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BOISLEUX-AU-MONT, FRANCE
MARCH 30, 1918
MILTON'S POETICAL WORKS
THE

POETICAL WORKS

OF

JOHN MILTON.

EDITED

WITH NOTES, EXPLANATORY AND PHILOLOGICAL,

BY

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VOL. II.

PARADISE LOST.
PARADISE REGAINED.

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PARADISE LOST.

(Under Portrait of Milton, in the Fourth Edition, 1688.)

Three Poets in three distant ages born,
Greece, Italy, and England, did adorn;
The first in loftiness of thought surpassed;
The next in majesty; in both the last.
The force of Nature could no further go;
To make a third she joined the former two.
—Dryden.
THE VERSE.

(Prefixed by Milton in 1668.)

The measure is English heroic verse without rime, as that of Homer in Greek, and of 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 metre; graced indeed since by the use of some famous modern poets, carried away by custom, but much to their own vexation, hindrance, and constraint to express many things otherwise, and for the most part worse, than else they would have expressed 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 ears, trivial and of no true musical delight; which consists only 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 avoided 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 is rather to be esteemed an example set, the first in English, of ancient liberty recovered to heroic poem from the troublesome and modern bondage of riming.
BOOK I.
THE ARGUMENT.

This First Book proposes first, in brief, the whole subject, Man's Disobedience, and the Loss thereupon of Paradise wherein he was placed. 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 with all his crew into the great deep. Which action passed over, the poem hastens into the midst of things, presenting Satan with his Angels now fallen into Hell, described here not in the centre (for heaven and earth may be supposed as yet not made, certainly not yet accursed) but in a place of utter darkness, filthiest called Chaos; here Satan with his angels lying on the burning lake, thunderstruck and astonished, after a certain space recovers, as from confusion, calls up him who next in order and dignity lay by him; they confer of their miserable fall. Satan awakens all his legions, who lay till then in the same manner confounded; they rise; their numbers, array of battle, their chief leaders named, according to the idols known afterwards in Canaan and the countries adjoining. To these Satan directs his speech; comforts them with hope yet of regaining Heaven; but tells them, lastly, of a new world and new kind of creature to be created, according to an ancient prophesy 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 prophesy, and what to determine thereon, he refers to a full council. What his associates thence attempt. Pandemonium, the palace of Satan, rises suddenly built out of the deep; the infernal Peers there sit in council.
PARADISE LOST.

BOOK I.

If Man's first disobedience, and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
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, heavenly Muse! that on the secret top
Of Oreb, or of Sinai, didst inspire
That shepherd, who first taught the chosen seed,
In the beginning how the heavens and earth

10 Rose out of Chaos. Or, if Sion Hill
Delight thee more, and Siloa's brook that flowed
Fast by the oracle of God, I thence
Invoke thy aid to my adventurous song,
That with no middle flight intends to soar

15 Above the Aonian mount, while it pursues
Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.
And chiefly thou, O Spirit! that dost prefer
Before all temples the upright heart and pure,
Instruct me, for thou knowest; thou from the first
20 Wast present, and, with mighty wings outspread,
Dove-like sat'st brooding on the vast abyss,
And madest it pregnant; what in me is dark
Illumine! what is low raise and support!
That to the height of this great argument

25 I may assert eternal Providence,
And justify the ways of God to men.
   Say first, (for Heaven hides nothing from thy view,
Nor the deep tract of Hell) say first, what cause
Moved our grand parents, in that happy state

30 Favoured of Heaven so highly, to fall off
   From their Creator, and transgress his will,
For one restraint, lords of the world besides.
Who first seduced them to that foul revolt?
The infernal Serpent! he it was, whose guile,

35 Stirred up with envy and revenge, deceived
The mother of mankind, what time his pride
Had cast him out from Heaven, with all his host
Of rebel angels, by whose aid, aspiring
To set himself in glory above his peers,

40 He trusted to have equalled the Most High,
   If he opposed, and with ambitious aim
Against the throne and monarchy of God
Raised impious war in Heaven, and battle proud,
With vain attempt. Him the Almighty Power

45 Hurl'd headlong flaming from the ethereal sky,
   With hideous ruin and combustion, down
To bottomless perdiction; there to dwell
In adamantine chains and penal fire,
Who durst defy the Omnipotent to arms.

50 Nine times the space that measures day and night
   To mortal men, he with his horrid crew
Lay vanquished, rolling in the fiery gulf,
Confounded though immortal! But his doom
Reserved him to more wrath; for now the thought
55 Both of lost happiness and lasting pain
Torments him. Round he throws his baleful eyes,
That witnessed huge affliction and dismay,
Mixed with obdurate pride, and steadfast hate;
At once, as far as angels ken, he views
60 The dismal situation waste and wild;
A dungeon horrible, on all sides round,
As one great furnace, flamed; yet from those flames
No light, but rather darkness visible
Served only to discover sights of woe,
65 Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
And rest can never dwell, hope never comes,
That comes to all; but torture without end
Still urges, and a fiery deluge, fed
With ever-burning sulphur unconsumed!
70 Such place eternal Justice had prepared
For those rebellious; here their prison ordained
In utter darkness, and their portion set
As far removed from God, and light of Heaven,
As from the centre thrice to the utmost pole.
75 Oh how unlike the place from whence they fell!
There the companions of his fall, o'erwhelmed
With floods and whirlwinds of tempestuous fire,
He soon discerns; and, weltering by his side,
One next himself in power, and next in crime,
80 Long after known in Palestine, and named
Beëlzebub. To whom the Arch-enemy,
(And thence in Heaven called Satan) with bold words
Breaking the horrid silence, thus began:
“If thou beest he—But oh how fallen! how changed
85 From him, who in the happy realms of light,
Clothed with transcendent brightness, didst outshine
Myriads though bright! If he whom mutual league,
United thoughts and counsels, equal hope
And hazard in the glorious enterprise,
90 Joined with me once, now misery hath joined
   In equal ruin; into what pit thou seest,
From what height fallen; so much the stronger proved
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 changed in outward lustre) that fixed mind,
And high disdain from sense of injured merit,
That with the Mightiest raised me to contend,
100 And to the fierce contention brought along
Innumerable force of Spirits armed,
That durst dislike his reign, and, me preferring,
His utmost power with adverse power opposed
In dubious battle on the plains of Heaven,
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 deify his power,
Who, from the terror of this arm, so late
Doubted 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;
Since, through experience of this great event,
(In arms not worse, in foresight much advanced,)
120 We may, with more successful hope, resolve
To wage by force or guile eternal war,
Irreconcilable to our grand Foe,
Who now triumphs, and, in the excess of joy
Sole reigning, holds the tyranny of Heaven."
So spake the apostate Angel, though in pain,
Vaunting aloud, but racked with deep despair;
And him thus answered soon his bold compeer:
"O Prince! O Chief of many throned Powers,
That led the embattled Seraphim to war
Under thy conduct, and, in dreadful deeds
Fearless, endangered Heaven's 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,
That with sad overthrow and foul defeat
Hath lost us Heaven, and all this mighty host
In horrible destruction laid thus low,
As far as gods and heavenly essences
Can perish; for the mind and spirit remains
Invincible, and vigour soon returns,
Though all our glory extinct, and happy state,
Here swallowed up in endless misery!
But what if he our Conqueror (whom I now
Of force believe almighty, since no less
Than such could have o'erpowers such force as ours)
Have left us this our spirit and strength entire,
Strongly to suffer and support our pains;
That we may so suffice his vengeful ire,
Or do him mightier service, as his thralls
By right of war, whate'er 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 undiminished, or eternal being
To undergo eternal punishment?"
Whereto with speedy words the Arch-fiend replied:
"Fallen Cherub, to be weak is miserable,
Doing or suffering; but of this be sure,
To do aught good never will be our task,
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,
And out of good still to find means of evil;
Which ofttimes may succeed, so as perhaps
Shall grieve him, (if I fail not,) and disturb
His inmost counsels from their destined aim.—
But see! the angry Victor hath recalled
His ministers of vengeance and pursuit
Back to the gates of Heaven; the sulphurous hail,
Shot after us in storm, o'er-blown, hath laid
The fiery surge that from the precipice
Of Heaven received us falling; and the thunder,
Winged 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 the occasion, whether scorn
Or satiate fury yield it from our Foe.
Seest thou yon dreary plain, forlorn and wild,
The seat of desolation, void of light,
Save what the glimmering of these livid flames
Casts pale and dreadful? Thither let us tend
From off the tossing of these fiery waves;
There rest, if any rest can harbour there;
And, re-assembling our afflicted powers,
Consult how we may henceforth most offend
Our enemy; our own loss how repair;
How overcome this dire calamity;
What reinforcement we may gain from hope;
If not what resolution from despair.”
Thus Satan, talking to his nearest mate,
With head uplift above the wave, and eyes
That sparkling blazed; 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 warred on Jove,
   Briarëos, 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 the ocean stream;
   Him, haply, slumbering on the Norway foam,
   The pilot of some small night-foundered skiff,
205 Deeming some island, oft, as seamen tell,
   With fixed anchor in his scaly rind
   Moors by his side under the lee, while night
   Invests the sea, and wished morn delays;
   So stretched out huge in length the Arch-fiend lay,
210 Chained on the burning lake; nor ever thence
   Had risen, or heaved 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 enraged might see
   How all his malice served but to bring forth
   Infinite goodness, grace, and mercy shown
   On man by him seduced, but on himself
220 Treble confusion, wrath, and vengeance poured.
   Forthwith upright he rears from off the pool
   His mighty stature; on each hand the flames
   Driven backward slope their pointing spires, and, rolled
   In billows, leave in the midst a horrid vale.
225 Then with expanded wings he steers his flight
   Aloft, incumbent on the dusky air,
   That felt unusual weight, till on dry land
   He lights, if it were land that ever burned
   With solid, as the lake with liquid fire,
And such appeared in hue, as when the force
Of subterranean wind transports a hill
Torn from Pelorus, or the shattered side
Of thundering Ætna, whose combustible
And fuelled entrails thence conceiving fire,
Sublimed with mineral fury, aid the winds,
And leave a singèd bottom all involved
With stench and smoke; such resting found the sole
Of unblest feet. Him followed his next mate,
Both glorying to have scaped the Stygian flood
As gods, and by their own recovered strength,
Not by the sufferance of supernal Power.
"Is this the region, this the soil, the clime,"
Said then the lost Archangel, "this the seat,
That we must change for Heaven? this mournful
For that celestial light? Be it so! since he
Who now is Sovran can dispose and bid
What shall be right; farthest from him is best,
Whom reason hath equalled, force hath made supreme
Above his equals. Farewell, happy fields,
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 changed by place or time.
The mind is its own place, and in itself
Can make a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven.
What matter where, if I be still the same,
And what I should be, all but less than he
Whom thunder hath made greater? Here at least
We shall be free; the Almighty hath not built
Here for his envy; will not drive us hence;
Here we may reign secure; and in my choice
To reign is worth ambition, though in Hell;
Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven.
But wherefore let we then our faithful friends,
265 The associates and co-partners of our loss,
   Lie thus astonished on the oblivious pool,
   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 Regained in Heaven, or what more lost in Hell?"
   So Satan spake, and him Beëlzebub
   Thus answered: "Leader of those armies bright,
   Which but the Omnipotent none could have foiled!
   If once they hear that voice,—their liveliest pledge
275 Of hope in fears and dangers, heard so oft
   In worst extremes, and on the perilous edge
   Of battle when it raged, in all assaults
   Their surest signal,—they will soon resume
   New courage, and revive, though now they lie
280 Grovelling and prostrate on yon lake of fire,
   As we erewhile, astounded and amazed;—
   No wonder, fallen such a pernicious height!"
   He scarce had ceased, when the superior Fiend
   Was moving toward the shore; his ponderous shield,
285 Ethereal temper, massy, large and round,
   Behind him cast; the broad circumference
   Hung on his shoulders like the moon, whose orb
   Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views
   At evening from the top of Fesolé,
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, were but a wand)
295 He walked with, to support uneasy steps
   Over the burning marle, not like those steps
   On Heaven’s azure; and the torrid clime
   Smote on him sore besides, vaulted with fire.
Nathless he so endured, till on the beach
Of that inflamèd sea he stood, and called
His legions, angel forms, who lay entranced,
Thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks
In Vallombrosa, where the Etrurian shades
High over-arched embower; or scattered sedge
Afloat, when with fierce winds Orion armed
Hath vexed the Red Sea coast, whose waves o'erthrew
Busiris and his Memphian chivalry,
While with perfidious hatred they pursued
The sojourners of Goshen, who beheld
From the safe shore their floating carcasses,
And broken chariot-wheels; so thick bestrown,
Abject and lost lay these, covering the flood,
Under amazement of their hideous change.
He called so loud, that all the hollow deep
Of Hell resounded: "Princes, Potentates,
Warriors, the flower of Heaven! once yours, now lost,
If such astonishment as this can seize
Eternal Spirits; or have ye chosen this place
After the toil of battle to repose
Your wearied virtue, for the ease you find
To slumber here, as in the vales of Heaven?
Or in this abject posture have ye sworn
To adore the Conqueror? who now beholds
Cherub and Seraph rolling in the flood,
With scattered arms and ensigns, till anon
His swift pursuers from Heaven-gates discern
The advantage, and descending tread us down
Thus drooping, or with linkèd thunderbolts
Transfix us to the bottom of this gulf.
Awake, arise, or be for ever fallen!"
They heard, and were abashed, and up they sprung
Upon the wing; as when men won't to watch
On duty, sleeping found by whom they dread,
Rouse and bestir themselves ere well awake.

