyes  
 Op'nd we find indeed, and find we know  
 Both Good and Evil, Good lost, and Evil got,  
 Bad Fruit of Knowledge, if this be to know,  
 Which leaves us naked thus, of Honour void,  
 1075 Of Innocence, of Faith, of Puritie,  
 Our wonted<sup>o</sup> Ornaments now soild and staind, *former*

1058–9 *hee*. “shame” now “cover’d” them, but revealed (“Uncover’d”) their guilt.

1059–62 *Danite*. Samson, of the tribe of Dan, told the Philistine “Harlot” “*Dalilah*” that the secret of his great strength lay in his hair; she sheared it off while he slept, and when he awoke he was easily captured by his enemies and blinded.

1067 *Eve, in evil hour*. Adam’s bitter pun suggests a false etymology for Eve’s name and repudiates the actual etymology, “life,” which Adam will later reaffirm (11.159–61).

1071–3. Adam, like most commentators, derives the tree’s name, the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, from its effect. Cf. *Christian Doctrine* 1.10: “since Adam tasted it, we not only know evil, but we know good only by means of evil.”

- And in our Faces evident the signes  
 Of foul concupiscence; whence evil store;  
 Even shame, the last of evils; of the first
- 1080 Be sure then. How shall I behold the face  
 Henceforth of God or Angel, earst<sup>o</sup> with joy formerly  
 And rapture so oft beheld? those heav'nly shapes  
 Will dazle now this earthly, with thir blaze  
 Insufferably bright. O might I here
- 1085 In solitude live savage, in some glade  
 Obscur'd, where highest Woods impenetrable  
 To Starr or Sun-light, spread thir umbrage<sup>o</sup> broad, shadow  
 And brown as Evening: Cover me ye Pines,  
 Ye Cedars, with innumerable boughs
- 1090 Hide me, where I may never see them more.  
 But let us now, as in bad plight, devise  
 What best may for the present serve to hide  
 The Parts of each from other, that seem most  
 To shame obnoxious,<sup>o</sup> and unseemliest seen, exposed
- 1095 Some Tree whose broad smooth Leaves together sowl,  
 And girded on our loyns, may cover round  
 Those middle parts, that this new commer, Shame,  
 There sit not, and reproach us as unclean.  
 So counsel'd hee, and both together went
- 1100 Into the thickest Wood, there soon they chose  
 The Figtree, not that kind for Fruit renown'd,  
 But such as at this day to *Indians* known  
 In *Malabar* or *Decan* spreads her Armes  
 Braunching so broad and long, that in the ground
- 1105 The bended Twigs take root, and Daughters grow  
 About the Mother Tree, a Pillard<sup>o</sup> shade as pillars  
 High overarch't, and echoing Walks between;  
 There oft the *Indian* Herdsman shunning heate  
 Shelters in coole, and tends his pasturing Herds
- 1110 At Loopholes cut through thickest shade: Those Leaves  
 They gatherd, broad as *Amazonian* Targe,

1078–80 **concupiscence**. The theological term for the unruly human passions and desires seen as one effect of the Fall, and causing an abundance (“store”) of evils. “Shame” is the “last” evil, the “first” is the “foul concupiscence” that produces it.

1095–1110 **broad smooth leaves**. The banyan, or Indian fig tree, has small leaves, but the account Milton draws on from Gerard’s *Herbal* (1597) contains the several details related in these lines. “*Malabar*” and “*Decan*” (Deccan) are in southern India.

1111 **Amazonian Targe**. Shield of the Amazons, female warriors of Greek myth.

- And with what skill they had, together sowl,  
 To gird thir waste, vain Covering if to hide  
 Thir guilt and dreaded shame; O how unlike  
 1115 To that first naked Glorie. Such of late  
*Columbus* found th' *American* so girt  
 With featherd Cincture, ° naked else and wilde *belt*  
 Among the Trees on Iles and woodie Shores.  
 Thus fenc't, and as they thought, thir shame in part  
 1120 Coverd, but not at rest or ease of Mind,  
 They sate them down to weep, nor onely Teares  
 Raind at thir Eyes, but high Winds worse within  
 Began to rise, high Passions, Anger, Hate,  
 Mistrust, Suspicion, Discord, and shook sore  
 1125 Thir inward State of Mind, calm Region once  
 And full of Peace, now tost and turbulent:  
 For Understanding rul'd not, and the Will  
 Heard not her lore, both in subjection now  
 To sensual Appetite, who from beate  
 1130 Usurping over sovran Reason claimd  
 Superior sway: From thus distemperd brest,  
*Adam*, estrang'd ° in look and alterd stile, ° *unlike himself / manner of speech*  
 Speech intermitted ° thus to *Eve* renewd. *interrupted*  
 Would thou hadst heark'nd to my words, and stai'd  
 1135 With me, as I besought thee, when that strange  
 Desire of wandring this unhappie Morn,  
 I know not whence possessd thee; we had then  
 Remaind still happie, not as now, despoild  
 Of all our good, sham'd, naked, miserable.  
 1140 Let none henceforth seek needless cause to approve ° *give proof of*  
 The Faith they owe; when earnestly they seek  
 Such proof, conclude, they then begin to faile.  
 To whom soon mov'd with touch of blame thus *Eve*.  
 What words have past thy Lips, *Adam* severe,  
 1145 Imput'st thou that to my default, or will  
 Of wandring, as thou call'st it, which who knows

1120–31. The immediate psychological effects of the Fall are seen in the subjection of reason and will to the lower faculties of sensual appetite.

1136, 1144 **wandring, severe**. Both words now take on their fallen meanings. In unfallen Eden wandering is blameless (4.234, 8.312); at 4.293–4 “severe” means “austerely simple”; here it means “harsh.”

1144 **What words . . . Lips**. A Homeric formula.

- But might as ill have happ'nd thou being by,  
 Or to thy self perhaps: hadst thou been there,  
 Or here th' attempt, thou couldst not have discern'd
- 1150 Fraud in the Serpent, speaking as he spake;  
 No ground of enmitie between us known,  
 Why hee should mean me ill, or seek to harme.  
 Was I to have never parted from thy side?  
 As good have grown there still a liveless Rib.
- 1155 Being as I am, why didst not thou the Head  
 Command me absolutely not to go,  
 Going into such danger as thou saidst?  
 Too facil<sup>o</sup> then thou didst not much gainsay, *easy, mild*  
 Nay, didst permit, approve, and fair dismiss.
- 1160 Hadst thou bin firm and fixt in thy dissent,  
 Neither had I transgress'd, nor thou with mee.  
 To whom then first incenst *Adam* repli'd,  
 Is this the Love, is this the recompence  
 Of mine to thee, ingrateful *Eve*, exprest
- 1165 Immutable<sup>o</sup> when thou wert lost, not I, *unchangable*  
 Who might have liv'd and joyd<sup>o</sup> immortal bliss,  
 Yet willingly chose rather Death with thee:  
 And am I now upbraided, as the cause  
 Of thy transgressing? not enough severe, *enjoyed*
- 1170 It seems, in thy restraint: what could I more?  
 I warn'd thee, I admonish'd thee, foretold  
 The danger, and the lurking Enemie  
 That lay in wait; beyond this had bin force,  
 And force upon free will hath here no place.
- 1175 But confidence then bore thee on, secure<sup>o</sup> *overconfident*  
 Either to meet no danger, or to finde  
 Matter of glorious trial; and perhaps  
 I also err'd in overmuch admiring  
 What seemd in thee so perfet, that I thought
- 1180 No evil durst attempt thee, but I rue  
 That errour now, which is become my crime,  
 And thou th' accuser. Thus it shall befall  
 Him who to worth in Women overtrusting  
 Lets her will rule; restraint she will not brook,<sup>o</sup>
- 1185 And left to her self, if evil thence ensue, *accept*

Shee first his weak indulgence will accuse.

Thus they in mutual accusation spent  
The fruitless hours, but neither self-condemning,  
And of thir vain contest appeer'd no end.

*The End of the Ninth Book.*

BOOK 10  
THE ARGUMENT

Mans transgression known, the Guardian Angels forsake Paradise, and return up to Heaven to approve thir vigilance, and are approv'd, God declaring that The entrance of *Satan* could not be by them prevented. He sends his Son to judge the Transgressors, who descends and gives Sentence accordingly; then in pity cloaths  
5 them both, and reascends. *Sin* and *Death* sitting till then at the Gates of Hell, by wondrous sympathie feeling the success of *Satan* in this new World, and the sin by Man there committed, resolve to sit no longer confin'd in Hell, but to follow *Satan* thir Sire up to the place of Man: To make the way easier from Hell to this World to and fro, they pave a broad Highway or Bridge over *Chaos*, according to the Track that  
10 *Satan* first made; then preparing for Earth, they meet him proud of his success returning to Hell; thir mutual gratulation. *Satan* arrives at *Pandemonium*, in full assembly relates with boasting his success against Man; instead of applause is entertained with a general hiss by all his audience, transform'd with himself also suddenly into Serpents, according to his doom giv'n in Paradise; then deluded with a shew of the  
15 forbidden Tree springing up before them, they greedily reaching to take of the Fruit, chew dust and bitter ashes. The proceedings of *Sin* and *Death*; God foretels the final Victory of his Son over them, and the renewing of all things; but for the present commands his Angels to make several alterations in the Heavens and Elements. *Adam* more and more perceiving his fall'n condition heavily bewailes, rejects the condolement of *Eve*; she persists and at length appeases him: then to evade the Curse likely  
20 to fall on thir Ofspring, proposes to *Adam* violent wayes which he approves not, but conceiving better hope, puts her in mind of the late Promise made them, that her Seed should be reveng'd on the Serpent, and exhorts her with him to seek Peace of the offended Deity, by repentance and supplication.

Meanwhile the hainous and despightfull act  
Of *Satan* done in Paradise, and how  
Hee in the Serpent, had perverted *Eve*,  
Her Husband shee, to taste the fatall fruit,  
5 Was known in Heav'n; for what can scape the Eye  
Of God All-seeing, or deceive his Heart  
Omniscient, who in all things wise and just,  
Hinder'd not *Satan* to attempt the minde  
Of Man, with strength entire,<sup>o</sup> and free will arm'd,  
10 Complete<sup>o</sup> to have discover'd and repulst

*unimpaired*  
*fully equipped*

2 **approve.** Make proof of.      **approved.** Pronounced good.

6 **sympathie.** Influence at a distance.



- Whatever wiles of Foe or seeming Friend.  
 For still<sup>o</sup> they knew, and ought to have still<sup>o</sup> remember'd *always*  
 The high Injunction not to taste that Fruit,  
 Whoever tempted; which they not obeying,  
 15 Incurr'd, what could they less, the penaltie,  
 And manifold in sin, deserv'd to fall.  
 Up into Heav'n from Paradise in haste  
 Th' Angelic Guards ascended, mute and sad  
 For Man, for of his state by this<sup>o</sup> they knew, *this time*  
 20 Much wondring how the suttle Fiend had stoln  
 Entrance unseen. Soon as th' unwelcome news  
 From Earth arriv'd at Heaven Gate, displeas'd  
 All were who heard, dim sadness did not spare  
 That time Celestial visages, yet mixt  
 25 With pitie, violated not thir bliss.  
 About the new-arriv'd, in multitudes  
 Th' ethereal People ran, to hear and know  
 How all befell: they towards the Throne Supream  
 Accountable made haste to make appear  
 30 With righteous plea, thir utmost vigilance,  
 And easily approv'd; when the most High  
 Eternal Father from his secret Cloud,  
 Amidst in Thunder utter'd thus his voice.  
 Assembl'd Angels, and ye Powers return'd  
 35 From unsuccessful charge, be not dismayd,  
 Nor troubl'd at these tidings from the Earth,  
 Which your sincerest care could not prevent,  
 Foretold so lately what would come to pass,  
 When first this Tempter cross'd the Gulf from Hell.  
 40 I told ye then he should prevail and speed<sup>o</sup> *succeed*  
 On his bad Errand, Man should be seduc't  
 And flatter'd out of all, believing lies  
 Against his Maker; no Decree of mine  
 Concurring<sup>o</sup> to necessitate his Fall, *agreeing*  
 45 Or touch with lightest moment of impulse  
 His free Will, to her own inclining left

16 **manifold in sin.** Having multiple sins. In *Christian Doctrine* 1.11 Milton suggests that no sin "can be named, which was not included in this one act."

29 **Accountable.** Liable to be called to answer for how they fulfilled their duties (guarding Paradise).

31 **easily approv'd.** Their plea of "utmost vigilance" was readily accepted.

38–9 **Foretold so lately.** Cf. 3.80–96.

43–7 **no Decree of mine.** Cf. 3.96–128.

In evn scale. But fall'n he is, and now  
 What rests<sup>o</sup> but that the mortal Sentence pass *remains*  
 On his transgression, Death denounc't that day,  
 50 Which he presumes already vain and void,  
 Because not yet inflicted, as he fear'd,  
 By some immediate stroak; but soon shall find  
 Forbearance no acquittance ere day end.  
 Justice shall not return as bountie scorn'd.  
 55 But whom send I to judge them? whom but thee  
 Vicegerent<sup>o</sup> Son, to thee I have transferr'd *deputy ruler*  
 All Judgement, whether in Heav'n, or Earth, or Hell.  
 Easie it might be seen that I intend  
 Mercie colleague with Justice, sending thee  
 60 Mans Friend, his Mediator, his design'd  
 Both Ransom and Redeemer voluntarie,  
 And destin'd Man himself to judge Man fall'n.  
 So spake the Father, and unfolding bright  
 Toward the right hand his Glorie, on the Son  
 65 Blaz'd forth unclouded Deitie; he full  
 Resplendent all his Father manifest  
 Express'd, and thus divinely answer'd milde.  
 Father Eternal, thine is to decree,  
 Mine both in Heav'n and Earth to do thy will  
 70 Supream, that thou in mee thy Son belov'd  
 Mayst ever rest well pleas'd. I go to judge  
 On Earth these thy transgressors, but thou knowst,  
 Whoever judg'd, the worst on mee must light,  
 When time shall be, for so I undertook  
 75 Before thee; and not repenting, this obtaine  
 Of right, that I may mitigate thir doom  
 On me deriv'd,<sup>o</sup> yet I shall temper so *diverted*  
 Justice with Mercie, as may illustrate most<sup>o</sup> *best show*

49–50 **Death denounc't.** Formally proclaimed; cf. Gen. 2:17: "But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." Cf. *PL* 8:323–33.

53 **Forbearance no acquittance.** God's restraint ("Forbearance") in exacting punishment does not "acquit" Adam of the punishment due. "Omittance is not quittance" was a proverb.

54. i.e., my justice must not be "scorn'd" as my generosity ("bountie") has been.

56–7 **All Judgement.** Cf. John 5:22: "For the Father judgeth no man, but hath committed all judgment unto the Son."

60–1 **Mediator.** Cf. *Christian Doctrine* 1.15, "The mediatorial office of Christ is that whereby . . . he voluntarily performed, and continues to perform, on behalf of man, whatever is requisite for obtaining reconciliation with God, and eternal salvation."

70 **Son belov'd.** Cf. Matt. 3:17: "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."

Them fully satisfied, and thee appease.

- 80 Attendance none shall need, nor Train,<sup>o</sup> where none *retinue*  
 Are to behold the Judgement, but the judg'd,  
 Those two; the third best absent is condemn'd,  
 Convict<sup>o</sup> by flight, and Rebel to all Law *proved guilty*  
 Conviction<sup>o</sup> to the Serpent none belongs. *judgment of guilt*
- 85 Thus saying, from his radiant Seat he rose  
 Of high collateral<sup>o</sup> glorie: him Thrones and Powers, *side by side*  
 Princedoms, and Dominations ministrant<sup>o</sup> *ministering*  
 Accompanied to Heaven Gate, from whence  
 Eden and all the Coast<sup>o</sup> in prospect lay. *region*
- 90 Down he descended strait; the speed of Gods  
 Time counts not, though with swiftest minutes wing'd.  
 Now was the Sun in Western cadence<sup>o</sup> low *falling mode*  
 From Noon, and gentle Aires due at thir hour  
 To fan the Earth now wak'd, and usher in
- 95 The Eevning coole when he from wrauth more coole  
 Came the mild Judge and Intercessor both  
 To sentence Man: the voice of God they heard  
 Now walking in the Garden, by soft windes  
 Brought to thir Ears, while day declin'd, they heard,
- 100 And from his presence hid themselves among  
 The thickest Trees, both Man and Wife, till God  
 Approaching, thus to *Adam* call'd aloud.  
 Where art thou *Adam*, wont<sup>o</sup> with joy to meet *used before*  
 My coming seen far off? I miss thee here,
- 105 Not pleas'd, thus entertain'd with solitude,  
 Where obvious<sup>o</sup> dutie erewhile appear'd unsaught: *plain, coming forward*  
 Or come I less conspicuous, or what change  
 Absents thee, or what chance detains? Come forth.  
 He came, and with him *Eve*, more loth, though first
- 110 To offend, discount'nanc't both, and discompos'd;  
 Love was not in thir looks, either to God  
 Or to each other, but apparent<sup>o</sup> guilt, *manifest*  
 And shame, and perturbation, and despaire,  
 Anger, and obstinacie, and hate, and guile.
- 115 Whence *Adam* faultring long, thus answer'd brief.

90–1 **strait**. Immediate; cf. Raphael's journey from heaven to earth (8.110–14).

92–102. Cf. Gen. 3:8: "And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day: and Adam and his wife hid themselves from the presence of the Lord God amongst the trees of the garden."

I heard thee in the Garden, and of thy voice  
Affraid, being naked, hid my self. To whom  
The gracious Judge without revile<sup>o</sup> repli'd.

*reproach, abuse*

My voice thou oft hast heard, and hast not fear'd,  
120 But still<sup>o</sup> rejoyc't, how is it now become  
So dreadful to thee? that thou art naked, who  
Hath told thee? hast thou eaten of the Tree  
Whereof I gave thee charge thou shouldst not eat?

*always*

To whom thus *Adam* sore beset repli'd.

125 O Heav'n! in evil strait this day I stand  
Before my Judge, either to undergoe  
My self the total Crime, or to accuse  
My other self, the partner of my life;  
Whose failing, while her Faith to me remains,

130 I should conceal, and not expose to blame  
By my complaint; but strict necessitie  
Subdues me, and calamitous constraint  
Least on my head both sin and punishment,  
However insupportable, be all

135 Devolv'd;<sup>o</sup> though should I hold my peace, yet thou  
Wouldst easily detect what I conceale.

*descended*

This Woman whom thou mad'st to be my help,  
And gav'st me as thy perfet gift, so good,  
So fit, so acceptable, so Divine,

140 That from her hand I could suspect no ill,  
And what she did, whatever in it self,  
Her doing seem'd to justify the deed;  
Shee gave me of the Tree, and I did eate.

To whom the sovran Presence thus repli'd.

145 Was shee thy God, that her thou didst obey  
Before his voice, or was shee made thy guide,  
Superior, or but<sup>o</sup> equal, that to her  
Thou did'st resigne thy Manhood, and the Place  
Wherein God set thee above her made of thee,

*merely*

150 And for thee, whose perfection farr excell'd

121–3. Cf. Gen. 3:11, “And he said, Who told thee that thou wast naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldst not eat?”

137–43. Compare Adam's speech in Gen. 3:12, “The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat.”

148–50 of **thee**, / **And for thee**. Cf. 1 Cor. 11:8–9, “For the man is not of the woman; but the woman of the man. Neither was the man created for the woman; but the woman for the man.”

- Hers in all real dignitie: Adorn'd  
 She was indeed, and lovely to attract  
 Thy Love, not thy Subjection, and her Gifts  
 Were such as under Government well seem'd,  
 155 Unseemly to beare rule, which was thy part<sup>o</sup> role  
 And person,<sup>o</sup> hadst thou known thy self aright. character (persona)  
     So having said, he thus to *Eve* in few:<sup>o</sup> few words  
 Say Woman, what is this which thou hast done?  
     To whom sad *Eve* with shame nigh overwhelm'd,  
 160 Confessing soon, yet not before her Judge  
 Bold or loquacious, thus abasht repli'd.  
     The Serpent me beguil'd and I did eate.  
     Which when the Lord God heard, without delay  
 To Judgement he proceeded on th' accus'd  
 165 Serpent though brute, unable to transerre  
 The Guilt on him who made him instrument  
 Of mischief, and polluted from the end<sup>o</sup> purpose  
 Of his Creation; justly then accurst,  
 As vitiated<sup>o</sup> in Nature: more to know corrupted  
 170 Concern'd not Man (since he no further knew)  
 Nor alter'd his offence; yet God at last  
 To *Satan* first in sin his doom apply'd  
 Though in mysterious<sup>o</sup> terms, judg'd as then best: symbolic  
 And on the Serpent thus his curse let fall.  
 175     Because thou hast done this, thou art accurst  
 Above all Cattle, each Beast of the Field;  
 Upon thy Belly groveling thou shalt goe,  
 And dust shalt eat all the dayes of thy Life.  
 Between Thee and the Woman I will put  
 180 Enmitie, and between thine and her Seed;  
 Her Seed shall bruise thy head, thou bruise his heel.  
     So spake this Oracle, then verifi'd

157–62. Cf. Gen. 3:13, “And the Lord God said unto the woman, What is this that thou hast done? And the woman said, The serpent beguiled me, and I did eat.”

165–7. i.e., the serpent was “unable” to “transerre” his own “Guilt” in being “polluted” to Satan, who made him his “instrument.”

169–70 **more to know**. Adam and Eve cannot now understand the terms of the judgment on the serpent.

175–8. Cf. Gen. 3:14, which these lines closely paraphrase.

179–81. Cf. Gen. 3:15: “And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.” This is the “protoevangelium,” or judgment of Satan in the serpent, that contains the promise of the redeemer, the woman’s “Seed.” Adam and Eve do not fully understand it until 12.429–33, 598–605.

When *Jesus* son of *Mary* second *Eve*,  
 Saw *Satan* fall like Lightning down from Heav'n,  
 185 Prince of the Aire; then rising from his Grave  
 Spoild<sup>o</sup> Principalities and Powers, triumpht *defeated*  
 In open shew, and with ascention bright  
 Captivity led captive through the Aire,  
 The Realm it self of *Satan* long usurpt,  
 190 Whom he shall tread at last under our feet;  
 Eevn hee who now foretold his fatal bruise,  
 And to the Woman thus his Sentence turn'd.  
     Thy sorrow I will greatly multiplie  
     By thy Conception; Children thou shalt bring  
 195 In sorrow forth, and to thy Husbands will  
     Thine shall submit, hee over thee shall rule.  
     On *Adam* last thus judgement he pronounc'd.  
     Because thou hast heark'nd to the voice of thy Wife,  
     And eaten of the Tree concerning which  
 200 I charg'd thee, saying: Thou shalt not eat thereof,  
     Curs'd is the ground for thy sake, thou in sorrow  
     Shalt eat thereof all the days of thy Life;  
     Thorns also and Thistles it shall bring thee forth  
     Unbid, and thou shalt eat th' Herb of th' Field,  
 205 In the sweat of thy Face shalt thou eat Bread,  
     Till thou return unto the ground, for thou  
     Out of the ground wast taken, know thy Birth,  
     For dust thou art, and shalt to dust returne.  
     So judg'd he Man, both Judge and Saviour sent,  
 210 And th' instant stroke of Death denounc't<sup>o</sup> that day *announced*

183–4. Cf. *Jesus*' comment to his disciples (Luke 10:18), "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven."

185–8 **Prince of the Aire**. Cf. Eph. 2:2, where Satan is called "prince of the power of the air"; Col. 2:15, which states that Christ, "having spoiled principalities and powers, he made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them"; and Eph. 4:8, declaring that when Christ "ascended up on high, he led captivity captive."

193–6. Cf. Gen. 3:16: "Unto the woman he said, I will greatly multiply thy sorrow and thy conception; in sorrow thou shalt bring forth children, and thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee."

In *Christian Doctrine* 1.10 Milton claimed that after the Fall the husband's power over his wife was increased.

197–208. Cf. Gen. 3:17–19: "And unto Adam he said, Because thou hast hearkened unto the voice of thy wife, and hast eaten of the tree, of which I commanded thee, saying, Thou shalt not eat of it: cursed is the ground for thy sake; in sorrow shalt thou eat of it all the days of thy life; Thorns also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field; In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread, till thou return unto the ground; for out of it wast thou taken: for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return."

- Remov'd farr off; then pittying how they stood  
 Before him naked to the aire, that now  
 Must suffer change, disdain'd not to begin  
 Thenceforth the form of servant to assume,  
 215 As when he wash'd his servants feet so now  
 As Father of his Familie he clad  
 Thir nakedness with Skins of Beasts, or<sup>o</sup> slain, *either*  
 Or as the Snake with youthful Coate repaid;  
 And thought not much<sup>o</sup> to cloath his Enemies: *too much*
- 220 Nor hee thir outward onely with the Skins  
 Of Beasts, but inward nakedness, much more  
 Opprobrious, with his Robe of righteousness,  
 Araying cover'd from his Fathers sight.  
 To him with swift ascent he up returnd,  
 225 Into his blissful bosom reassum'd  
 In glory as of old, to him appeas'd  
 All, though all-knowing, what had past with Man  
 Recounted, mixing intercession sweet.  
 Meanwhile ere thus was sin'd and judg'd on Earth,  
 230 Within the Gates of Hell sate *Sin* and *Death*,  
 In counterview<sup>o</sup> within the Gates, that now  
 Stood open wide, belching outrageous<sup>o</sup> flame *facing each other*  
 Farr into *Chaos*, since the Fiend pass'd through, *enormous, unrestrained*  
*Sin* opening, who thus now to *Death* began.
- 235 O Son, why sit we here each other viewing  
 Idlely, while Satan our great Author<sup>o</sup> thrives *father, originator*  
 In other Worlds, and happier Seat provides  
 For us his offspring deare? It cannot be  
 But that success attends him; if mishap,  
 240 Ere this he had return'd, with fury driv'n  
 By his Avengers, since no place like<sup>o</sup> this *as well as*  
 Can fit his punishment, or their revenge.  
 Methinks I feel new strength within me rise,  
 Wings growing, and Dominion giv'n me large  
 245 Beyond this Deep; whatever drawes me on,  
 Or sympathie,<sup>o</sup> or som connatural<sup>o</sup> force *attraction / innate*  
 Powerful at greatest distance to unite

214–17 **form of servant.** Cf. Phil. 2:7; John 13:5 tells of Jesus washing his disciples' feet; Gen. 3:21 records that the "Lord God made coats of skins, and clothed" Adam and Eve.

222–3. Cf. Isa. 61:10: "he hath covered me with the robe of righteousness."