Nor did they not perceive the evil plight
In which they were, or the fierce pains not feel;
Yet to their General's voice they soon obeyed,
Innumerable. As when the potent rod
Of Amram's son, in Egypt's evil day,

Waved round the coast, up called a pitchy cloud
Of locusts, warping on the eastern wind,
That o'er the realm of impious Pharaoh hung
Like night, and darkened all the land of Nile;
So numberless were those bad Angels seen

Hovering on wing under the cope of Hell,
'Twixt upper, nether, and surrounding fires;
Till, as a signal given, the uplifted spear
Of their great Sultan waving to direct
Their course, in even balance down they light

On the firm brimstone, and fill all the plain;
A multitude, like which the populous North
Poured never from her frozen loins, to pass
Rhene or the Danaw, when her barbarous sons
Came like a deluge on the South, and spread

Beneath Gibraltar to the Libyan sands.
Forthwith from every squadron, and each band,
The heads and leaders thither haste where stood
Their great Commander, godlike shapes, and forms
Excelling human, princely Dignities,

And Powers that erst in Heaven sat on thrones;
Though of their names in heavenly records now
Be no memorial, blotted out and rased,
By their rebellion, from the books of life.
Nor had they yet among the sons of Eve

Got them new names, till, wandering o'er the earth,
Through God's high sufferance for the trial of man,
By falsities and lies the greatest part
Of mankind they corrupted to forsake
God their Creator, and the invisible
Glory of him that made them to transform
Oft to the image of a brute, adorned
With gay religions full of pomp and gold,
And devils to adore for deities;
Then were they known to men by various names,
And various idols through the heathen world.
Say, Muse, their names then known, who first, who last,
Roused from the slumber on that fiery couch,
At their great Emperor's call, as next in worth
Came singly where he stood on the bare strand,
While the promiscuous crowd stood yet aloof.
The chief were those who, from the pit of Hell
Roaming to seek their prey on earth, durst fix
Their seats, long after, next the seat of God,
Their altars by his altar, gods adored
Among the nations round, and durst abide
Jehovah thundering out of Sion, throned
Between the cherubim; yea, often placed
Within his sanctuary itself their shrines,
Abominations! and with cursed things
His holy rites and solemn feasts profaned,
And with their darkness durst affront his light.
First Moloch, horrid king, besmeared with blood
Of human sacrifice, and parents' tears,
Though, for the noise of drums and timbrels loud,
Their children's cries unheard, that passed through fire
To his grim idol. Him the Ammonite
Worshipped in Rabba and her watery plain,
In Argob, and in Basan, to the stream
Of utmost Arnon. Nor content with such
Audacious neighbourhood, the wisest heart
Of Solomon he led by fraud to build
His temple right against the temple of God
On that opprobrious hill, and made his grove
The pleasant valley of Hinnom, Tophet thence
And black Gehenna called, the type of Hell.
Next Chemos, the obscene dread of Moab's sons,
From Aroer to Nebo, and the wild
Of southmost Abarim; in Hesebon
And Horonaim, Seon's realm, beyond
The flowery dale of Sibma clad with vines,
And Eleælæ to the Asphal tic pool;
Peor his other name when he enticed
Israel in Sittim, on their march from Nile,
To do him wanton rites, which cost them woe.
Yet thence his lustful orgies he enlarged
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 bordering flood
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
And uncompounded is their essence pure,
Not tied or manacled with joint or limb,
Nor founded on the brittle strength of bones,
Like cumbrous flesh; but, in what shape they choose,
Dilated or condensed, bright or obscure,
Can execute their aery purposes,
And works of love or enmity fulfil.)
For those the race of Israel oft forsook
Their living Strength, and unfrequented left
His righteous altar, bowing lowly down
To bestial gods; for which their heads as low
Bowed down in battle, sunk before the spear
Of despicable foes. With these in troop
Came Astoreth, whom the Phœnicians called
Astartè, Queen of heaven, with crescent horns;
To whose bright image nightly by the moon
Sidonian virgins paid their vows and songs;
In Sion also not unsung, where stood
Her temple on the offensive mountain, built
By that uxorious king, whose heart, though large,
Beguiled by fair idolatresses, fell
To idols foul. Thammuz came next behind,
Whose annual wound in Lebanon allured
The Syrian damsels to lament his fate
In amorous ditties all a summer's day,
While smooth Adonis from his native rock
Ran purple to the sea, supposed with blood
Of Thammuz yearly wounded; the love-tale
Infected Sion's daughters with like heat,
Whose wanton passions in the sacred porch
Ezekiel saw, when, by the vision led,
His eye surveyed the dark idolatries
Of alienated Judah. Next came one
Who mourned in earnest, when the captive ark
Maimed his brute image, head and hands lopped off
In his own temple, on the grusel edge,
Where he fell flat, and shamed his worshippers;
Dagon his name, sea-monster, upward man
And downward fish; yet had his temple high
Reared in Azotus, dreaded through the coast
Of Palestine, in Gath and Ascalon,
And Accaron and Gaza's frontier bounds.
Him followed Rimmon, whose delightful seat
Was fair Damascus, on the fertile banks
Of Abbana and Pharphar, lucid streams.
He also against the house of God was bold;
A leper once he lost, and gained a king,
Ahaz, his sottish conqueror, whom he drew
God's altar to disparage and displace
For one of Syrian mode, whereon to burn
His odious offerings, and adore the gods
Whom he had vanquished. After these appeared
A crew who under names of old renown,
Osiris, Isis, Orus, and their train,
With monstrous shapes, and sorceries abused
Fanatic Egypt, and her priests, to seek
Their wandering gods disguised in brutish forms
Rather than human. Nor did Israel escape
The infection, when their borrowed gold composed
The calf in Oreb; and the rebel king
Doubled that sin in Bethel and in Dan,
Likening his Maker to the grazèd ox,—
Jehovah, who in one night, when he passed
From Egypt marching, equalled with one stroke
Both her first-born and all her bleating gods.
Belial came last, than whom a Spirit more lewd
Fell not from Heaven, or more gross to love
Vice for itself. To him no temple stood
Or altar smoked; yet who more oft than he
In temples, and at altars, when the priest
Turns atheist, as did Eli's sons, who filled
With lust and violence the house of God?
In courts and palaces he also reigns,
And in luxurious cities, where the noise
Of riot ascends above their loftiest towers,
And injury and outrage; and when night
Darkens the streets, then wander forth the sons
Of Belial, flown with insolence and wine.
Witness the streets of Sodom, and that night
In Gibeah, when the hospitable door
Exposed a matron to avoid worse rape.
These were the prime, in order and in might;
The rest were long to tell, though far renowned,
The Ionian gods, of Javan’s issue held
Gods, yet confessed later than Heaven and Earth,

510 Their boasted parents; Titan, Heaven’s first-born,
With his enormous brood, and birthright seized
By younger Saturn; he from mightier Jove
(His own and Rhea’s son) like measure found;
So Jove usurping reigned. These, first in Crete

515 And Ida known, thence on the snowy top
Of cold Olympus ruled the middle air,
Their highest heaven; 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 the Hesperian fields,
And o’er the Celtic roamed the utmost isles.
All these and more came flocking, but with looks
Downcast and damp, yet such wherein appeared
Obscure some glimpse of joy, to have found their Chief

525 Not in despair, to have found themselves not lost
In loss itself; which on his countenance cast
Like doubtful hue; but he, his wonted pride
Soon recollecting, with high words, that bore
Semblance of worth, not substance, gently raised

530 Their fainting courage, and dispelled their fears.
Then straight commands that, at the warlike sound
Of trumpets loud, and clarions, be upreared
His mighty standard; that proud honour claimed
Azazel as his right, a Cherub tall;

535 Who forthwith from the glittering staff unfurled
The imperial ensign; which, full high advanced,
Shone like a meteor streaming to the wind,
With gems and golden lustre rich emblazed,
Seraphic arms and trophies; all the while

540 Sonorous metal blowing martial sounds;
At which the universal host up-sent
A shout that tore Hell’s concave, and beyond
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 colours waving; with them rose
A forest huge of spears; and thronging helms
Appeared, and serried shields in thick array
Of depth immeasurable. Anon they move

550 In perfect phalanx to the Dorian mood
Of flutes and soft recorders; such as raised
To height of noblest temper heroes old
Arming to battle, and instead of rage
Deliberate valour breathed, firm and unmoved

555 With dread of death to flight or foul retreat;
Nor wanting power to mitigate and swage,
With solemn touches, troubled 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,
Moved on in silence to soft pipes, that charmed
Their painful steps o'er the burnt soil; and now
Advanced in view they stand, a horrid front
Of dreadful length, and dazzling arms, in guise

565 Of warriors old with ordered spear and shield,
Awaiting what command their mighty Chief
Had to impose. He through the armèd files
Darts his experienced eye, and soon traverse
The whole battalion views, their order due,

570 Their visages and stature as of gods;
Their number last he sums. And now his heart
Distends with pride, and hardening in his strength
Glories; for never, since created man,
Met such embodied force, as named with these

575 Could merit more than that small infantry
Warred on by cranes; though all the giant brood
Of Phlegra with the heroic race were joined
That fought at Thebes and Ilium, on each side
Mixed with auxiliar gods; and what resounds

580 In fable or romance of Uther's son,
Begirt with British and Armoric knights;
And all who since, baptized 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 observed
Their dread Commander; he, above the rest

590 In shape and gesture proudly eminent,
Stood like a tower; his form had yet not lost
All her original brightness, nor appeared
Less than Archangel ruined, and the excess
Of glory obscured; as when the sun new-risen

595 Looks through the horizontal misty air,
Shorn of his beams, or from behind the moon,
In dim eclipse, disastrous twilight sheds
On half the nations, and with fear of change
Perplexes monarchs. Darkened so, yet shone

600 Above them all the Archangel; but his face
Deep scars of thunder had intrenched, and care
Sat on his faded cheek, but under brows
Of dauntless courage, and considerate pride
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,) condemned
For ever now to have their lot in pain,
Millions of Spirits for his fault amerced

610 Of Heaven, and from eternal splendours flung
For his revolt, yet faithful how they stood,
Their glory withered; as when heaven's fire
Hath scathed the forest oaks or mountain pines,
With singèd top their stately growth, though bare,
Stands on the blasted heath. He now prepared
To speak; whereat their doubled ranks they bend
From wing to wing, and half enclose him round
With all his peers; attention held them mute.
Thrice he essayed, and thrice in spite of scorn,
Tears, such as Angels weep, burst forth; at last
Words interwove with sighs found out their way:
"O Myriads of immortal Spirits! O Powers
Matchless, but with the Almighty, and that strife
Was not inglorious, though the event was dire,
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 feared
How such united force of gods, how such
As stood like these, could ever know repulse?
For who can yet believe, though after loss,
That all these puissant legions, whose exile
Hath emptied Heaven, shall fail to re-ascend,
Self-raised, and repossess their native seat?
For me be witness all the host of Heaven,
If counsels different, or danger shunned
By me, have lost our hopes. But he who reigns
Monarch in Heaven till then as one secure
Sat on his throne, upheld by old repute,
Consent or custom, and his regal state
Put forth at full, but still his strength concealed,
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
New war, provoked; our better part remains
To work in close design, by fraud or guile,
What force effected not; that he no less
At length from us may find, who overcomes
By force hath overcome but half his foe.

Space may produce new worlds, whereof so rife
There went a fame in Heaven, that he ere long
Intended to create and therein plant
A generation, whom his choice regard
Should favour equal to the sons of Heaven.

Thither, if but to pry, shall be perhaps
Our first eruption, thither or elsewhere;
For this infernal pit shall never hold
Celestial Spirits in bondage, nor the Abyss
Long under darkness cover. But these thoughts

Full counsel must mature. Peace is despaired,
For who can think submission? War then, war
Open or understood, must be resolved."

He spake; and to confirm his words outflew
Millions of flaming swords, drawn from the thighs

Of mighty Cherubim; the sudden blaze
Far round illumined Hell; highly they raged
Against the Highest; and fierce with graspèd arms
Clashed on their sounding shields the din of war,
Hurling defiance toward the vault of Heaven.

There stood a hill not far, whose grisly top
Belched fire and rolling smoke; the rest entire
Shone with a glossy scurf, undoubted sign
That in his womb was hid metallic ore,
The work of sulphur. Thither winged with speed

A numerous brigad hastened; as when bands
Of pioneers, with spade and pickaxe armed,
Forerun the royal camp, to trench a field,
Or cast a rampart. Mammon led them on,
Mammon, the least erected Spirit that fell

From Heaven, for even in Heaven his looks and thoughts
Were always downward bent, admiring more
The riches of Heaven’s pavement, trodden gold,
Than aught divine or holy else enjoyed
In vision beatific; by him first

Men also, and by his suggestion taught,
Ransacked the centre, and with impious hands
Rifled the bowels of their mother earth
For treasures better hid. Soon had his crew
Opened into the hill a spacious wound,

And digged out ribs of gold. Let none admire
That riches grow in Hell; that soil may best
Deserve the precious bane. And here let those
Who boast in mortal things, and wondering tell
Of Babel, and the works of Memphian kings,

Learn how their greatest monuments of fame,
And strength, and art, are easily outdone
By Spirits reprobate and in an hour,
What in an age they, with incessant toil
And hands innumerable, scarce perform.

Nigh on the plain in many cells prepared,
That underneath had veins of liquid fire
Sluiced from the lake, a second multitude
With wondrous art founded the massy ore,
Severing each kind, and scummed the bullion dross.

A third as soon had formed within the ground
A various mould, and from the boiling cells
By strange conveyance filled each hollow nook;
As in an organ, from one blast of wind,
To many a row of pipes the sound-board breathes.

Anon out of the earth a fabric huge
Rose like an exhalation, with the sound
Of dulcet symphonies and voices sweet,
Built like a temple, where pilasters round
Were set, and Doric pillars overlaid

With golden architrave; nor did there want
Cornice or frieze, with bossy sculptures graven;
The roof was fretted gold. Not Babylon,
Nor great Alcairo, such magnificence
Equalled in all their glories, to enshrine

720 Belus or Sèrapis their gods, or seat
Their kings, when Egypt with Assyria strove
In wealth and luxury. The ascending pile
Stood fixed her stately height, and straight the doors,
Opening their brazen folds, discover, wide

725 Within, her ample spaces o'er the smooth
And level pavement; from the archèd roof,
Pendent by subtle magic, many a row
Of starry lamps and blazing cressets, fed
With naphtha and asphaltus, yielded light

730 As from a sky. The hasty multitude
Admiring entered, and the work some praise,
And some the architect; his hand was known
In Heaven by many a towered structure high,
Where sceptred Angels held their residence,

735 And sat as Princes, whom the supreme King
Exalted to such power, and gave to rule,
Each in his hierarchy, the Orders bright.
Nor was his name unheard or unadored
In ancient Greece; and in Ausonian land

740 Men called him Mulciber; and how he fell
From Heaven they fabled, thrown by angry Jove
Sheer o'er the crystal battlements; from morn
To noon he fell, from noon to dewy eve,
A summer's day; and with the setting sun

745 Dropped from the zenith, like a falling star,
On Lemnos, the Ægean isle. Thus they relate,
Erring; for he with this rebellious rout
Fell long before; nor aught availed him now
To have built in Heaven high towers; nor did he scape

750 By all his engines, but was headlong sent,
With his industrious crew, to build in hell.
Meanwhile the wingèd heralds, by command
Of sovrán power, with awful ceremony
And trumpet's sound, throughout the host proclaim
A solemn council forthwith to be held
At Pandemonium, the high capital
Of Satan and his peers. Their summons called
From every band and squarèd regiment
By place or choice the worthiest; they anon
With hundreds and with thousands trooping came
Attended; all access was thronged, the gates
And porches wide, but chief the spacious hall
(Though like a covered field, where champions bold
Wont ride in armed, and at the Soldan's chair,
Defied the best of Panim chivalry
To mortal combat, or career with lance,)
Thick swarmed, both on the ground and in the air
Brushed with the hiss of rustling wings. As bees
In spring time, when the sun with Taurus rides,
Pour forth their populous youth about the hive
In clusters; they among fresh dews and flowers
Fly to and fro, or on the smoothèd plank,
(The suburb of their straw-built citadel,)
New rubbed with balm, expatiate and confer
Their state affairs. So thick the aery crowd
Swarmed and were straitened; till, the signal given,
Behold a wonder! they but now who seemed
In bigness to surpass Earth's giant sons,
Now less than smallest dwarfs, in narrow room
Throng numberless, like that Pygmēan race
Beyond the Indian mount; or fairy elves,
Whose midnight revels, by a forest side,
Or fountain, some belated peasant sees,
Or dreams he sees, while overhead the moon
Sits arbitress, and nearer to the earth
Wheels her pale course; they, on their mirth and dance
Intent, with jocund music charm his ear;
At once with joy and fear his heart rebounds.
Thus incorporeal Spirits to smallest forms
Reduced their shapes immense, and were at large,
Though without number still, amidst the hall
Of that infernal court. But far within,
And in their own dimensions like themselves,
The great Seraphic Lords and Cherubim,
In close recess and secret conclave sat;
A thousand demi-gods on golden seats,
Frequent and full. After short silence then,
And summons read, the great consult began.