- With secret amity things of like kinde  
 By secretest conveyance.° Thou my Shade *communication*
- 250 Inseparable must° with mee along: *must go*  
 For Death from Sin no power can separate.  
 But least the difficultie of passing back  
 Stay his return perhaps over this Gulfe  
 Impassable, Impervious,° let us try *impenetrable*
- 255 Adventrous work, yet to thy power and mine  
 Not unagreeable, to found° a path *build*  
 Over this Maine° from Hell to that new World *expanse (Chaos)*  
 Where *Satan* now prevailes, a Monument  
 Of merit high to all th' infernal Host,
- 260 Easing thir passage hence, for intercourse,° *passing back and forth*  
 Or transmigration,° as thir lot shall lead. *emigration*  
 Nor can I miss the way, so strongly drawn  
 By this new felt attraction and instinct.  
 Whom thus the meager° Shadow answerd soon. *emaciated*
- 265 Goe whither Fate and inclination strong  
 Leads thee, I shall not lag behinde, nor erre° *wander from*  
 The way, thou leading, such a sent I draw° *inhale*  
 Of carnage, prey innumerable, and taste  
 The savour of Death from all things there that live:
- 270 Nor shall I to the work thou enterprisest  
 Be wanting, but afford thee equal aid.  
 So saying, with delight he snuff'd° the smell *sniffed*  
 Of mortal change on Earth. As when a flock  
 Of ravenous Fowl, though many a League remote,
- 275 Against° the day of Battel, to a Field, *anticipating*  
 Where Armies lie encampt, come flying, lur'd  
 With sent of living Carcasses design'd° *marked out*  
 For death, the following day, in bloodie fight.  
 So sented the grim Feature,° and upturn'd *form, shape*
- 280 His Nostril wide into the murkie Air,  
 Sagacious° of his Quarry from so farr. *keenly smelling, wise*  
 Then Both from out Hell Gates into the waste  
 Wide Anarchie of *Chaos* damp and dark  
 Flew divers,° and with Power (thir Power was great) *in different directions*
- 285 Hovering upon the Waters; what they met  
 Solid or slimie, as in raging Sea  
 Tost up and down, together crowded drove  
 From each side shoaling° towards the mouth of Hell. *assembling*  
 As when two Polar Winds blowing adverse° *from opposite directions*



- 290 Upon the *Cronian* Sea, together drive  
Mountains of Ice, that stop th' imagin'd way  
Beyond *Petsora* Eastward, to the rich  
*Cathaian* Coast. The aggregated Soyle  
*Death* with his Mace petrific,<sup>o</sup> cold and dry, turning things to stone
- 295 As with a Trident smote, and fix't as firm  
As *Delos* floating once; the rest his look  
Bound with *Gorgonian* rigor not to move,  
And with *Asphaltic* slime,<sup>o</sup> broad as the Gate, pitch  
Deep to the Roots of Hell the gather'd beach<sup>o</sup> ridge of stones
- 300 They fasten'd, and the Mole<sup>o</sup> immense wraught on causeway, sea wall  
Over the foaming deep high Archt, a Bridge  
Of length prodigious joyning to the Wall<sup>o</sup> outer shell  
Immovable of this now fenceless<sup>o</sup> world defenseless  
Forfeit to Death; from hence a passage broad,
- 305 Smooth, easie, inoffensive<sup>o</sup> down to Hell. unobstructed  
So, if great things to small may be compar'd,  
*Xerxes*, the Libertie of *Greece* to yoke,  
From *Susa* his *Memnonian* Palace high  
Came to the Sea, and over *Hellespont*
- 310 Bridging his way, *Europe* with *Asia* joyn'd,  
And scourg'd with many a stroak th' indignant waves.  
Now had they brought the work by wondrous Art  
Pontifical, a ridge of pendent Rock  
Over the vext<sup>o</sup> Abyss, following the track tossed by storms
- 315 Of *Satan*, to the self same place where hee  
First lighted from his Wing, and landed safe  
From out of *Chaos* to the out side bare  
Of this round World: with Pinns of Adamant  
And Chains they made all fast,<sup>o</sup> too fast they made secure
- 320 And durable; and now in little space  
The confines<sup>o</sup> met of Emphyrean Heav'n boundaries

290–3 *Cronian* Sea. The Arctic Ocean. **th'imagin'd way.** The northeast passage from Pechora (“*Petsora*”), a river in Siberia, to north China (Cathay) which Henry Hudson looked for in 1608 but could only imagine because it was blocked by ice.

294–6 **Mace petrific.** Death’s materials are the “cold and dry” elements. His mace is associated with Neptune’s “Trident,” which was said to have “fix’t” the “floating” Greek island “*Delos*.”

297 **Gorgonian rigor.** The Gorgon Medusa turned to stone anything she looked upon.

306 **great things to small.** A familiar Virgilian formula.

307–11. The Persian king “*Xerxes*” ordered the sea whipped when it destroyed the bridge of ships he built over the Hellespont (joining “*Europe* with *Asia*”), so as to invade Greece. **Susa.** The biblical Shusan, Xerxes’ winter residence, was founded by the mythical Prince Memnon (“*Memnonian* Palace”).

313 **Pontifical.** Bridge-building, with a pun on “papal.” The pope had the title *Pontifex Maximus*.

- And of this World, and on the left hand Hell  
 With long reach interpos'd; three sev'ral wayes  
 In sight, to each of these three places led.
- 325 And now thir way to Earth they had descri'd,  
 To Paradise first tending, when behold  
*Satan* in likeness of an Angel bright  
 Betwixt the *Centaure* and the *Scorpion* steering  
 His *Zenith*, while the Sun in *Aries* rose:
- 330 Disguis'd he came, but those his Children dear  
 Thir Parent soon discern'd, though in disguise.  
 Hee after *Eve* seduc't, unminded<sup>o</sup> slunk unnoticed  
 Into the Wood fast by, and changing shape  
 To observe the sequel, saw his guileful act
- 335 By *Eve*, though all unweeting,<sup>o</sup> seconded unaware  
 Upon her Husband, saw thir shame that sought  
 Vain covertures;<sup>o</sup> but when he saw descend garments  
 The Son of God to judge them terrifi'd  
 Hee fled, not hoping to escape, but shun
- 340 The present, fearing guiltie what his wrauth  
 Might suddenly inflict; that past, return'd  
 By Night, and listening where the hapless Paire  
 Sate in thir sad discourse, and various plaint,  
 Thence gatherd his own doom, which understood
- 345 Not instant, but of future time. With joy  
 And tidings fraught,<sup>o</sup> to Hell he now return'd, laden  
 And at the brink of *Chaos*, neer the foot<sup>o</sup> end  
 Of this new wondrous Pontifice,<sup>o</sup> unhop't bridge  
 Met who to meet him came, his Ofspring dear.
- 350 Great joy was at thir meeting, and at sight  
 Of that stupendious Bridge his joy encreas'd.  
 Long hee admiring stood, till *Sin*, his faire  
 Inchanting Daughter, thus the silence broke.  
 O Parent, these are thy magnific deeds,
- 355 Thy Trophies, which thou view'st as not thine own,

323–4 **three sev'ral wayes.** The golden staircase or chain linking the universe to Heaven (3.510–18); the new bridge linking it to Hell; and the passage through the spheres down to earth (3:526–9).

328–9. Satan steered between Sagittarius (“the *Centaure*”) and Scorpio, thereby passing through Anguis, the constellation of the Serpent.

342–5 **listening.** Satan evidently heard the “discourse” and “plaints” of Adam and Eve at 10.720–1096), which thus precede his return to Hell; he also concluded that his own “doom” was “of future time.”

355 **Trophies.** Objects or persons captured in battle displayed in the triumphs accorded Roman generals and emperors who won great military victories; here, the bridge itself is a trophy of victory.

- Thou art thir Author and prime Architect:  
 For I no sooner in my Heart divin'd,  
 My Heart, which by a secret harmonie  
 Still<sup>o</sup> moves with thine, join'd in connexion sweet, *always*  
 360 That thou on Earth hadst prosper'd, which thy looks  
 Now also evidence, but straight I felt  
 Though distant from thee Worlds between, yet felt  
 That I must after thee with this thy Son;  
 Such fatal consequence<sup>o</sup> unites us three: *relation of cause and effect*  
 365 Hell could no longer hold us in her bounds,  
 Nor this unvoyageable Gulf obscure  
 Detain from following thy illustrious track.  
 Thou hast atchiev'd our libertie, confin'd  
 Within Hell Gates till now, thou us impow'rd  
 370 To fortifie thus farr, and overlay  
 With this portentous<sup>o</sup> Bridge the dark Abyss. *marvelous, ominous*  
 Thine now is all this World, thy vertue<sup>o</sup> hath won *power, courage*  
 What thy hands builded not, thy Wisdom gain'd  
 With odds<sup>o</sup> what Warr hath lost, and fully aveng'd *advantage*  
 375 Our foile<sup>o</sup> in Heav'n; here thou shalt Monarch reign, *defeat*  
 There didst not; there let him still Victor sway,  
 As Battel hath adjudg'd, from this new World  
 Retiring, by his own doom<sup>o</sup> alienated, *judgment*  
 And henceforth Monarchie with thee divide  
 380 Of all things parted by th' Empyreal bounds,  
 His Quadrature, from thy Orbicular World,  
 Or trie<sup>o</sup> thee now more dang'rous to his Throne. *find by experience*  
 Whom thus the Prince of Darkness answerd glad.  
 Fair Daughter, and thou Son and Grandchild both,  
 385 High proof ye now have giv'n to be the Race  
 Of *Satan* (for I glorie in the name,  
 Antagonist of Heav'ns Almighty King)  
 Amply have merited of me, of all  
 Th' infernal Empire, that so neer Heav'ns dore  
 390 Triumphal with triumphal act have met,

381 **Quadrature.** The New Jerusalem is described as "foursquare" in Rev. 21:16. Satan's new conquest, earth, is an orb ("Orbicular"), so Sin implies its superiority since a sphere was thought to be more perfect than a cube. Cf. *PL* 2.1048, where Heaven is said to be "undetermind square or round."

386–7 **Antagonist.** The name "*Satan*" means Adversary or Antagonist.

390. The repeated word emphasizes that Satan is enacting a triumph, passing over a triumphal bridge rather than through triumphal arches; the scene would likely evoke the Roman-style triumphal processions and arches celebrating the Restoration of Charles II.

- Mine with this glorious Work, and made one Realm  
 Hell and this World, one Realm, one Continent<sup>o</sup> *continuous land mass*  
 Of easie thorough-fare. Therefore while I  
 Descend through Darkness, on your Rode with ease  
 395 To my associate Powers, them to acquaint  
 With these successes, and with them rejoyce,  
 You two this way, among these numerous Orbs  
 All yours, right down to Paradise descend;  
 There dwell and Reign in bliss, thence on the Earth  
 400 Dominion exercise and in the Aire,  
 Chiefly on Man, sole Lord of all declar'd,  
 Him first make sure your thrall,<sup>o</sup> and lastly kill. *slave*  
 My Substitutes I send ye, and Create  
 Plenipotent<sup>o</sup> on Earth, of matchless might *with full power and authority*  
 405 Issuing from mee: on your joynt vigor now  
 My hold of this new Kingdom all depends,  
 Through Sin to Death expos'd by my exploit.  
 If your joynt power prevailes, th' affaires of Hell  
 No detriment<sup>o</sup> need feare, goe and be strong. *injury*  
 410 So saying he dismiss'd them, they with speed  
 Thir course through thickest Constellations held  
 Spreading thir bane;<sup>o</sup> the blasted<sup>o</sup> Starrs lookt wan, *poison / ruined*  
 And Planets, Planet-strook, real Eclips  
 Then sufferd. Th' other way *Satan* went down  
 415 The Causey<sup>o</sup> to Hell Gate; on either side *causeway*  
 Disparted<sup>o</sup> *Chaos* over built<sup>o</sup> exclaimd, *divided / built over*  
 And with rebounding surge the barrs assaild,  
 That scorn'd his indignation: through the Gate,  
 Wide open and unguarded, *Satan* pass'd,  
 420 And all about found desolate; for those  
 Appointed to sit there, had left thir charge,  
 Flown to the upper World; the rest were all  
 Farr to the inland retir'd, about the walls  
 Of *Pandæmonium*, Citie and proud seate  
 425 Of *Lucifer*, so by allusion calld,  
 Of that bright Starr to *Satan* paragond.<sup>o</sup> *compared*  
 There kept thir Watch the Legions, while the Grand

413–14 **Planet-strook.** The planets, stricken as by the malign influence of an adverse planet, suffered not merely a temporary but a “real Eclips,” a permanent loss of light.

424–6 **Pandæmonium.** Literally “place of all demons”; it is termed the “seate” of “*Lucifer*” (Satan’s name before his fall), in allusion to and comparison with the morning star named *Lucifer* (the light-bringer).

427 **the Grand.** “the grand infernal Peers” (cf. 2.507).

- In Council sate, sollicitous<sup>o</sup> what chance  
Might intercept thir Emperour sent, so hee  
430 Departing gave command, and they observ'd.<sup>o</sup> anxious about  
As when the *Tartar* from his *Russian* Foe  
By *Astracan* over the Snowie Plaines  
Retires, or *Bactrian* Sophi from the hornes  
Of *Turkish* Crescent, leaves all waste beyond  
435 The Realm of *Aladule*, in his retreat  
To *Tauris* or *Casbeen*. So these the late  
Heav'n-banisht Host, left desert utmost Hell  
Many a dark League, reduc't<sup>o</sup> in careful Watch led back  
Round thir Metropolis, and now expecting  
440 Each hour thir great adventurer from the search  
Of Forrein Worlds: he through the midst unmarkt,<sup>o</sup> unnoticed  
In shew Plebeian Angel militant  
Of lowest order, past; and from the dore  
Of that *Plutonian* Hall, invisible  
445 Ascended his high Throne, which under state<sup>o</sup> canopy  
Of richest texture spred, at th' upper end  
Was plac't in regal lustre. Down a while  
He sate, and round about him saw unseen:  
At last as from a Cloud his fulgent<sup>o</sup> head shining, resplendent  
450 And shape Starr bright appeer'd, or brighter, clad  
With what permissive<sup>o</sup> glory since his fall permitted  
Was left him, or false glitter: All amaz'd  
At that so sudden blaze the *Stygian* throng  
Bent thir aspect,<sup>o</sup> and whom they wish'd beheld, turned their gaze  
455 Thir mighty Chief returnd: loud was th' acclaime:  
Forth rush'd in haste the great consulting Peers,  
Rais'd from thir dark *Divan*,<sup>o</sup> and with like joy Turkish Council of State  
Congratulant approach'd him, who with hand

429–39 **the Tartar.** The simile compares the fallen angels' withdrawal from other regions of Hell to guard their metropolis to Tartars retiring before attacking Russians and to Persians retreating before attacking Turks. **Astracan.** A Tartar region near the mouth of the Volga, annexed by Ivan the Terrible in 1556.

**Bactrian Sophi.** Persian Shah (Bactria, modern Afghanistan, was a province of Persia). **Turkish Crescent.** Refers both to the Turkish battle formations and to their emblem. **Realm of Aladule.** Armenia, whose last Persian ruler before the Turkish conquest, named Aladule, was forced to retreat before the Turks to Tabriz ("*Tauris*") in northwest Persia (Iran) or to Kazvin ("*Casbeen*"), north of Tehran.

441–55. Satan's invisible entry and sudden blazing forth recall the sudden appearance of the Sultan, Solimano, in Tasso, *Gerusalemme Liberata* 10:32–50.

444 **Plutonian.** Infernal, from Pluto, the classical god who rules the underworld.

453 **Stygian.** Of the river Styx in Hades, the river of hate.

Silence, and with these words attention won.

- 460 Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Vertues, Powers,  
 For in possession such, not onely of right,  
 I call ye and declare ye now, returnd  
 Successful beyond hope, to lead ye forth  
 Triumphant out of this infernal Pit
- 465 Abominable, accurst, the house of woe,  
 And Dungeon of our Tyrant: Now possess,  
 As Lords, a spacious World, to our native Heaven  
 Little inferiour, by my adventure hard  
 With peril great atchiev'd. Long were to tell
- 470 What I have don, what sufferd, with what paine  
 Voyag'd th' unreal,<sup>o</sup> vast, unbounded deep *formless*  
 Of horrible confusion, over which  
 By *Sin* and *Death* a broad way now is pav'd  
 To expedite your glorious march; but I
- 475 Toild out my uncouth<sup>o</sup> passage, forc't to ride *unfamiliar, strange*  
 Th' untractable Abyesse, plung'd in the womb  
 Of unoriginal<sup>o</sup> *Night* and *Chaos* wilde, *without origin*  
 That jealous of thir secrets fiercely oppos'd  
 My journey strange, with clamorous uproare
- 480 Protesting Fate supream; thence how I found  
 The new created World, which fame<sup>o</sup> in Heav'n *rumor*  
 Long had foretold, a Fabrick<sup>o</sup> wonderful *structure*  
 Of absolute perfection, therein Man  
 Plac't in a Paradise, by our exile
- 485 Made happie: Him by fraud I have seduc'd  
 From his Creator, and the more to increase  
 Your wonder, with an Apple; he thereat  
 Offended, worth your laughter, hath giv'n up  
 Both his beloved Man and all his World,
- 490 To Sin and Death a prey, and so to us,  
 Without our hazard, labour, or allarme,<sup>o</sup> *call to battle*  
 To range in, and to dwell, and over Man  
 To rule, as over all he should have rul'd.  
 True is, mee also he hath judg'd, or rather
- 495 Mee not, but the brute Serpent in whose shape

460–1. Satan declares that his followers now hold their titles “in possession” (*de facto*), by reason of his conquest of earth, not only “of right” (*de jure*) – a common legal distinction.

480. Protesting both to and against Fate.

Man I deceav'd: that which to mee belongs,  
 Is enmity, which he will put between  
 Mee and Mankind; I am to bruise his heel;  
 His Seed, when is not set, shall bruise my head:  
 500 A World who would not purchase with a bruise,  
 Or much more grievous pain? Ye have th' account  
 Of my performance: What remains, ye Gods,  
 But up and enter now into full bliss.  
 So having said, a while he stood, expecting  
 505 Thir universal shout and high applause  
 To fill his eare, when contrary he hears  
 On all sides, from innumerable tongues  
 A dismal<sup>o</sup> universal hiss, the sound *dreadful*  
 Of public scorn; he wonderd, but not long  
 510 Had leasure, wondring at himself now more;  
 His Visage drawn he felt to sharp<sup>o</sup> and spare,<sup>o</sup> *pointed / thin*  
 His Armes clung to his Ribs, his Leggs entwining  
 Each other, till supplanted<sup>o</sup> down he fell *overthrown*  
 A monstrous Serpent on his Belly prone,  
 515 Reluctant,<sup>o</sup> but in vaine, a greater power *struggling*  
 Now rul'd him, punisht in the shape he sin'd,  
 According to his doom:<sup>o</sup> he would have spoke, *judgment*  
 But hiss for hiss returnd with forked tongue  
 To forked tongue, for now were all transform'd  
 520 Alike, to Serpents all as accessories  
 To his bold Riot:<sup>o</sup> dreadful was the din *rebellion*  
 Of hissing through the Hall, thick swarming now  
 With complicated<sup>o</sup> monsters head and taile, *tangled*  
 Scorpion and Asp, and *Amphisbæna* dire,  
 525 *Cerastes* hornd, *Hydrus*, and *Ellops* drear,  
 And *Dipsas* (not so thick swarm'd once the Soil  
 Bedropt with blood of *Gorgon*, or the Isle

503 **bliss**. Ironically, the final word of Satan's triumphal speech rhymes with and prepares for the "hiss" that will soon greet him (508).

511–47. The scene recalls Dante's vivid description of the thieves metamorphosed into snakes (*Inferno* 24–5).

524–6 **Scorpion**. This has a venomous sting at the tip of the tail. **Asp**. A small Egyptian viper.

**Amphisbæna**. A mythical snake with a head at either end. **Cerastes**. An asp with horny projections over each eye. **Hydrus, and Ellops**. Mythical water snakes. **Dipsas**. A mythical snake whose bite caused raging thirst.

527–8 **Gorgon**. Medusa. Ovid explains that the blood dropping from her severed head as Persius flew with it over Libya accounts for the abundance of snakes in that country (*Metamorphoses* 4.617–20). Milton's catalogue of snakes recalls Lucan's enumeration of the serpents that sprang from Medusa's blood (*Pharsalia* 9.697–733). **Ophiusa**. Greek, "full of serpents," the name given to several islands, including Rhodes.

- Ophiusa*) but still greatest hee the midst,  
 Now Dragon grown, larger then whom the Sun  
 530 Ingenderd in the *Pythian* Vale on slime,  
 Huge *Python*, and his Power no less he seem'd  
 Above the rest still to retain; they all  
 Him follow'd issuing forth to th' open Field,  
 Where all yet left of that revolted Rout  
 535 Heav'n-fall'n, in station<sup>o</sup> stood or just array,<sup>o</sup> *at their posts / on parade*  
 Sublime<sup>o</sup> with expectation when to see *elated, uplifted*  
 In Triumph issuing forth thir glorious Chief;  
 They saw, but other sight instead, a crowd  
 Of ugly Serpents; horror on them fell,  
 540 And horrid sympathie;<sup>o</sup> for what they saw, *corresponding affect*  
 They felt themselvs now changing;<sup>o</sup> down thir arms, *changing into*  
 Down fell both Spear and Shield, down they as fast,  
 And the dire hiss renew'd, and the dire form  
 Catcht by Contagion, like in punishment,  
 545 As in thir crime. Thus was th' applause they meant,  
 Turn'd to exploding<sup>o</sup> hiss, triumph to shame *loudly scornful*  
 Cast on themselves from thir own mouths. There stood  
 A Grove hard by, sprung up with this thir change,  
 His will who reigns above, to aggravate  
 550 Thir penance,<sup>o</sup> laden with fair Fruit, like that *punishment*  
 Which grew in Paradise, the bait of *Eve*  
 Us'd by the Tempter: on that prospect strange  
 Thir earnest eyes they fix'd, imagining  
 For one forbidden Tree a multitude  
 555 Now ris'n, to work them furdere woe or shame;  
 Yet parcht with scalding thirst and hunger fierce,  
 Though to delude them sent, could not abstain,  
 But on they rould in heaps, and up the Trees  
 Climbing, sat thicker then the snakie locks  
 560 That curld *Megæra*: greedily they pluck'd  
 The Frutage fair to sight, like that which grew

528–32 **Dragon**. Associated with Satan, cf. Rev. 12:9. **Python**. A gigantic serpent engendered from the slime left by Deucalion's flood; Apollo slew him and appropriated the "*Pythian* Vale" and shrine at Delphi (*Metamorphoses* 1.438–47), a narrative sometimes read as type of Christ's victory over the "Dragon" Satan.

559–60 **Megæra**. One of the three Furies with snaky hair, goddesses of vengeance.

561–70 **bituminous Lake**. The Dead Sea, where "*Sodom*," the evil city destroyed by fire and brimstone ("flamed") once stood (Gen. 19:24). Apples reputedly grew nearby, which looked good but dissolved into ashes when touched. Milton's scene also evokes the myth of Tantalus, from whom water and fruit receded every time he reached for them to assuage his raging hunger and thirst (*Odyssey* 11.582–92). Cf. the curse on the serpent, "dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life" (Gen. 3:14).



- Neer that bituminous Lake where *Sodom* flam'd;  
 This more delusive, not the touch, but taste  
 Deceav'd; they fondly<sup>o</sup> thinking to allay foolishly  
 565 Thir appetite with gust,<sup>o</sup> instead of Fruit relish  
 Chewd bitter Ashes, which th' offended taste  
 With spattering noise rejected: oft they assayd,<sup>o</sup> attempted  
 Hunger and thirst constraining, drugd<sup>o</sup> as oft, nauseated  
 With hatefulest disrelish writh'd thir jaws  
 570 With soot and cinders fill'd; so oft they fell  
 Into the same illusion, not as Man  
 Whom they triumph'd<sup>o</sup> once lapst. Thus were they plagu'd triumphed over  
 And worn with Famin, long and ceaseless hiss,  
 Till thir lost shape, permitted, they resum'd,  
 575 Yearly enjoynd, some say, to undergo  
 This annual humbling certain number'd days,  
 To dash thir pride, and joy for Man seduc't.  
 However some tradition they dispers'd  
 Among the Heathen of thir purchase<sup>o</sup> got, acquisition  
 580 And Fabl'd how the Serpent, whom they calld  
*Ophion* with *Eurynome*, the wide-  
 Encroaching *Eve* perhaps, had first the rule  
 Of high *Olympus*, thence by *Saturn* driv'n  
 And *Ops*, ere yet *Dictæan Jove* was born.  
 585 Mean while in Paradise the hellish pair  
 Too soon arriv'd, *Sin* there in power before,  
 Once actual, now in body, and to dwell  
 Habitual habitant; behind her *Death*  
 Close following pace for pace, not mounted yet  
 590 On his pale Horse: to whom *Sin* thus began.  
 Second of *Satan* sprung, all conquering *Death*,  
 What thinkst thou of our Empire now, though earnd

574–6 **lost shape.** God permitted them to resume their shape as fallen angels, but turned them to serpents in an “annual humbling.”

578–84 **some tradition.** The Titan “*Ophion*” (whose name means “Serpent”) and his wife “*Eurynome*” (the wide-ruling or “wide- / Encroaching”) ruled Olympus until driven away by “*Saturn*” and his wife “*Ops*”; they in turn were overthrown by “*Dictæan Jove*,” who lived in Crete on Mount Dicte. Milton suggests that these myths represent versions of the fallen angels’ story transmitted by them to “the Heathen.”

586–8. *Sin* was “in power” in Eden in the actual sins of Adam and Eve; now *Sin* will dwell “in body,” as a “Habitual” physical presence in all creatures, due to original sin.

589–90 **pale Horse.** Cf. Rev. 6:8, “Behold a pale horse: and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed with him.” Death is “not mounted yet” because that action is predicted for the Last Days.