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK.
BOOK II.
THE ARGUMENT.

The consultation begun, Satan debates whether another battle be to be hazarded for the recovery of Heaven; some advise it, others dissuade. A third proposal is preferred, mentioned before by Satan, to search the truth of that prophecy or tradition in Heaven concerning another world, and another kind of creature, equal, or not much inferior to themselves, about this time to be created; their doubt who shall be sent on this difficult search; Satan their chief undertakes alone the voyage; is honoured and applauded. The council thus ended, the rest betake them several ways, and to several employments as their 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 them, by whom at length they are opened, 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
Outshone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,
Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand
Showers on her kings barbaric pearl and gold,

5 Satan exalted sat, by merit raised
To that bad eminence; and, from despair
Thus high uplifted beyond hope, aspires
Beyond thus high, insatiate to pursue
Vain war with Heaven; and, by success untaught,

10 His proud imaginations thus displayed:
"Powers and Dominions, Deitics of Heaven!
(For, since no deep within her gulf can hold
Immortal vigour, though oppressed and fallen,
I give not Heaven for lost; from this descent

15 Celestial Virtues rising will appear
More glorious and more dread than from no fall,
And trust themselves to fear no second fate.)
Me though just right and the fixed laws of Heaven
Did first create your leader, next, free choice,

20 With what besides, in counsel or in fight,
Hath been achieved of merit, yet this loss,
Thus far at least recovered, hath much more
Established in a safe unenvied throne,
Yielded with full consent. The happier state

25 In Heaven, which follows dignity, might draw
Envy from each inferior; but who here
Will envy whom the highest place exposes
Foremost to stand against the Thunderer's 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 than can be in Heaven, we now return
To claim our just inheritance of old,
Surer to prosper than prosperity

40 Could have assured us; and by what best way,
Whether of open war, or covert guile,
We now debate; who can advise may speak."

He ceased; and next him Moloch, sceptred king,
Stood up, the strongest and the fiercest Spirit

45 That fought in Heaven, now fiercer by despair;
His trust was with the Eternal to be deemed
Equal in strength, and rather than be less,
Cared not to be at all; with that care lost
Went all his fear; of God, or Hell, or worse,

50 He recked not; and these words thereafter spake:
"My sentence is for open war; of wiles,
More unexpert, I boast not; them let those
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 lingering here
Heaven's fugitives, and for their dwelling-place
Accept this dark opprobrious den of shame,
The prison of his tyranny who reigns

60 By our delay? No! let us rather choose,
Armed with hell-flames and fury, all at once
O'er Heaven's high towers to force resistless way,
Turning our tortures into horrid arms
Against the Torturer; when, to meet the noise

65 Of his almighty engine, he shall hear
Infernal thunder, and, for lightning, see
Black fire and horror shot with equal rage
Among his Angels, and his throne itself
Mixed with Tartarean sulphur and strange fire,

70 His own invented torments. 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
Of that forgetful lake benumb not still,

75 That in our proper motion we ascend
Up to our native seat; descent and fall
To us is adverse. Who but felt of late,
When the fierce foe hung on our broken rear
Insulting, and pursued us through the deep,

80 With what compulsion and laborious flight
We sunk thus low? The ascent is easy, then;
The event is feared. Should we again provoke
Our stronger, some worse way his wrath may find
To our destruction, if there be in Hell

85 Fear to be worse destroyed. What can be worse
Than to dwell here, driven out from bliss, condemned
In this abhorred deep to utter woe;
Where pain of unextinguishable fire
Must exercise us, without hope of end,

90 The vassals of his anger, when the scourge
Inexorably, and the torturing hour,
Calls us to penance? More destroyed than thus,
We should be quite abolished, and expire.
What fear we then? what doubt we to incense
His utmost ire? which, to the height enraged,
Will either quite consume us, and reduce
To nothing this essential,—happier far
Than miserable to have eternal being!
Or, if our substance be indeed divine,
And cannot cease to be, we are at worst
On this side nothing; and by proof we feel
Our power sufficient to disturb his Heaven,
And with perpetual inroads to alarm,
Though inaccessible, his fatal throne;
Which, if not victory, is yet revenge."

He ended frowning, and his look denounced
Desperate revenge, and battle dangerous
To less than gods. On the other side up rose
Belial, in act more graceful and humane;
A fairer person lost not Heaven; he seemed
For dignity composed, and high exploit;
But all was false and hollow; though his tongue
Dropped manna, and could make the worse appear
The better reason, to perplex and dash
Maturest counsels; for his thoughts were low;
To vice industrious, but to nobler deeds
Timorous and slothful; yet he pleased the ear,
And with persuasive accent thus began:
"I should be much for open war, O Peers,
As not behind in hate, if what was urged
Main reason to persuade immediate war
Did not dissuade me most, and seem to cast
Ominous conjecture on the whole success;
When he who most excels in fact of arms,
In what he counsels and in what excels
Mistrustful, grounds his courage on despair
And utter dissolution, as the scope
Of all his aim, after some dire revenge.
First, what revenge? The towers of Heaven are filled
With armed watch, that render all access
Impregnable; oft on the bordering deep
Their legions, or, with obscure wing,
Scout far and wide into the realm of Night,
Scorning surprise. Or could we break our way
By force, and at our heels all Hell should rise,
With blackest insurrection, to confound
Heaven's purest light, yet our great Enemy,
All incorruptible, would on his throne
Sit unpolluted, and the ethereal mould,
Incapable of stain, would soon expel
Her mischief, and purge off the baser fire,
Victorious. Thus repulsed, our final hope
Is flat despair; we must exasperate
The Almighty Victor to spend all his rage,
And that must end us, that must be our cure,
To be no more. Sad cure! for who would lose,
Though full of pain, this intellectual being,
Those thoughts that wander through eternity,
To perish rather, swallowed up and lost
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.
Will he, so wise, let loose at once his ire,
Belike through impotence or unaware,
To give his enemies their wish, and end
Them in his anger, whom his anger saves
To punish endless? 'Wherefore cease we, then?'
Say they who counsel war, 'We are decreed,
Reserved, and destined to eternal woe;
Whatever doing, what can we suffer more,
What can we suffer worse?—Is this then worst,
Thus sitting, thus consulting, thus in arms?

What when we fled amain, pursued and strook
With Heaven's afflicting thunder, and besought
The deep to shelter us? This Hell then seemed
A refuge from those wounds. Or when we lay
Chained on the burning lake? That, sure, was worse.

What if the breath that kindled those grim fires,
Awaked, should blow them into sevenfold rage,
And plunge us in the flames? Or, from above,
Should intermitted vengeance arm again
His red right hand to plague us? What if all

Her stores were opened, and this firmament
Of Hell should spout her cataracts of fire,
Impendent horrors, threatening hideous fall
One day upon our heads; while we, perhaps,
Designing or exhorting glorious war,

Caught in a fiery tempest shall be hurled,
Each on his rock transfixed, the sport and prey
Of racking whirlwinds, or for ever sunk
Under yon boiling ocean, wrapped in chains;
There to converse with everlasting groans,

Unrespitied, unpitied, unreprieved,
Ages of hopeless end! This would be worse.
War therefore, open or concealed, alike
My voice dissuades; for what can force or guile
With him, or who deceive his mind, whose eye

Views all things at one view? He from Heaven's height
All these our motions vain sees and derides;
Not more almighty to resist our might
Than wise to frustrate all our plots and wiles.
Shall we then live thus vile, the race of Heaven

Thus trampled, thus expelled, to suffer here
Chains and these torments? Better these than worse,
By my advice; since fate inevitable
Subdues us, and omnipotent decree,
The Victor's will. To suffer, as to do,

200 Our strength is equal, nor the law unjust
That so ordains; this was at first resolved,
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 venturous, if that fail them, shrink, and fear
What yet they know must follow, to endure
Exile, or ignominy, or bonds, or pain,
The sentence of their conqueror. This is now
Our doom; which if we can sustain and bear,

210 Our supreme Foe, in time, may much remit
His anger, and perhaps, thus far removed,
Not mind us not offending, satisfied
With what is punished; whence these raging fires
Will slacken, if his breath stir not their flames.

215 Our purer essence then will overcome
Their noxious vapour; or, inured, not feel;
Or, changed at length, and to the place conformed
In temper and in nature, will receive
Familiar the fierce heat, and void of pain;

220 This horror will grow mild, this darkness light;
Besides what hope the never-ending flight
Of future days may bring, what chance, what change
Worth waiting, since our present lot appears
For happy though but ill, for ill not worst,

225 If we procure not to ourselves more woe.”

Thus Belial, with words clothed in reason's garb,
Counselled ignoble ease, and peaceful sloth,
Not peace; and after him thus Mammon spake:

“Either to disenthrone the King of Heaven

230 We war, if war be best, or to regain
Our own right lost. Him to unthrone we then
May hope, when everlasting Fate shall yield
To fickle Chance, and Chaos judge the strife.
The former, vain to hope, argues as vain
The latter; for what place can be for us
Within Heaven's bound, unless Heaven's Lord supreme
We overpower? Suppose he should relent
And publish grace to all, on promise made
Of new subjection; with what eyes could we
Stand in his presence humble, and receive
Strict laws imposed, to celebrate his throne
With warbled hymns, and to his Godhead sing
Forced halleluiahs, while he lordly sits
Our envied Sovran, and his altar breathes
Ambrosial odours and ambrosial flowers,
Our servile offerings? This must be our task
In Heaven, this our delight; how wearisome
Eternity so spent in worship paid
To whom we hate! Let us not then pursue
By force impossible, by leave obtained
Unacceptable, though in Heaven, our state
Of splendid vassalage; but rather seek
Our own good from ourselves, and from our own
Live to ourselves, though in this vast recess,
Free, and to none accountable, preferring
Hard liberty before the easy yoke
Of servile pomp. Our greatness will appear
Then most conspicuous, when great things of small,
Useful of hurtful, prosperous of adverse,
We can create, and in what place soe'er
Thrive under evil, and work ease out of pain
Through labour and endurance. This deep world
Of darkness do we dread? How oft amidst
Thick clouds and dark doth Heaven's all-ruling Sire
Choose to reside, his glory unobscured,
And with the majesty of darkness round
Covers his throne, from whence deep thunders roar
Mustering their rage, and Heaven resembles Hell?
As he our darkness, cannot we his light

270 Imitate when we please? This desert soil
Wants not her hidden lustre, gems and gold;
Nor want we skill or art, from whence to raise
Magnificence; and what can Heaven show more?
Our torments also may in length of time

275 Become our elements, these piercing fires
As soft as now severe, our temper changed
Into their temper; which must needs remove
The sensible of pain. All things invite
To peaceful counsels, and the settled state

280 Of order, how in safety best we may
Compose our present evils, with regard
Of what we are and where, dismissing quite
All thoughts of war. Ye have what I advise."

He scarce had finished, when such murmur filled

285 The assembly, as when hollow rocks retain
The sound of blustering winds, which all night long
Had roused the sea, now with hoarse cadence lull
Sea-faring men o'erwatched, whose bark by chance,
Or pinnace, anchors in a craggy bay

290 After the tempest. Such applause was heard
As Mammon ended, and his sentence pleased,
Advising peace. For, such another field
They dreaded worse than Hell; so much the fear
Of thunder and the sword of Michaël

295 Wrought still within them; and no less desire
To found this nether empire, which might rise,
By policy and long process of time,
In emulation opposite to Heaven.
Which when Beëlzebub perceived, than whom,

300 Satan except, none higher sat, with grave
Aspekt he rose, and in his rising seemed
A pillar of state; deep on his front engraven
Deliberation sat, and public care;
And princely counsel in his face yet shone,

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 summer’s noon-tide air; while thus he spake:

310 “Thrones and Imperial Powers, Offspring of Heaven,
Ethereal Virtues! or these titles now
Must we renounce, and, changing style, be called
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 Heaven hath doomed
This place our dungeon, not our safe retreat
Beyond his potent arm, to live exempt
From Heaven’s high jurisdiction, in new league

320 Banded against his throne, but to remain
In strictest bondage, though thus far removed,
Under the inevitable curb, reserved
His captive multitude. For he, be sure,
In height or depth, still first and last will reign

325 Sole king, and of his kingdom lose no part
By our revolt, but over Hell extend
His empire, and with iron sceptre rule
Us here, as with his golden those in Heaven.
What sit we then projecting peace and war?

330 War hath determined us, and foiled with loss
Irreparable; terms of peace yet none
Vouchsafed or sought; for what peace will be given
To us enslaved, but custody severe,
And stripes, and arbitrary punishment

335 Inflicted? and what peace can we return,
But, to our power, hostility and hate,
Untamed reluctance, and revenge though slow,
Yet ever plotting how the Conqueror least
May reap his conquest, and may least rejoice

340 In doing what we most in sufferings feel?
Nor will occasion want, nor shall we need
With dangerous expedition to invade
Heaven, whose high walls fear no assault or siege,
Or ambush from the deep. What if we find

345 Some easier enterprise? There is a place,
(If ancient and prophetic fame in Heaven
Err not) another world, the happy seat
Of some new race called Man, about this time
To be created like to us, though less

350 In power and excellence, but favoured more
Of him who rules above; so was his will
Pronounced among the gods, and by an oath,
That shook Heaven's whole circumference, confirmed.
Thither let us bend all our thoughts, to learn

355 What creatures there inhabit, of what mould,
Or substance, how endued, and what their power,
And where their weakness, how attempted best,
By force, or subtlety. Though Heaven be shut,
And Heaven's high Arbitrator sit secure

360 In his own strength, this place may lie exposed,
The utmost border of his kingdom, left
To their defence who hold it; here perhaps
Some advantageous act may be achieved
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 puny habitants; or, if not drive,
Seduce them to our party, that their God
May prove their 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,
Hurled headlong to partake with us, shall curse

375 Their frail original, and faded bliss,
Faded so soon! Advise, if this be worth
Attempting, or to sit in darkness here
Hatching vain empires.” Thus Beëlzebub
Pledged his devilish counsel, first devised

380 By Satan, and in part proposed; for whence,
But from the author of all ill, could spring
So deep a malice, to confound the race
Of mankind in one root, and Earth with Hell
To mingle and involve, done all to spite

385 The great Creator? But their spite still serves
His glory to augment. The bold design
Pleased highly those infernal States, and joy
Sparkled in all their eyes; with full assent
They vote; whereat his speech he thus renews:

390 “Well have ye judged, well ended long debate,
Synod of gods! and, like to what ye are,
Great things resolved; which from the lowest deep
Will once more lift us up, in spite of Fate,
Nearer our ancient seat; perhaps in view

395 Of those bright confines, whence, with neighbouring
arms,
And opportune excursion, we may chance
Re-enter Heaven; or else in some mild zone
Dwell, not unvisited of Heaven’s fair light,
Secure, and at the brightening orient beam

400 Purge off this gloom; the soft delicious’air,
To heal the scar of these corrosive fires,
Shall breathe her balm. But first, whom shall we send
In search of this new world? Whom shall we find
Sufficient? Who shall tempt with wandering feet

405 The dark, unbottedomed, infinite abyss,
And through the palpable obscure find out
His uncouth way, or spread his aery flight,
Upborne with indefatigable wings
Over the vast abrupt, ere he arrive

410 The happy isle? What strength, what art can then
Suffice, or what evasion bear him safe
Through the strict senteries and stations thick
Of Angels watching round? Here he had need
All circumspection, and we now no less

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

This said, he sat; and expectation held
His look suspense, awaiting who appeared
To second, or oppose, or undertake

420 The perilous attempt; but all sat mute,
Pondering the danger with deep thoughts; and each
In other’s countenance read his own dismay,
Astonished. None, among the choice and prime
Of those Heaven-warring champions, could be found

425 So hardy as to proffer or accept,
Alone, the dreadful voyage; till at last
Satan, whom now transcendent glory raised
Above his fellows, with monarchical pride
Conscious of highest worth, unmoved thus spake:

430 “O Progeny of Heaven, empyreal Thrones!
With reason hath deep silence and demur
Seized us, though undismayed. Long is the way
And hard, that out of Hell leads up to light;
Our prison strong, this huge convex of fire,

435 Outrageous to devour, immures us round
Ninefold, and gates of burning adamant,
Barred over us, prohibit all egress.
These passed, if any pass, the void profound
Of unessential Night receives him next,

440 Wide gaping, and with utter loss of being
Threatens him, plunged in that abortive gulf.
If thence he scape into whatever world,
Or unknown region, what remains him less
Than unknown dangers and as hard escape?