With travail<sup>o</sup> difficult, not better farr  
 Then stil at Hels dark threshold to have sate watch,  
 595 Unnam'd, undreaded, and thy self half starv'd?  
     Whom thus the Sin-born Monster answerd soon.  
 To mee, who with eternal Famin pine,  
 Alike is Hell, or Paradise, or Heaven,  
 There best, where most with ravin<sup>o</sup> I may meet;  
 600 Which here, though plenteous, all too little seems  
 To stuff this Maw, this vast unhide-bound Corps.  
     To whom th' incestuous Mother thus repli'd.  
 Thou therefore on these Herbs, and Fruits, and Flours  
 Feed first, on each Beast next, and Fish, and Fowle,  
 605 No homely<sup>o</sup> morsels, and whatever thing  
     The Sithe of Time mowes down, devour unspar'd,  
 Till I in Man residing through the Race,  
 His thoughts, his looks, words, actions all infect,  
 And season him thy last and sweetest prey.  
 610 This said, they both betook them several wayes,  
     Both to destroy, or unimmortal make  
     All kinds, and for destruction to mature  
     Sooner or later; which th' Almighty seeing,  
     From his transcendent Seat the Saints among,  
 615 To those bright Orders utterd thus his voice.  
     See with what heat these Dogs of Hell advance  
     To waste and havoc<sup>o</sup> yonder World, which I  
     So fair and good created, and had still  
     Kept in that State, had not the folly of Man  
 620 Let in these wastful Furies, who impute  
     Folly to mee, so doth the Prince of Hell  
     And his Adherents, that with so much ease  
     I suffer them to enter and possess  
     A place so heav'nly, and conniving<sup>o</sup> seem  
 625 To gratifie my scornful Enemies,  
     That laugh, as if transported with some fit  
     Of Passion, I to them had quitted<sup>o</sup> all,  
     At random yielded up to their misrule;  
     And know not that I call'd and drew them thither

*labor, travel**prey**humble, rude**ravage, devastate**tacitly agreeing**handed over*

601 **unhide-bound Corps.** Death's hunger is such that he can never fill out his skin, so his "hide" does not cling close to his bones.

606 **Sithe of Time.** A familiar emblem shows Time (and Death) as a mower with a scythe.

620 **wastful Furies.** Avenging classical deities (the Eumenides), here, Sin and Death,

- 630 My Hell-hounds, to lick up the draff<sup>o</sup> and filth *dregs*  
 Which mans polluting Sin with taint hath shed  
 On what was pure, till cramm'd and gorg'd, nigh burst  
 With suckt and glutted offal, at one sling  
 Of thy victorious Arm, well-pleasing Son,
- 635 Both *Sin*, and *Death*, and yawning *Grave* at last  
 Through *Chaos* hurld, obstruct the mouth of Hell  
 For ever, and seal up his ravenous Jawes.  
 Then Heav'n and Earth renewd shall be made pure  
 To sanctitie that shall receive no staine:
- 640 Till then the Curse pronounc't on both precedes.<sup>o</sup> *takes precedence*  
 He ended, and the Heav'nly Audience loud  
 Sung *Halleluia*, as the sound of Seas,  
 Through multitude that sung: Just are thy ways,  
 Righteous are thy Decrees on all thy Works;
- 645 Who can extenuate<sup>o</sup> thee? Next, to the Son, *disparage*  
 Destin'd restorer of Mankind, by whom  
 New Heav'n and Earth shall to the Ages rise,  
 Or down from Heav'n descend. Such was thir song,  
 While the Creator calling forth by name
- 650 His mightie Angels gave them several charge,<sup>o</sup> *different duties*  
 As sorted<sup>o</sup> best with present things. The Sun *suited*  
 Had first his precept<sup>o</sup> so to move, so shine, *order*  
 As might affect the Earth with cold and heat  
 Scarce tollerable, and from the North to call
- 655 Decrepit Winter, from the South to bring  
 Solstitial summers heat. To the blanc<sup>o</sup> Moone *white, pale*  
 Her office they prescrib'd, to th' other five  
 Thir planetarie motions and aspects<sup>o</sup> *astrological positions*  
 In *Sextile*, *Square*, and *Trine*, and *Opposite*,
- 660 Of noxious efficacie, and when to joyne  
 In Synod<sup>o</sup> unbenigne, and taught the fixt<sup>o</sup> *conjunction / fixed stars*  
 Thir influence malignant when to showre,  
 Which of them rising with the Sun, or falling,

638–9. Cf. Rev. 21:1, “And I saw a new heaven and a new earth: for the first heaven and the first earth were passed away.”

641–5. Cf. Rev. 19:6, “And I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of mighty thunderings, saying, Alleluia” and Rev. 16:7, “Even so, Lord God Almighty, true and righteous are thy judgments.”

657 **other five.** Planets, see note to 5.176–8.

659. The positions of 60, 90, 120, and 180 degrees, respectively.

- Should prove tempestuous:° To the Winds they set *productive of storms*  
 665 Thir corners, when with bluster to confound  
 Sea, Aire, and Shoar, the Thunder when to rowle  
 With terror through the dark Aereal Hall.  
 Some say he bid his Angels turne ascanse  
 The Poles of Earth twice ten degrees and more  
 670 From the Suns Axle; they with labour push'd  
 Oblique the Centric Globe:° Som say the Sun *the earth*  
 Was bid turn Reines from th' Equinoctial Rode  
 Like distant breadth to *Taurus* with the Seav'n  
*Atlantick* Sisters, and the *Spartan* Twins  
 675 Up to the *Tropic* Crab; thence down amaine  
 By *Leo* and the *Virgin* and the *Scales*,  
 As deep as *Capricorne*, to bring in change  
 Of Seasons to each Clime;° else had the Spring *region*  
 Perpetual smil'd on Earth with vernant° Flours, *flourishing in Spring*  
 680 Equal in Days and Nights, except to those  
 Beyond the Polar Circles; to them Day  
 Had unbenighted° shon, while the low Sun *without any night*  
 To recompence his distance, in thir sight  
 Had rounded still° th' *Horizon*, and not known *always*  
 685 Or° East or West, which had forbid the Snow *either*  
 From cold *Estotiland*, and South as farr  
 Beneath *Magellan*. At that tasted Fruit  
 The Sun, as from *Thyestean* Banquet, turn'd  
 His course intended; else how had the World  
 690 Inhabited, though sinless, more then now,  
 Avoided pinching cold and scorching heate?  
 These changes in the Heav'ns, though slow, produc'd  
 Like change on Sea and Land, sideral blast,° *malign stellar influence*

664–5 **Winds.** Often shown on early maps as blowing from the four “corners” of the earth.

668–80. The poem offers both a Copernican and a Ptolemaic explanation of the shifts made in the cosmos so as to change the prelapsarian eternal spring, when the sun's orbit was parallel to the equator, “Equinoctial Rode.” The Copernican explanation (offered first) proposes that the axis of the earth, “the Centric Globe,” is now tilted and the “Poles” turned “ascanse” (668–71). The Ptolemaic explanation is that the plane of the sun's orbit is tilted (671–8) so that the sun journeys from Aries through the zodiac. In spring and summer it passes a like declination (“Like distant breadth”) through “*Taurus*” and the Pleiades (“the Seav'n / *Atlantick* Sisters”), Gemini (“the *Spartan* Twins”), and Cancer (“the *Tropic* Crab”). Then at full speed (“down amaine”) it moves in late summer and autumn through “*Leo*,” Virgo (“the *Virgin*”), and Libra (“the *Scales*”), to “*Capricorne*” in winter.

686–7 *Estotiland.* Northern Labrador. *Magellan.* The Straits of Magellan, at the tip of South America.

688 *Thyestean.* Thyestes seduced the wife of his brother Atreus, who, in revenge, served one of Thyestes' sons to him in a “Banquet.” The sun changed its course in horror.

- Vapour, and Mist, and Exhalation<sup>o</sup> hot, *meteors produced by vapor*  
 695 Corrupt and Pestilent:<sup>o</sup> Now from the North *carrying plague*  
 Of *Norumbega*, and the *Samoed* shoar  
 Bursting thir brazen Dungeon, armd with ice  
 And snow and haile and stormie gust and flaw,<sup>o</sup> *sudden squall*  
*Boreas* and *Cæcias* and *Argestes* loud  
 700 And *Thrascias* rend the Woods and Seas upturn;  
 With adverse blast up-turns them from the South  
*Notus* and *Afer* black with thundrous Clouds  
 From *Serraliona*; thwart of these as fierce  
 Forth rush the *Levant* and the *Ponent* Windes  
 705 *Eurus* and *Zephir* with thir lateral noise,  
*Sirocco*, and *Libecchio*. Thus began  
 Outrage from liveless things; but Discord first  
 Daughter of Sin, among th' irrational,  
 Death introduc'd through fierce antipathie:  
 710 Beast now with Beast gan war, and Fowle with Fowle,  
 And Fish with Fish; to graze the Herb all leaving,  
 Devour'd each other; nor stood much in awe  
 Of Man, but fled him, or with count'nance grim  
 Glar'd on him passing: these were from without  
 715 The growing miseries, which *Adam* saw  
 Alreadie in part, though hid in gloomiest shade,  
 To sorrow abandond, but worse felt within,  
 And in a troubl'd Sea of passion tost,  
 Thus to disburd'n sought with sad complaint.  
 720 O miserable of happie! is this the end  
 Of this new glorious World, and mee so late  
 The Glory of that Glory, who now becom  
 Accurst of blessed, hide me from the face  
 Of God, whom to behold was then my highth  
 725 Of happiness: yet well, if here would end

696 *Norumbega*. Northern New England and maritime Canada. *Samoed*. Northeastern Siberia.

698–706 *Boreas* . . . *Cæcias* . . . *Argestes* . . . *Thrascias*. All winds that blow from the north, northeast, and northwest, bursting from the cave ("brazen Dungeon") in which Aeolus had imprisoned the winds. "*Notus* and *Afer*" come from Sierra Leone ("*Serraliona*") on the west coast of Africa. Blowing across them ("thwart") are the "*Levant*" from the east and specifically the Levant region, and the "*Ponent*" (western) winds "*Eurus*" (east-southeast), "*Zephir*" (the west wind), "*Sirocco*" (southeast) and "*Libecchio*" (southwest).

707 **Discord**. The classical *Discordia* was the sister of *Death*, hence "Daughter of Sin."

711 **graze the Herb all leaving**. Vegetation and fruit were the prelapsarian foods of all creatures; meat-eating began with the Fall.

720 **O miserable of happie**. Adam's "sad complaint" begins with the classical formula for a tragic fall, the change from happiness to misery. Cf. Satan's soliloquy on Mount Niphates (4.32–113).

- The miserie, I deserv'd it, and would beare  
 My own deservings; but this will not serve;  
 All that I eat or drink, or shall beget,  
 Is propagat<sup>o</sup> curse. O voice once heard multiplied
- 730 Delightfully, *Encrease and multiply*,  
 Now death to hear! for what can I encrease  
 Or multiplie, but curses on my head?  
 Who of all Ages to succeed, but feeling  
 The evil on him brought by me, will curse
- 735 My Head, ill fare our Ancestor impure,  
 For this we may thank *Adam*; but his thanks  
 Shall be the execration;<sup>o</sup> so besides curse  
 Mine own that bide upon me, all from mee  
 Shall with a fierce reflux on mee redound,
- 740 On mee as on thir natural center light  
 Heavie, though in thir place. O fleeting joyes  
 Of Paradise, deare bought with lasting woes!  
 Did I request thee, Maker, from my Clay  
 To mould me Man, did I sollicite thee
- 745 From darkness to promote me, or here place  
 In this delicious Garden? as my Will  
 Concurd not to my being, it were but right  
 And equal<sup>o</sup> to reduce me to my dust, just  
 Desirous to resigne, and render back
- 750 All I receav'd, unable to performe  
 Thy terms too hard, by which I was to hold  
 The good I sought not. To the loss of that,  
 Sufficient penaltie, why hast thou added  
 The sense of endless woes? inexplicable
- 755 Thy Justice seems; yet to say truth, too late,  
 I thus contest; then should have been refusd  
 Those terms whatever, when they were propos'd:  
 Thou didst accept them; wilt thou enjoy the good,  
 Then cavil<sup>o</sup> the conditions? and though God object to
- 760 Made thee without thy leave, what if thy Son

738–41 **Mine own.** Adam's "own" curse will remain "bide upon" him, and the curses of "all" his descendants will flow back ("redound") on him as on their "natural center"; objects at that center ("in thir place") were thought to be weightless ("light"), but these curses will be "Heavie."

743–6. Cf. Isa. 45:9: "Woe unto him that striveth with his Maker! . . . Shall the clay say to him that fashioneth it, What makest thou?"

760–5. Cf. Isa. 45:10: "Woe unto him that saith unto his father, What begettest thou?"

- Prove disobedient, and reprov'd, retort,  
 Wherefore didst thou beget me? I sought it not.  
 Wouldst thou admit for his contempt of thee  
 That proud excuse? yet him not thy election,<sup>o</sup> *choice*
- 765 But Natural necessity begot.  
 God made thee of choice his own, and of his own  
 To serve him, thy reward was of his grace,  
 Thy punishment then justly is at his Will.  
 Be it so, for I submit, his doom<sup>o</sup> is fair, *judgment*
- 770 That dust I am, and shall to dust returne:  
 O welcom hour whenever! why delays  
 His hand to execute what his Decree  
 Fixd on this day? why do I overlive,  
 Why am I mockt with death, and length'nd out
- 775 To deathless pain? how gladly would I meet  
 Mortalitie my sentence, and be Earth  
 Insensible, how glad would lay me down  
 As in my Mothers lap! There I should rest  
 And sleep secure; his dreadful voice no more
- 780 Would Thunder in my ears, no fear of worse  
 To mee and to my ofspring would torment me  
 With cruel expectation. Yet one doubt  
 Pursues me still, least all I<sup>o</sup> cannot die, *all of me*  
 Least that pure breath of Life, the Spirit of Man
- 785 Which God inspir'd, cannot together perish  
 With this corporeal Clod; then in the Grave,  
 Or in some other dismal place who knows  
 But I shall die a living Death? O thought  
 Horrid, if true! yet why? it was but breath
- 790 Of Life that sinn'd; what dies but what had life  
 And sin? the Bodie properly hath neither.  
 All of me then shall die: let this appease  
 The doubt, since humane reach<sup>o</sup> no further knows. *understanding*  
 For though the Lord of all be infinite,
- 795 Is his wrauth also? be it,<sup>o</sup> man is not so, *even if it is*  
 But mortal doom'd. How can he exercise

770 **dust.** Cf. Gen. 3:19: "dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return."

792. Adam concludes that the soul dies with the body; he has reasoned his way to part of Milton's Mortalist heresy (*Christian Doctrine* 1.13) but not the rest, that both body and soul rise again on the Last Day.

794–808 **man is not so.** Adam intuits an axiom of Scholastic philosophy, that the action of agents is limited by the nature of the objects they act upon, so he reasons that "finite" matter cannot suffer "infinite" divine punishment.

- Wrath without end on Man whom Death must end?  
 Can he make deathless Death? that were to make  
 Strange contradiction, which to God himself
- 800 Impossible is held, as Argument<sup>o</sup> *proof*  
 Of weakness, not of Power. Will he draw out,  
 For angers sake, finite to infinite  
 In punisht man, to satisfie his rigour  
 Satisfi'd never; that were to extend
- 805 His Sentence beyond dust and Natures Law,  
 By which all Causes else according still  
 To the reception of thir matter act,  
 Not to th' extent of thir own Spheare. But say  
 That Death be not one stroak, as I suppos'd,
- 810 Bereaving<sup>o</sup> sense, but endless miserie *taking away*  
 From this day onward, which I feel begun  
 Both in me, and without<sup>o</sup> me, and so last *outside of*  
 To perpetuitie; Ay me, that fear  
 Comes thundring back with dreadful revolution<sup>o</sup> *recurrence*
- 815 On my defensless head; both Death and I  
 Am found Eternal, and incorporate<sup>o</sup> both, *making one body*  
 Nor I on my part single, in mee all  
 Posteritie stands curst: Fair Patrimonie  
 That I must leave ye, Sons; O were I able
- 820 To waste<sup>o</sup> it all my self, and leave ye none! *use it up*  
 So disinherited how would ye bless  
 Me now your curse! Ah, why should all mankind  
 For one mans fault thus guiltless be condemn'd,  
 If guiltless? But from mee what can proceed,
- 825 But all corrupt, both Mind and Will deprav'd,  
 Not to do onely, but to will the same  
 With me? how can they then acquitted stand  
 In sight of God? Him after all Disputes  
 Forc't<sup>o</sup> I absolve: all my evasions vain *necessarily*
- 830 And reasonings, though through Mazes, lead me still  
 But to my own conviction: first and last  
 On mee, mee onely, as the sourse and spring  
 Of all corruption, all the blame lights due;

799 **Strange contradiction.** Adam concludes, with the Scholastics and Milton himself, that God cannot do things that "imply a contradiction" (*Christian Doctrine* 1.2).

832–4 **On mee, mee onely.** Cf. the Son's offer to accept all humankind's guilt (3.236–7) and Eve's similar offer (10.935–6).



- So might the wrauth. Fond<sup>o</sup> wish! couldst thou support *foolish*  
 835 That burden heavier then the Earth to bear,  
 Then all the World<sup>o</sup> much heavier, though divided *universe*  
 With that bad Woman? Thus what thou desir'st,  
 And what thou fearest, alike destroyes all hope  
 Of refuge, and concludes thee miserable  
 840 Beyond all past example and future,  
 To Satan only like both crime and doom.  
 O Conscience, into what Abyss of fears  
 And horrors hast thou driv'n me; out of which  
 I find no way, from deep to deeper plung'd!  
 845 Thus *Adam* to himself lamented loud  
 Through the still Night, not now, as ere man fell,  
 Wholsom and cool, and mild, but with black Air  
 Accompanied, with damp<sup>o</sup> and dreadful gloom, *noxious vapors*  
 Which to his evil Conscience represented  
 850 All things with double terror: On the Ground  
 Outstretcht he lay, on the cold ground, and oft  
 Curs'd his Creation, Death as oft accus'd  
 Of tardie execution, since denounc't<sup>o</sup> *pronounced*  
 The day of his offence. Why comes not Death,  
 855 Said hee, with one thrice acceptable stroke  
 To end me? Shall Truth fail to keep her word,  
 Justice Divine not hast'n to be just?  
 But Death comes not at call, Justice Divine  
 Mend<sup>o</sup> not her slowest pace for prayers or cries. *quicken*  
 860 O Woods, O Fountains, Hillocks, Dales and Bowsrs,  
 With other echo late I taught your Shades  
 To answer, and resound farr other Song.  
 Whom thus afflicted when sad *Eve* beheld,  
 Desolate where she sate, approaching nigh,  
 865 Soft words to his fierce passion she assay'd:  
 But her with stern regard he thus repell'd.  
 Out of my sight, thou Serpent, that name best  
 Befits thee with him leagu'd, thy self as false  
 And hateful; nothing wants,<sup>o</sup> but that thy shape, *is lacking*  
 870 Like his, and colour Serpentine may shew

860–2. Cf. Adam and Eve's Morning Hymn (5:153–208, esp. 203–4).

867. Adam's misogynistic outcry begins by reference to the patristic tradition that the name "Eve," aspirated, means "serpent." Raphael (5:388–91) and Adam later (11.159–61) refer to the tradition that interprets her name to mean "life"; cf. 9.1067.

- Thy inward fraud, to warn all Creatures from thee  
 Henceforth; least that too heav'nly form, pretended<sup>o</sup> *made a disguise*  
 To hellish falshood, snare them. But for thee  
 I had persisted happie, had not thy pride  
 875 And wandring vanitie, when lest was safe,  
 Rejected my forewarning, and disdain'd  
 Not to be trusted, longing to be seen  
 Though by the Devil himself, him overweening<sup>o</sup> *overconfident*  
 To over-reach,<sup>o</sup> but with the Serpent meeting *outwit*  
 880 Fool'd and beguil'd, by him thou, I by thee,  
 To trust thee from my side, imagin'd wise,  
 Constant, mature, proof against all assaults,  
 And understood not all was but a shew  
 Rather then solid vertu, all but a Rib  
 885 Crooked by nature, bent, as now appears,  
 More to the part sinister<sup>o</sup> from me drawn, *the left side, evil*  
 Well if thrown out, as supernumerarie  
 To my just number found. O why did God,  
 Creator wise, that peopl'd highest Heav'n  
 890 With Spirits Masculine, create at last  
 This noveltie on Earth, this fair defect  
 Of Nature, and not fill the World at once  
 With Men as Angels without Feminine,  
 Or find some other way to generate  
 895 Mankind? this mischief had not then befall'n,  
 And more that shall befall, innumerable  
 Disturbances on Earth through Femal snares,  
 And straight<sup>o</sup> conjunction with this Sex: for either *close, intimate*  
 He never shall find out fit Mate, but such  
 900 As some misfortune brings him, or mistake,  
 Or whom he wishes most shall seldom gain  
 Through her perversness, but shall see her gaind  
 By a farr worse, or if she love, withheld  
 By Parents, or his happiest choice too late  
 905 Shall meet, alreadie linkt and Wedlock-bound  
 To a fell<sup>o</sup> Adversarie, his hate or shame: *bitter*  
 Which infinite calamitie shall cause

884–6 a Rib / Crooked. A commonplace of misogynistic discourses.

887–8 supernumerarie. Some commentators claimed that Adam had thirteen ribs on the left side, so he could spare one for the creation of Eve and still retain his “just number.”

889–90 Spirits Masculine. Cf. 1.423–5.

891–2 defect / Of Nature. Aristotle (*De Generatione*) termed the female a defective male.

To Humane life, and household peace confound.

He added not, and from her turn'd, but *Eve*

910 Not so repulst, with Tears that ceas'd not flowing,  
And tresses all disorderd, at his feet  
Fell humble, and imbracing them, besaught  
His peace, and thus proceeded in her plaint.

Forsake me not thus, *Adam*, witness Heav'n

915 What love sincere, and reverence in my heart  
I beare thee, and unweeting<sup>o</sup> have offended,  
Unhappilie deceav'd; thy suppliant  
I beg, and clasp thy knees; bereave<sup>o</sup> me not,  
Whereon I live, thy gentle looks, thy aid,

*unknowing*

*deprive*

920 Thy counsel in this uttermost distress,  
My onely strength and stay: forlorn of thee,  
Whither shall I betake me, where subsist?  
While yet we live, scarce one short hour perhaps,  
Between us two let there be peace, both joyning,

925 As joyn'd in injuries, one enmitie  
Against a Foe by doom<sup>o</sup> express assign'd us,  
That cruel Serpent: On me exercise not  
Thy hatred for this miserie befall'n,  
On me already lost, mee then thy self

*judgment*

930 More miserable; both have sin'd, but thou  
Against God onely, I against God and thee,  
And to the place of judgment will return,  
There with my cries importune Heaven, that all  
The sentence from thy head remov'd may light

935 On me, sole cause to thee of all this woe,  
Mee mee onely just object of his ire.

She ended weeping, and her lowlie plight,<sup>o</sup>  
Immovable till peace obtain'd from fault  
Acknowledg'd and deplor'd, in *Adam* wraught

*posture*

940 Commiseration; soon his heart relented  
Towards her, his life so late and sole delight,  
Now at his feet submissive in distress,  
Creature so faire his reconcilement seeking,  
His counsel whom she had displeas'd, his aide;

945 As one disarm'd, his anger all he lost,  
And thus with peaceful words uprais'd her soon.

917–18. *Eve* assumes the posture of a classical suppliant, clasping *Adam's* knees as she begs for reconciliation.  
936–7 **Mee mee only**. Cf. *Adam's* cry at 832–4 above and the *Son's* offer (3.236–7).

- Unwarie, and too desirous, as before,  
 So now of what thou knowst not, who desir'st  
 The punishment all on thy self; alas,  
 950 Beare thine own first, ill able to sustaine  
 His full wrauth whose thou feelst as yet lest part,  
 And my displeasure bearst so ill. If Prayers  
 Could alter high Decrees, I to that place  
 Would speed before thee, and be louder heard,  
 955 That on my head all might be visited,  
 Thy frailtie and infirmer Sex forgiv'n,  
 To me committed and by me expos'd.  
 But rise, let us no more contend, nor blame  
 Each other, blam'd enough elsewhere, but strive  
 960 In offices<sup>o</sup> of Love, how we may light'n duties  
 Each others burden in our share of woe;  
 Since this days Death denounc't, if ought I see,  
 Will prove no sudden, but a slow-pac't evill,  
 A long days dying to augment our paine,  
 965 And to our Seed (O hapless Seed!) deriv'd.<sup>o</sup> passed down  
 To whom thus *Eve*, recovering heart, repli'd.  
*Adam*, by sad experiment<sup>o</sup> I know experience  
 How little weight my words with thee can finde,  
 Found so erroneous, thence by just event<sup>o</sup> outcome  
 970 Found so unfortunate; nevertheless,  
 Restor'd by thee, vile as I am, to place  
 Of new acceptance, hopeful to regaine  
 Thy Love, the sole contentment of my heart  
 Living or dying, from thee I will not hide  
 975 What thoughts in my unquiet brest are ris'n,  
 Tending to some relief of our extremes,<sup>o</sup> extremities, hardships  
 Or end, though sharp and sad, yet tolerable,  
 As in<sup>o</sup> our evils, and of easier choice. considering  
 If care of our descent<sup>o</sup> perplex<sup>o</sup> us most, descendants / torment  
 980 Which must be born to certain woe, devour'd  
 By Death at last, and miserable it is  
 To be to others cause of misery,  
 Our own begotten, and of our Loines to bring  
 Into this cursed World a woful Race,  
 985 That after wretched Life must be at last  
 Food for so foule a Monster, in thy power

953 **that place.** The place of judgment.

- It lies, yet ere Conception to prevent<sup>o</sup> *forestall*  
 The Race unblest, to being yet unbegot.  
 Childless thou art, Childless remaine:  
 990 So Death shall be deceav'd<sup>o</sup> his glut, and with us two *cheated of*  
 Be forc'd to satisfie his Rav'nous Maw.  
 But if thou judge it hard and difficult,  
 Conversing, looking, loving, to abstain  
 From Loves due Rites, Nuptial imbraces sweet,  
 995 And with desire to languish without hope,  
 Before the present object languishing  
 With like desire, which would be miserie  
 And torment less then none of what we dread,  
 Then both our selves and Seed at once to free  
 1000 From what we fear for both, let us make short,<sup>o</sup> *lose no time*  
 Let us seek Death, or he not found, supply  
 With our own hands his Office on our selves;  
 Why stand we longer shivering under feares,  
 That shew no end but Death, and have the power,  
 1005 Of many ways to die the shortest choosing,  
 Destruction with destruction to destroy.  
     She ended heer, or vehement<sup>o</sup> despaire *passionate*  
 Broke off the rest; so much of Death her thoughts  
 Had entertaind, as di'd her Cheeks with pale.  
 1010 But *Adam* with such counsel nothing<sup>o</sup> sway'd, *not at all*  
 To better hopes his more attentive minde  
 Labouring had rais'd, and thus to *Eve* repli'd.  
     *Eve*, thy contempt of life and pleasure seems  
 To argue in thee something more sublime  
 1015 And excellent then what thy minde contemnes;  
 But self-destruction therefore saught, refutes  
 That excellence thought in thee, and implies,  
 Not thy contempt, but anguish and regret  
 For loss of life and pleasure overlov'd.  
 1020 Or if thou covet death, as utmost end  
 Of miserie, so thinking to evade  
 The penaltie pronounc't, doubt not but God  
 Hath wiselier arm'd his vengeful ire then so  
 To be forestall'd; much more I fear least Death  
 1025 So snatcht will not exempt us from the paine

996 **present object.** *Eve* herself, who then imagines her own frustrated desire.

1015 **What thy minde contemnes.** Life, which your mind seems to despise.

- We are by doom<sup>o</sup> to pay; rather such acts  
 Of contumacie<sup>o</sup> will provoke the highest  
 To make death in us live: Then let us seek  
 Some safer resolution, which methinks
- 1030 I have in view, calling to minde with heed  
 Part of our Sentence, that thy Seed shall bruise  
 The Serpents head; piteous amends,<sup>o</sup> unless  
 Be meant, whom I conjecture, our grand Foe  
*Satan*, who in the Serpent hath contriv'd
- 1035 Against us this deceit: to crush his head  
 Would be revenge indeed; which will be lost  
 By death brought on our selves, or childless days  
 Resolv'd, as thou proposest; so our Foe  
 Shall scape his punishment ordain'd, and wee
- 1040 Instead shall double ours upon our heads.  
 No more be mention'd then of violence  
 Against our selves, and wilful barrenness,  
 That cuts us off from hope, and savours onely  
 Rancor and pride, impatience and despite,
- 1045 Reluctance<sup>o</sup> against God and his just yoke  
 Laid on our Necks. Remember with what mild  
 And gracious temper he both heard and judg'd  
 Without wrauth or reviling; wee expected  
 Immediate dissolution, which we thought
- 1050 Was meant by Death that day, when lo, to thee  
 Pains onely in Child-bearing were foretold,  
 And bringing forth, soon recompenc't with joy,  
 Fruit of thy Womb: On mee the Curse aslope  
 Glanc'd on the ground, with labour I must earne
- 1055 My bread; what harm? Idleness had bin worse;  
 My labour will sustain me; and least Cold  
 Or Heat should injure us, his timely care  
 Hath unbesaught provided, and his hands  
 Cloath'd us unworthie, pitying while he judg'd;
- 1060 How much more, if we pray him, will his ear  
 Be open, and his heart to pitie incline,  
 And teach us further by what means to shun  
 Th' inclement Seasons, Rain, Ice, Hail and Snow,

*judgment*  
*willful disobedience*

*small consolation*

*struggling, resistance*

1052–4. Adam echoes Elizabeth's address to Mary, mother of Jesus, "Blessed is the fruit of thy womb" (Luke 1:42), alluding unaware to the promise about the "Seed" of the woman. **aslope.** Like a spear that "Glanc'd" aside from its target and hit the ground.

- Which now the Skie with various Face begins  
 1065 To shew us in this Mountain, while the Winds  
 Blow moist and keen, shattering<sup>o</sup> the graceful locks<sup>o</sup> *scattering / leaves*  
 Of these fair spreading Trees; which bids us seek  
 Som better shroud,<sup>o</sup> som better warmth to cherish<sup>o</sup> *shelter / keep warm*  
 Our Limbs benumm'd, ere this diurnal Starr<sup>o</sup> *the sun*  
 1070 Leave cold the Night, how we his gather'd beams  
 Reflected, may with matter sere<sup>o</sup> foment,<sup>o</sup> *dry / excite*  
 Or by collision of two bodies grinde  
 The Air attrite<sup>o</sup> to Fire, as late the Clouds *sparked by friction*  
 Justling or pusht with Winds rude in thir shock  
 1075 Tine the slant Lightning, whose thwart flame driv'n down  
 Kindles the gummie bark of Firr or Pine,  
 And sends a comfortable heat from farr,  
 Which might supplie<sup>o</sup> the Sun: such Fire to use, *add to*  
 And what may else be remedie or cure  
 1080 To evils which our own misdeeds have wrought,  
 Hee will instruct us praying, and of Grace  
 Beseeching him, so as we need not fear  
 To pass commodiously this life, sustain'd  
 By him with many comforts, till we end  
 1085 In dust, our final rest and native home.  
 What better can we do, then to the place  
 Repairing where he judg'd us, prostrate fall  
 Before him reverent, and there confess  
 Humbly our faults, and pardon beg, with tears  
 1090 Watering the ground, and with our sighs the Air  
 Frequenting,<sup>o</sup> sent from hearts contrite, in sign *filling*  
 Of sorrow unfeign'd, and humiliation meek.  
 Undoubtedly he will relent and turn  
 From his displeasure; in whose look serene,  
 1095 When angry most he seem'd and most severe,  
 What else but favor, grace, and mercie shon?  
 So spake our Father penitent, nor *Eve*  
 Felt less remorse: they forthwith to the place  
 Repairing where he judg'd them prostrate fell  
 1100 Before him reverent, and both confess'd

1075–8. Cf. Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* 5.1091–5, for the theory that fire was discovered from lightning striking the forests. **Tine.** Ignite. **thwart.** Slanting.

1098–1104. The final six and a half lines repeat almost word for word lines 1086–92, only with changed verb tenses, as Adam's proposed gesture of repentance is seen to be carried out in every detail.

Humbly thir faults, and pardon beg'd, with tears  
Watering the ground, and with thir sighs the Air  
Frequenting, sent from hearts contrite, in sign  
Of sorrow unfeign'd, and humiliation meek.

*The End of the Tenth Book.*





Figure 8 Illustration to Book 11, 1688 (John Baptista Medina)

## BOOK 11 THE ARGUMENT

The Son of God presents to his Father the Prayers of our first Parents now repenting, and intercedes for them: God accepts them, but declares that they must no longer abide in Paradise; sends *Michael* with a Band of Cherubim to dispossess them; but first to reveal to *Adam* future things: *Michaels* coming down. *Adam* shews to *Eve* certain ominous signs; he discerns *Michaels* approach, goes out to meet him: the Angel denounces thir departure. *Eve's* Lamentation. *Adam* pleads, but submits: The Angel leads him up to a high Hill, sets before him in vision what shall happ'n till the Flood.

Thus they in lowliest plight repentant stood  
Praying, for from the Mercie-seat above  
Prevenient Grace descending had remov'd  
The stonie from thir hearts, & made new flesh  
5 Regenerate grow instead, that sighs now breath'd  
Unutterable, which the Spirit of prayer  
Inspir'd, and wing'd for Heav'n with speedier flight  
Then loudest Oratorie:° yet thir port° *prayers / bearing*  
Not of mean suiters, nor important less  
10 Seem'd thir Petition, then when th' ancient Pair  
In Fables old, less ancient yet then these,  
*Deucalion* and chaste *Pyrrha* to restore  
The Race of Mankind drownd, before the Shrine  
Of *Themis* stood devout. To Heav'n thir prayers  
15 Flew up, nor misd the way, by envious windes  
Blow'n vagabond° or frustrate:° in they passd *scattered / thwarted*  
Dimensionless° through Heav'nly dores; then clad *without physical extension*

6 **denounces.** Proclaims.

1 **stood.** May mean “remained,” or that, after prostrating themselves (10.1099) they prayed standing upright; their “port” was “Not of mean suiters” (8–9). Cf. 4.720–2.

3–5 **Prevenient Grace.** Grace preceding human choice, enabling the will (in bondage as a result of sin) to repent. Cf. Ezek. 11:19, “I will take the stony heart out of their flesh, and will given them an heart of flesh” – a proof-text for regeneration.

5–7 **Unutterable.** Cf. Rom. 8:26: “we know not what we should pray for as we ought: but the Spirit itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered.”

10–14 **ancient Pair.** In a Greek myth analogous to the Noah story, “*Deucalion*” and his wife “*Pyrrha*” alone survive a universal flood by building an ark. They then pray to “*Themis*,” goddess of justice, who tells them to restore humankind by throwing stones behind them, which turn into men and women (*Metamorphoses* 1.318–415).

With incense, where the Golden Altar fum'd,  
 By thir great Intercessor, came in sight  
 20 Before the Fathers Throne: Them the glad<sup>o</sup> Son *pleased*  
 Presenting, thus to intercede began.  
 See Father, what first fruits on Earth are sprung  
 From thy implanted Grace in Man, these Sighs  
 And Prayers, which in this Golden Censer,<sup>o</sup> mixt *incense-burner*  
 25 With Incense, I thy Priest before thee bring,  
 Fruits of more pleasing savour from thy seed  
 Sow'n with contrition in his heart, then those  
 Which his own hand manuring<sup>o</sup> all the Trees *cultivating*  
 Of Paradise could have produc't, ere fall'n  
 30 From innocence. Now therefore bend thine eare  
 To supplication, heare his sighs though mute;  
 Unskilful with what words to pray, let mee  
 Interpret for him, mee his Advocate  
 And propitiation, all his works on mee  
 35 Good or not good ingraft, my Merit those  
 Shall perfet, and for these my Death shall pay.  
 Accept me, and in mee from these receive  
 The smell of peace toward Mankinde, let him live  
 Before thee reconcil'd, at least his days  
 40 Numberd, though sad, till Death, his doom (which I  
 To mitigate thus plead, not to reverse)  
 To better life shall yeeld him, where with mee  
 All my redeemd may dwell in joy and bliss,  
 Made one with me as I with thee am one.  
 45 To whom the Father, without Cloud, serene.  
 All thy request for Man, accepted Son,  
 Obtain, all thy request was my Decree:  
 But longer in that Paradise to dwell,

18 **incense.** Cf. Rev. 8:3, "another angel came . . . having a golden censer; and there was given unto him much incense, that he should offer it with the prayers of all saints upon the golden altar which was before the throne."

25 **Priest.** In *Christian Doctrine* 1.15, Milton defines Christ's priestly function as that whereby he "once offered himself to God the Father as a sacrifice for sinners, and has always made, and still continues to make intercession for us."

33–4 **Advocate / And propitiation.** Cf. 1 John 2:1–2: "We have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: And he is the propitiation for our sins."

34–6 **ingraft.** The theological term for the Son taking to himself all the "works" of humans, perfecting their good deeds by his "Merit" and by his "Death" paying the debt due God's justice for their evil deeds.

42–4 **Made one.** Cf. John 17:22–3: "that they may be one, even as we are one: I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one."

The Law I gave to Nature him forbids:

- 50 Those pure immortal Elements that know  
 No gross, no unharmonious mixture foule,  
 Eject him tainted now, and purge him off  
 As a distemper, gross to aire as gross,  
 And mortal food, as may dispose him best
- 55 For dissolution wrought by Sin, that first  
 Distemperd<sup>o</sup> all things, and of incorrupt  
 Corrupted. I at first with two fair gifts  
 Created him endowd, with Happiness  
 And Immortalitie: that fondly<sup>o</sup> lost,
- 60 This other serv'd but to eternize woe;  
 Till I provided Death; so Death becomes  
 His final remedie, and after Life  
 Tri'd in sharp tribulation, and refin'd  
 By Faith and faithful works, to second Life,
- 65 Wak't in the renovation of the just,  
 Resignes him up with Heav'n and Earth renewd.  
 But let us call to Synod<sup>o</sup> all the Blest  
 Through Heav'ns wide bounds; from them I will not hide  
 My judgments, how with Mankind I proceed,
- 70 As how with peccant<sup>o</sup> Angels late they saw;  
 And in thir state, though firm, stood more confirmd.  
 He ended, and the Son gave signal high  
 To the bright Minister that watchd, hee blew  
 His Trumpet, heard in *Oreb* since perhaps
- 75 When God descended, and perhaps once more  
 To sound at general Doom. Th' Angelic blast  
 Filled all the Regions: from thir blissful Bows  
 Of *Amarantin* Shade,<sup>o</sup> Fountain or Spring,  
 By the waters of Life, where ere they sate
- 80 In fellowships of joy: the Sons of Light  
 Hasted, resorting<sup>o</sup> to the Summons high,  
 And took thir Seats; till from his Throne supream

*destroyed harmony in*

*foolishly*

*assembly*

*sinning*

*unfading trees*

*gathering*

50–5 **pure immortal Elements.** These themselves “purge” man as a “distemper” (“unharmonious” disorder), and “Eject” him from Eden to a place where the air and food are more “gross,” like himself, disposing him for death, the “dissolution wrought by Sin.”

64 **Faith and faithful works.** Cf. *Christian Doctrine* 1.22: “we are justified by faith without the works of the law, but not without the works of faith” – a qualification of the reformed doctrine of *Sola Fides*.

65 **renovation.** The resurrection and renewal of body and soul at the Last Day.

74–6. A trumpet sounded on Mount “*Oreb*” when God delivered the Ten Commandments to Moses (Exod. 19:19); it will sound again at the Last Judgment (“general Doom”).

Th' Almighty thus pronounced his sovran Will.

O Sons, like one of us Man is become

85 To know both Good and Evil, since his taste  
Of that defended<sup>o</sup> Fruit; but let him boast  
His knowledge of Good lost, and Evil got,  
Happier, had suffic'd him to have known  
Good by it self, and Evil not at all.

*forbidden*

90 He sorrows now, repents, and prays contrite,  
My motions<sup>o</sup> in him, longer then they move,  
His heart I know, how variable and vain  
Self-left. Least therefore his now bolder hand  
Reach also of the Tree of Life, and eat,

*impulses*

95 And live for ever, dream at least to live  
For ever, to remove him I decree,  
And send him from the Garden forth to Till  
The Ground whence he was taken, fitter soile.

*Michael*, this my behest have thou in charge,

100 Take to thee from among the Cherubim  
Thy choice of flaming Warriours, lest the Fiend  
Or<sup>o</sup> in behalf of Man, or to invade  
Vacant possession<sup>o</sup> som new trouble raise:  
Hast thee, and from the Paradise of God

*either*

*abandoned property*

105 Without remorse drive out the sinful Pair,  
From hallowd ground th' unholie, and denounce<sup>o</sup>  
To them and to thir Progenie from thence  
Perpetual banishment. Yet least they faint<sup>o</sup>  
At the sad Sentence rigorously urg'd,

*announce*

*become depressed, swoon*

110 For I behold them softn'd and with tears  
Bewailing thir excess,<sup>o</sup> all terror hide.  
If patiently thy bidding they obey,  
Dismiss them not disconsolate; reveale  
To *Adam* what shall come in future dayes,

*violation of law*

115 As I shall thee enlighten, intermix  
My Cov'nant in the womans seed renewd;  
So send them forth, though sorrowing, yet in peace:

83–98. Several phrases in God's speech are closely quoted from Gen. 3:22–3: "And the Lord God said, Behold, the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil: and now, lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever: Therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the garden of Eden, to till the ground from whence he was taken." Milton adds the phrase, "dream at least to live / For ever" (95–6) to signal that some of God's statements (84–5, 94–5) are ironic.

115 **As I shall thee enlighten.** God, it seems, reveals the "future" events to Michael at the same time as Michael presents them to Adam (see 12:128).

- And on the East side of the Garden place,  
 Where entrance up from *Eden* easiest climbs,  
 120 Cherubic watch,<sup>o</sup> and of a Sword the flame *sentinels*  
 Wide waving, all approach farr off to fright,  
 And guard all passage to the Tree of Life:  
 Least Paradise a receptacle prove  
 To Spirits foule, and all my Trees thir prey,  
 125 With whose stol'n Fruit Man once more to delude.  
     He ceas'd; and th' Archangelic Power prepar'd  
 For swift descent, with him the Cohort bright  
 Of watchful Cherubim; four faces each  
 Had, like a double *Janus*, all thir shape  
 130 Spangl'd with eyes more numerous then those  
 Of *Argus*, and more wakeful then to drouze,  
 Charm'd with *Arcadian* Pipe, the Pastoral Reed  
 Of *Hermes*, or his opiate Rod. Mean while  
 To resalute the World with sacred Light  
 135 *Leucothea* wak'd, and with fresh dewes imbalmd  
 The Earth, when *Adam* and first Matron *Eve*  
 Had ended now thir Orisons, and found,  
 Strength added from above, new hope to spring  
 Out of despaire, joy, but with fear yet linkt;  
 140 Which thus to *Eve* his welcome words renewd.<sup>o</sup> *resumed*  
     *Eve*, easily may Faith admit, that all  
 The good which we enjoy, from Heav'n descends;  
 But that from us ought<sup>o</sup> should ascend to Heav'n *anything*  
 So prevalent<sup>o</sup> as to concerne the mind *influential, potent*  
 145 Of God high-blest, or to incline his will,  
 Hard to belief may seem; yet this will Prayer,  
 Or one short sigh of humane breath, up-borne  
 Ev'n to the Seat of God. For since I saught  
 By Prayer th' offended Deitie to appease,  
 150 Kneel'd and before him humbl'd all my heart,  
 Methought I saw him placable<sup>o</sup> and mild, *forgiving*

118–22. Cf. Gen. 3:24: “So he drove out the man; and he placed at the east of the garden of Eden Cherubims, and a flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the way of the tree of life.”

128–9 **Cherubim; four faces each.** Cf. Ezek. 1:10 and *PL* 6.753–6. **Janus.** The Roman god of doorways had two faces – in one version, four, corresponding to the four seasons and the four quarters of the earth.

129–33 **Argus.** Argus, with one hundred eyes, was set by Juno to watch Jove's mistress Io, but “*Hermes*” (Mercury) put all of his eyes to sleep with his music (“*Arcadian* Pipe”) and his sleep-inducing caduceus (“opiate Rod”).

135 **Leucothea.** Roman goddess of the dawn.

- Bending his eare; perswasion in me grew  
 That I was heard with favour; peace returnd  
 Home to my Brest, and to my memorie  
 155 His promise, that thy Seed shall bruise our Foe;  
 Which then not minded<sup>o</sup> in dismay, yet now *attended to*  
 Assures me that the bitterness of death  
 Is past, and we shall live. Whence Haile to thee,  
*Eve* rightly call'd, Mother of all Mankind,  
 160 Mother of all things living, since by thee  
 Man is to live, and all things live for Man.  
 To whom thus *Eve* with sad<sup>o</sup> demeanour meek. *serious, grave*  
 Ill worthie I such title should belong  
 To me transgressour, who for thee ordaind  
 165 A help, became thy snare; to mee reproach  
 Rather belongs, distrust and all dispraise:  
 But infinite in pardon was my Judge,  
 That I who first brought Death on all, am grac't  
 The source of life; next favourable thou,  
 170 Who highly thus to entitle me voutsaf'st,  
 Farr other name deserving. But the Field  
 To labour calls us now with sweat impos'd,  
 Though after sleepless Night; for see the Morn,  
 All unconcern'd with our unrest, begins  
 175 Her rosie progress smiling; let us forth,  
 I never from thy side henceforth to stray,  
 Whereere our days work lies, though now enjoind  
 Laborious, till day droop; while here we dwell,  
 What can be toilsom in these pleasant Walkes?  
 180 Here let us live, though in fall'n state, content.  
 So spake, so wish'd much-humbl'd *Eve*, but Fate  
 Subscrib'd not; Nature first gave Signs, imprest  
 On Bird, Beast, Aire, Aire suddenly eclips'd<sup>o</sup> *darkened*  
 After short blush of Morn; nigh in her sight  
 185 The Bird of *Jove*, stoopt from his aerie tour,  
 Two Birds of gayest plume before him drove:  
 Down from a Hill the Beast that reigns in Woods,<sup>o</sup> *the lion*  
 First hunter then, pursu'd a gentle brace,<sup>o</sup> *pair*

155 **promise.** Cf. 10.179–81

158–60. Cf. Raphael's salutation at 5.385–91. The name "Eve" is cognate with the Hebrew word meaning life.

172 **sweat impos'd.** Part of the punishment for the Fall, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread" (Gen. 3:19). Cf. *PL* 10.205.

185–6 **Bird of Jove.** The eagle swooped ("stoopt") from his towering flight ("aerie tour").

- Goodliest of all the Forrest, Hart and Hinde;  
 190 Direct to th' Eastern Gate was bent thir flight.  
*Adam* observ'd, and with his Eye the chase  
 Pursuing, not unmov'd to *Eve* thus spake.  
 O *Eve*, some furdur change awaits us nigh,  
 Which Heav'n by these mute signs in Nature shews  
 195 Forerunners of his purpose, or to warn  
 Us haply<sup>o</sup> too secure<sup>o</sup> of our discharge *perhaps / overconfident*  
 From penaltie, because from death releast  
 Some days; how long, and what till then our life,  
 Who knows, or more then this, that we are dust,  
 200 And thither must return and be no more.  
 Why else this double object in our sight  
 Of flight pursu'd in th' Air and ore the ground  
 One way the self-same hour? why in the East  
 Darkness ere Dayes mid-course, and Morning light  
 205 More orient<sup>o</sup> in yon Western Cloud that draws *bright*  
 O're the blew Firmament a radiant white,  
 And slow descends, with somthing heav'nly fraught.<sup>o</sup> *stored*  
 He err'd not, for by this<sup>o</sup> the heav'nly Bands *by this time*  
 Down from a Skie of Jasper lighted<sup>o</sup> now *alighted, shone*  
 210 In Paradise, and on a Hill made alt,<sup>o</sup> *came to a halt*  
 A glorious Apparition, had not doubt  
 And carnal<sup>o</sup> fear that day dimm'd *Adams* eye. *bodily*  
 Not that more glorious, when the Angels met  
*Jacob* in *Mahanaim*, where he saw  
 215 The field Pavilion'd with his Guardians bright;  
 Nor that which on the flaming Mount appeerd  
 In *Dothan*, cover'd with a Camp of Fire,  
 Against the *Syrian* King, who to surprize  
 One man, Assassin-like had levied Warr,  
 220 Warr unproclam'd. The Princely Hierarch  
 In thir bright stand,<sup>o</sup> there left his Powers<sup>o</sup> to seize *formation / army*  
 Possession of the Garden; hee alone,  
 To find where *Adam* shelterd, took his way,

194–5 **mute signs.** Both scenes portray a regal creature (eagle, lion) driving forth a superlatively lovely pair.

Without making a specific interpretation Adam infers that they may be “Forerunners” of God’s purpose.

214–15 **Mahanaim.** “*Jacob*” gave this name, meaning “armies” or “camps” (“field Pavilion’d”) to a place where he saw an army of angels (Gen. 32:1–2).

216–20 **flaming Mount.** The “*Syrian* King” had “levied Warr” against “*Dothan*” in an effort to capture Elisha the prophet (“One man”), but God surrounded him on a mountain with horses and chariots of fire (2 Kgs 6:17).



- Not unperceav'd of *Adam*, who to *Eve*,  
 225 While the great Visitant approachd, thus spake.  
     *Eve*, now expect great tidings, which perhaps  
     Of us will soon determin,<sup>o</sup> or impose *make an end*  
     New Laws to be observ'd; for I descrie  
     From yonder blazing Cloud that veils the Hill  
 230 One of the heav'nly Host, and by his Gate  
     None of the meanest, some great Potentate  
     Or of the Thrones above, such Majestie  
     Invests him coming; yet not terrible,  
     That I should fear, nor sociably mild,  
 235 As *Raphael*, that I should much confide,  
     But solemn and sublime, whom not to offend,  
     With reverence I must meet, and thou retire.  
     He ended; and th' Arch-Angel soon drew nigh,  
     Not in his shape Celestial, but as Man  
 240 Clad to meet Man; over his lucid<sup>o</sup> Armes *bright*  
     A militarie Vest of purple flowd  
     Livelier then *Melibæan*, or the graine  
     Of *Sarra*, worn by Kings and Hero's old  
     In time of Truce; *Iris* had dipt the wooff;  
 245 His starrie Helme unbuckl'd shew'd him prime  
     In Manhood where Youth ended; by his side  
     As in a glistering *Zodiac*<sup>o</sup> hung the Sword, *belt of constellations*  
     Satans dire dread, and in his hand the Spear.  
     *Adam* bowd low, hee Kingly from his State<sup>o</sup> *regal bearing*  
 250 Inclind not, but his coming thus declar'd.  
     *Adam*, Heav'ns high behest no Preface needs:  
     Sufficient that thy Prayers are heard, and Death,  
     Then due by sentence when thou didst transgress,  
     Defeated<sup>o</sup> of his seisure<sup>o</sup> many dayes *cheated / possession*  
 255 Giv'n thee of Grace, wherein thou may'st repent,  
     And one bad act with many deeds well done  
     Mayst cover: well may then thy Lord appeas'd  
     Redeem thee quite from Deaths rapacious claime;  
     But longer in this Paradise to dwell  
 260 Permits not; to remove thee I am come,

240. Cf. Raphael's appearance at 5.277–85.

242–4 *Melibæan*. Both Melibœa in Thessaly and “*Sarra*” (Tyre) were famous for purple dye (“grain”). “*Iris*” as goddess of the rainbow (also the sign of God's “Truce”) dyed the “wooff” (threads woven across a warp).

And send thee from the Garden forth to till  
The ground whence thou wast tak'n, fitter Soile.

He added not, for *Adam* at the newes  
Heart-strook with chilling gripe<sup>o</sup> of sorrow stood,

265 That all his senses bound;<sup>o</sup> *Eve*, who unseen

*spasm*  
*seized up*

Yet all had heard, with audible lament

Discover'd<sup>o</sup> soon the place of her retire.<sup>o</sup>

*revealed / retreat*

O unexpected stroke, worse then of Death!

Must I thus leave thee Paradise? thus leave

270 Thee Native Soile, these happie Walks and Shades,

Fit haunt of Gods? where I had hope to spend,

Quiet though sad, the respite<sup>o</sup> of that day

*delay*

That must be mortal to us both. O flours,

That never will in other Climate grow,

275 My early visitation, and my last

At Eev'n, which I bred up with tender hand

From the first op'ning bud, and gave ye Names,

Who now shall reare ye to the Sun, or ranke

Your Tribes,<sup>o</sup> and water from th' ambrosial Fount?

*species*

280 Thee lastly nuptial Bowre, by mee adorn'd

With what to sight or smell was sweet; from thee

How shall I part, and whither wander down

Into a lower World, to<sup>o</sup> this obscure

*compared to*

And wilde, how shall we breath in other Aire

285 Less pure, accusom'd to immortal Fruits?

Whom thus the Angel interrupted milde.

Lament not *Eve*, but patiently resigne

What justly thou hast lost; nor set thy heart,

Thus over-fond, on that which is not thine;

290 Thy going is not lonely, with thee goes

Thy Husband, him to follow thou art bound;

Where he abides, think there thy native soile.

*Adam* by this<sup>o</sup> from the cold sudden damp<sup>o</sup>

*by this time / stupor*

Recovering, and his scatter'd spirits return'd,

295 To *Michael* thus his humble words address'd.

Celestial, whether among the Thrones, or nam'd

Of them the Highest, for such of shape may seem

269–70 **Native Soile.** Unlike Adam, Eve was created in the “Paradise” of Eden.

277. Milton departs from Gen. 2:19–20, in which Adam alone gives names. The action of naming the flowers (like Adam’s naming of the beasts, 8.352–5) signifies intuitive knowledge of their nature.

279 **ambrosial Fount.** See 4.237–40, describing the fount in Eden that “Ran Nectar.”