But I should ill become this throne, O Peers!
And this imperial sovranty, adorned
With splendour, armed with power, if aught proposed
And judged of public moment, in the shape
Of difficulty or danger, could deter

Me from attempting. Wherefore do I assume
These royalties, and not refuse to reign,
Refusing to accept as great a share
Of hazard as of honour, due alike
To him who reigns, and so much to him due

Of hazard more, as he above the rest
High honoured sits? Go, therefore, mighty Powers!
Terror of Heaven, though fallen; intend at home,
While here shall be our home, what best may ease
The present misery, and render Hell

More tolerable; if there be cure or charm
To respite, or deceive, or slack the pain
Of this ill mansion. Intermit no watch
Against a wakeful foe, while I abroad,
Through all the coasts of dark destruction, seek

Deliverance for us all; this enterprise
None shall partake with me.” Thus saying, rose
The Monarch, and prevented all reply;
Prudent, lest, from his resolution raised,
Others among the chief might offer now

(Certain to be refused), what erst they feared;
And so, refused, might in opinion stand
His rivals, winning cheap the high repute
Which he through hazard huge must earn. But they
Dreaded not more the adventure than his voice

Forbidding; and at once with him they rose;
Their rising all at once was as the sound
Of thunder heard remote. Towards him they bend
With awful reverence prone; and as a god
Extol him equal to the Highest in Heaven.

Nor failed they to express how much they praised
That for the general safety he despised
His own; for neither do the Spirits damned
Lose all their virtue; lest bad men should boast
Their specious deeds on earth, which glory excites,

Or close ambition varnished o'er with zeal.
Thus they their doubtful consultations dark
 Ended, rejoicing in their matchless chief;
As when from mountain-tops the dusky clouds
Ascending, while the North wind sleeps, o'erspread

Heaven's cheerful face, the louring element
Scowls o'er the darkened landscape snow, or shower;
If chance the radiant sun with farewell sweet
Extend his evening beam, the fields revive,
The birds their notes renew, and bleating herds

Attest their joy, that hill and valley rings.
O shame to men! Devil with devil damned
Firm concord holds, men only disagree
Of creatures rational, though under hope
Of heavenly grace; and, God proclaiming peace,

Yet live in hatred, enmity, and strife
Among themselves, and levy cruel wars,
Wasting the earth, each other to destroy;
As if (which might induce us to accord)
Man had not hellish foes enow besides,

That, day and night, for his destruction wait.

The Stygian council thus dissolved; and forth
In order came the grand infernal Peers;
Midst came their mighty Paramount, and seemed
Alone the antagonist of Heaven, nor less

Than Hell's dread Emperor, with pomp supreme,
And godlike imitated state. Him round
A globe of fiery Seraphim enclosed
With bright emblazonry, and horrent arms.
Then, of their session ended, they bid cry

515 With trumpets' regal sound the great result;
Towards the four winds four speedy Cherubim
Put to their mouths the sounding alchymy,
By herald's voice explained; the hollow Abyss
Heard far and wide, and all the host of Hell

520 With deafening shout returned them loud acclaim.
Thence more at ease their minds, and somewhat raised
By false presumptuous hope, the rangèd Powers
Disband, and, wandering, each his several way
Pursues, as inclination or sad choice

525 Leads him perplexed, where he may likeliest find
Truce to his restless thoughts, and entertain
The irksome hours, till his great Chief return.
Part on the plain, or in the air sublime
Upon the wing, or in swift race contend,

530 As at the Olympian Games, or Pythian fields;
Part curb their fiery steeds, or shun the goal
With rapid wheels, or fronted brigads form.
As when, to warn proud cities, war appears
Waged in the troubled sky, and armies rush

535 To battle in the clouds; before each van
Prick forth the aery knights, and couch their spears
Till thickest legions close; with feats of arms
From either end of heaven the welkin burns.
Others, with vast Typhæan rage, more fell,

540 Rend up both rocks and hills, and ride the air
In whirlwind; Hell scarce holds the wild uproar.
As when Alcides, from Æchalia crowned
With conquest, felt the envenomed robe, and tore
Through pain up by the roots Thessalian pines,
545  And Lichas from the top of Æta threw
    Into the Euboic Sea. Others more mild,
    Retreated in a silent valley, sing
    With notes angelical to many a harp
    Their own heroic deeds and hapless fall
550  By doom of battle, and complain that Fate
    Free Virtue should enthrall to Force or Chance.
    Their song was partial, but the harmony
(What could it less when Spirits immortal sing?)
    Suspended Hell, and took with ravishment
555  The thronging audience. In discourse more sweet
(For eloquence the soul, song charms the sense)
    Others apart sat on a hill retired,
    In thoughts more elevate, and reasoned high
    Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,
560  Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute,
    And found no end, in wandering mazes lost.
    Of good and evil much they argued then,
    Of happiness and final misery,
    Passion and apathy, and glory and shame,
565  Vain wisdom all, and false philosophy!
    Yet with a pleasing sorcery could charm
    Pain for a while or anguish, and excite
    Fallacious hope, or arm th' obdurate breast
    With stubborn patience, as with triple steel.
570  Another part, in squadrons and gross bands,
    On bold adventure to discover wide
    That dismal world, if any clime perhaps
    Might yield them easier habitation, bend
    Four ways their flying march along the banks
575  Of four infernal rivers, that disgorge
    Into the burning lake their baleful streams;
    Abhorred Styx, the flood of deadly hate;
    Sad Acheron of sorrow, black and deep;
    Cocytus, named of lamentation loud
580 Heard on the rueful stream; fierce Phlegethon,
    Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage.
    Far off from these, a slow and silent stream,
    Lethè, the river of oblivion, rolls
    Her watery 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 wild, 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 as that Serbonian bog
    Betwixt Damiata and mount Casius old,
    Where armies whole have sunk; the parching air
595 Burns frore, and cold performs the effect of fire.
    Thither, by harpy-footed Furies haled,
    At certain revolutions all the damned
    Are brought; and feel by turns the bitter change
    Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more fierce,
600 From beds of raging fire to starve in ice
    Their soft ethereal warmth, and there to pine,
    Immovable, infixed, and frozen round,
    Periods of time, thence hurried back to fire.
    They ferry over this Lethean sound
605 Both to and fro, their sorrow to augment,
    And wish and struggle, as they pass, to reach
    The tempting stream, with one small drop to lose
    In sweet forgetfulness all pain and woe,
    All in one moment, and so near the brink;
610 But Fate withstands, and to oppose the attempt
    Medusa with Gorgonian terror guards
    The ford, and of itself the water flies
    All taste of living wight, as once it fled
    The lip of Tantalus. Thus roving on
In confused march forlorn, the adventurous bands,
With shuddering horror pale, and eyes aghast,
Viewed first their lamentable lot, and found
No rest. Through many a dark and dreary vale
They passed, and many a region dolorous,

O'er many a frozen, many a fiery Alp,
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,
Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,
Abominable, inutterable, and worse
Than fables yet have feigned, or fear conceived,
Gorgons, and hydras, and chimaeras dire.
Meanwhile the Adversary of God and man,
Satan, with thoughts inflamed of highest design,
Puts on swift wings, and toward the gates of Hell
Explores his solitary flight; sometimes
He scourcs the right hand coast, sometimes the left;
Now shaves with level wing the deep; then soars
Up to the fiery concave, touring high.
As when far off at sea a fleet descried
Hangs in the clouds, by equinoctial winds
Close sailing from Bengala, or the isles
Of Ternate and Tidore, whence merchants bring
Their spicy drugs; they on the trading flood
Through the wide Ethiopian to the Cape
Ply, stemming nightly toward the pole; so seemed
Far off the flying Fiend. At last appear
Hell bounds, high reaching to the horrid roof,
And thrice threefold the gates; three folds were
brass,
Three iron, three of adamantine rock,
Impenetrable, impaled with circling fire,
Yet unconsumed. Before the gates there sat
On either side a formidable Shape;
650 The one seemed woman to the waist, and fair,
But ended foul in many a scaly fold
Voluminous and vast, a serpent armed
With mortal sting; about her middle round
A cry of Hell-hounds never ceasing barked
655 With wide Cerberean mouths full loud, and rung
A hideous peal; yet, when they list, would creep,
If aught disturbed their noise, into her womb,
And kennel there, yet there still barked and howled
Within, unseen. Far less abhorred than these'
660 Vexed Scylla, bathing in the sea that parts
Calabria from the hoarse Trinacrian shore;
Nor uglier follow the night-hag, when, called
In secret, riding through the air she comes,
Lured with the smell of infant blood, to dance
665 With Lapland witches, while the labouring moon
Eclipses at their charms. The other Shape,—
If shape it might be called that shape had none
Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb;
Or substance might be called that shadow seemed,
670 For each seemed either,—black it stood as Night,
Fierce as ten Furies, terrible as Hell,
And shook a dreadful dart; what seemed 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.
The undaunted Fiend what this might be admired,
Admired, not feared; God and his Son except,
Created thing nought valued he nor shunned;
680 And, with disdainful look, thus first began:
"Whence and what art thou, execrable Shape!
That darest, though grim and terrible, advance
Thy miscreated front athwart my way
To yonder gates? Through them I mean to pass,
685 That be assured, without leave asked of thee.
Retire, or taste thy folly, and learn by proof,
Hell-born, not to contend with Spirits of Heaven."
To whom the Goblin, full of wrath, replied:
"Art thou that Traitor-angel, art thou he,
690 Who first broke peace in Heaven and faith, till then
Unbroken, and, in proud rebellious arms,
Drew after him the third part of Heaven's sons
Conjured against the Highest, for which both thou
And they, outcast from God, are here condemned
695 To waste eternal days in woe and pain?
And reckon'st thou thyself with Spirits of Heaven,
Hell-doomed, 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,
Lest with a whip of scorpions I pursue
Thy lingering, or with one stroke of this dart
Strange horror seize thee, and pangs unfelt before."
So spake the grisly Terror, and in shape
705 (So speaking and so threatening), grew tenfold
More dreadful and deform. On the other side,
Incensed with indignation, Satan stood
Unterrified, and like a comet burned,
That fires the length of Ophiuchus huge
710 In the Arctic sky, and from his horrid hair
Shakes pestilence and war. Each at the head
Levelled his deadly aim; their fatal hands
No second stroke intend; and such a frown
Each cast at the other, as when two black clouds,
715 With heaven's artillery fraught, come rattling on
Over the Caspian, then stand front to front,
Hovering a space, till winds the signal blow
To join their dark encounter in mid-air.
So frowned the mighty combatants, that Hell
Grew darker at their frown; so matched they stood;
For never but once more was either like
To meet so great a foe. And now great deeds
Had been achieved, whereof all Hell had rung,
Had not the snaky Sorceress, that sat
Fast by Hell-gate and kept the fatal key,
Risen, and with hideous outcry rushed between.
"O father, what intends thy hand," she cried,
"Against thy only son? What fury, O son,
Possesses thee to bend that mortal dart
Against thy father's head? and know'st for whom;
For him who sits above, and laughs the while
At thee, ordained his drudge to execute
Whate'er his wrath, which he calls justice, bids,—
His wrath, which one day will destroy ye both!"
She spake, and at her words the hellish Pest
Forbore; then these to her Satan returned:
"So strange thy outcry, and thy words so strange
Thou interposest, that my sudden hand,
Prevented, spares to tell thee yet by deeds
What it intends, till first I know of thee,
What thing thou art, thus double-formed, and why,
In this infernal vale first met, thou call'st
Me father, and that phantasm call'st my son.
I know thee not, nor ever saw till now
Sight more detestable than him and thee."
T' whom thus the Fortress of Hell-gate replied:
"Hast thou forgot me then, and do I seem
Now in thine eye so foul? once deemed so fair
In Heaven, when at the assembly, and in sight
Of all the Seraphim with thee combined
In bold conspiracy against Heaven's King,
All on a sudden miserable pain
The Birth of Sin and Death.

Surprised thee, dim thine eyes, and dizzy swum
In darkness, while thy head flames thick and fast

755 Threw forth, till on the left side opening wide,
Likest to thee in shape and countenance bright,
Then shining heavenly fair, a goddess armed,
Out of thy head I sprung; amazement seized
All the host of Heaven; back they recoiled afraid

760 At first, and called me Sin, and for a sign
Portentous held me; but, familiar grown,
I pleased, and with attractive graces won
The most averse, thee chiefly, who full oft
Thyself in me thy perfect image viewing

765 Becam'st enamoured; and such joy thou took'st
With me in secret, that my womb conceived
A growing burden. Meanwhile war arose,
And fields were fought in Heaven; wherein remained
(For what could else?) to our Almighty Foe

770 Clear victory, to our part loss and rout
Through all the Empyréan. Down they fell,
Driven headlong from the pitch of Heaven, down
Into this Deep; and, in the general fall,
I also; at which time this powerful key

775 Into my hand was given, with charge to keep
These gates for ever shut, which none can pass
Without my opening. Pensive here I sat
Alone; but long I sat not, till my womb,
Pregnant by thee, and now excessive grown,