- Prince above Princes, gently hast thou tould  
 Thy message, which might else in telling wound,  
 300 And in performing end us; what besides  
 Of sorrow and dejection and despair  
 Our frailtie can sustain, thy tidings bring,  
 Departure from this happy place, our sweet  
 Recess,<sup>o</sup> and onely consolation left refuge
- 305 Familiar to our eyes, all places else  
 Inhospitable appeer and desolate,  
 Nor knowing us nor known: and if by prayer  
 Incessant I could hope to change the will  
 Of him who all things can,<sup>o</sup> I would not cease knows, can do
- 310 To wearie him with my assiduous cries:  
 But prayer against his absolute Decree  
 No more availes then breath against the winde,  
 Blown stifling back on him that breaths it forth:  
 Therefore to his great bidding I submit.
- 315 This most afflicts me, that departing hence,  
 As from his face I shall be hid, deprivd  
 His blessed count'nance; here I could frequent,  
 With worship, place by place where he voutsaf'd  
 Presence Divine, and to my Sons relate;
- 320 On this Mount he appeerd, under this Tree  
 Stood visible, among these Pines his voice  
 I heard, here with him at this Fountain talk'd:  
 So many grateful<sup>o</sup> Altars I would reare showing gratitude  
 Of grassie Terfe, and pile up every Stone
- 325 Of lustre from the brook, in memorie,  
 Or monument to Ages, and thereon  
 Offer sweet smelling Gumms and Fruits and Flours:  
 In yonder nether World where shall I seek  
 His bright appearances, or footstep trace?
- 330 For though I fled him angrie, yet recall'd  
 To life prolongd and promis'd Race,<sup>o</sup> I now descendants  
 Gladly behold though but his utmost skirts<sup>o</sup> distant signs  
 Of glory, and farr off his steps adore.
- To whom thus *Michael* with regard benigne.
- 335 *Adam*, thou know'st Heav'n his, and all the Earth,  
 Not this Rock onely; his Omnipresence fills

316. Cf. Gen. 4:14, Cain's response to his punishment: "from thy face shall I be hid."  
 323-6. The patriarchs raised "Altars" wherever God appeared to them.

- Land, Sea, and Aire, and every kinde that lives,  
 Fomented<sup>o</sup> by his virtual<sup>o</sup> power and warmd:  
 All th' Earth he gave thee to possess and rule,  
 340 No despicable gift; surmise not then  
 His presence to these narrow bounds confin'd  
 Of Paradise or *Eden*: this had been  
 Perhaps thy Capital Seate, from whence had spred  
 All generations, and had hither come  
 345 From all the ends of th' Earth, to celebrate  
 And reverence thee thir great Progenitor.  
 But this præminence thou hast lost, brought down  
 To dwell on eeven ground now with thy Sons:  
 Yet doubt not but in Vallie and in plaine  
 350 God is as here, and will be found alike  
 Present, and of his presence many a signe  
 Still following thee, still compassing<sup>o</sup> thee round  
 With goodness and paternal Love, his Face  
 Express, and of his steps the track Divine.  
 355 Which that thou mayst beleeve, and be confirmd  
 Ere thou from hence depart, know I am sent  
 To shew thee what shall come in future dayes  
 To thee and to thy Ofspring; good with bad  
 Expect to hear, supernal<sup>o</sup> Grace contending  
 360 With sinfulness of Men; thereby to learn  
 True patience, and to temper joy with fear  
 And pious sorrow, equally enur'd<sup>o</sup>  
 By moderation either state to beare,  
 Prosperous or adverse: so shalt thou lead  
 365 Safest thy life, and best prepar'd endure  
 Thy mortal passage when it comes. Ascend  
 This Hill; let *Eve* (for I have drencht her eyes)  
 Here sleep below while thou to foresight wak'st,  
 As once thou slepst, while Shee to life was formd.  
 370 To whom thus *Adam* gratefully repli'd.  
 Ascend, I follow thee, safe Guide, the path  
 Thou lead'st me, and to the hand of Heav'n submit,  
 However chast'ning, to the evil turne  
 My obvious<sup>o</sup> breast, arming to overcom

nurtured / exerting influence

surrounding

heavenly

tempered

exposed, vulnerable

357–8 **future dayes**. Prophetic visions are a common feature of epic, e.g., Aeneas' vision of his descendants culminating in the Roman empire (*Aeneid* 6.754–854).

367 **drencht**. Placed in her eyes a soporific liquid (drench).

375 By suffering, and earne rest from labour won,  
 If so I may attain. So both ascend  
 In the Visions of God: It was a Hill  
 Of Paradise the highest, from whose top  
 The Hemisphere of Earth in cleerest Ken  
 380 Stretcht out to the amplest reach of prospect lay.  
 Not higher that Hill nor wider looking round,  
 Whereon for different cause the Tempter set  
 Our second *Adam* in the Wilderness,  
 To shew him all Earths Kingdomes and thir Glory.  
 385 His Eye might there command wherever stood  
 City of old or modern Fame, the Seat  
 Of mightiest Empire, from the destind Walls  
 Of *Cambalu*, seat of *Cathaian Can*  
 And *Samarchand* by *Oxus*, *Temirs* Throne,  
 390 To *Paquin* of *Sinæan* Kings, and thence  
 To *Agra* and *Lahor* of great *Mogul*  
 Down to the golden *Chersonese*, or where  
 The *Persian* in *Ecbatan* sate, or since  
 In *Hispahan*, or where the *Russian Ksar*  
 395 In *Mosco*, or the Sultan in *Bizance*,  
*Turchestan*-born; nor could his eye not ken<sup>o</sup>  
 Th' Empire of *Negus* to his utmost Port  
*Ercoco* and the less *Maritim* Kings  
*Mombaza*, and *Quiloa*, and *Melind*,

see

381–4. When Satan tempted Christ (the subject of Milton's brief epic, *Paradise Regained*) he took him to "an exceeding high mountain" and showed him "all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them" (Matt. 4:8). Cf. *Paradise Regained* 3.251–4.169.

383–92. Christ, the "second *Adam*" (but not Adam, who is shown "nobler sights," 411), will first view "destined" (yet to come) kingdoms in Asia: "*Cambalu*," capital of Cathay (north China), ruled by such Khans as Ghenghis and Kublei, "*Cathaian Can*"; "*Temir*" (Tamburlaine), ruled "*Samarchand*" (Samarkand), near the "*Oxus*" river in modern Uzbekistan; "*Paquin*" (Peking, Beijing), of "*Sinæan* Kings" (Chinese); "*Agra* and *Lahor*" (Lahore), "*Mogul*" capitals in northern India and Pakistan; "golden *Chersonese*," the Malay peninsula east of India, fabled for wealth.

393–6. Then Christ will see "*Persian*," Russian, and Turkish kingdoms. In Persia (Iran), he will see "*Ecbatan*" (Hamadan), a summer residence of Persian kings, and "*Hispahan*" (Isfahan), which became the Persian capital in the sixteenth century. "*Bizance*" (Byzantium, Constantinople, Istanbul) was capital of the Ottoman empire and ruled by "Sultans" after falling to the Turks in 1453.

397–401. In Africa he will see Abyssinia (northern Ethiopia), empire of the "*Negus*" (ruler) reaching to "*Ercoco*" (Arkiko), a Red Sea port. Then "*Mombaza*" (Mombasa) and "*Melind*" (Malindi) in Kenya and "*Quiloa*" (Kilwa), an island port off the coast of Tanzania; "*Sofala*," a port in Mozambique, sometimes identified with the biblical "*Ophir*," from which Solomon took gold for his temple (1 Kgs 9:28); and "*Congo*" and "*Angola*" on the west coast.

- 400 And *Sofala* thought *Ophir*, to the Realme  
 Of *Congo*, and *Angola* fardest South;  
 Or thence from *Niger* Flood to *Atlas* Mount  
 The Kingdoms of *Almansor*, *Fez* and *Sus*,  
*Marocco* and *Algiers*, and *Tremisen*;
- 405 On *Europe* thence, and where *Rome* was to sway  
 The World: in Spirit perhaps he also saw  
 Rich *Mexico* the seat of *Motezume*,  
 And *Cusco* in *Peru*, the richer seat  
 Of *Atabalipa*, and yet unspoil'd
- 410 *Guiana*, whose great Citie *Geryons* Sons  
 Call *El Dorado*: but to nobler sights  
*Michael* from *Adams* eyes the Filme remov'd  
 Which that false Fruit that promis'd clearer sight  
 Had bred; then purg'd with *Euphrasie* and *Rue*
- 415 The visual Nerve, for he had much to see;  
 And from the Well of Life three drops instill'd.  
 So deep the power of these Ingredients pierc'd,  
 Eevn to the inmost seat of mental sight,  
 That *Adam* now enforc't to close his eyes,
- 420 Sunk down and all his Spirits became intrans:<sup>o</sup> in a trance  
 But him the gentle Angel by the hand  
 Soon rais'd, and his attention thus recall'd.  
*Adam*, now ope thine eyes, and first behold  
 Th' effects which thy original crime hath wrought
- 425 In some to spring from thee, who never touch'd  
 Th' excepted<sup>o</sup> Tree, nor with the Snake conspir'd, forbidden  
 Nor sinn'd thy sin, yet from that sin derive  
 Corruption to bring forth more violent deeds.

402–4. In North Africa, looking from the “*Niger*” river in west Africa flowing eastward to the Atlantic to the “*Atlas*” mountains in Morocco (or possibly to Mout Atlas in Mauritania), he sees the kingdom of various Muslim rulers called Al Mansur (“*Almansor*”), probably referring to Abu’ Amir al Ma-Ma’afiri, Caliph of Cordova. That empire takes in “*Fez*,” capital of Morocco, Tunis (“*Sus*”), “*Algiers*,” and “*Tremisen*” (Tlemeen), part of Algeria.

406–11. Christ will see places in the New World only “in Spirit,” probably because they lie on the other side of the spherical earth: “*Mexico*” the seat of Montezuma (“*Motezume*”), the last Aztec emperor; “*Cusco* in *Peru*” seat of Atahualpa (“*Atabalipa*”), the last Inca emperor, murdered by Pizarro; “yet unspoil'd / *Guiana*” (a region including Surinam, Guyana, and parts of Venezuela and Brazil) – not yet discovered and plundered by the Spanish. Its chief city, Manoa, was identified with the mythical city of gold, “*El Dorado*,” by “*Geryons* Sons” (the Spanish); in Spenser’s *Faerie Queene* Geryon, a mythical three-headed monster killed by Hercules, is an allegory of the great power and oppression of Spain.

414 **Euphrasie and Rue.** Both herbs were thought to sharpen eyesight.

- His eyes he op'nd, and beheld a field,  
 430 Part arable and tilth, whereon were Sheaves  
     New reapt, the other part sheep-walks<sup>o</sup> and foulds; pasture  
     Ith' midst an Altar as the Land-mark<sup>o</sup> stood boundary-marker  
     Rustic, of grassie sord;<sup>o</sup> thither anon turf  
     A sweatie Reaper from his Tillage brought  
 435 First Fruits, the green Eare, and the yellow Sheaf,  
     Uncull'd,<sup>o</sup> as came to hand; a Shepherd next unselected  
     More meek came with the Firstlings of his Flock  
     Choicest and best; then sacrificing, laid  
     The Inwards and thir Fat, with Incense strew'd,  
 440 On the cleft Wood, and all due Rites perform'd.  
     His Offring soon propitious<sup>o</sup> Fire from Heav'n favoring  
     Consum'd with nimble glance,<sup>o</sup> and grateful<sup>o</sup> steame; quick flash / pleasing  
     The others not, for his was not sincere;  
     Whereat hee inlie rag'd, and as they talk'd,  
 445 Smote him into the Midriff with a stone  
     That beat out life; he fell, and deadly pale  
     Groand out his Soul with gushing bloud effus'd.  
     Much at that sight was *Adam* in his heart  
     Dismai'd, and thus in haste to th' Angel cri'd.  
 450 O Teacher, some great mischief<sup>o</sup> hath befall'n harm, injury  
     To that meek man, who well had sacrific'd;  
     Is Pietie thus and pure Devotion paid?  
     T' whom *Michael* thus, hee also mov'd, repli'd.  
     These two are Brethren, *Adam*, and to come  
 455 Out of thy loyns; th' unjust the just hath slain,  
     For envie that his Brothers Offering found  
     From Heav'n acceptance; but the bloodie Fact<sup>o</sup> crime  
     Will be aveng'd, and th' others Faith approv'd  
     Loose no reward, though here thou see him die,  
 460 Rowling in dust and gore. To which our Sire.  
     Alas, both for the deed and for the cause!  
     But have I now seen Death? Is this the way

429–47. Milton's version of the Cain and Abel story provides a clear reason for God's acceptance of Abel's sacrifice, as Gen. 4:1–16 does not. Michael does not name any of the biblical personages or places in Book 11; he sees the scenes but may not know the names these persons or places will bear.

430–1 **arable**. Land capable of being ploughed. **tilth**. Cultivated.

434–7 **A sweatie Reaper**. Cain. Cf. Gen. 4:2: "And Abel was a keeper of sheep, but Cain was a tiller of the ground."

441–2. Acceptable sacrifices were often consumed by "Fire from Heav'n"; Cf. Lev. 9:24 and Judg. 6:21.

455. Adam has to be told that these are his own sons, not simply descendants.





- Though not of Woman born; compassion quell'd  
 His best of Man,<sup>o</sup> and gave him up to tears *manliness, courage*  
 A space, till firmer thoughts restrain'd excess,  
 And scarce recovering words his plaint renew'd.
- 500 O miserable Mankind, to what fall  
 Degraded, to what wretched state reserv'd!  
 Better end heer unborn. Why is life giv'n  
 To be thus wrested from us? rather why  
 Obtruded<sup>o</sup> on us thus? who if we knew *forced*
- 505 What we receive, would either not accept  
 Life offer'd, or soon beg to lay it down,  
 Glad to be so dismiss in peace. Can thus  
 Th' Image of God in man created once  
 So goodly and erect, though faultie since,
- 510 To such unsightly sufferings be debas't  
 Under inhuman pains? Why should not Man,  
 Retaining still Divine similitude  
 In part, from such deformities be free,  
 And for his Makers Image sake exempt?
- 515 Thir Makers Image, answerd *Michael*, then  
 Forsook them, when themselves they villif'd<sup>o</sup> *debased*  
 To serve ungovern'd appetite, and took  
 His Image whom they serv'd, a brutish vice,  
 Inductive<sup>o</sup> mainly to the sin of *Eve*. *leading on, traceable*
- 520 Therefore so abject is thir punishment,  
 Disfiguring not Gods likeness, but thir own,  
 Or if his likeness, by themselves defac't  
 While they pervert pure Natures healthful rules  
 To loathsom sickness, worthily,<sup>o</sup> since they *deservedly*
- 525 Gods Image did not reverence in themselves.  
 I yield it just, said *Adam*, and submit.  
 But is there yet no other way, besides  
 These painful passages, how we may come  
 To Death, and mix with our connatural<sup>o</sup> dust? *sharing nature*
- 530 There is, said *Michael*, if thou well observe  
 The rule of not too much, by temperance taught  
 In what thou eatst and drinkst, seeking from thence

496 **not of Woman born.** A man's tears and softer feelings were attributed to his feminine part; Adam was created of the dust of the earth, not born of woman. Cf. *Macbeth* 5.8.13–18.

511–13. Cf. *Christian Doctrine* 1.12: "some remnants of the divine image still exist in us, not wholly extinguished by this spiritual death."

518 **His Image.** Man does not now bear God's image but that of "ungovern'd appetite."

- Due nourishment, not gluttonous delight,  
Till many years over thy head return:
- 535 So maist thou live, till like ripe Fruit thou drop  
Into thy Mothers lap, or be with ease  
Gatherd, not harshly pluckt, for death mature:  
This is old age; but then thou must outlive  
Thy youth, thy strength, thy beauty, which will change
- 540 To witherd weak and gray; thy Senses then  
Obtuse,<sup>o</sup> all taste of pleasure must forgoe, *dull*  
To<sup>o</sup> what thou hast, and for the Aire of youth *in comparison to*  
Hopeful and cheerful, in thy blood will reigne  
A melancholly damp of cold and dry
- 545 To weigh thy Spirits down, and last consume  
The Balme<sup>o</sup> of Life. To whom our Ancestor. *preservative essence*  
Henceforth I flie not Death, nor would prolong  
Life much, bent rather how I may be quit  
Fairest and easiest of this combrous charge,
- 550 Which I must keep till my appointed day  
Of rendring up, and patiently attend<sup>o</sup> *await*  
My dissolution. *Michael* repli'd,  
Nor love thy Life, nor hate; but what thou livst  
Live well, how long or short permit<sup>o</sup> to Heav'n: *leave*
- 555 And now prepare thee for another sight.  
He lookd and saw a spacious Plaine, whereon  
Were Tents of various hue; by some were herds  
Of Cattel grazing; others, whence the sound  
Of Instruments that made melodious chime
- 560 Was heard, of Harp and Organ; and who moovd  
Thir stops and chords was seen: his volant<sup>o</sup> touch *moving rapidly, flying*  
Instinct<sup>o</sup> through all proportions<sup>o</sup> low and high *impelled / musical harmonies*  
Fled and pursu'd transverse the resonant fugue.  
In other part stood one who at the Forge

542–4 **Aire of youth.** In assigning elements and humors to the several ages, “Aire” and the sanguine (“cheerful”) temperament arising from the blood were associated with youth; earth, and the melancholy temperament produced by phlegm and black bile (“cold and dry”) were associated with age. Cf. Robert Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), 1.2.2, 1.3.5. **damp.** Depression of spirits.

556–97 **spacious Plaine.** Adam’s third vision is based on Gen. 4:20–2, of the three sons of Lamech, descendants of Cain.

557–8 **Tents . . . Cattel.** These identify the persons in the first part of this vision with Jabel, “the father of such as dwell in tents, and of such as have cattle” (Gen. 4:20).

558–63 **Instruments.** Gen. 4:21 describes his brother Jubel as “father of all such as handle the harp and organ.”

563 **fugue.** Musical form in which one statement of the theme seems to chase another.

564–73 **one who at the forge.** Tubal-Cain, the third brother, was “an instructor of every artificer in brass and iron” (Gen. 4:22).

- 565 Labouring, two massie<sup>o</sup> clods of Iron and Brass *massive*  
 Had melted (whether found where casual<sup>o</sup> fire *accidental*  
 Had wasted woods on Mountain or in Vale,  
 Down to the veins of Earth, thence gliding hot  
 To som Caves mouth, or whether washt by stream
- 570 From underground) the liquid Ore he dreind  
 Into fit moulds prepar'd; from which he formd  
 First his own Tooles; then, what might else be wrought  
 Fusil<sup>o</sup> or grav'n<sup>o</sup> in mettle. After these, *cast / sculpted*  
 But on the hether side a different sort
- 575 From the high neighbouring Hills, which was thir Seat,  
 Down to the Plain descended: by thir guise  
 Just men they seemd, and all thir study bent  
 To worship God aright, and know his works  
 Not hid, nor those things last which might preserve
- 580 Freedom and Peace to men: they on the Plain  
 Long had not walkt, when from the Tents behold  
 A Beavie of fair Women, richly gay<sup>o</sup> *ornamented*  
 In Gems and wanton dress; to the Harp they sung  
 Soft amorous Ditties, and in dance came on:
- 585 The Men though grave, ey'd them, and let thir eyes  
 Rove without rein, till in the amorous Net  
 Fast caught, they lik'd, and each his liking chose;  
 And now of love they treat<sup>o</sup> till th' Eevning Star *talk*  
 Loves Harbinger appeerd; then all in heat<sup>o</sup> *animal desire*
- 590 They light the Nuptial Torch, and bid invoke  
*Hymen*, then first to marriage Rites invok't;  
 With Feast and Musick all the Tents resound.  
 Such happy interview and fair event<sup>o</sup> *outcome*  
 Of love and youth not lost, Songs, Garlands, Flours,
- 595 And charming Symphonies<sup>o</sup> attach'd the heart *harmonious music*  
 Of *Adam*, soon enclin'd to admit delight,  
 The bent<sup>o</sup> of Nature; which he thus express'd. *end, inclination*  
 True opener of mine eyes, prime Angel blest,  
 Much better seems this Vision, and more hope

574–80 a **different sort**. The descendants of Seth, Adam's third son (Gen. 4:25–6).

**hether side**. The

Western (or hither) side, away from the east where Cain's sons lived.

578–9 **works** / **Not hid**. Seth's descendants were traditionally credited with the discovery of astronomy, a lawful science not involving the "matters hid" that Raphael warned against. Or, perhaps, a contrast to Tubal-Cain's delving for hidden metals (cf. 1.687–8).

588–9 **Eevning Star**. Venus, planet of love.

591 **Hymen**. God of marriage.

600 Of peaceful dayes portends, then those two past;  
 Those were of hate and death, or pain much worse,  
 Here Nature seems fulfilld in all her ends.

To whom thus *Michael*. Judg not what is best  
 By pleasure, though to Nature seeming meet,  
 605 Created, as thou art, to nobler end  
 Holie and pure, conformitie divine.  
 Those Tents thou sawst so pleasant, were the Tents  
 Of wickedness, wherein shall dwell his Race  
 Who slew his Brother; studious they appere

610 Of Arts that polish Life, Inventers rare,  
 Unmindful of thir Maker, though his Spirit  
 Taught them, but they his gifts acknowledg'd none.  
 Yet they a beauteous ofspring shall beget;  
 For that fair femal Troop thou sawst, that seemd

615 Of Goddesses, so blithe, so smooth, so gay,  
 Yet empty of all good wherein consists  
 Womans domestic honour and chief praise;

Bred onely and completed<sup>o</sup> to the taste  
 Of lustful appetence,<sup>o</sup> to sing, to dance,  
 620 To dress, and troule<sup>o</sup> the Tongue, and roule the Eye.  
 To these that sober Race of Men, whose lives  
 Religious titl'd them the Sons of God,  
 Shall yield up all thir vertue, all thir fame  
 Ignobly, to the traines<sup>o</sup> and to the smiles

*fully equipped*  
*desire*  
*move, lick the lips*

625 Of these fair Atheists, and now swim in joy,  
 (Erelong to swim at large) and laugh; for which  
 The world erelong a world of tears must weepe.

*wiles, snares*

To whom thus *Adam* of short joy bereft.  
 O pittie and shame, that they who to live well  
 630 Enterd so faire, should turn aside to tread  
 Paths indirect, or in the mid way faint!  
 But still I see the tenor of Mans woe  
 Holds on the same, from Woman to begin.

From Mans effeminate slackness it begins,

613–14 **a beauteous ofspring**. The “Beavie of fair Women” (582).

621–5 **Sons of God**. Like most exegetes of Gen. 6:2, Milton identifies them as the descendants of Seth; the women they wed (termed the daughters of men) are the descendants of Cain. Another tradition held that angels lay with these women (cf. 3.461–3).

625–6 **swim**. An anticipation of the Flood to come, which Adam does not yet understand.

632–3 **woe** / . . . **Woman**. Adam produces another false etymological pun (a misogynist cliché), like his earlier pun on “Eve . . . evil” (9.1067).

- 635 Said th' Angel, who should better hold his place  
 By wisdom, and superiour gifts receav'd.  
 But now prepare thee for another Scene.  
 He lookd and saw wide Territorie spred  
 Before him, Towns, and rural works between,  
 640 Cities of Men with lofty Gates and Towrs,  
 Concours<sup>o</sup> in Arms, fierce Faces threatning Warr, *hostile encounters*  
 Giants of mightie Bone, and bould emprise;<sup>o</sup> *enterprise, prowess*  
 Part wield thir Arms, part courb the foaming Steed,  
 Single or in Array of Battel rang'd<sup>o</sup> *drawn up in ranks*  
 645 Both Horse and Foot, nor idely mustring stood;  
 One way a Band select<sup>o</sup> from forage drives *of picked men*  
 A herd of Beeves, faire Oxen and faire Kine  
 From a fat<sup>o</sup> Meddow ground; or fleecy Flock, *fertile*  
 Ewes and thir bleating Lambs over the Plaine,  
 650 Thir Bootie; scarce with Life the Shepherds flye,  
 But call in aide, which makes a bloody Fray;  
 With cruel Tournament the Squadrons joine;  
 Where Cattle pastur'd late, now scatterd lies  
 With Carcasses and Arms th'ensanguind<sup>o</sup> Field *bloodstained*  
 655 Deserted: Others to a Citie strong  
 Lay Seige, encamp't; by Batterie, Scale, and Mine,  
 Assaulting; others from the wall defend  
 With Dart and Jav'lin, Stones and sulfurous Fire;  
 On each hand slaughter and gigantic deeds.  
 660 In other part the scepter'd Haralds call  
 To Council in the Citie Gates: anon  
 Grey-headed men and grave, with Warriours mixt,  
 Assemble, and Harangues are heard, but soon  
 In factious opposition, till at last  
 665 Of middle Age one rising, eminent  
 In wise deport, spake much of Right and Wrong,  
 Of Justice, of Religion, Truth and Peace,  
 And Judgment from above: him old and young

638–73 Adam's fourth vision is of the Giant offspring of the previous marriages (683–5). Cf. Gen. 6:4: "There were giants in the earth in those days, and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them, the same became mighty men which were of old, men of renown." Some details recall scenes from the shield of Achilles – siege, cattle raid, battle, assembly (*Iliad* 18.490–616).

656 **Batterie.** Battering rams. **Scale.** Ladders. **Mine.** Tunnels under the walls.

665–71 **one rising.** Enoch, who "walked with God, and he was not, for God took him" (Gen. 5:24). He was translated to heaven at 365 years of age, "middle Age" compared to other patriarchs (Adam 930, Seth 912).

- Exploded<sup>o</sup> and had seiz'd with violent hands,  
 670 Had not a Cloud descending snatch'd him thence  
 Unseen amid the throng: so violence  
 Proceeded, and Oppression, and Sword-Law  
 Through all the Plain, and refuge none was found.  
*Adam* was all in tears, and to his guide  
 675 Lamenting turn'd full sad; O what are these,  
 Deaths Ministers, not Men, who thus deal Death  
 Inhumanly to men, and multiply  
 Ten thousandfould the sin of him who slew  
 His Brother; for of whom such massacher  
 680 Make they but of thir Brethren, men of men?  
 But who was that Just Man, whom had not Heav'n  
 Rescu'd, had in his Righteousness bin lost?  
 To whom thus *Michael*. These are the product  
 Of those ill mated Marriages thou saw'st:  
 685 Where good with bad were matcht, who of themselves  
 Abhor to joyn; and by imprudence mixt,  
 Produce prodigious<sup>o</sup> Births of bodie or mind.  
 Such were these Giants, men of high renown;  
 For in those dayes Might onely shall be admir'd,  
 690 And Valour and Heroic Vertu call'd;  
 To overcome in Battle, and subdue  
 Nations, and bring home spoils with infinite  
 Man-slaughter, shall be held the highest pitch  
 Of human Glorie, and for Glorie done  
 695 Of triumph, to be styl'd great Conquerours,  
 Patrons of Mankind, Gods, and Sons of Gods,  
 Destroyers rightlier call'd and Plagues of men.  
 Thus Fame shall be atchiev'd, renown on Earth,  
 And what most merits fame in silence hid.  
 700 But hee the seventh from thee, whom thou beheldst  
 The onely righteous in a World perverse,  
 And therefore hated, therefore so beset

*mocked, drove out**monstrous*

689–99 **Might only**. The traditional values of epic, which Milton critiques in the Proem to Book 9. **what most merits fame**. Cf. 9.31–3, “the better fortitude / Of Patience and Heroic Martyrdom / Unsung.”

700–9. Jude 14 identifies Enoch as “the seventh from Adam.” Some details are drawn from Jude 14–15, describing Enoch’s prophecy of God’s pronouncing judgment with “ten thousand of his saints” on those “that are ungodly among them of all their ungodly deeds which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard speeches which ungodly sinners have spoken against him.” The “Cloud with winged Steeds” may be taken from Elijah’s translation to heaven (2 Kgs 2:11), often associated with Enoch’s.

- With Foes for daring single to be just,  
 And utter odious Truth, that God would come  
 705 To judge them with his Saints: Him the most High  
 Rapt in a balmie Cloud with winged Steeds  
 Did, as thou sawst, receive, to walk with God  
 High in Salvation and the Climes of bliss,  
 Exempt from Death; to shew thee what reward  
 710 Awaits the good, the rest what punishment;  
 Which<sup>o</sup> now direct thine eyes and soon behold. *to which*
- He look'd, and saw the face of things quite chang'd,  
 The brazen Throat of Warr had ceast to roar,  
 All now was turn'd to jollitie and game,  
 715 To luxurie<sup>o</sup> and riot,<sup>o</sup> feast and dance, *lust / debauchery*  
 Marrying or prostituting, as befell,  
 Rape or Adulterie, where passing<sup>o</sup> faire *surpassing, passing by*  
 Allurd them; thence from Cups to civil Broiles.  
 At length a Reverend Sire among them came,  
 720 And of thir doings great dislike declar'd,  
 And testifi'd against thir wayes; hee oft  
 Frequented thir Assemblies, whereso met,  
 Triumphs<sup>o</sup> or Festivals, and to them preachd *triumphal processions*  
 Conversion and Repentance, as to Souls  
 725 In prison under Judgments imminent:  
 But all in vain: which when he saw, he ceas'd  
 Contending, and remov'd his Tents farr off;  
 Then from the Mountain hewing Timber tall,  
 Began to build a Vessel of huge bulk,  
 730 Measur'd by Cubit, length, and breadth, and highth,  
 Smeard round with Pitch, and in the side a dore  
 Contriv'd, and of provisions laid in large  
 For Man and Beast: when loe a wonder strange!  
 Of every Beast, and Bird, and Insect small  
 735 Came seavens, and pairs, and enterd in, as taught  
 Thir order: last the Sire, and his three Sons

703 **daring single to be just.** Cf. Abdiel at 6.30–2.

712–53. Adam's fifth vision, of the general depravity of humans, the Flood, and Noah ("a Reverend Sire," 719) is based on Gen. 6:5–9:17. The "Sea without shoar" (750) and some other details of lines 738–53 are taken from the story of Deucalion's Flood in *Metamorphoses* 1.262–347.

730 **Cubit.** Ancient unit of measurement, from the elbow to the fingertip; the ark was 300 by 50 by 30 cubits (Gen. 6:15).

735 **seavens, and pairs.** Cf. Gen. 7:2, "Of every clean beast thou shalt take to thee by sevens, the male and his female; and of beasts that are not clean by two, the male and his female."

- With thir four Wives; and God made fast the dore.  
 Meanwhile the Southwind rose, and with black wings  
 Wide hovering, all the Clouds together drove  
 740 From under Heav'n; the Hills to their supplie<sup>o</sup> *assistance*  
 Vapour, and Exhalation dusk<sup>o</sup> and moist, *dark mist*  
 Sent up amain;<sup>o</sup> and now the thick'nd Skie *with main force*  
 Like a dark Ceeling stood; down rush'd the Rain  
 Impetuous, and continu'd till the Earth  
 745 No more was seen; the floating Vessel swum  
 Uplifted; and secure with beaked prow  
 Rode tilting o're the Waves, all dwellings else  
 Flood overwhelmd, and them with all thir pomp  
 Deep under water rould; Sea cover'd Sea,  
 750 Sea without shoar; and in thir Palaces  
 Where luxurie late reign'd, Sea-monsters whelp'd  
 And stabl'd; of Mankind, so numerous late,  
 All left, in one small bottom<sup>o</sup> swum imbark't. *boat*  
 How didst thou grieve then, *Adam*, to behold  
 755 The end of all thy Ofspring, end so sad,  
 Depopulation; thee another Floud,  
 Of tears and sorrow a Floud thee also drown'd,  
 And sunk thee as thy Sons; till gently reard  
 By th' Angel, on thy feet thou stoodst at last,  
 760 Though comfortless, as when a Father mourns  
 His Children, all in view destroyd at once;  
 And scarce<sup>o</sup> to th' Angel utterdst thus thy plaint. *barely able*  
 O Visions ill foreseen! better had I  
 Liv'd ignorant of future, so had borne  
 765 My part of evil onely, each dayes lot  
 Anough to beare; those now, that were dispenst<sup>o</sup> *given*  
 The burd'n of many Ages, on me light<sup>o</sup> *alight*  
 At once, by my foreknowledge gaining Birth  
 Abortive, to torment me ere thir being,  
 770 With thought that they must be. Let no man seek  
 Henceforth to be foretold what shall befall  
 Him or his Childern, evil he may be sure,

764–6. Cf. Matt. 6:34: "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof."

768 **foreknowledge**. The term suggests that Adam is experiencing something akin to God's foreknowledge, which the poem insists is not predestination. Adam knows what is to happen but can neither cause it nor prevent it.

768–9 **Birth / Abortive**. Their birth seems to Adam both monstrous and too soon born.



Which neither his foreknowing can prevent,  
 And hee the future evil shall no less  
 775 In apprehension then in substance feel  
 Grievous to bear: but that care now is past,  
 Man is not whom<sup>o</sup> to warne: those few escapt No one is left  
 Famin and anguish will at last consume  
 Wandring that watrie Desert: I had hope  
 780 When violence was ceas't, and Warr on Earth,  
 All would have then gon well, peace would have crownd  
 With length of happy dayes the race of man;  
 But I was farr deceav'd; for now I see  
 Peace to corrupt no less then Warr to waste.  
 785 How comes it thus? unfould, Celestial Guide,  
 And whether here the Race of man will end.  
     To whom thus *Michael*. Those whom last thou sawst  
 In Triumph and luxurious wealth, are they  
 First seen in acts of prowess eminent  
 790 And great exploits, but of true vertu void;  
 Who having spilt much blood, and don much waste  
 Subduing Nations, and achievd thereby  
 Fame in the World, high titles, and rich prey,  
 Shall change thir course to pleasure, ease, and sloth,  
 795 Surfet, and lust, till wantonness and pride  
 Raise out of friendship hostil deeds in Peace.  
 The conquerd also, and enslav'd by Warr  
 Shall with thir freedom lost all vertu loose  
 And fear of God, from whom thir pietie feign'd  
 800 In sharp contest of Battel found no aide  
 Against invaders; therefore coold in zeale  
 Thenceforth shall practice how to live secure,  
 Worldlie or dissolute, on what thir Lords  
 Shall leave them to enjoy; for th' Earth shall bear  
 805 More then anough, that temperance may be tri'd:<sup>o</sup> tested  
 So all shall turn degenerate, all deprav'd,  
 Justice and Temperance, Truth and Faith forgot;  
 One Man except, the onely Son of light  
 In a dark Age, against example good,  
 810 Against allurement, custom, and a World

797–806. These lines may also allude to the backsliding Puritans who betrayed the Commonwealth in 1660 and have now taken on the vices of the restored royalists.

808 **One Man except.** Noah.

- Offended;° fearless of reproach and scorn,  
 Or violence, hee of wicked wayes  
 Shall them admonish, and before them set  
 The paths of righteousness, how much more safe,  
 815 And full of peace, denouncing° wrauth to come  
 On thir impenitence; and shall returne  
 Of them derided, but of God observd  
 The one just Man alive; by his command  
 Shall build a wondrous Ark, as thou beheldst,  
 820 To save himself and houshold from amidst  
 A World devote° to universal rack.°  
 No sooner hee with them of Man and Beast  
 Select° for life shall in the Ark be lodg'd,  
 And shelterd round, but all the Cataracts°  
 825 Of Heav'n set open on the Earth shall powre  
 Raine day and night, all fountains of the Deep  
 Broke up, shall heave the Ocean to usurp  
 Beyond all bounds, till inundation rise  
 Above the highest Hills: then shall this Mount  
 830 Of Paradise by might of Waves be moovd  
 Out of his place, pushd by the horned flood,  
 With all his verdure spoil'd, and Trees adrift  
 Down the great River to the op'ning Gulf,  
 And there take root an Iland salt and bare,  
 835 The haunt of Seales and Orcs,° and Sea-mews° clang.  
 To teach thee that God attributes to place  
 No sanctitie, if none be thither brought  
 By Men who there frequent, or therein dwell.  
 And now what further shall ensue, behold.  
 840 He lookd, and saw the Ark hull° on the flood,  
 Which now abated, for the Clouds were fled,  
 Drivn by a keen North-winde, that blowing drie  
 Wrinkl'd the face of Deluge, as decai'd;  
 And the cleer Sun on his wide watrie Glass  
 845 Gaz'd hot, and of the fresh Wave largely drew,  
 As after thirst, which made thir flowing shrink  
 From standing lake to tripping ebbe,° that stole  
 With soft foot towards the deep, who now had stopt

*hostile**proclaiming**doomed / destruction**chosen**floodgates**whales / gulls**drift**running ebbitide*

831 **horned flood.** Classical river gods were often depicted as horned.

833 **the great River.** The Euphrates (see Gen. 15:18). **the op'ning Gulf.** The Persian Gulf.

844–6. Cf. 5.423–6.

- His Sluces,<sup>o</sup> as the Heav'n his windows shut. *gates*
- 850 The Ark no more now flotes, but seems on ground  
Fast on the top of som high mountain fixt.  
And now the tops of Hills as Rocks appeer;  
With clamor thence the rapid Currents drive  
Towards the retreating Sea thir furious tyde.
- 855 Forthwith from out the Arke a Raven flies,  
And after him, the surer messenger,  
A Dove sent forth once and agen to spie  
Green Tree or ground whereon his foot may light;  
The second time returning, in his Bill
- 860 An Olive leafe he brings, pacific signe:  
Anon drie ground appeers, and from his Arke  
The ancient Sire descends with all his Train;  
Then with uplifted hands, and eyes devout,  
Grateful<sup>o</sup> to Heav'n, over his head beholds *expressing gratitude, pleasing,*
- 865 A dewie Cloud, and in the Cloud a Bow  
Conspicuous with three listed colours gay,  
Betok'ning peace from God, and Cov'nant new.  
Whereat the heart of *Adam* erst<sup>o</sup> so sad *previously*  
Greatly rejoyc'd, and thus his joy broke forth.
- 870 O thou who future things canst represent  
As present, Heav'nly instructor, I revive  
At this last sight, assur'd that Man shall live  
With all the Creatures, and thir seed preserve.  
Farr less I now lament for one whole World
- 875 Of wicked Sons destroyd, then I rejoyce  
For one Man found so perfet and so just,  
That God voutsafes to raise another World  
From him, and all his anger to forget.  
But say, what mean those colourd streaks in Heavn,
- 880 Distended<sup>o</sup> as the Brow of God appeas'd, *spread out*  
Or serve they as a flourie verge<sup>o</sup> to binde *border, boundary*  
The fluid skirts of that same watrie Cloud,  
Least it again dissolve and showr the Earth?

851 **som high mountain.** Mount Ararat (Gen. 8:4).

857–60 **once and agen.** Noah sent forth a “Dove” twice; the first time it failed to “spie” land, the second time it returned with an “Olive leafe” (Gen. 8:8–12), a sign of peace (“pacific signe”).

866 **three listed colours.** Bands of the primary colors, red, blue, and yellow. **gay.** Bright.

867 **Cov'nant new.** See below, 892–5 and note.

876–8. The language invites recognition of Noah as a type (foreshadowing) of Christ, the one “perfet” and “just” who will cause God to forget “his anger.”

To whom th' Archangel. Dextrously thou aim'st;  
 885 So willingly doth God remit his Ire,  
 Though late repenting him of Man deprav'd,  
 Griev'd at his heart, when looking down he saw  
 The whole Earth fill'd with violence, and all flesh  
 Corrupting each thir way; yet those remoov'd,  
 890 Such grace shall one just Man find in his sight,  
 That he relents, not to blot out mankind,  
 And makes a Covenant never to destroy  
 The Earth again by flood, nor let the Sea  
 Surpass his bounds, nor Rain to drown the World  
 895 With Man therein or Beast; but when he brings  
 Over the Earth a Cloud, will therein set  
 His triple-colour'd Bow, whereon to look  
 And call to mind his Cov'nant: Day and Night,  
 Seed time and Harvest, Heat and hoary Frost  
 900 Shall hold thir course, till fire purge all things new,  
 Both Heav'n and Earth, wherein the just shall dwell.

*The End of the Eleventh Book.*

886–7. Cf. Gen. 6:6: “it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart.”

892–5. This covenant marked by the rainbow – that God will not again destroy the earth by flood (Gen. 9:15–17) – is a type of the covenant of grace through which God will save humankind.

899. Cf. Gen. 8:22: “While the earth remaineth, seedtime and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease.”

900–1. The restoration of nature following the Flood is seen as a type of the renewal of all things after the final conflagration at the Last Judgment, “new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness” (2 Pet. 3:13).

## BOOK 12

### THE ARGUMENT

The Angel *Michael* continues from the Flood to relate what shall succeed; then, in the mention of *Abraham*, comes by degrees to explain, who that Seed of the Woman shall be, which was promised *Adam* and *Eve* in the Fall; his Incarnation, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension; the state of the Church till his second Coming. *Adam* 5 greatly satisfied and recomforted by these Relations and Promises descends the Hill with *Michael*; wakens *Eve*, who all this while had slept, but with gentle dreams compos'd to quietness of mind and submission. *Michael* in either hand leads them out of Paradise, the fiery Sword waving behind them, and the Cherubim taking thir Stations to guard the Place.

As one who in his journey bates<sup>o</sup> at Noone, *stops for refreshment*  
Though bent on speed, so heer the Archangel paus'd  
Betwixt the world destroy'd and world restor'd,  
If *Adam* aught perhaps might interpose;  
5 Then with transition sweet new Speech resumes.  
Thus thou hast seen one World begin and end;  
And Man as from a second stock proceed.  
Much thou hast yet to see, but I perceave  
Thy mortal sight to faile; objects divine  
10 Must needs impaire and wearie human sense:  
Henceforth what is to com I will relate,  
Thou therefore give due audience, and attend.  
This second sours of Men, while yet but few;  
And while the dread of judgement past remains  
15 Fresh in thir mindes, fearing the Deitie,  
With some regard to what is just and right  
Shall lead thir lives and multiplie apace,  
Labouring<sup>o</sup> the soile, and reaping plenteous crop, *tilling*  
Corn wine and oyle; and from the herd or flock,  
20 Oft sacrificing Bullock, Lamb, or Kid,  
With large Wine-offerings pour'd, and sacred Feast,  
Shal spend thir dayes in joy unblam'd, and dwell

1 **succeed.** Follow after.

7 **second stock.** from Noah himself, but also as a type of Christ in whom believers are ingrafted; see 3.287–89.

9 **mortal sight to faile.** Adam no longer sees the visions or pageants as before, but simply listens to Michael's narration; cf. Rom. 10:17, "So then faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God." Michael, however, continues to see the visions (128).

- Long time in peace by Families and Tribes  
 Under paternal rule; till one shall rise
- 25 Of proud ambitious heart, who not content  
 With fair equalitie, fraternal state,  
 Will arrogate Dominion undeserv'd  
 Over his brethren, and quite dispossess  
 Concord and law of Nature from the Earth,
- 30 Hunting (and Men not Beasts shall be his game)  
 With Warr and hostile snare such as refuse  
 Subjection to his Empire tyrannous:  
 A mightie Hunter thence he shall be styl'd  
 Before the Lord, as in despite of Heav'n,
- 35 Or from Heav'n claming second Sovrantie;  
 And from Rebellion shall derive his name,  
 Though of Rebellion others he accuse.  
 Hee with a crew, whom like Ambition joyns  
 With him or under him to tyrannize,
- 40 Marching from *Eden* towards the West, shall finde  
 The Plain, wherein a black bituminous gurge<sup>o</sup> *whirlpool*  
 Boiles out from under ground, the mouth of Hell;  
 Of Brick, and of that stuff they cast<sup>o</sup> to build *decide*  
 A Citie and Towre, whose top may reach to Heav'n;
- 45 And get themselves a name,<sup>o</sup> least far disperst *reputation*  
 In foraign Lands thir memorie be lost  
 Regardless whether good or evil fame.  
 But God who oft descends to visit men  
 Unseen, and through thir habitations walks
- 50 To mark thir doings, them beholding soon,

24–35 **one.** Nimrod. Cf. Gen. 10:8–10: “And Cain begat Nimrod: he began to be a mighty one in the earth.

He was a mighty hunter before the Lord . . . And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel.” Milton identifies Nimrod as the first king, in terms that equate kingship with tyranny. He explains “before the Lord” as meaning either that he openly defied God (“despite,” 34) or that he claimed divine right (“second Sovrantie,” 35) from heaven, like the Stuart kings.

29 **law of Nature.** Grounded in reason, and dictating a government based on “fair equalitie, fraternal state” (26).

36–7. Drawing upon a false etymology linking the name Nimrod with the Hebrew “to rebel,” Milton associates Nimrod with kingship generally (cf. 1.484 and 6.199 for other rebel kings). The lines allude also especially to Charles I, who accused the Puritans of rebellion in the Civil War but who in Milton’s view was himself a rebel against God for usurping the absolute monarchy belonging only to God.

40–59 **Plain.** The plain of Shinar in ancient Babylon (“Sennaar,” 3.467). Gen. 11:4 describes the building of the “Towre” of Babel and refers to the “Citie” (Babylon). “And they said, Go to, let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven, and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth.” Though Genesis does not directly associate Nimrod with the tower, he was traditionally made responsible for both tower and city (Gen. 10:9–10).

Comes down to see thir Citie, ere the Tower  
 Obstruct Heav'n Towrs, and in derision sets  
 Upon thir Tongues a various<sup>o</sup> Spirit to rase<sup>o</sup> *divisive / obliterate*  
 Quite out thir Native Language, and instead  
 55 To sow a jangling noise of words unknown:  
 Forthwith a hideous gabble rises loud  
 Among the Builders; each to other calls  
 Not understood, till hoarse, and all in rage,  
 As mockt they storm; great laughter was in Heav'n  
 60 And looking down, to see the hubbub strange  
 And hear the din; thus was the building left  
 Ridiculous, and the work Confusion nam'd.  
 Whereto thus *Adam* fatherly displeas'd.  
 O execrable Son so to aspire  
 65 Above his Brethren, to himself assuming  
 Authoritie usurpt, from God not giv'n:  
 He gave us onely over Beast, Fish, Fowl  
 Dominion absolute; that right we hold  
 By his donation; but Man over men  
 70 He made not Lord; such title to himself  
 Reserving, human left from human free.  
 But this Usurper his encroachment proud  
 Stayes not on<sup>o</sup> Man; to God his Tower intends *stops not with*  
 Siege and defiance: Wretched man! what food  
 75 Will he convey up thither to sustain  
 Himself and his rash Armie, where thin Aire  
 Above the Clouds will pine<sup>o</sup> his entrails gross, *waste away*  
 And famish him of Breath, if not of Bread?  
 To whom thus *Michael*. Justly thou abhorr'st  
 80 That Son, who on the quiet state of men  
 Such trouble brought, affecting<sup>o</sup> to subdue *aspiring*  
 Rational Libertie; yet know withall,  
 Since thy original lapse, true Libertie  
 Is lost, which alwayes with right Reason dwells

62 **Confusion.** Taken to be the meaning of "Babel," where God in punishment confounded the original language of humans into multiple languages (Gen. 11:9).

64–71 **aspire / Above his Brethren.** Adam's response suggests that republicanism is a matter of natural law, clearly understood as such by Adam; he echoes an argument Milton often invoked to support republicanism against monarchy.

81–90 **Rational Libertie.** As Milton often did and as Abdiel did earlier (6.179–81), Michael links political to psychological servility, and political liberty to inner freedom, i.e., the exercise of "right Reason" and control of passions.

- 85 Twinn'd, and from her hath no dividual<sup>o</sup> being: *separate*  
Reason in man obscur'd, or not obeyd,  
Immediately inordinate desires  
And upstart Passions catch<sup>o</sup> the Government *seize*  
From Reason, and to servitude reduce
- 90 Man till then free. Therefore since hee permits  
Within himself unworthie Powers to reign  
Over free Reason, God in Judgement just  
Subjects him from without to violent Lords;  
Who oft as undeservedly enthrall
- 95 His outward freedom: Tyrannie must be,  
Though to the Tyrant thereby no excuse.  
Yet somtimes Nations will decline so low  
From vertue, which is reason, that no wrong,  
But Justice, and some fatal curse annex
- 100 Deprives them of thir outward libertie,  
Thir inward lost: Witness th' irreverent Son  
Of him who built the Ark, who for the shame  
Don to his Father, heard this heavie curse,  
*Servant of Servants*, on his vitious Race.
- 105 Thus will this latter, as the former World,  
Still tend from bad to worse, till God at last  
Wearied with their iniquities, withdraw  
His presence from among them, and avert  
His holy Eyes; resolving from thenceforth
- 110 To leave them to thir own polluted wayes;  
And one peculiar Nation to select  
From all the rest, of whom to be invok'd,  
A Nation from one faithful man to spring:

90–101. This passage, presenting loss of liberty as often (though not always) God's punishment for a nation's servility, implicitly interprets the Restoration of Charles II as a divine judgment on the baseness of the English.

101–4 **th' irreverent Son.** Ham, son of Noah, looked on the nakedness of his father and brought down Noah's curse upon himself and his "vicious Race" (depraved descendants): "Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren" (Gen. 9:25). Milton is probably thinking of the Canaanites (descendants of Ham's son Canaan), since "Race" did not carry its modern meaning. Noah's curse was used, however, to justify black slavery, as blacks came to be classed among Ham's descendants.

111 **one peculiar Nation.** Israel, specially chosen by God, cf. Deut. 14:2, "The Lord hath chosen thee to be a peculiar people unto himself." In *Christian Doctrine* 1.4 Milton notes the "national election, by which God chose the whole nation of Israel for his own people." And, like many Puritans, he thought for a time that God had chosen England as a new Israel.

113 **one faithful man.** Abraham, whose name means "father of many nations." Lines 113–51 are based on Gen. 11:27–17:9.



- Him on this side *Euphrates* yet residing,  
 115 Bred up in Idol-worship; O that men  
 (Canst thou believe?) should be so stupid grown,  
 While yet the Patriark liv'd, who scap'd the Flood,  
 As to forsake the living God, and fall  
 To worship thir own work in Wood and Stone  
 120 For Gods! yet him God the most High voutsafes  
 To call by Vision from his Fathers house,  
 His kindred and false Gods, into a Land  
 Which he will shew him, and from him will raise  
 A mightie Nation, and upon him showre  
 125 His benediction so, that in his Seed  
 All Nations shall be blest; he straight<sup>o</sup> obeys *immediately*  
 Not knowing to what Land, yet firm believes:  
 I see him, but thou canst not, with what Faith  
 He leaves his Gods, his Friends, and native Soile  
 130 *Ur* of *Chaldæa*, passing now the Ford  
 To *Haran*, after a cumbrous Train  
 Of Herds and Flocks, and numerous servitude;<sup>o</sup> *servants and slaves*  
 Not wandring poor, but trusting all his wealth  
 With God, who call'd him, in a land unknown.  
 135 *Canaan* he now attains, I see his Tents  
 Pitcht about *Sechem*, and the neighbouring Plaine  
 Of *Moreh*; there by promise he receaves  
 Gift to his Progenie of all that Land;  
 From *Hamath* Northward to the Desert South  
 140 (Things by thir names I call, though yet unnam'd)

115 **Bred up in Idol-worship.** Tereh, Abraham's father, worshiped idols.

117 **Patriark.** Noah, who lived 350 years after the Flood.

125–6 **his Seed.** Cf. Gen. 12:3: "in thee shall all families of the earth be blest." Michael restates that prophecy and applies it to the Messiah, the Seed of the woman (148–50).

127–9 **with what Faith.** Cf. Heb. 11:8: "By faith Abraham, when he was called . . . obeyed; and he went out, not knowing whither he went." Adam, who no longer sees the visions, must accept the story of Abraham by "Faith," analogous to the faith Abraham himself displays.

130 *Ur.* A city on the west bank of the Euphrates, in the region of "*Chaldæa*."

131 *Haran.* A city in northwestern Mesopotamia (now Turkey), reached by a "Ford" across one of the tributaries of the Euphrates.

135 *Canaan.* The Promised Land of the Hebrews, in the area of modern Israel and the West Bank.

136 *Sechem.* Modern Nablus, a city in central Canaan.

137–46 **by promise.** Cf. God's promise to Abraham (Gen. 12:7), "Unto thy seed will I give this land." Also Gen. 17:8, "I will give unto thee, and to thy seed after thee, the land wherein thou art a stranger, all the land of Canaan, for an everlasting possession." The Promised Land was bounded on the north by "*Hamath*," a city on the Orontes river in west Syria; on the south by the wilderness ("Desert") of Zin; on the east by "Mount *Hermon*"; and on the west by the Mediterranean Sea, the "great Western Sea."

- From *Hermon* East to the great Western Sea,  
 Mount *Hermon*, yonder Sea, each place behold  
 In prospect, as I point them; on the shoare  
 Mount *Carmel*; here the double-founted stream  
 145 *Jordan*, true limit Eastward; but his Sons  
 Shall dwell to *Senir*, that long ridge of Hills.  
 This ponder, that all Nations of the Earth  
 Shall in his Seed be blessed; by that Seed  
 Is meant thy great deliverer, who shall bruise  
 150 The Serpents head; whereof to thee anon  
 Plainlier shall be reveald. This Patriarch blest,  
 Whom *faithful Abraham* due time shall call,  
 A Son, and of his Son a Grand-childe leaves,  
 Like him in faith, in wisdom, and renown;  
 155 The Grandchilde with twelve Sons increast, departs  
 From *Canaan*, to a land hereafter call'd  
*Egypt*, divided by the River *Nile*;  
 See where it flows, disgorging at seaven mouthes  
 Into the Sea: to sojourn in that Land  
 160 He comes invited by a yonger Son  
 In time of dearth,<sup>o</sup> a Son whose worthy deeds *famine*  
 Raise him to be the second in that Realme  
 Of *Pharao*: there he dies, and leaves his Race  
 Growing into a Nation, and now grown  
 165 Suspected to<sup>o</sup> a sequent<sup>o</sup> King, who seeks *by / succeeding*  
 To stop thir overgrowth,<sup>o</sup> as inmate<sup>o</sup> guests *overpopulation / foreign*  
 Too numerous; whence of guests he makes them slaves  
 Inhospitably, and kills thir infant Males:  
 Till by two brethren (those two brethren call  
 170 *Moses* and *Aaron*) sent from God to claime  
 His people from enthrallment, they return  
 With glory and spoile back to thir promis'd Land.