780 Prodigious motion felt and rueful throes.
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 thus grew

785 Transformed; but he, my inbred enemy
Forth issued, brandishing his fatal dart
Made to destroy. I fled, and cried out, Death!
Hell trembled at the hideous name, and sighed
From all her caves, and back resounded Death!
790 I fled; but he pursued (though more, it seems,
Inflamed with lust than rage), and, swifter far,
Me overtook, his mother, all dismayed,
And, in embraces forcible and foul
Ingendering with me, of that rape begot
795 These yelling monsters, that with ceaseless cry
Surround me, as thou saw'st, hourly conceived,
And hourly born, with sorrow infinite
To me; for, when they list, into the womb
That bred them they return, and howl, and gnaw
800 My bowels, their repast; then, bursting forth
Afresh, with conscious terrors 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 involved, and knows that I
Should prove a bitter morsel, and his bane,
Whenever that shall be; so Fate pronounced.
810 But thou, O father! I forewarn thee, shun
His deadly arrow; neither vainly hope
To be invulnerable in those bright arms,
Though tempered heavenly, for that mortal dint,
Save he who reigns above, none can resist."
815 She finished; and the subtle Fiend his lore
Soon learned, now milder, and thus answered smooth:
"Dear daughter! since thou claim'st me for thy sire,
And my fair son here show'st me, the dear pledge
Of dalliance had with thee in Heaven, and joys
820 Then sweet, now sad to mention, through dire change
Befallen 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 heavenly host
Of Spirits, that, in our just pretences armed,
Fell with us from on high; from them I go
This uncouth errand sole, and one for all
Myself expose, with lonely steps to tread
The unfounded deep, and through the void immense
To search with wandering quest a place foretold
Should be, and, by concurring signs, ere now
Created vast and round, a place of bliss
In the purlieus of Heaven, and therein placed
A race of upstart creatures, to supply
Perhaps our vacant room, though more removed,
Lest Heaven, surcharged with potent multitude,
Might hap to move new broils. Be this, or aught
Than this more secret, now designed, I haste
To know; and, this once known, shall soon return,
And bring ye to the place where thou and Death
Shall dwell at ease, and up and down unseen
Wing silently the buxom air, embalmed
With odours; there ye shall be fed and filled
Immeasurably; all things shall be your prey."
He ceased, for both seemed highly pleased, and
Death
Grinned horrible a ghastly smile, to hear
His famine should be filled, and blessed his maw
Destined to that good hour; no less rejoiced
His mother bad, and thus bespake her sire:
"The key of this infernal pit, by due
And by command of Heaven's all-powerful King,
I keep, by him forbidden to unlock
These adamantine gates; against all force
Death ready stands to interpose his dart,
Fearless to be o'ermatched by living might.
But what owe 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 confined,
860 Inhabitant of Heaven, and heavenly-born,
 Here in perpetual agony and pain,
 With terrors and with clamours compassed round
 Of mine own brood, that on my bowels feed?
 Thou art my father, thou my author, thou
865 My being gavest 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 rolling her bestial train,
 Forthwith the huge portcullis high up-drew,
875 Which, but herself, not all the Stygian Powers,
 Could once have moved; then in the keyhole turns
 The intricate wards, and every bolt and bar
 Of massy iron, or solid rock, with ease
 Unfastens. On a sudden open fly,
880 With impetuous recoil and jarring sound,
 The infernal doors, and on their hinges grate
 Harsh thunder that the lowest bottom shook
 Of Erebus. She opened, but to shut
 Excelled her power; the gates wide open stood,
885 That with extended wings a bannered host,
 Under spread ensigns marching, might pass through
 With horse and chariots ranked in loose array;
 So wide they stood, and like a furnace mouth
 Cast forth redounding smoke and ruddy flame.
890 Before their eyes, in sudden view, appear
 The secrets of the hoary deep; a dark
Illimitable ocean, without bound,
Without dimension; where length, breadth, and height,
And time, and place, are lost; where eldest Night
And Chaos, ancestors of Nature, hold
Eternal anarchy, amidst the noise
Of endless wars, and by confusion stand.
For Hot, Cold, Moist, and Dry, four champions fierce,
Strive here for mastery, and to battle bring
Their embryo atoms; they around the flag
Of each his faction, in their several clans,
Light-armed or heavy, sharp, smooth, swift, or slow,
Swarm populous (unnumbered as the sands
Of Barca or Cyrene's torrid soil,
Levied to side with warring winds, and poise
Their lighter wings). To whom these most adhere
He rules a moment; Chaos umpire sits,
And by decision more embroils the fray
By which he reigns; next him, high arbiter,
Chance governs all. Into this wild Abyss—
The womb of Nature, and perhaps her grave,
Of neither sea, nor shore, nor air, nor fire,
But all these in their pregnant causes mixed
Confusedly, and which thus must ever fight,
Unless the Almighty Maker them ordain
His dark materials to create more worlds—
Into this wild Abyss the wary Fiend
Stood on the brink of Hell and looked a while,
Pondering his voyage; for no narrow frith
He had to cross. Nor was his ear less pealed
With noises loud and ruinous (to compare
Great things with small), than when Bellona storms
With all her battering engines, bent to rase
Some capital city; or less than if this frame
Of heaven were falling, and these elements
In mutiny had from her axe torn
The steadfast earth. At last, his sail-broad vans
He spreads for flight, and, in the surging smoke
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 vacuity; all unawares,
Fluttering his pennons vain, plumb-down he drops
Ten thousand fathom deep, and to this hour
935 Down had been falling, had not, by ill chance,
The strong rebuff of some tumultuous cloud,
Instinct with fire and nitre, hurried him
As many miles aloft; that fury stayed,
Quenched in a boggy Syrtis, neither sea,
940 Nor good dry land, nigh foundered on he fares,
Treading the crude consistence, half on foot,
Half flying; behoves him now both oar and sail.
As when a gryphon, through the wilderness
With wing'd course, o'er hill or moory dale,
945 Pursues the Arimaspian, who by stealth
Had from his wakeful custody purloined
The guarded gold; so eagerly the Fiend,
O'er 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 wild
Of stunning sounds and voices all confused,
Borne through the hollow dark, assaults his ear
With loudest vehemence. Thither he plies,
955 Undaunted, to meet there whatever Power
Or Spirit of the nethermost Abyss
Might in that noise reside, of whom to ask
Which way the nearest coast of darkness lies
Bordering on light; when, straight, behold the throne
960 Of Chaos, and his dark pavilion spread
Wide on the wasteful deep; with him enthroned
Sat sable-vested Night, eldest of things,
The consort of his reign; and by them stood
Orcus and Ades, and the dreaded name
Of Demogorgon; Rumour next, and Chance,
And Tumult, and Confusion, all embroiled,
And Discord with a thousand various mouths.
   To whom Satan, turning boldly, thus: "Ye Powers
And Spirits of this nethermost Abyss,
Chaos and ancient Night, I come no spy,
With purpose to explore or to disturb
The secrets of your realm, but, by constraint
Wandering this darksome desert, as my way
Lies through your spacious empire up to light,
Alone and without guide, half lost, I seek
What readiest path leads where your gloomy bounds
Confine with Heaven; or if some other place,
From your dominion won, the ethereal King
Possesses lately, thither to arrive
I travel this profound. Direct my course;
Directed, no mean recompense it brings
To your behoof, if I that region lost,
All usurpation thence expelled, reduce
To her original darkness and your sway
(Which is my present journey), and once more
Erect the standard there of ancient Night;
Yours be the advantage all, mine the revenge!"
   Thus Satan; and him thus the Anarch old,
With faltering speech and visage incomposed,
Answered: "I know thee, stranger, who thou art,
That mighty leading Angel, who of late
Made head against Heaven's King, though overthrown.
I saw and heard; for such a numerous host
Fled not in silence through the frightened Deep
With ruin upon ruin, rout on rout,
Confusion worse confounded; and Heaven-gates
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<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>Poured out by millions her victorious bands, Pursuing. I upon my frontiers here Keep residence; if all I can will serve</td>
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<tr>
<td>1005</td>
<td>That little which is left so to defend, Encroached on still through our intestine broils Weakening the sceptre of old Night; first Hell, Your dungeon, stretching far and wide beneath, Now lately Heaven and Earth, another world</td>
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<tr>
<td>1010</td>
<td>Hung o'er my realm, linked in a golden chain To that side Heaven from whence your legions fell. If that way be your walk, you have not far; So much the nearer danger. Go and speed! Havoc, and spoil, and ruin are my gain.&quot;</td>
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<td>1015</td>
<td>He ceased; and Satan stayed not to reply, But, glad that now his sea should find a shore, With fresh alacrity and force renewed, Springs upward, like a pyramid of fire, Into the wide expanse, and, through the shock Of fighting elements, on all sides round Environed, wins his way; harder beset And more endangered, than when Argo passed Through Bosporus, betwixt the justling rocks; Or when Ulysses on the larboard shunned Charybdis, and by the other whirlpool steered. So he with difficulty and labour hard Moved on, with difficulty and labour he; But, he once past, soon after, when man fell, Strange alteration! Sin and death amain Following his track (such was the will of Heaven), Paved after him a broad and beaten way Over the dark Abyss, whose boiling gulf Tamely endured a bridge, of wondrous length, From Hell continued, reaching the utmost orb Of this frail world; by which the Spirits perverse With easy intercourse pass to and fro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Heaven
Shoots far into the bosom of dim Night
A glimmering dawn. Here Nature first begins
Her farthest verge, and Chaos to retire
As from her outmost works, a broken foe,

1040 With tumult less and with less hostile din,
That Satan with less toil, and now with ease,
Wafts on the calmer wave by dubious light,
And, like a weather-beaten vessel, holds
Gladly the port, though shrouds and tackle torn;

1045 Or in the emptier waste, resembling air,
Weighs his spread wings, at leisure to behold
Far off the empyreal Heaven, extended wide
In circuit, undetermined square or round,
With opal towers, and battlements adorned,

1050 Of living sapphire, once his native seat;
And fast by, hanging in a golden chain,
This pendent world, in bigness as a star
Of smallest magnitude close by the moon.
Thither, full fraught with mischievous revenge,

1055 Accursed, and in a cursed hour, he hies.

THE END OF THE SECOND BOOK.
BOOK III.
THE ARGUMENT.

God, sitting on his throne, sees Satan flying towards this world, then newly created; shows 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 purpose of grace towards him, in regard he fell not of his own malice, as did Satan, but by him seduced. 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 Godhead, and therefore, with all his progeny, devoted to death, must die, unless some one can be found sufficient to answer for his offence and undergo his punishment. The Son of God freely offers himself a ransom 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 their harps in full choir, celebrate the Father and the Son. Meanwhile Satan alights upon the bare convex of this world’s outermost orb; where, wandering, he first finds a place, since called the Limbo of Vanity; what persons and things fly up thither; thence comes to the gate of Heaven, described ascending by stairs, and the waters above the firmament that flow about it; his passage thence to the orb of the sun; he finds there Uriel, the regent of that 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 placed here, inquires of him the place of his habitation, and is directed; alights first on Mount Niphates.
AIL, holy Light! offspring of Heaven first-born!
Or of the Eternal co-eternal beam
May I express thee unblamed? since God is
light,
And never but in unapproachèd light
5 Dwelt from eternity, dwelt then in thee,
Bright effluence of bright essence increate.
Or hearest 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
The rising world of waters dark and deep,
Won from the void and formless infinite.
Thee I revisit now with bolder wing,
Escaped the Stygian pool, though long detained
15 In that obscure sojourn, while in my flight
Through utter and through middle darkness borne,
With other notes than to the Orphéan lyre
I sung of Chaos and eternal Night;
Taught, by the heavenly Muse, to venture down
20 The dark descent, and up to re-ascend,
Though hard and rare; thee I revisit safe,
And feel thy sovran vital lamp; but thou
Revisittest not these eyes, that roll in vain
To find thy piercing ray, and find no dawn;

25 So thick a drop serene hath quenched their orbs,
Or dim suffusion veiled. Yet not the more
Cease I to wander where the Muses haunt
Clear spring, or shady grove, or sunny hill,
Smit with the love of sacred song; but chief

30 Thee, Sion, and the flowery brooks beneath,
That wash thy hallowed feet and warbling flow,
Nightly I visit; nor sometimes forget
Those other two equalled with me in fate,
So were I equalled with them in renown,

35 Blind Thamyris, and blind Mæonides,
And Tiresias and Phineus, prophets old;
Then feed on thoughts that voluntary 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 even or morn,
Or sight of vernal bloom, or summer's rose,
Or flocks, or herds, or human face divine;

45 But cloud instead, and ever-during dark
Surrounds me, from the cheerful ways of men
Cut off, and for the book of knowledge fair
Presented with a universal blank
Of Nature's works to me expunged and rased,

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 Empyréan where he sits
High throned above all height, bent down his eye
His own works and their works at once to view.

About him all the Sanctities of Heaven
Stood thick as stars, and from his sight received
Beatitude past utterance; on his right
The radiant image of his glory sat,
His only Son. On earth he first beheld

Our two first parents, yet the only two
Of mankind, in the happy Garden placed,
Reaping immortal fruits of joy and love,
Uninterrupted joy, unrivalled love,
In blissful solitude. He then surveyed

Hell and the gulf between, and Satan there
Coasting the wall of Heaven on this side Night
In the dun air sublime, and ready now
To stoop, with wearied wings and willing feet,
On the bare outside of this world, that seemed

Firm land embosomed without firmament,
Uncertain which, in ocean or in air.
Him God beholding from his prospect high,
Wherein past, present, future, he beholds,
Thus to his only Son, foreseeing, spake:

"Only-begotten Son, seest thou what rage
Transports our Adversary? whom no bounds
Prescribed, no bars of Hell, nor all the chains
Heaped on him there, nor yet the main Abyss,
Wide interrupt, can hold; so bent he seems

On desperate revenge, that shall redound
Upon his own rebellious head. And now,
Through all restraint broke loose, he wings his way
Not far off Heaven, in the precincts of light,
Directly towards the new-created world,

And Man there placed, with purpose to assay
If him by force he can destroy, or, worse,
By some false guile pervert; and shall pervert;
For Man will hearken to his glozing lies,
And easily transgress the sole command,
95 Sole pledge of his obedience; so will fall
He and his faithless progeny. Whose fault?
Whose but his own? Ingrate! he had of me
All he could have; I made him just and right,
Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall.
100 Such I created all the ethereal Powers
And Spirits, both them who stood, and them who failed;
Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell.
Not free, what proof could they have given sincere
Of true allegiance, constant faith or love,
105 Where only what they needs must do appeared,
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 despoiled,
110 Made passive both, had served necessity,
Not me? They, therefore, as to right belonged,
So were created; nor can justly accuse
Their Maker, or their making, or their fate,
As if predestination over-ruled
115 Their will, disposed by absolute decree,
Or high foreknowledge; they themselves decreed
Their own revolt, not I; if I foreknew,
Foreknowledge had no influence on their fault,
Which had no less proved certain unforeknown.
120 So, without least impulse or shadow of fate,
Or aught by me immutably foreseen,
They trespass, authors to themselves in all,
Both what they judge and what they choose; for so
I formed them free, and free they must remain,
125 Till they enthrall themselves; I else must change
Their nature, and revoke the high decree
Unchangeable, eternal, which ordained
Their freedom; they themselves ordained their fall.
The first sort by their own suggestion fell,
130 Self-tempted, self-depraved; Man falls, deceived
By the other first; Man therefore shall find grace,
The other none. In mercy and justice both,
Through Heaven and Earth, so shall my glory excel;
But mercy, first and last, shall brightest shine.”
135 Thus while God spake, ambrosial fragrance filled
All Heaven, and in the blessed Spirits elect
Sense of new joy ineffable diffused.
Beyond compare the Son of God was seen
Most glorious; in him all his Father shone
140 Substantially expressed; and in his face
Divine compassion visibly appeared,
Love without end, and without measure grace;
Which uttering, thus he to his Father spake:
“O Father, gracious was that word which closed
145 Thy sovran sentence, that Man should find grace;
For which both Heaven and Earth shall high extol
Thy praises, with the innumerable sound
Of hymns and sacred songs, wherewith thy throne
Encompassed shall resound thee ever blest.
150 For should Man finally be lost, should Man,
Thy creature late so loved, thy youngest son,
Fall circumvented thus by fraud, though joined
With his own folly? that be from thee far,
That far be from thee, Father, who art Judge
155 Of all things made, and judgest only right.
Or shall the Adversary thus obtain
His end, and frustrate thine? shall he fulfil
His malice, and thy goodness bring to nought,
Or proud return, though to his heavier doom,
160 Yet with revenge accomplished, and to Hell
Draw after him the whole race of mankind,
By him corrupted? Or wilt thou thyself
Abolish thy creation, and unmake,
For him, what for thy glory thou hast made?

165 So should thy goodness and thy greatness both
Be questioned and blasphemed without defence."

To whom the great Creator thus replied:
"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 spoken as my thoughts are, all
As my eternal purpose hath decreed;
Man shall not quite be lost, but saved who will;
Yet not of will in him, but grace in me

175 Freely vouchsafed; once more I will renew
His lapsed powers, though forfeit, and enthralled
By sin to foul exorbitant desires;
Upheld by me, yet once more he shall stand
On even ground against his mortal foe,

180 By me upheld, that he may know how frail
His fallen condition is, and to me owe
All his deliverance, and to none but me.
Some I have chosen of peculiar grace,
Elect above the rest; so is my will;

185 The rest shall hear me call, and oft be warned
Their sinful state, and to appease betimes
The incensed Deity, while offered grace
Invites; for I will clear their senses dark
What may suffice, and soften stony hearts

190 To pray, repent, and bring obedience due.
To prayer, repentance, and obedience due,
Though but endeavoured with sincere intent,
Mine ear shall not be slow, mine eye not shut.
And I will place within them, as a guide,

195 My umpire Conscience, whom if they will hear,
Light after light, well used, 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;
But hard be hardened, 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 done. Man disobeying,
Disloyal, breaks his fealty, and sins
Against the high supremacy of Heaven,
Affecting Godhead, and, so losing all,
To expiate his treason hath nought left,
But, to destruction sacred and devote,
He with his whole posterity must die;
Die he or Justice must; unless for him
Some other able, and as willing, pay
The rigid satisfaction,—death for death.
Say, heavenly Powers! where shall we find such love?
Which of ye will be mortal to redeem
Man's mortal crime, and just the unjust to save?
Dwells in all Heaven charity so dear?"
He asked, but all the heavenly choir stood mute,
And silence was in Heaven; on Man's behalf
Patron or intercessor none appeared,
Much less that durst upon his own head draw
The deadly forfeiture, and ransom set.
And now without redemption all mankind
Must have been lost, adjudged to Death and Hell
By doom severe, had not the Son of God,
In whom the fulness dwells of love divine,
His dearest mediation thus renewed:
"Father, thy word is past; Man shall find grace;
And shall grace not find means, that finds her way,
The speediest of thy winged messengers,
To visit all thy creatures, and to all
Comes unprevented, unimplored, unsought?
Happy for Man, so coming; he her aid
Can never seek, once dead in sins and lost;
Atonement for himself, or offering meet,

235 Indebted and undone, hath none to bring.
Behold me then, me for him, life for life
I offer; on me let thine anger fall;
Account me Man; I for his sake will leave
Thy bosom, and this glory next to thee

240 Freely put off, and for him lastly die
Well pleased; on me let Death wreak all his rage;
Under his gloomy power I shall not long
Lie vanquished; thou hast given me to possess
Life in myself 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 loathsome grave
His prey, nor suffer my unspotted soul
For ever with corruption there to dwell;

250 But I shall rise victorious, and subdue
My vanquisher, spoiled of his vaunted spoil;
Death his death's wound shall then receive, and stoop
Inglorious, of his mortal sting disarmed.
I through the ample air in triumph high

255 Shall lead Hell captive, maugre Hell, and show
The Powers of Darkness bound. Thou, at the sight
Pleased, out of Heaven shall look down and smile,
While, by thee raised, I ruin all my foes,
Death last, and with his carcase glut the grave;

260 Then, with the multitude of my redeemed,
Shall enter Heaven, long absent, and return,
Father, to see thy face, wherein no cloud
Of anger shall remain, but peace assured
And reconcilement; wrath shall be no more

265 Thenceforth, but in thy presence joy entire.”
His words here ended, but his meek aspect
Silent yet spake, and breathed immortal love
To mortal men, above which only shone
Filial obedience; as a sacrifice

270 Glad to be offered, he attends the will
Of his great Father. Admiration seized
All Heaven, what this might mean and whither tend
Wondering; but soon the Almighty thus replied:
"O thou in Heaven and Earth the only peace

275 Found out for mankind under wrath! O thou,
My sole complacence! well thou knowest how dear
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 losing thee a while, the whole race lost.
Thou, therefore, whom thou only canst redeem,
Their nature also to thy nature join;
And be thyself man among men on earth,
Made flesh, when time shall be, of virgin seed,

285 By wondrous birth; be thou, in Adam's room,
The head of all mankind, though Adam's son.
As in him perish all men, so in thee,
As from a second root, shall be restored
As many as are restored; without thee none.

290 His crime makes guilty all his sons; thy merit,
Imputed, shall absolve them who renounce
Their 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 satisfy for Man, be judged and die,
And dying, rise; and rising, with him raise
His brethren, ransomed with his own dear life.
So heavenly love shall outdo hellish hate,
Giving to death, and dying to redeem,

300 So dearly to redeem what hellish hate
So easily destroyed, and still destroys
In those who, when they may, accept not grace.
Nor shalt thou, by descending to assume
Man's nature, lessen or degrade thine own.

Because thou hast, though throned in highest bliss
Equal to God, and equally enjoying
Godlike fruition, quitted all, to save
A world from utter loss, and hast been found,
By merit more than birthright, Son of God,

Found worthiest to be so by being good,
Far more than great or high; because in thee
Love hath abounded more than glory abounds;
Therefore thy humiliation shall exalt
With thee thy manhood also to this throne;

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; under thee, as Head Supreme,

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 Heaven,
Shalt in the sky appear, and from thee send

The summoning Archangels to proclaim
Thy dread tribunal, forthwith from all winds
The living, and forthwith the cited dead
Of all past ages, to the general doom
Shall hasten, such a peal shall rouse their sleep.

Then, all thy saints assembled, thou shalt judge
Bad men and Angels; they arraigned shall sink
Beneath thy sentence; Hell, her numbers full,
Thenceforth shall be for ever shut. Meanwhile
The world shall burn, and from her ashes spring

New Heaven and Earth, wherein the just shall dwell,
And, after all their tribulations long,
See golden days, fruitful of golden deeds,
With joy and love triumphant, and fair truth.
Then thou thy regal sceptre shalt lay by,

340 For regal sceptre then no more shall need,
God shall be all in all. But all ye gods
Adore him, who to compass all this dies;
Adore the Son, and honour him as me!"

No sooner had the Almighty ceased, but,—all

345 The multitude of Angels, with a shout
Loud as from numbers without number, sweet
As from blest voices, uttering joy,—Heaven rung
With jubilee, and loud hosannas filled
The eternal regions; lowly reverent

350 Towards either throne they bow, and to the ground
With solemn adoration down they cast
Their crowns inwove with amaranth and gold;
Immortal amaranth, a flower which once
In Paradise, fast by the tree of life,

355 Began to bloom, but soon for Man's offence
To Heaven removed, where first it grew, there grows,
And flowers aloft, shading the fount of life,
And where the river of bliss through midst of
Heaven

Rolls o'er Elysian flowers her amber stream;

360 With these, that never fade, the Spirits elect
Bind their resplendent locks inwreathed with beams;
Now in loose garlands thick thrown off, the bright
Pavement, that like a sea of jasper shone,
Impurpled with celestial roses smiled.

365 Then, crowned again, their golden harps they took,
Harps ever tuned, that glittering by their side
Like quivers hung, and with preamble sweet
Of charming symphony they introduce
Their sacred song, and waken raptures high;
No voice exempt, no voice but well could join
Melodious part, such concord is in Heaven.
    Thee, Father, first they sung, Omnipotent,
Immutable, Immortal, Infinite,
Eternal King; thee, Author of all being,
Fountain of light, thyself invisible
Amidst the glorious brightness where thou sittest
Throned inaccessible, but when thou shadest
The full blaze of thy beams, and, through a cloud
Drawn round about thee like a radiant shrine,
Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appear,
Yet dazzle Heaven, that brightest Seraphim
Approach not, but with both wings veil their eyes.
Thee next they sang, of all creation first,
Begotten Son, Divine Similitude,
In whose conspicuous countenance, without cloud
Made visible, the Almighty Father shines,
Whom else no creature can behold; on thee
Impressed the effulgence of his glory abides,
Transfused on thee his ample Spirit rests.
He Heaven of Heavens, and all the Powers therein,
By thee created, and by thee threw down
The aspiring Dominations; thou that day
Thy Father's dreadful thunder didst not spare,
Nor stop thy flaming chariot-wheels, that shook
Heaven's everlasting frame, while o'er the necks
Thou drovest of warring Angels disarrayed.
Back from pursuit thy Powers with loud acclaim
Thee only extolled, Son of thy Father's might,
To execute fierce vengeance on his foes.
Not so on Man; him, through their malice fallen,
Father of mercy and grace, thou didst not doom
So strictly, but much more to pity incline;
No sooner did thy dear and only Son
Perceive thee purposed not to doom frail Man
So strictly, but much more to pity inclined,
He, to appease thy wrath, and end the strife
Of mercy and justice in thy face discerned,
Regardless of the bliss wherein he sat
Second to thee, offered himself to die

For Man's offence. O unexampled love,
Love nowhere to be found less than 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

Forget, nor from thy Father's praise disjoin!

Thus they in Heaven, above the starry sphere,
Their happy hours in joy and hymning spent.
Meanwhile upon the firm opacus globe
Of this round world, whose first convex divides

The luminous inferior orbs, enclosed
From Chaos and the inroad of Darkness old,
Satan alighted walks. A globe far off
It seemed, now seems a boundless continent,
Dark, waste, and wild, under the frown of Night

Starless exposed, and ever-threatening storms
Of Chaos blustering round, inclement sky;
Save on that side which from the wall of Heaven,
Though distant far, some small reflection gains
Of glimmering air less vexed with tempest loud;

Here walked the Fiend at large in spacious field.
As when a vulture, on Imaüs bred,
Whose snowy ridge the roving Tartar bounds,
Dislodging from a region scarce of prey,
To gorge the flesh of lambs or yeanling kids,

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 their cany waggons light;
440 So, on this windy sea of land, the Fiend
    Walked up and down alone, bent on his prey;
    Alone, for other creature in this place,
    Living or lifeless, to be found was none,—
    None yet, but store hereafter from the earth
445 Up hither, like aërial vapours, flew
    Of all things transitory and vain, when sin
    With vanity had filled the works of men;
    Both all things vain, and all who in vain things
    Built their fond hopes of glory or lasting fame,
450 Or happiness in this or the other life;
    All who have their reward on earth, the fruits
    Of painful superstition and blind zeal,
    Nought seeking but the praise of men, here find
    Fit retribution, empty as their deeds;
455 All the unaccomplished works of Nature’s hand,
    Abortive, monstrous, or unkindly mixed,
    Dissolved on earth, fleet hither, and in vain,
    Till final dissolution, wander here,
    Not in the neighbouring moon, as some have dreamed;
460 Those argent fields more likely habitants,
    Translated Saints, or middle Spirits, hold,
    Betwixt the angelical and human kind.
    Hither, of ill-joined sons and daughters born,
    First from the ancient world those Giants came
465 With many a vain exploit, though then renowned;
    The builders next of Babel on the plain
    Of Sennaär, and still with vain design
    New Babels, had they wherewithal, would build;
    Others came single; he who, to be deemed
470 A god, leaped fondly into Ætna flames,
    Empedocles; and he who, to enjoy
    Plato’s Elysium, leaped into the sea,
    Cleombrotus; and many more too long,
    Embryos and idiots, eremites and friars,
475 White, Black, and Grey, with all their trumpery.
Here pilgrims roam, that strayed so far to seek
In Golgotha him dead, who lives in Heaven;
And they who, to be sure of Paradise,
Dying put on the weeds of Dominic,
480 Or in Franciscan think to pass disguised.
They pass the planets seven, and pass the fixed,
And that crystalline sphere whose balance weighs
The trepidation talked, and that first moved;
And now Saint Peter at Heaven's wicket seems
485 To wait them with his keys, and now at foot
Of Heaven's ascent they lift their feet, when, lo!
A violent cross wind from either coast
Blows them transverse, ten thousand leagues awry,
Into the devious air; then might ye see
490 Cowls, hoods, and habits, with their wearers, tost
And fluttered into rags; then reliques, beads,
Indulgences, dispenses, pardons, bulls,
The sport of winds; all these, upwhirled aloft,
Fly o'er the backside of the world far off
495 Into a Limbo large and broad, since called
The Paradise of Fools, to few unknown
Long after, now unpeopled, and untrod.
All this dark globe the Fiend found as he passed;
And long he wandered, till at last a gleam
500 Of dawning light turned thither-ward in haste
His travelled steps. Far distant he descries,
Ascending by degrees magnificent
Up to the wall of Heaven, a structure high;
At top whereof, but far more rich, appeared
505 The work as of a kingly palace-gate,
With frontispiece of diamond and gold
Embellished; thick with sparkling orient gems
The portal shone, inimitable on earth
By model, or by shading pencil drawn.
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 sky,

And waking cried, “This is the gate of Heaven.”
Each stair mysteriously was meant, nor stood
There always, but drawn up to heaven sometimes
Viewless; and underneath a bright sea flowed
Of jasper, or of liquid pearl, whereon

Who after came from earth sailing arrived,
Wafted by Angels, or flew o’er the lake
Rapt in a chariot drawn by fiery steeds.
The stairs were then let down, whether to dare
The Fiend by easy ascent, or aggravate

His sad exclusion from the doors of bliss;
Direct against which opened from beneath,
Just o’er the blissful seat of Paradise,
A passage down to the Earth, a passage wide,
Wider by far than that of after-times

Over Mount Sion, and, though that were large,
Over the Promised Land to God so dear,
By which, to visit oft those happy tribes,
On high behests his Angels to and fro
Passed frequent, and his eye with choice regard

From Paneas, the fount of Jordan’s flood,
To Beër-saba, where the Holy Land
Borders on Egypt and the Arabian shore;
So wide the opening seemed, where bounds were set
To darkness, such as bound the ocean wave.