143–7 **Mount Carmel.** A mountain range near Haifa, on the Mediterranean coast of Israel. *Jordan.* The river was thought incorrectly to have two sources (“double-founted”), the Jor and the Dan. *Senir.* A ridge of Mount Hermon.

152 *faithful Abraham.* This is the first personal name Michael identifies; he later supplies several names of persons and places. Abraham is given the epithet “faithful” by Paul in Gal. 3:9.

153 **Son.** Isaac. **Grand-childe.** Jacob.

155–64. Jacob’s son Joseph, the next youngest of his twelve sons, rose to a high position in Egypt and invited his father and brothers to that land to escape famine; his story is told in Gen. 37–50.

158. Adam can evidently see geographical features, but not the scenes or persons Michael sees and describes.

165–214. The story of the Israelites enslaved in Egypt and freed by “*Moses*” and “*Aaron*” is told in Exod. 1–14.

172 **spoile.** “jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment” (Exod. 12:35).

- But first the lawless Tyrant, who denies<sup>o</sup> *refuses*  
 To know thir God, or message to regard,  
 175 Must be compeld by Signes and Judgements dire;  
 To blood unshed the Rivers must be turnd,  
 Frogs, Lice and Flies must all his Palace fill  
 With loath'd intrusion, and fill all the land;  
 His Cattel must of Rot and Murren<sup>o</sup> die, *plagues affecting cattle*  
 180 Botches<sup>o</sup> and blaines<sup>o</sup> must all his flesh imboss, *boils, tumors / blisters*  
 And all his people; Thunder mixt with Haile,  
 Haile mixt with fire must rend th' *Egyptian* Skie  
 And wheel on th' Earth, devouring where it roul;  
 What it devours not, Herb, or Fruit, or Graine,  
 185 A darksom Cloud of Locusts swarming down  
 Must eat, and on the ground leave nothing green:  
 Darkness must overshadow all his bounds,  
 Palpable darkness, and blot out three dayes;  
 Last with one midnight stroke all the first-born  
 190 Of *Egypt* must lie dead. Thus with ten wounds<sup>o</sup> *plagues*  
 The River-dragon tam'd at length submits  
 To let his sojourners depart, and oft  
 Humbles his stubborn heart, but still as Ice  
 More hard'nd after thaw, till in his rage  
 195 Pursuing whom he late dismissd, the Sea  
 Swallows him with his Host, but them lets pass  
 As on drie land between two christal walls,  
 Aw'd by the rod of *Moses* so to stand  
 Divided, till his rescu'd gain thir shoar:  
 200 Such wondrous power God to his Saint<sup>o</sup> will lend, *holy person*  
 Though present in his Angel, who shall goe  
 Before them in a Cloud, and Pillar of Fire,  
 By day a Cloud, by night a Pillar of Fire,

175–90 **Signes and Judgements.** The ten plagues God sent upon the Egyptians to force Pharaoh to release the Israelites.

191 **River-dragon.** Literally, the crocodile, here referring to the Egyptian Pharaoh, termed “the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers” (Ezek. 29:3).

193–4 **Ice / More hard'nd.** Ice which thawed and then was refrozen was thought to be harder than never-melted ice.

194–214 **Sea / Swallows him.** Pharaoh's forces (“Host”) were drowned in the Red Sea as it rushed back after the “rod of *Moses*” caused it to divide, forming “two crystal walls” which the Israelites passed between (Exod. 14:5–31.).

201–4 **present in his Angel.** Milton's explanation, here and also in *Christian Doctrine* 1.5, as to how the Lord guided his people in a “Cloud” and a “Pillar of Fire” (Exod. 13:21–2).

- To guide them in thir journey, and remove  
 205 Behinde them, while th' obdurat King pursues:  
 All night he will pursue, but his approach  
 Darkness defends<sup>o</sup> between till morning Watch; *prevents*  
 Then through the Firey Pillar and the Cloud  
 God looking forth will trouble all his Host  
 210 And craze<sup>o</sup> thir Chariot wheels: when by command *shatter*  
 Moses once more his potent Rod extends  
 Over the Sea; the Sea his Rod obeys;  
 On thir imbattell'd ranks the Waves return,  
 And overwhelm thir Warr:<sup>o</sup> the Race elect<sup>o</sup> *armies / chosen people*  
 215 Safe towards *Canaan* from the shoar advance  
 Through the wilde Desert, not the readiest way,  
 Least entring on the *Canaanite* allarmd<sup>o</sup> *aroused, called to arms*  
 Warr terrifie them inexpert,<sup>o</sup> and feare *inexperienced, unskilled*  
 Return them back to *Egypt*, choosing rather  
 220 Inglorious life with servitude; for life  
 To noble and ignoble is more sweet  
 Untraine'd in Armes, where rashness leads not on.  
 This also shall they gain by thir delay  
 In the wide Wilderness, there they shall found  
 225 Thir government, and thir great Senate choose  
 Through the twelve Tribes, to rule by Laws ordain'd:  
 God from the Mount of *Sinai*, whose gray top  
 Shall tremble, he descending, will himself  
 In Thunder Lightning and loud Trumpets sound  
 230 Ordaine them Lawes; part such as appertaine  
 To civil Justice, part religious Rites  
 Of sacrifice, informing them, by types  
 And shadowes, of that destin'd Seed to bruise  
 The Serpent, by what meanes he shall achieve  
 235 Mankinds deliverance. But the voice of God

216 **not the readiest way.** The Israelites' passage through the desert lasted thirty-eight years (Exod. 13:17–18).

225 **great Senate.** The Seventy Elders of the Sanhedrin (Num. 11:16–25), which Milton cites as a divinely ordained pattern of republican government in his *Readie and Easie Way* (1660).

226–32 **Laws.** God delivered ceremonial, civil, and moral/religious laws (the Ten Commandments) to Moses on “the Mount of *Sinai*,” with “Thunder Lightning and loud Trumpets” (Exod. 19–23).

232–3 **types / And shadowes.** The principle of typology, whereby persons and events in the Hebrew Bible are understood to prefigure Christ or matters pertaining to his life or to the church.

To mortal eare is dreadful; they beseech  
 That *Moses* might report to them his will,  
 And terror cease; he grants what they besaught  
 Instructed that to God is no access  
 240 Without Mediator, whose high Office now  
*Moses* in figure beares, to introduce  
 One greater, of whose day he shall foretell,  
 And all the Prophets in thir Age the times  
 Of great *Messiah* shall sing. Thus Laws and Rites  
 245 Establish't, such delight hath God in Men  
 Obedient to his will, that he voutsafes  
 Among them to set up his Tabernacle,  
 The holy One with mortal Men to dwell:  
 By his prescript a Sanctuary is fram'd  
 250 Of Cedar, overlaid with Gold, therein  
 An Ark, and in the Ark his Testimony,  
 The Records of his Cov'nant, over these  
 A Mercie-seat of Gold between the wings  
 Of two bright Cherubim, before him burn  
 255 Seaven Lamps as in a Zodiac<sup>o</sup> representing  
 The Heav'nly fires; over the Tent a Cloud  
 Shall rest by Day, a fiery gleame by Night,  
 Save when they journie, and at length they come,  
 Conducted by his Angel to the Land  
 260 Promisd to *Abraham* and his Seed: the rest  
 Were long to tell, how many Battels fought,  
 How many Kings destroyd, and Kingdoms won,  
 Or how the Sun shall in mid Heav'n stand still  
 A day entire, and Nights due course adjourne,  
 265 Mans voice commanding, Sun in *Gibeon* stand,  
 And thou Moon in the vale of *Aialon*,

*like the planets*

236–8. Cf. the Israelites' plea to Moses, "Speak thou with us and we will hear: but let not God speak with us, lest we die" (Exod. 20:19).

240–4 **Mediator.** Moses is a type ("figure") of Christ in his role as mediator between the people and God; "all the Prophets": in Christian typological explication, the prophets of the Hebrew Bible were read as foretelling Christ as Messiah.

247–56 **Tabernacle.** A portable "Sanctuary" (Exod. 25–6).

256–7. **Cloud . . . fiery gleame.** Described in Exod. 40:38.

259–60 **Land.** Canaan; see 137–46 and note.

263–9. At Joshua's bidding, the sun stood still in "*Gibeon*," and the moon in "*Aialon*," (both a few miles north of Jerusalem) "until the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies," the Amorites (Josh. 10:12–13). **Israel.** Isaac's son Jacob was named Israel ("He that striveth with God") and his descendants ("descent") would come to be known as the Children of Israel (Gen. 32:28).

- Till *Israel* overcome; so call the third  
 From *Abraham*, Son of *Isaac*, and from him  
 His whole descent, who thus shall *Canaan* win.
- 270 Here *Adam* interpos'd. O sent from Heav'n,  
 Enlightner of my darkness, gracious things  
 Thou hast reveal'd, those chiefly which concerne  
 Just *Abraham* and his Seed: now first I finde  
 Mine eyes true op'ning, and my heart much eas'd,
- 275 Erwhile perplext with thoughts what would becom  
 Of mee and all Mankind; but now I see  
 His day, in whom all Nations shall be blest,  
 Favour unmerited by me, who sought  
 Forbidd'n knowledge by forbidd'n means.
- 280 This yet I apprehend not, why to those  
 Among whom God will deigne to dwell on Earth  
 So many and so various Laws are giv'n;  
 So many Laws argue<sup>o</sup> so many sins *indicate*  
 Among them; how can God with such reside?
- 285 To whom thus *Michael*. Doubt not but that sin  
 Will reign among them, as of thee begot;  
 And therefore was Law given them to evince<sup>o</sup> *make evident*  
 Thir natural pravitie,<sup>o</sup> by stirring up *depravity (original sin)*  
 Sin against Law to fight; that when they see
- 290 Law can discover sin, but not remove,  
 Save by those shadowie expiations weak,  
 The blood of Bulls and Goats, they may conclude  
 Some blood more precious must be paid for Man,  
 Just for unjust, that in such righteousness
- 295 To them by Faith imputed, they may finde  
 Justification towards God, and peace  
 Of Conscience, which the Law by Ceremonies  
 Cannot appease, nor Man the moral part  
 Perform, and not performing cannot live.

273–7 **Mine eyes true op'ning.** Adam supposes that the promise made to him pertains to Abraham's seed, but he has yet to understand that Abraham is, in this, a type of Christ (see below, 446–50).

291–9 **shadowie expiations.** The ceremonial sacrifices of "Bulls and Goats" under the Law are types pointing to Christ's efficacious sacrifice, which alone can win "justification" for humankind, by Christ's merits being "imputed," attributed vicariously, to them through "Faith." The theological doctrine of justification holds that fallen humans cannot perform the commandments of the Law, or appease God through ceremonial sacrifices. Cf. Gal. 2:16: "A man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ."

- 300 So Law appears imperfet, and but<sup>o</sup> giv'n only  
 With purpose to resign<sup>o</sup> them in full time yield  
 Up to a better Cov'nant, disciplin'd  
 From shadowie Types to Truth, from Flesh to Spirit,  
 From imposition of strict Laws, to free
- 305 Acceptance of large Grace, from servil fear  
 To filial, works of Law to works of Faith.  
 And therefore shall not *Moses*, though of God  
 Highly below'd, being but the Minister  
 Of Law, his people into *Canaan* lead;
- 310 But *Joshua* whom the Gentiles *Jesus* call,  
 His Name and Office bearing, who shall quell  
 The adversarie Serpent, and bring back  
 Through the worlds wilderness long wanderd man  
 Safe to eternal Paradise of rest.
- 315 Meanwhile they in thir earthly *Canaan* plac't  
 Long time shall dwell and prosper, but<sup>o</sup> when sins except  
 National interrupt thir public peace,  
 Provoking God to raise them enemies:  
 From whom as oft he saves them penitent
- 320 By Judges first, then under Kings; of whom  
 The second, both for pietie renownd  
 And puissant deeds, a promise shall receive  
 Irrevocable, that his Regal Throne  
 For ever shall endure; the like shall sing
- 325 All Prophecie, That of the Royal Stock  
 Of *David* (so I name this King) shall rise  
 A Son, the Womans Seed to thee foretold,  
 Foretold to *Abraham*, as in whom shall trust  
 All Nations, and to Kings foretold, of Kings

300–6. A more complete exposition of the theological concept of typology, according to which Judaism foreshadows and is perfected by Christianity, the Old Law of justice is fulfilled in the New Law of love, and the covenant made with Moses is superseded by a “better Cov'nant,” the covenant of grace (cf. Heb. 8:6).

310–14 *Jesus*. The Greek equivalent of the Hebrew “*Joshua*,” who, rather than Moses, led the Children of Israel into the promised land of Canaan, being in this a type of Christ leading his people to the heavenly paradise.

320–34 *Judges*. Military leaders. The history briefly summarized here is recounted in Judges, 1 and 2 Sam., and 1 and 2 Kgs.

321–4 *The second*. The second king of Israel was David, promised by the prophet Nathan that “thy throne shall be established for ever” (2 Sam. 7:16).

325–7 *Royal Stock*. The Messiah was prophesied to come of David's lineage, and Jesus was referred to as Son of David (Luke 1:32).

- 330 The last, for of his Reign shall be no end.  
 But first a long succession must ensue,  
 And his next Son for Wealth and Wisdom fam'd,  
 The clouded Ark of God till then in Tents  
 Wandring, shall in a glorious Temple enshrine.
- 335 Such follow him, as shall be registerd  
 Part good, part bad, of bad the longer scrowle,  
 Whose foul Idolatries, and other faults  
 Heapt<sup>o</sup> to the popular<sup>o</sup> summe, will so incense  
 God, as to leave them, and expose thir Land, *added / people's*
- 340 Thir Citie, his Temple, and his holy Ark  
 With all his sacred things, a scorn and prey  
 To that proud Citie, whose high Walls thou saw'st  
 Left in confusion, *Babylon* thence call'd.  
 There in captivitie he lets them dwell
- 345 The space of seventie years, then brings them back,  
 Remembring mercie, and his Cov'nant sworn  
 To *David*, stablisht as the dayes of Heav'n.  
 Returnd from *Babylon* by leave of Kings  
 Thir Lords, whom God dispos'd,<sup>o</sup> the house of God *inclined (to permit)*
- 350 They first re-edifie, and for a while  
 In mean estate live moderate, till grown  
 In wealth and multitude, factious they grow;  
 But first among the Priests dissension springs,  
 Men who attend the Altar, and should most
- 355 Endeavour Peace: thir strife pollution brings  
 Upon the Temple it self: at last they seise  
 The Scepter, and regard not *Dauids* Sons,<sup>o</sup> *descendants*  
 Then loose it to a stranger, that the true  
 Anointed King *Messiah* might be born

332–4 **his next Son.** Solomon, noted for “Wisdom,” built a “glorious Temple” to house the Ark of the Covenant (1 Kgs 6–7). **clouded Ark.** So called because “a cloud covered the tent of the congregation” which held the Ark when the Israelites wandered in the desert (Exod. 40:34).

339–45 **proud Citie.** Babylon. The Babylonian captivity and the destruction of the Temple (sixth century BCE) are recounted in 2 Kgs 25 and Jer. 39:1–10.

346–50 **Cov'nant sworn.** The promise to David to make “his throne as the days of heaven” (Ps. 89:29). **leave of Kings.** The Persian kings Cyrus the Great, Darius, and Artaxerxes allowed the Israelites to return from Babylon and rebuild the Temple (Ezra).

353–7 **Priests dissension.** Strife among the priests allowed the Selucid king Antiochus IV to sack Jerusalem and pollute the Temple; then one of the priestly family of the Maccabees, Aristobulus I, seized the “Scepter,” disregarding the claims of David’s dynasty.

358 **stranger.** Antipater the Idumean, father of Herod the Great who ruled at the time of Christ’s birth, was procurator of Judaea from 47 BCE.



- 360 Barr'd of his right; yet at his Birth a Starr  
 Unseen before in Heav'n proclaims him com,  
 And guides the Eastern Sages,<sup>o</sup> who enquire *the Magi*  
 His place, to offer Incense, Myrrh, and Gold;  
 His place of birth a solemn<sup>o</sup> Angel tells *awe-inspiring*
- 365 To simple Shepherds, keeping watch by night;  
 They gladly thither haste, and by a Quire  
 Of squadrond Angels hear his Carol sung.  
 A Virgin is his Mother, but his Sire  
 The Power of the most High; he shall ascend
- 370 The Throne hereditarie, and bound his Reign  
 With earths wide bounds, his glory with the Heav'ns.  
 He ceas'd, discerning *Adam* with such joy  
 Surcharg'd,<sup>o</sup> as had like grief bin dew'd in tears, *overwhelmed*  
 Without the vent of words, which these he breathd.
- 375 O Prophet of glad tidings, finisher  
 Of utmost hope! now clear I understand  
 What oft my steddier thoughts have searcht in vain,  
 Why our great expectation should be call'd  
 The seed of Woman: Virgin Mother, Haile,
- 380 High in the love of Heav'n, yet from my Loynes  
 Thou shalt proceed, and from thy Womb the Son  
 Of God most High; So God with man unites.  
 Needs must the Serpent now his capital<sup>o</sup> bruise *on the head, fatal*  
 Expect with mortal paine: say where and when
- 385 Thir fight, what stroke shall bruise the Victors heel.  
 To whom thus *Michael*. Dream not of thir fight,  
 As of a Duel, or the local wounds  
 Of head or heel: not therefore joynes the Son  
 Manhood to God-head, with more strength to foil
- 390 Thy enemie; nor so is overcome  
*Satan*, whose fall from Heav'n, a deadlier bruise,  
 Disabl'd not to give thee thy deaths wound:  
 Which hee, who comes thy Saviour, shall recure,<sup>o</sup> *heal*  
 Not by destroying *Satan*, but his works
- 395 In thee and in thy Seed: nor can this be,  
 But by fulfilling that which thou didst want,<sup>o</sup> *lack*

360–9. The story of the birth of Jesus is recounted in Matt. 1–2 and Luke 1–2.

370–1. An echo of Virgil's prophecy of Augustus (*Aeneid* 1.287), "imperium Oceano, famam qui terminet astris" ("he will bound his empire with the ocean, his glory with the stars").

379. Cf. 5.385–7 and Luke 1:28.

- Obedience to the Law of God, impos'd  
 On penaltie of death, and suffering death,  
 The penaltie to thy transgression due,  
 400 And due to theirs which out of thine will grow:  
 So onely can high Justice rest appaid.<sup>o</sup> *satisfied*  
 The Law of God exact<sup>o</sup> he shall fulfill *strict, perfect*  
 Both by obedience and by love, though love  
 Alone fulfill the Law; thy punishment  
 405 He shall endure by coming in the Flesh  
 To a reproachful life and cursed death,  
 Proclaiming Life to all who shall believe  
 In his redemption, and that his obedience  
 Imputed becomes theirs by Faith, his merits  
 410 To save them, not thir own, though legal works.  
 For this he shall live hated, be blasphem'd,  
 Seis'd on by force, judg'd, and to death condemnd  
 A shameful and accurst, naild to the Cross  
 By his own Nation, slaine for bringing Life;  
 415 But to the Cross he nailes thy Enemies,  
 The Law that is against thee, and the sins  
 Of all mankinde, with him there crucifi'd,  
 Never to hurt them more who rightly trust  
 In this his satisfaction;<sup>o</sup> so he dies, *payment of penalty*  
 420 But soon revives, Death over him no power  
 Shall long usurp; ere the third dawning light  
 Returne, the Starres of Morn shall see him rise  
 Out of his grave, fresh as the dawning light,  
 Thy ransom paid, which Man from death redeems,  
 425 His death for Man, as many as offerd Life  
 Neglect<sup>o</sup> not, and the benefit imbrace *disregard*  
 By Faith not void of workes: this God-like act  
 Annuls thy doom, the death thou shouldst have dy'd,

400 **theirs.** Your descendants' transgressions which grow out of "thine."

401–10. Michael restates the theological doctrine that Christ as "Saviour" will stand in place of humankind, redressing their disobedience by his perfect "obedience" and suffering the "death" that was their punishment. Humans can only be saved by Christ's "merits" attributed to them vicariously ("Imputed"), not by their own good works even if "legal," conforming to God's law.

403–4 **love.** Cf. Rom. 13:10, "Love is the fulfilling of the law."

406. Cf. Gal. 3:13, "Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree."

426–7 **Faith not void of workes.** Humans can obtain the "benefit" of Christ's merits only by "Faith," but not without the "workes" that flow from faith. Cf. 11.64 and note, and also Jas. 2:26, "faith without works is dead."

- In sin for ever lost from life; this act  
 430 Shall bruise the head of *Satan*, crush his strength  
 Defeating Sin and Death, his two maine armes,  
 And fix farr deeper in his head thir stings<sup>o</sup> *deadly effects*  
 Then temporal<sup>o</sup> death shall bruise the Victors heel,  
 Or theirs whom he redeems, a death like sleep, *temporary, bodily*  
 435 A gentle wafting to immortal Life.  
 Nor after resurrection shall he stay  
 Longer on Earth then certaine times to appeer  
 To his Disciples, Men who in his Life  
 Still follow'd him; to them shall leave in charge  
 440 To teach all nations what of him they learn'd  
 And his Salvation, them who shall beleeve  
 Baptizing in the profluent<sup>o</sup> streame, the signe *flowing*  
 Of washing them from guilt of sin to Life  
 Pure, and in mind prepar'd, if so befall,  
 445 For death, like that which the redeemer dy'd.  
 All Nations they shall teach; for from that day  
 Not onely to the Sons of *Abrahams* Loines  
 Salvation shall be Preacht, but to the Sons  
 Of *Abrahams* Faith wherever through the world;  
 450 So in his seed all Nations shall be blest.  
 Then to the Heav'n of Heav'ns he shall ascend  
 With victory, triumphing through the aire  
 Over his foes and thine; there shall surprise  
 The Serpent, Prince of aire, and drag in Chaines  
 455 Through all his Realme, and there confounded leave;  
 Then enter into glory, and resume  
 His Seat at Gods right hand, exalted high  
 Above all names in Heav'n; and thence shall come,  
 When this worlds dissolution shall be ripe,  
 460 With glory and power to judge both quick<sup>o</sup> and dead, *living*  
 To judge th' unfaithful dead, but to reward  
 His faithful, and receive them into bliss,  
 Whether in Heav'n or Earth, for then the Earth  
 Shall all be Paradise, far happier place  
 465 Then this of *Eden*, and far happier daies.  
 So spake th' Archangel *Michael*, then paus'd,

447–50. Michael here makes explicit the meaning of the promise offered typologically to Abraham's seed.  
 454 **Prince of aire**. One of Satan's titles; cf. Eph. 2:2, "prince of the power of the air."

As at the Worlds great period;° and our Sire  
Replete with joy and wonder thus repli'd.

*endpoint, consummation*

O goodness infinite, goodness immense!°

*boundless*

- 470 That all this good of evil shall produce,  
And evil turn to good; more wonderful  
Then that which by creation first brought forth  
Light out of darkness! full of doubt I stand,  
Whether I should repent me now of sin
- 475 By mee done and occasiond, or rejoyce  
Much more, that much more good thereof shall spring,  
To God more glory, more good will to Men  
From God, and over wrauth grace shall abound.  
But say, if our deliverer up to Heav'n
- 480 Must reascend, what will betide the few  
His faithful, left among th' unfaithful herd,  
The enemies of truth; who then shall guide  
His people, who defend? will they not deale  
Wors with his followers then with him they dealt?
- 485 Be sure they will, said th' Angel; but from Heav'n  
Hee to his own a Comforter will send,  
The promise of the Father, who shall dwell°  
His Spirit within them, and the Law of Faith  
Working through love, upon thir hearts shall write,
- 490 To guide them in all truth, and also arme  
With spiritual Armour, able to resist  
*Satans* assaults, and quench his fierie darts,  
What° Man can do against them, not affraid,  
Though to the death, against such cruelties
- 495 With inward consolations recompenc't,  
And oft supported so as shall amaze  
Thir proudest persecuters: for the Spirit  
Powrd first on his Apostles, whom he sends  
To evangelize° the Nations, then on all

*make to dwell*

*as much as*

*convert*

469–78. These lines do not affirm a simple concept of *felix culpa* – that the Fall was fortunate in bringing humans greater happiness than they would otherwise have enjoyed – but rather, that the Fall provided God an occasion to bring still greater good out of evil. Cf. 5.496–503 for the prelapsarian plan for Adam and Eve's growth in perfection.

486 **Comforter.** The Holy Spirit, who for Milton is much subordinate to both Father and Son.

489 **upon thir hearts.** Cf. Heb. 8:10, "I will put my laws into their mind, and write them in their hearts."

491–2 **spiritual Armour.** Cf. Eph. 6:11–16: "Put on the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil . . . Above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked."

- 500 Baptiz'd, shall them with wondrous gifts endue<sup>o</sup> *endow*  
 To speak all Tongues, and do all Miracles,  
 As did thir Lord before them. Thus they win  
 Great numbers of each Nation to receive  
 With joy the tidings brought from Heav'n: at length
- 505 Thir Ministry perform'd, and race well run,  
 Thir doctrine and thir story written left,  
 They die; but in thir room, as they forewarne,  
 Wolves shall succeed for teachers, grievous Wolves,  
 Who all the sacred mysteries of Heav'n
- 510 To thir own vile advantages shall turne  
 Of lucre and ambition, and the truth  
 With superstitions and traditions taint,  
 Left onely in those written Records pure,  
 Though not but by the Spirit understood.
- 515 Then shall they seek to avail themselves of names,<sup>o</sup> *honors*  
 Places<sup>o</sup> and titles, and with these to joine *offices*  
 Secular power, though feigning still to act  
 By spiritual, to themselves appropriating  
 The Spirit of God, promis'd alike and giv'n
- 520 To all Beleevers; and from that pretense,<sup>o</sup> *assertion of right*  
 Spiritual Lawes by carnal<sup>o</sup> power shall force *fleshly, worldly*  
 On every conscience; Laws which none shall finde  
 Left them inrould,<sup>o</sup> or what the Spirit within *written (in the Bible)*  
 Shall on the heart engrave. What will they then
- 525 But force the Spirit of Grace it self, and binde  
 His consort Libertie; what, but unbuild  
 His living Temples, built by Faith to stand,  
 Thir own Faith not anothers: for on Earth

501 **speake all Tongues.** Cf. Acts. 2:4–7, where the apostles speak in many tongues.