Satan from hence, now on the lower stair,
That scaled by steps of gold to Heaven-gate,
Looks down with wonder at the sudden view
Of all this world at once. As when a scout,
Through dark and desert ways with peril gone
All night, at last, by break of cheerful dawn,
Obtains the brow of some high-climbing hill,
Which to his eye discovers unaware
The goodly prospect of some foreign land
First seen, or some renowned metropolis
With glistering spires and pinnacles adorned,
Which now the rising sun gilds with his beams;
Such wonder seized, though after Heaven seen,
The Spirit malign, but much more envy seized,
At sight of all this world beheld so fair.
Round he surveys, (and well might where he stood
So high above the circling canopy
Of night's extended shade,) from eastern point
Of Libra to the fleecy star that bears
Andromeda far off Atlantic seas
Beyond the horizon; then from pole to pole
He views in breadth, and without longer pause
Down right into the world's first regions throws
His flight precipitant, and winds with ease,
Through the pure marble air, his oblique way
Amongst innumerable stars, that shone
Stars distant, but nigh hand seemed other worlds;
Or other worlds they seemed, or happy isles,
Like those Hesperian gardens famed of old,
Fortunate fields, and groves, and flowery vales,
Thrice happy isles; but who dwelt happy there
He stayed not to enquire. Above them all
The golden sun, in splendour likest Heaven,
Allured his eye. Thither his course he bends
Through the calm firmament, (but up or down,
By centre, or eccentric, hard to tell,
Or longitude,) where the great luminary,
Aloof the vulgar constellations thick,
That from his lordly eye keep distance due,
Dispenses light from far; they, as they move
Their starry dance in numbers that compute
Days, months, and years, towards his all-cheering lamp
Turn swift their various motions, or are turned
By his magnetic beam, that gently warms
The universe, and to each inward part
With gentle penetration, though unseen,
Shoots invisible virtue even to the deep;
So wondrously was set his station bright.
There lands the Fiend; a spot like which perhaps
Astronomer in the sun's lucent orb,
Through his glazed optic tube, yet never saw.
The place he found beyond expression bright,
Compared with aught on earth, metal or stone;
Not all parts like, but all alike informed
With radiant light, as glowing iron with fire;
If metal, part seemed gold, part silver clear;
If stone, carbuncle most or chrysolite,
Ruby or topaz, to the twelve that shone
In Aaron's breast-plate, and a stone besides
Imagined rather oft than elsewhere seen,
That stone, or like to that, which here below
Philosophers in vain so long have sought,—
In vain, though by their powerful art they bind
Volatile Hermes, and call up unbound
In various shapes old Proteus from the sea,
Drained through a limbec to his native form.
What wonder then if fields and regions here
Breathe forth elixir pure, and rivers run
Potable gold, when with one virtuous touch
The arch-chemic sun, so far from us remote,
Produces, with terrestrial humour mixed,
Here in the dark so many precious things
Of colour glorious and effect so rare?
Here matter new to gaze the Devil met
Undazzled; far and wide his eye commands;
For sight no obstacle found here, nor shade,
But all sunshine, as when his beams at noon
Culminate from the equator, as they now
Shot upward still direct, whence no way round
Shadow from body opaque can fall; and the air,
No where so clear, sharpened his visual ray
To objects distant far, whereby he soon
Saw within ken a glorious Angel stand,
The same whom John saw also in the sun.
His back was turned, but not his brightness hid;
Of beaming sunny rays a golden tiar
Circled his head, nor less his locks behind
Illustrious on his shoulders fledge with wings
Lay waving round; on some great charge employed
He seemed, or fixed in cogitation deep.
Glad was the Spirit impure, as now in hope
To find who might direct his wandering flight
To Paradise, the happy seat of Man,
His journey's end, and our beginning woe.
But first he casts to change his proper shape,
Which else might work him danger or delay;
And now a stripling Cherub he appears,
Not of the prime, yet such as in his face
Youth smiled celestial, and to every limb
Suitable grace diffused, so well he feigned;
Under a coronet his flowing hair
In curls on either cheek played, wings he wore
Of many a coloured plume sprinkled with gold,
His habit fit for speed succinct, and held
Before his decent steps a silver wand.
He drew not nigh unheard; the Angel bright,
Ere he drew nigh, his radiant visage turned,
Admonished by his ear, and straight was known
The Archangel Uriel, one of the seven
Who in God's presence, nearest to his throne,
Stand ready at command, and are his eyes
That run through all the Heavens, or down to the
Earth
Bear his swift errands over moist and dry,
O'er sea and land; him Satan thus accosts:
"Uriel, for thou of those seven Spirits that stand
In sight of God's high throne, gloriously bright,
The first art wont his great authentic will
Interpreter through highest Heaven to bring,
Where all his sons thy embassy attend;
And here art likeliest by supreme decree
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, him for whom
All these his works so wondrous he ordained,
Hath brought me from the choirs of Cherubim
Alone thus wandering. Brightest Seraph, tell
In which of all these shining orbs hath Man
His fixed seat, or fixed seat hath none,
But all these shining orbs his choice to dwell;
That I may find him, and with secret gaze,
Or open admiration, him behold,
On whom the great Creator hath bestowed
Worlds, and on whom hath all these graces poured;
That both in him and all things, as is meet,
The universal Maker we may praise;
Who justly hath driven out his rebel foes
To deepest Hell, and, to repair that loss,
Created this new happy race of Men
To serve him better; wise are all his ways."
So spake the false dissembler unperceived;
For neither Man nor Angel can discern
Hypocrisy, the only evil that walks
Invisible, except to God alone,
685 By his permissive will, through Heaven and Earth;
And oft, though Wisdom wake, Suspicion sleeps
At Wisdom's gate, and to Simplicity
Resigns her charge, while Goodness thinks no ill
Where no ill seems; which now for once beguiled

690 Uriel, though regent of the sun, and held
The sharpest-sighted Spirit of all in Heaven;
Who to the fraudulent impostor foul,
In his uprightness, answer thus returned:
"Fair Angel, thy desire, which tends to know

695 The works of God, thereby to glorify
The great Work-master, leads to no excess
That reaches blame, but rather merits praise
The more it seems excess, that led thee hither
From thy empyreal mansion thus alone,

700 To witness with thine eyes what some, perhaps,
Contented with report, hear only in Heaven;
For wonderful indeed are all his works,
Pleasant to know, and worthiest to be all
Had in remembrance always with delight;

705 But what created mind can comprehend
Their number, or the wisdom infinite
That brought them forth, but hid their causes deep?
I saw, when at his Word the formless mass,
This world's material mould, came to a heap;

710 Confusion heard his voice, and wild uproar
Stood ruled, stood vast infinitude confined;
Till at his second bidding darkness fled,
Light shone, and order from disorder sprung.
Swift to their several quarters hasted then

715 The cumbrous elements, earth, flood, air, fire;
And this ethereal quintessence of Heaven
Flew upward, spirited with various forms,
That rolled orbicular, and turned to stars
Numberless, as thou seest, and how they move;
720 Each had his place appointed, each his course;
The rest in circuit walls 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 the other hemisphere,
Night would invade; but there the neighbouring moon
(So called that opposite fair star) her aid
Timely interposes, and her monthly round
Still ending, still renewing, through mid heaven,
730 With borrowed light her countenance triform
Hence fills and empty, to enlighten the Earth,
And in her pale dominion checks the night.
That spot, to which I point, is Paradise,
Adam's abode; those lofty shades, his bower.
735 Thy way thou canst not miss, me mine requires."

Thus said, he turned; 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, sped with hoped success,
Throws his steep flight in many an aery wheel,
Nor stayed, till on Niphates top he lights.
BOOK IV.
THE ARGUMENT.

Satan, now in prospect of Eden, and nigh the place where he must now attempt the bold enterprise which he undertook alone against God and Man, falls into many doubts with himself, and many passions, fear, envy, and despair; but at length confirms himself in evil, journeys on to Paradise, whose outward prospect and situation is described, overlaps 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 described; Satan’s first sight of Adam and Eve; his wonder at their excellent form and happy state, but with resolution to work their fall; overhears their discourse, thence gathers that the Tree of Knowledge was forbidden them to eat of under penalty of death, and thereon intends to found his temptation, by seducing them to transgress; then leaves them awhile, to know further of their state by some other means. Meanwhile Uriel, descending on a sunbeam, warns Gabriel, who had in charge the gate of Paradise, that some evil Spirit had escaped the deep, and passed at noon by his sphere, in the shape of a good Angel, down to Paradise, discovered after by his furious gestures in the Mount. Gabriel promises to find him ere morning. Night coming on, Adam and Eve discourse of going to their rest; their bower described; their evening worship. Gabriel, drawing forth his bands of night-watch to walk the round of Paradise, appoints two strong Angels to Adam’s bower, lest the evil Spirit should be there doing some harm to Adam or Eve sleeping; there they find him at the ear of Eve, tempting her in a dream, and bring him, though unwilling, to Gabriel; by whom questioned, he scornfully answers, prepares resistance, but, hindered by a sign from Heaven, flies out of Paradise.
H for that warning voice, which he who saw
The Apocalypse heard cry in Heaven aloud,
Then when the Dragon, put to second rout,
Came furious down to be revenged on men,

5 Woe to the inhabitants on earth! that now,
While time was, our first parents had been warned
The coming of their secret foe, and scaped,
Haply so scaped, his mortal snare! For now
Satan, now first inflamed with rage, came down,

10 The tempter ere the accuser of mankind,
To wreak on innocent frail Man his loss
Of that first battle, and his flight to Hell.
Yet not rejoicing in his speed, though bold
Far off and fearless, nor with cause to boast,

15 Begins his dire attempt, which nigh the birth
Now rolling boils in his tumultuous breast,
And like a devilish engine back recoils
Upon himself; horror and doubt distract
His troubled thoughts, and from the bottom stir

20 The hell within him; for within him Hell
He brings, and round about him, nor from Hell
One step, no more than from himself, can fly
By change of place. Now conscience wakes despair
That slumbered, wakes the bitter memory
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 grieved look he fixes sad;
Sometimes towards Heaven and the full-blazing sun,
30 Which now sat high in his meridian tower;
Then, much revolving, thus in sighs began:—
"O thou! that, with surpassing glory crowned,
Lookest from thy sole dominion like the god
Of this new world; at whose sight all the stars
35 Hide their diminished heads; to thee I call,
But with no friendly voice, and add thy name,
O Sun! to tell thee how I hate thy beams,
That bring to my remembrance from what state
I fell, how glorious once above thy sphere;
40 Till pride and worse ambition threw me down,
Warring in Heaven against Heaven's matchless King!
Ah, wherefore? He deserved no such return
From me, whom he created what I was
In that bright eminence, and with his good
45 Upbraided none; nor was his service hard.
What could be less than to afford him praise,
The easiest recompense, and pay him thanks?
How due! Yet all his good proved ill in me,
And wrought but malice; lifted up so high
50 I sinned subjection, and thought one step higher
Would set me highest, and in a moment quit
The debt immense of endless gratitude,
So burthensome, still paying, still to owe;
Forgetful what from him I still received,
55 And understood not that a grateful mind
By owing owes not, but still pays, at once
Indebted and discharged; what burden then?
Oh! had his powerful destiny ordained
Me some inferior Angel, I had stood

60 Then happy; no unbounded hope had raised
Ambition. Yet why not? some other Power
As great might have aspired, and me, though mean,
Drawn to his part; but other Powers as great
Fell not, but stand unshaken, from within

65 Or from without to all temptations armed.
Hadst thou the same free will and power to stand?
Thou hadst. Whom hast thou then, or what, to accuse,
But Heaven's free love dealt equally to all?
Be then his love accursed! since, love or hate,

70 To me alike it deals eternal woe.
Nay, cursed be thou! since against his thy will
Chose freely what it now so justly rues.
Me miserable! which way shall I fly
Infinite wrath and infinite despair?

75 Which way I fly is Hell; myself am Hell;
And, in the lowest deep, a lower deep,
Still threatening to devour me, opens wide,
To which the Hell I suffer seems a Heaven.
Oh, 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 seduced
With other promises and other vaunts

85 Than to submit, boasting I could subdue
The Omnipotent. Ay me! they little know
How dearly I abide that boast so vain,
Under what torments inwardly I groan;
While they adore me on the throne of Hell,

90 With diadem and sceptre high advanced,
The lower still I fall, only supreme
In misery; such joy ambition finds.
But say I could repent, and could obtain
By act of grace my former state; how soon
Would height recall high thoughts, how soon unsay
What feigned submission swore! Ease would recant
Vows made in pain, as violent and void;—
For never can true reconcilement grow
Where wounds of deadly hate have pierced so deep;—
Which would but lead me to a worse relapse
And heavier fall; so should I purchase dear
Short intermission bought with double smart.
This knows my punisher; therefore as far
From granting he, as I from begging peace.

All hope excluded thus, behold, instead
Of us, outcast, exiled, his new delight,
Mankind created, and for him this world.
So farewell hope, and with hope farewell fear,
Farewell remorse! all good to me is lost;

Evil, be thou my Good; by thee at least
Divided empire with Heaven’s King I hold,
By thee, and more than half, perhaps, will reign;
As man ere long, and this new world shall know.”

Thrice changed with pale, ire, envy, and despair,
Which marred his borrowed visage, and betrayed
Him counterfeit, if any eye beheld;
For Heavenly minds from such distempers foul
Are ever clear. Whereof he soon aware

Each perturbation smoothed with outward calm,
Artificer of fraud; and was the first
That practised falsehood under saintly show,
Deep malice to conceal, couched with revenge.
Yet not enough had practised to deceive

Uriel, once warned; whose eye pursued him down
The way he went, and on the Assyrian mount
Saw him disfigured, more than could befall
Spirit of happy sort; his gestures fierce
He marked and mad demeanour, then alone,

130 As he supposed, all unobserved, 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 champaign head

135 Of a steep wilderness, whose hairy sides
   With thicket overgrown, grotesque and wild,
   Access denied; and overhead up-grew
   Insuperable height of loftiest shade,
   Cedar, and pine, and fir, and branching palm,

140 A sylvan scene, and, as the ranks ascend
   Shade above shade, a woody theatre
   Of stateliest view. Yet higher than their tops
   The verdurous wall of Paradise up-sprung;
   Which to our general sire gave prospect large

145 Into his nether empire neighbouring round.
   And higher than that wall a circling row
   Of goodliest trees loaden with fairest fruit,
   Blossoms and fruits at once, of golden hue,
   Appeared, with gay enamelled colours mixed;

150 On which the sun more glad impressed his beams
   Than in fair evening cloud, or humid bow,
   When God hath showered the earth; so lovely seemed
   That landscape; and of pure now purer air
   Meets his approach, and to the heart inspires

155 Vernal delight and joy, able to drive
   All sadness but despair; now gentle gales,
   Fanning their odoriferous wings, dispense
   Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole
   Those balmy spoils. As when to them who sail

160 Beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are past
   Mozambic, off at sea north-east winds blow
Sabean odours from the spicy shore
Of Araby the Blest, with such delay
Well pleased they slack their course, and many a league
165 Cheerèd with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles;
So entertaimèd those odorous sweets the Fiend
Who came their bane, though with them better pleased
Than Asmodèus with the fishy fume
That drove him, though enamoured, from the spouse
170 Of Tobit’s son, and with a vengeance sent
From Media post to Egypt, there fast bound.
Now to the ascent of that steep savage hill
Satan had journeyed on, pensive and slow,
But further way found none, so thick entwined;
175 As one continued brake, the undergrowth
Of shrubs and tangling bushes had perplexed
All path of man or beast that passed that way.
One gate there only was, and that looked east
On the other side; which when the Arch-felon saw,
180 Due entrance he disdained, and in contempt
At one slight bound high overleaped all bound
Of hill or highest wall, and sheer within
Lights on his feet. As when a prowling wolf,
Whom hunger drives to seek new haunt for prey,
185 Watching where shepherds pen their flocks at eve,
In hurdled cotes amid the field secure,
Leaps o’er the fence with ease into the fold;
Or as a thief, bent to unhoard the cash
Of some rich burgher, whose substantial doors,
190 Cross-barred and bolted fast, fear no assault,
In at the window climbs, or o’er the tiles;
So clomb this first grand thief into God’s fold;
So since into his Church lewd hirelings climb.
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 regained, but sat devising death
To them who lived; nor on the virtue thought
Of that life-giving plant, but only used

200 For prospect what, well used, had been the pledge
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 their meanest use.