506 **story written.** In the Gospels and Epistles.

507–11 **Wolves.** Cf. Acts 20:29: “after my departing shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock.” See “Lycidas,” 113–29.

513–14. The Bible (“those written Records pure”) can only be rightly understood by the illumination of the Spirit in each Christian.

515–37. The history summarized is of the corruption of the Church and persecutions of conscience in patristic times and after, under the popes and Christian rulers, but the passage also alludes to what Milton saw as the revival of “popish” superstitions in the English Church after the Restoration and the fierce persecution of dissenters.

526 **his consort Libertie.** Cf. 2 Cor. 3:17: “Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.” Milton insisted in his prose tracts that Christ’s gospel and the Spirit of God promote liberty, civil and religious.

527 **living Temples.** Individual Christians, cf. 1 Cor. 3:16: “Know ye not that ye are the temple of God.”

Who against Faith and Conscience can be heard  
 530 Infallible? yet many will presume:  
 Whence heaveie persecution shall arise  
 On all who in the worship persevere  
 Of Spirit and Truth; the rest, farr greater part,  
 Will deem in outward Rites and specious formes  
 535 Religion satisfi'd; Truth shall retire  
 Bestuck with slandrous darts, and works of Faith  
 Rarely be found: so shall the World goe on,  
 To good malignant, to bad men benigne,  
 Under her own waight groaning till the day  
 540 Appeer of respiration<sup>o</sup> to the just, respite  
 And vengeance to the wicked, at return  
 Of him so lately promiss'd to thy aid  
 The Womans seed, obscurely then foretold,  
 Now amplier known thy Saviour and thy Lord,  
 545 Last in the Clouds from Heav'n to be reveald  
 In glory of the Father, to dissolve  
 Satan with his perverted World, then raise  
 From the conflagrant mass,<sup>o</sup> purg'd and refin'd, burning world  
 New Heav'ns, new Earth, Ages of endless date  
 550 Founded in righteousness and peace and love  
 To bring forth fruits Joy and eternal Bliss.  
 He ended; and thus *Adam* last reply'd.  
 How soon hath thy prediction, Seer blest,  
 Measur'd this transient World, the Race of time,  
 555 Till time stand fixt: beyond is all abyss,  
 Eternitie, whose end no eye can reach.  
 Greatly instructed I shall hence depart,  
 Greatly in peace of thought, and have my fill  
 Of knowledge, what<sup>o</sup> this Vessel can containe; as much as  
 560 Beyond which was my folly to aspire.  
 Henceforth I learne, that to obey is best,  
 And love with feare the onely God, to walk  
 As in his presence, ever to observe  
 His providence, and on him sole depend,

529–30 **Infallible.** An attack on papal claims of infallibility, asserted though not proclaimed as doctrine until 1870; the attack extends to all religious or civil leaders who attempt to impose an orthodoxy.

543–51. With the account of the Second Coming of Christ, the Last Judgment, and the renewal of all things, the meaning of the “Womans seed” destroying Satan’s works is made fully explicit. Cf. 2 Pet. 3:13, “we, according to his promise, look for new heavens and a new earth.”

- 565 Mercifull over all his works, with good  
 Still<sup>o</sup> overcoming evil, and by small *continually, always*  
 Accomplishing great things, by things deemd weak  
 Subverting worldly strong, and worldly wise  
 By simply meek; that suffering for Truths sake
- 570 Is fortitude to highest victorie,  
 And to the faithful Death the Gate of Life;  
 Taught this by his example whom I now  
 Acknowledge my Redeemer ever blest.  
 To whom thus also th' Angel last repli'd:
- 575 This having learnt, thou hast attained the summe  
 Of wisdom; hope no higher, though all the Starrs  
 Thou knewst by name, and all th' ethereal Powers,  
 All secrets of the deep, all Natures works,  
 Or works of God in Heav'n, Aire, Earth, or Sea,
- 580 And all the riches of this World enjoydst,  
 And all the rule, one Empire; onely add  
 Deeds to thy knowledge answerable,<sup>o</sup> add Faith, *corresponding*  
 Add vertue, Patience, Temperance, add Love,  
 By name to come call'd Charitie, the soul
- 585 Of all the rest: then wilt thou not be loath  
 To leave this Paradise, but shalt possess  
 A paradise within thee, happier farr.  
 Let us descend now therefore from this top<sup>o</sup> *hill, summit*  
 Of Speculation; for the hour precise
- 590 Exacts<sup>o</sup> our parting hence; and see the Guards, *requires*  
 By mee encampt on yonder Hill, expect  
 Thir motion,<sup>o</sup> at whose Front a flaming Sword, *signal*  
 In signal of remove,<sup>o</sup> waves fiercely round; *departure*  
 We may no longer stay: go, waken Eve;
- 595 Her also I with gentle Dreams have calm'd  
 Portending good, and all her spirits compos'd  
 To meek submission: thou at season fit  
 Let her with thee partake what thou hast heard,  
 Chiefly what may concern her Faith to know,
- 600 The great deliverance by her Seed to come  
 (For by the Womans Seed) on all Mankind.

567–68 **weak / Subverting worldly strong.** Cf. 1 Cor. 1:27: "God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty."

587 **paradise within thee.** Compare Satan's interior state at 4.20–2, 75.

589 **Speculation.** Both extensive view and theological inquiry.

- That ye may live, which will be many dayes,  
 Both in one Faith unanimous though sad,  
 With cause<sup>o</sup> for evils past, yet much more cheer'd  
 605 With meditation on the happie end. *good reason*  
     He ended, and they both descend the Hill;  
 Descended, *Adam* to the Bowre where *Eve*  
 Lay sleeping ran before, but found her wak't;  
 And thus with words not sad she him receav'd.  
 610 Whence thou returnst, and whither wentst, I know;  
 For God is also in sleep, and Dreams advise,  
 Which he hath sent propitious, some great good  
 Presaging, since with sorrow and hearts distress  
 Wearied I fell asleep: but now lead on;  
 615 In mee is no delay; with thee to goe,  
 Is to stay here; without thee here to stay,  
 Is to go hence unwilling; thou to mee  
 Art all things under Heav'n, all places thou,  
 Who for my wilful crime art banisht hence.  
 620 This further consolation yet secure  
 I carry hence; though all by mee is lost,  
 Such favour I unworthie am voutsaft,  
 By mee the Promis'd Seed shall all restore.  
     So spake our Mother *Eve*, and *Adam* heard  
 625 Well pleas'd, but answer'd not; for now too nigh  
 Th' Archangel stood, and from the other Hill  
 To thir fixt Station, all in bright array  
 The Cherubim descended; on the ground  
 Gliding meteorous,<sup>o</sup> as Ev'ning Mist *like a meteor*  
 630 Ris'n from a River o're the marish<sup>o</sup> glides, *marsh*  
 And gathers ground fast at the Labourers heel  
 Homeward returning. High in Front advanc't,  
 The brandisht Sword of God before them blaz'd  
 Fierce as a Comet; which with torrid heat,  
 635 And vapour<sup>o</sup> as the *Libyan* Air adust,<sup>o</sup> *smoke / scorched*

611–13 **Dreams advise.** The lines suggest that Eve's dream was also a vehicle of prophecy to her. Cf. Num. 12:6: "If there be a prophet among you, I the Lord will make myself known unto him in a vision, and will speak unto him in a dream."

615–18 **with thee to goe.** Eve's last love lyric in the poem invites comparison with her prelapsarian lyric (4.641–56); it also echoes Ruth's promise to accompany her mother-in-law Naomi: "whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge" (Ruth 1:16).

621–3. In these lines Eve describes herself as the central epic protagonist of the poem, through whom "all" is lost and "all" is restored.



Began to parch that temperate Clime; whereat  
 In either hand the hastning Angel caught  
 Our lingring Parents, and to th' Eastern Gate  
 Led them direct, and down the Cliff as fast  
 640 To the subjected<sup>o</sup> Plaine; then disappeer'd. *low-lying*  
 They looking back, all th' Eastern side beheld  
 Of Paradise, so late thir happie seat,  
 Wav'd over by that flaming Brand,<sup>o</sup> the Gate *sword*  
 With dreadful<sup>o</sup> Faces throng'd and fierie Armes: *fearsome*  
 645 Som natural tears they drop'd, but wip'd them soon;  
 The World was all before them, where to choose  
 Thir place of rest, and Providence thir guide:  
 They hand in hand with wandring steps and slow,  
 Through *Eden* took thir solitarie way.

THE END

# Textual Notes

Citations are to the 1674 and 1667 editions and to the manuscript (MS) for Book 1; citations to the Arguments are to 1674 and 1668/9. The chosen reading is listed first. I have reversed italic and roman type in the prefatory Latin poem by Samuel Barrow, in the note on the verse, and in the Arguments.

## Book 1

### *Argument*

14. hope (1674, 1668) hopes (1669)
2. Forbidden (1674, 1667) forbidd'n (MS)
71. those (1674, 1667) these (MS) / thir (1674, MS) their (1667)
82. *Satan* (italics supplied)
97. lustre, (MS) lustre; (1674, 1667)
128. Powers ] Powers, (1667, 1674) powers (MS) The omitted comma in the MS allows an arguably better reading, i.e., many princes ("Throned Powers") under Satan's conduct led the embattled Seraphim.
192. *Satan* (italics supplied)
314. Deep (1674, 1667) deeps (MS).
362. memorial, (1667) memoriall, (MS) memorial (1674)
432. those (1674, 1667) these (MS)
478. thir (1674) their (1667, MS)
- 504–5. "In *Gibeah*, when the hospitable door / Expos'd a Matron to avoid worse rape." (1674)  
"In *Gibeah*, when hospitable Does / Yielded thir Matrons to prevent worse rape." (1667)  
"In *Gibeah*, when hospitable doors / Yeilded thir Matrons to avoid worse rape." (MS)
543. *Night* (italics supplied to conform to usual practice in referring to the character)
603. courage (1667, 1674) valour (MS)
703. founded (MS, 1667) found out (1674). Founded (melted) is preferable; the "ribs of gold" were already found out at lines 688–90.
757. *Satan* (italics supplied)

## Book 2

*Argument*

5. shall (1674) should (1668/9)
53. now (1674) now. (1667)
247. Heav'n (1674) Heav'n, (1667)
282. where (1667) were (1674). Either reading is possible but "where" suits the context better.
310. heav'n, (1667) heav'n (1674)
323. sure, (1667) sure (1674)
375. Original (1674) Originals (1667). Either is possible; the 1674 reading emphasizes Adam's role as the source of all humankind, including Eve.
414. wee (errata sheet 1668 and 1669) we (1674, 1667)
483. thir (1667) her (1674)
527. his (1667) this (1674). "His" conforms to pronouns in the passage.
628. *Gorgons* and *Hydras*, and *Chimeras* ] *Gorgons* and *Hydra's* and *Chimera's* (1674, 1667). The apostrophes are evidently a printer's error (see the correct plural "Gorgons").
631. towards (1674) toward (1667)
712. Level'd (1667) Level d (1674)
801. Afresh (1667) A fresh (1674)
840. *Death* (italics supplied to conform to usual practice in referring to the character)
845. *Death* (italics supplied)
859. confin'd (1667) confin d (1674)
894. *Night* (italics supplied)
973. way (1667) way, (1674)
1001. [y]our (emendation) our (1667, 1674) It is the intestine broils in heaven, resulting in the creation of hell and the universe, that have encroached on Chaos, not its own perpetual civil wars.
1024. *Sin* and *Death* (italics supplied to conform to usual practice in referring to the characters)
1039. brok'n (1667) brok'd (1674)

## Book 3

*Argument*

2. his (1674) the (1668/9)
21. plac't here, (1674, 1668) plac't there, (1669)
515. *Heav'n.* ] *Heav'n* (1674) *Heav'n.* (1667)
592. Metal (emendation) Medal (1674, 1667)
630. impure (1674 some copies 1667) impure; (some copies 1667)
653. accostes. (some copies 1667) accostes; (some copies 1667, 1674). A period is usual before quoted speech.

694. No indentation in 1674 or 1667, but the usual practice in both editions is to begin a new verse paragraph when the speaker changes.

741. in (1674, some copies 1667) with (some copies 1667)

## Book 4

### *Argument*

15. find him (1674) find him out (1668/9)

136. grottesque (1667) gottesque (1674)

194. Life, (1667) Life (1674)

412. Power (1667) power (1674)

451. of (1674) on (1667).

627. walk (1674) walks (1667). The context supports either reading.

705. shadier (1667) shadie (1674). The context invites the comparative.

720. stood, (1667) stood (1674)

751. offspring (1667) ofspring (1674)

841. be sure (emendation) besure (1674, 1667)

929. thy (1674) the (1667)

## Book 5

### *Argument*

6. appearance (1674) appearing (1668/9)

193. Breathe (1674, 1668 errata), Breath (1667)

506. repli'd. (1667) replied, (1674). The period is usual before quoted speech.

617. all. (1667) all (1674)

627. Eevning now approach'd (1674) Eevning approach'd (1667)

635–40. This passage contains three added lines and other changes from 1667. 1674 reads:

Fruit of delicious Vines, the growth of Heav'n.  
 On flours repos'd, and with fresh flourets crown'd,  
 They eate, they drink, and in communion sweet  
 Quaff immortalitie and joy, secure  
 Of surfet where full measure onely bounds  
 Excess, before th' all bounteous King, who showrd

1667 reads:

Fruit of delicious Vines, the growth of Heav'n.  
 They eat, they drink, and with refection sweet  
 Are fill'd, before th' all bounteous King, who showrd

From this point on in Book 5 line numbers in 1667 differ by three lines from those of 1674.

650. God). Th' Angelic ] Period omitted in both editions, evidently by accident as the capital indicates.

## Book 6

311. small, if ] small, If (1674, 1667). The capital is clearly an error, as what follows completes the epic simile begun in line 310.

568. So scoffing in ambiguous words, he scarce (1667) So scoffing in ambiguous words he scarce, (1674)

620. mood. (1667) mood, (1674). The period is usual before quoted speech.

666. under ground (1667) under ground, (1674). The added comma is probably a printer's error.

846. Wheels, (1667) Wheels (1674)

## Book 7

Book 7 of the 1667 edition in ten books is divided into Books 7 and 8 in the 1674 edition, with lines 1–640 of Book 7 (1667) becoming the new Book 7 (1674).

### *Argument*

The Argument to Book 7 (1674) contains the first half of the Argument to Book 7 as printed in 1668 and 1669.

321. swelling (Bentley's emendation) ] smelling (1667, 1674) The emendation is widely accepted; the printer's eye probably registered "smelling" from line 319.

322. and (1674) add (1667)

366. her (1674) his (1667) "her" would refer to Venus as the morning star, "his" to Lucifer. The change seems deliberate, not accidental.

370. First in the East his glorious Lamp (Fletcher's plausible emendation) ] First in his East the glorious Lamp (1667, 1674). The printer evidently transposed "his" and "the."

451. Soul (Bentley's emendation) ] Foul (1674), Fowle (1667). The emendation is almost certainly correct, as the creation of Fowles was treated in lines 417–46. The attempted correction in 1674 mistakenly kept F for the intended S.

494. needless (emendation) ] needlest (1674, 1667), probably an error, though it could be an intended variant.

563. stations (1667) station (1674)

588. Father, for ] Father (for (1674, 1667). The parenthesis should be a comma, given the opening and closing parentheses in lines 589 and 590.

## Book 8

Book 8 (1674) comprises lines 641–1290 of Book 7 in the 1667 edition.

*Argument*

The Argument to Book 8 (1674) contains the last half of the Argument to Book 7 as printed in 1668 and 1669.

1. *Adam* inquires (1674) *Adam* then inquires (1668/9)
2. search (1674) seek (1668/9)

1–3. added in 1674 when Book 7 (1667) was split.

4. Then as new wak't thus gratefully repli'd. (1674) To whom thus *Adam* gratefully repli'd. (7.641, 1667)

269 as (7.906, 1667) and (1674)

313. appeer'd (1674) appeer'd, (7.950, 1667)

466 warme, (7.1103, 1667) (1674?). There is a faint mark above the comma in all 1674 copies examined, likely foul case rather than a semicolon.

The usual line "*The end of the . . . Book*" was omitted for the 1667 Book 7.

## Book 9

*Argument*

The Argument to Book 9 is the same as that for Book 8 as printed in 1668 and 1669.

75. *Satan* (italics supplied)

186. Nor (1674) Not (1667)

213. hear (1667) bear (1674)

272. reply'd. (1667) reply'd, (1674). The period is usual before quoted speech.

339. combin'd. (1667, 1674?). Possibly a comma but probably a period.

394. Likest (1667) Likeliest (1674)

581. Fenel, (1667) Fenel (1674). No comma prints in any copy of 1674, but space is left for it.

620 abundance (1674) abundance (1667)

632 made (1674) make (1667)

687 Knowledge. By the Threatner? ] Knowledge? By the Threatner (1674, 1667). Question mark is almost certainly misplaced in both editions.

745. Fruits, (1667) Fruits. (1674)

922. hath (1674) hast (1667)

949. long; (1674) long? (1667)

979. thee, (1667) thee (1674)

1016. move. (1667) move, (1674). The period is usual before quoted speech.

1019. we (1667) me (1674)

1058. shame: hee (colon added) ] shame hee (1674, 1667)

1059. more. So (1667) more, so (1674)

1092–3. for . . . from (1667) from . . . for (1674). The 1674 compositor evidently transposed these words in the two lines.

1098 unclean. (1667) unclean, (1674)

*The End of the Ninth Book* (1674) *The End of the Eighth Book* (1667)

## Book 10

*Argument*

The Argument to Book 10 is the same as that for Book 9 as printed in 1668 and 1669.

3. Son (1674, 1668), Angels (1669)  
 9. Track (1674, 1668) tract (1669) meet (1674, 1668) met (1669)  
 11. in full assembly (1668, 1669) in full of assembly (1674).  
 15. take (1674) taste (1668, 1669)
58. might (1674) may (1667)  
 184, 189. *Satan* (italics supplied)  
 230, 234. *Sin . . . Death* (italics supplied to conform to usual practice in referring to the characters)  
 241. Avengers (1674) Avenger (1667)  
 258. *Satan* (italics supplied)  
 271. aid. (1667) aid, (1674)  
 294. *Death* (italics supplied)  
 352. *Sin* (italics supplied)  
 397. these (1674) those (1667)  
 408. prevailes (1674) prevaile (1667)  
 473. *sin . . . Death* (italics supplied)  
 550. with fair Fruit (1667) with Fruit (1674)  
 706. *Libecchio*. (1667) *Libecchio*, (1674)  
 762. not. (1667) not (1674)  
 778. lap! ] lap? (1674, 1667). The question mark was often substituted for an exclamation point in printing houses of the period.  
 801. he draw out, ] he, draw out, (1674, 1667)  
 827. they then acquitted (1674) they acquitted (1667)  
 835. bear, (1667) bear (1674)  
 989–90. “So Death” As Patrick Hume first pointed out (1695), these words at the beginning of line 990 (1667, 1674) should perhaps have been printed at the end of line 989, which is otherwise the only line in the poem with only eight syllables, while line 990 has twelve. But this metrical irregularity has considerable rhetorical power.  
 997. miserie (1667) meserie (1674)  
*The End of the Tenth Book* (1674) *The End of the Ninth Book* (1667)

## Book 11

Book 10 of the 1667 edition is divided to form Books 11 and 12 of the 1674 edition. Book 11 contains lines 1–897 of the 1667 Book 10.

*Argument*

The Argument of Book 11 (1674) is roughly the first half of the Argument to Book 10 as printed in 1668 and 1669.

2. but (1674, 1668) and (1669)

3. Cherubim (1674, 1668) Cherubims (1669)

233. coming; (1667) coming? (1674). Conceivably, the question mark was substituted for an exclamation point.

329. footstep trace (1667) foot step-trace (1674)

335. Earth, (1667) Earth. (1674)

380. to the amplest reach (1674) to amplest reach (1667). 1667 conforms to the meter, but the change may be intended.

427. that sin derive (1667) that derive (1674)

485–7. added in 1674

Dæmoniac Phrenzie, moaping Melancholie  
And Moon-struck madness, pining Atrophie  
Marasmus and wide-wasting Pestilence,

lines 484–5 in 1667 read:

Intestin Stone and Ulcer, Colic Pangs,

Dropsies, and Asthma's, and Joint-racking Rheums. (line 488 in 1674)

551–2. Of rendring up and patiently attend / My dissolution. *Michael* repli'd, (1674) Of rendring up. *Michael* to him repli'd (10.548, 1667)

579. last (1674, 1669 errata) lost (1667)

651. makes (1674) tacks (1667)

710. punishment; (1667) punishment? (1674)

787. New verse paragraph. Neither 1674 nor 1667 indent, but new speeches are normally indented. This speech begins a new page so the compositor may have missed it.

870. who (1674) that (1667)

## Book 12

The 1674 edition begins with five added lines, and contains lines 898–1541 of the 1667 Book 10.

*Argument*

The Argument to Book 12 is roughly the last half of the Argument to Book 10 in 1668 and 1669. Much of the first sentence is new:

The Angel *Michael* continues from the Flood to relate what shall succeed; then, in the mention of *Abraham*, comes by degrees to explain, who that Seed of the Woman shall be, which was promised *Adam* and *Eve* in the Fall; his Incarnation, Death, Resurrection, and Ascention; the state of the Church till his Second Coming. *Adam* greatly satisfied. . . (1674)



. . . thence from the Flood relates, and by degrees explains, who that Seed of the Woman shall be; his Incarnation, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension; the state of the Church till his second Coming. *Adam* greatly satisfied. . . (1667)

9. Place. (1668, 1669) Place, (1674)

1–5 added in 1674. Lines 897–8 of Book 10 (1667) read: “Both Heav’n and Earth, wherein the just shall dwell. / Thus thou hast seen one World begin and end;” In 1674 these are line 901 of Book 11 and line 6 of Book 12. The paragraph inception at line 6 is new to the 1674 edition.

191. The (1674) This (1667)

238. he grants what they besaught (1674) he grants them thir desire (1667)

300. Law (1667) law (1674)

534. Will deem (1667) Well deem (1674)

# Appendix

Sketches for a drama on the subject of the Fall, from Milton's notebook (the Trinity manuscript). The first two sketches have lines drawn through them, apparently deleting them. In the last two sketches, some items are heavily crossed out.

the Persons

~~Michael Heavenly Love  
Chorus of Angels  
Lucifer  
Adam  
with the serpent)  
Eve  
Conscience  
Death  
  
Labour }  
Sickness }  
Discontent } mutes  
Ignorance }  
with others }  
Faith  
Hope  
Charity~~

the Persons

~~Moses or Divine (Wisdom  
Michael. Justice. Mercie  
Heavenly Love  
The Evening Starre Hesperus  
Chorus of Angels  
Lucifer  
Adam  
Eve  
Conscience  
**Death**  
  
Labour }  
Sickness }  
Discontent } mutes  
Ignorance }  
Feare }  
Death }  
Faith  
Hope  
Charity~~

## Paradise Lost      The Persons

Moses    *προλογίζει* [*prologizei*] recounting how he assum'd <sup>his</sup> a true bodie, that it corrupts not because of his with god in the mount declares the like of Enoch and Eliah, besides the purity of ye pl[ace] that certaine pure winds, dues, and clouds præserved it from corruption whence Heavenly Love [ex]horts to the sight of god, tells they cannot se Adam in the state of innocence by reason of ~~sin~~ thire sin

Justice } ~~Mercie~~  
 Mercie } debating what should become of man if he fall  
 Wisdome }

(hymne of ye creation)

Chorus of Angels sing a

## Act 2

Heavenly Love

Evening starre

chorus sing the mariage song and describe Paradice

## Act 3

Lucifer contriving Adams ruine

Chorus feares for Adam and relates Lucifers rebellion and fall

## Act 4

Adam }  
       fallen }  
 Eve }

Conscience cites them to Gods examination

chorus bewails and tells the good Adam hath lost

## Act 5

Adam and Eve, driven out of Paradice

presented by an angel with

Labour greife hatred Envie warre famine Pestilence

sicknesses }  
 discontent } mutes to whome he gives  
 Ignorance } thire names  
 Feare } likewise winter, heat, Tempest &c  
 Death } enterd into ye world

Faith  
 Hope  
 Charity } comfort him and i[n]struct him  
 chorus briefly concludes

Several pages later Milton sketched another plan under the title Adams Banishment, crossed out and replaced by the title

Adam unparadiz'd  
~~Adams Banishment~~

The angel Gabriel either descending or entering, shewing since  
 (in earth, as in heaven, describes Paradise. next  
 this globe was created, his frequency as much\  
 next ~~first~~ the chorus shewing the reason of his coming to keep his watch in Paradise  
 after Lucifers rebellion by command from god, & withall expressing his desire to  
 see, & know more concerning this excellent new creature man. the angel Gabriel as  
 by his name signifying a prince of power tracing paradise with a more free office  
~~comes~~ passes by the station of ye chorus & desired by them relates what he knew  
 of man as the creation of Eve with thire love, & mariage. after this Lucifer appears  
 after his overthrow, bemoans himself, seeks revenge on man the chorus prepare  
 resistance at his first approach at last after discourse of enmity on either side he  
 departs wherat the chorus sings of the battell, & victorie in heavn against him & his  
 accomplices, as before after the first act was sung a hymn of the creation.

[[sentence inserted from opposite leaf ]] heer again may appear Lucifer relating,  
 & insulting in what he had don to the destruction of man.  
 man next & Eve having by this time bin seduc'd by the serpent appeares confusedly  
 cover'd with leaves conscience in a shape accuses him, Justice cites him to the  
 place whither Jehova call'd for him in the mean while the chorus entertains the  
 stage, & his [is] inform'd by some angel the manner of his fall.

[[sentence inserted from foot of page]] heer the chorus bewailes Adams fall.  
 Adam then & Eve returne accuse one another but especially Adam layes the blame  
 to his wife, is stubborn in his offence Justice appeares reason with him convinces  
 him [[sentence inserted from foot of page]] the chorus admonisheth Adam, & bids  
 him beware by Lucifers example of impenitence  
 the Angel is sent to banish them out of paradice but before causes to passe before  
 his eyes in shapes a mask of all the evils of this life & world he is humbl'd relents,  
 dispaire. at last appeares Mercy comforts him & ~~brings in faith hope & charity~~ promises  
 the Messiah, then calls in faith, hope, & charity, instructs him he repents gives  
 god the glory, submitts to his penalty the chorus briefly concludes. compare  
 this with the former draught.

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