205 Beneath him, with new wonder, now he views,
To all delight of human sense exposed
In narrow room, Nature's 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 stretched her line
From Auran eastward to the royal towers
Of great Seleucia, built by Grecian kings,
Or where the sons of Eden long before
Dwelt in Telassar. In this pleasant soil

215 His far more pleasant garden God ordained.
Out of the fertile ground he caused to grow
All trees of noblest kind for sight, smell, taste;
And all amid them stood the Tree of Life,
High eminent, blooming ambrosial fruit

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 changed his course, but through the shaggy hill

225 Passed underneath engulfed; for God had thrown
That mountain as his garden mould, high raised
Upon the rapid current, which, through veins
Of porous earth with kindly thirst up-drawn,
Rose a fresh fountain, and with many a rill

230 Watered the garden; thence united fell
Down the steep glade, and met the nether flood,
Which from his darksome passage now appears;
And now divided into four main streams,
Runs diverse, wandering many a famous realm
And country whereof here needs no account;
But rather to tell how, if Art could tell,—
How from that sapphire fount the crispèd brooks,
Rolling on orient pearl and sands of gold,
With mazy error under pendent shades
Ran nectar, visiting each plant, and fed
Flowers worthy of Paradise, which not nice art
In beds and curious knots, but Nature boon
Poured forth profuse on hill, and dale, and plain,
Both where the morning sun first warmly smote
The open field, and where the unpierced shade
Imbrowned the noon-tide bowers. Thus was this place
A happy rural seat of various view;
Groves whose rich trees wept odorous gums and balm;
Others whose fruit, burnished with golden rind,
Hung amiable,—Hesperian fables true,
If true, here only,—and of delicious taste.
Betwixt them lawns, or level downs, and flocks
Grazing the tender herb, were interposed,
Or palmy hillock, or the flowery lap
Of some irruigious valley spread her store,
Flowers of all hue, and without thorn the rose.
Another side, umbrageous grots and caves
Of cool recess, o’er which the mantling vine
Lays forth her purple grape, and gently creeps
Luxuriant; meanwhile murmuring waters fall
Down the slope hills, dispersed, or in a lake,
That to the fringèd bank with myrtle crowned
Her crystal mirror holds, unite their streams.
The birds their choir apply; airs, vernal airs,
Breathing the smell of field and grove, attune
The trembling leaves, while universal Pan,
Knit with the Graces and the Hours in dance,
Led on the eternal Spring. Not that fair field
Of Enna, where Proserpine gathering flowers,

270 Herself a fairer flower, by gloomy Dis
Was gathered, which cost Ceres all that pain
To seek her through the world; nor that sweet grove
Of Daphné by Orontes, and the inspired
Castalian spring, might with this Paradise

275 Of Eden strive; nor that Nysean isle,
Girt with the river Triton, where old Cham,
Whom Gentiles Ammon call and Libyan Jove,
Hid Amalthea, and her florid son,
Young Bacchus, from his stepdame Rhea's eye;

280 Nor, where Abassin kings their issue guard,
Mount Amara, though this by some supposed
True Paradise, under the Ethiop line
By Nilus' head, enclosed with shining rock,
A whole day's journey high, but wide remote

285 From this Assyrian garden, where the Fiend
Saw undelightened 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 majesty seemed lords of all,
And worthy seemed; for in their looks divine
The image of their glorious Maker shone,
Truth, wisdom, sanctitude severe and pure,
Severe, but in true filial freedom placed,

295 Whence true authority in men; though both
Not equal, as their sex not equal seemed;
For contemplation he and valour formed,
For softness she and sweet attractive grace;
He for God only, she for God in him.

300 His fair large front and eye sublime declared
Absolute rule; and hyacinthine locks
Round from his parted forelock manly hung
Clustering, but not beneath his shoulders broad;
She, as a veil, down to the slender waist

Her unadornèd golden tresses wore
Dishevelled, but in wanton ringlets waved
As the vine curls her tendrils, which implied
Subjection, but required with gentle sway,
And by her yielded, by him best received,

Yielded with coy submission, modest pride,
And sweet, reluctant, amorous delay.
Nor those mysterious parts were then concealed;
Then was not guilty shame, dishonest shame
Of nature's works, honour dishonourable,

Sin-bred, how have ye troubled all mankind
With shows instead, mere shows of seeming pure,
And banished from Man's life his happiest life,
Simplicity and spotless innocence!
So passed they naked on, nor shunned the sight

Of God or Angel, for they thought no ill;
So hand in hand they passed, the loveliest pair
That ever since in love's embraces met;
Adam, the goodliest man of men since born
His sons; the fairest of her daughters, Eve.

Under a tuft of shade that on a green
Stood whispering soft, by a fresh fountain-side,
They sat them down; and, after no more toil
Of their sweet gardening labour than sufficed
To recommend cool Zephyr, and made ease

More easy, wholesome thirst and appetite
More grateful, to their supper fruits they fell,
Nectarine fruits, which the compliant boughs
Yielded them, sidelong as they sat recline
On the soft downy bank damasked with flowers.

The savoury pulp they chew, and in the rind,
Still as they thirsted, scoop the brimming stream;
Nor gentle purpose, nor endearing smiles
Wanted, nor youthful dalliance as beseems
Fair couple, linked in happy nuptial league,

340 Alone as they. About them frisking played
All beasts of the earth, since wild, and of all chase
In wood or wilderness, forest or den;
Sporting the lion ramped, and in his paw
Dandled the kid; bears, tigers, ounces, pards,

345 Gambolled before them; the unwieldy elephant,
To make them mirth, used all his might, and wreathed
His lithe proboscis; close the serpent sly,
Insinuating, wove with Gordian twine
His braided train, and of his fatal guile

350 Gave proof unheeded; others on the grass
Couched, and, now filled with pasture, gazing sat,
Or bedward ruminating; for the sun,
Declined, was hastening now with prone career
To the Ocean-isles, and in the ascending scale

355 Of heaven the stars that usher evening rose;
When Satan, still in gaze as first he stood,
Scarce thus at length failed speech recovered sad:—
"O Hell! what do mine eyes with grief behold?
Into our room of bliss thus high advanced

360 Creatures of other mould; earth-born perhaps,
Not Spirits, yet to heavenly Spirits bright
Little inferior; whom my thoughts pursue
With wonder, and could love, so lively shines
In them divine resemblance, and such grace

365 The hand that formed them on their shape hath poured.
Ah, gentle pair! ye 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 Happy! but for so happy ill secured
Long to continue, and this high seat, your heaven,
Ill-fenced for Heaven to keep out such a foe
As now is entered; yet no purposed foe
To you, whom I could pity thus forlorn,

Though I unpitied. League with you I seek,
And mutual amity, so strait, so close,
That I with you must dwell, or you with me
Henceforth; my dwelling haply may not please,
Like this fair Paradise, your sense; yet such

Accept your Maker's 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,) to receive

Your numerous offspring; if no better place,
Thank him who puts me loth to this revenge
On you, who wrong me not, for him who wronged.
And should I at your harmless innocence
Melt, as I do, yet public reason just,

Honour and empire, with revenge enlarged
By conquering this new world, compels me now
To do what else, though damned, I should abhor."

So spake the Fiend, and with necessity,
The tyrant's plea, excused his devilish deeds.

Then, from his lofty stand on that high tree,
Down he alights among the sportful herd
Of those four-footed kinds, himself now one,
Now other, as their shape served best his end
Nearer to view his prey, and unespied

To mark what of their state he more might learn
By word or action marked. About them round
A lion now he stalks with fiery glare;
Then as a tiger, who by chance hath spied
In some purieu two gentle fawns at play,

Straight couches close, then rising changes oft
His couchant watch, as one who chose his ground
Whence rushing he might surest seize them both
Gripped in each paw; when Adam, first of men,
To first of women, Eve, thus moving speech

410 Turned him all ear to hear new utterance flow:—
   "Sole partner and sole part of all these joys,
Dearer thyself than all; needs must the Power
That made us, and for us this ample world,
Be infinitely good, and of his good

415 As liberal and free as infinite;
That raised us from the dust, and placed us here
In all this happiness, who at his hand
Have nothing merited, nor can perform
Aught whereof he hath need; he who requires

420 From us no other service than to keep
This one, this easy charge, 'Of all the trees
In Paradise that bear delicious fruit
So various, not to taste that only Tree
Of Knowledge, planted by the Tree of Life;'

425 So near grows death to life, whate'er death is,
Some dreadful thing no doubt; for well thou knowest
God hath pronounced it death to taste that tree,
The only sign of our obedience left,
Among so many signs of power and rule

430 Conferred upon us, and dominion given
Over all other creatures that possess
Earth, air, and sea. Then let us not think hard
One easy 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 extol
His bounty, following our delightful task
To prune these growing plants, and tend these flowers,
Which, were it toilsome, yet with thee were sweet."

440 To whom thus Eve replied:—"O thou for whom
And from whom I was formed, flesh of thy flesh,
And without whom am to no end, my guide
And head, what thou hast said is just and right.
For we to him indeed all praises owe,

445 And daily thanks, I chiefly, who enjoy
So far the happier lot, enjoying thee
Pre-eminent by so much odds, while thou
Like consort to thyself canst nowhere find.
That day I oft remember, when from sleep

450 I first awaked, and found myself reposed
Under a shade on flowers, much wondering where
And what I was, whence thither brought, and how.
Not distant far from thence a murmuring sound
Of waters issued from a cave, and spread

455 Into a liquid plain, then stood unmoved,
Pure as the expanse of heaven; I thither went,
With unexperienced thought, and laid me down
On the green bank, to look into the clear
Smooth lake, that to me seemed another sky.

460 As I bent down to look, just opposite
A shape within the watery gleam appeared,
Bending to look on me; I started back,
It started back, but pleased I soon returned,
Pleased it returned as soon with answering looks

465 Of sympathy and love; there I had fixed
Mine eyes till now, and pined with vain desire,
Had not a voice thus warned me: 'What thou seest,
What there thou seest, fair creature, is thyself;
With thee it came and goes; but follow me,

470 And I will bring thee where no shadow stays
Thy coming and thy soft embraces, he
Whose image thou art; him thou shalt enjoy
Inseparably thine, to him shalt bear
Multitudes like thyself, and thence be called

475 Mother of human race.' What could I do
But follow straight, invisibly thus led?
Till I espied thee, fair, indeed, and tall,
Under a platane; yet, methought, less fair,
Less winning soft, less amably mild,

Than that smooth watery image. Back I turned;
Thou following criedst aloud, ‘Return, fair Eve,
Whom fliest thou? Whom thou fliest, of him thou art,
His flesh, his bone; to give thee being I lent
Out of my side to thee, nearest my heart,

Substantial life, to have thee by my side
Henceforth an individual solace dear;
Part of my soul, I seek thee; and thee claim,
My other half.’—With that, thy gentle hand
Seized mine; I yielded, and from that time see

How beauty is excelled by manly grace,
And wisdom, which alone is truly fair.”

So spake our general mother, and, with eyes
Of conjugal attraction unreproved,
And meek surrender, half-embracing leaned

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,
Smiled with superior love, (as Jupiter

On Juno smiles, when he impregnates the clouds
That shed May flowers) and pressed her matron lip
With kisses pure. Aside the Devil turned
For envy, yet with jealous leer malign
Eyed them askance; and to himself thus plained:—

“Sight hateful, sight tormenting! Thus these two,
Impardised in one another’s arms,
(The happier Eden!) shall enjoy their fill
Of bliss on bliss, while I to Hell am thrust,
Where neither joy nor love, but fierce desire,

Among our other torments not the least,
Still unfulfilled, with pain of longing pines.
Yet let me not forget what I have gained
From their own mouths; all is not theirs, it seems;
One fatal tree there stands, of Knowledge called,

Forbidden them to taste. Knowledge forbidden?
Suspicious, reasonless. Why should their Lord
Envy them that? Can it be sin to know?
Can it be death? And do they only stand
By ignorance? Is that their happy state,

The proof of their obedience and their faith?
O fair foundation laid whereon to build
Their ruin! Hence I will excite their minds
With more desire to know, and to reject
Envious commands, invented with design

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 unspied;

A chance but chance may lead where I may meet
Some wandering Spirit of Heaven, by fountain-side,
Or in thick shade retired, from him to draw
What further would be learned. Live while ye may,
Yet happy pair! Enjoy, till I return,

Short pleasures, for long woes are to succeed!"

So saying, his proud step he scornful turned,
But with sly circumspection, and began,
Through wood, through waste, o'er hill, o'er dale, his roam.

Meanwhile in utmost longitude, where heaven

With earth and ocean meets, the setting sun
Slowly descended, and with right aspect
Against the eastern gate of Paradise
Levelled his evening rays. It was a rock
Of alabaster, piled up to the clouds,
Conspicuous far, winding with one ascent
Accessible from earth, one entrance high;
The rest was craggy cliff, that overhung
Still as it rose, impossible to climb.
Betwixt these rocky pillars Gabriel sat,
Chief of angelic guards, awaiting night.
About him exercised heroic games
The unarmed youth of heaven; but nigh at hand
Celestial armoury, shields, helms, and spears,
Hung high, with diamond flaming and with gold.
Thither came Uriel, gliding through the even
On a sunbeam, swift as a shooting star
In autumn thwarts the night, when vapours fired
Impress the air, and shows the mariner
From what point of his compass to beware
Impetuous winds. He thus began in haste:—
“Gabriel! to thee thy course by lot hath given
Charge and strict watch, that to this happy place
No evil thing approach or enter in.
This day, at height of noon, came to my sphere
A Spirit, zealous, as he seemed to know
More of the Almighty’s works, and chiefly man,
God’s latest image. I described his way,
Bent all on speed, and marked his aery gait;
But in the mount that lies from Eden north,
Where he first lighted, soon discerned his looks
Alien from Heaven, with passions foul obscured.
Mine eye pursued him still, but under shade
Lost sight of him. One of the banished crew,
I fear, hath ventured from the deep, to raise
New troubles; him thy care must be to find.”
To whom the wingèd warrior thus returned:
“Uriel! no wonder if thy perfect sight,
Amid the sun’s bright circle where thou sittest,
See far and wide. In at this gate none pass
580 The vigilance here placed, but such as come
   Well known from Heaven; and since meridian hour
No creature thence. If Spirit of other sort,
So minded, have o'erleaped these earthy bounds
On purpose, hard thou knowest it to exclude
585 Spiritual substance with corporeal bar.
   But if within the circuit of these walks
In whatsoever shape he lurk, of whom
   Thou tellest, by morrow dawning I shall know."
   So promised he; and Uriel to his charge
590 Returned on that bright beam, whose point now raised
Bore him slope downward to the sun, now fallen
Beneath the Azores; whether the prime orb,
   Incredible how swift, had thither rolled
Diurnal, or this less voluble earth,
595 By shorter flight to the east, had left him there
   Arraying with reflected purple and gold
The clouds that on his western throne attend.
   Now came still evening on, and twilight grey
   Had in her sober livery all things clad;
600 Silence accompanied, for beast and bird,
   They to their grassy couch, these to their nests,
Were slunk, all but the wakeful nightingale;
She all night long her amorous descant sung;
Silence was pleased. Now glowed the firmament
605 With living sapphires; Hesperus, that led
   The starry host, rode brightest, till the Moon,
Rising in clouded majesty, at length
   Apparent queen, unveiled her peerless light,
And o'er the dark her silver mantle threw.
610 When Adam thus to Eve: "Fair consort! the hour
   Of night, and all things now retired 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,
Now falling with soft slumberous weight, inclines
Our eyelids. Other creatures all day long
Rove idle, unemployed, and less need rest;
Man hath his daily work of body or mind
Appointed, which declares his dignity,
And the regard of Heaven on all his ways;
While other animals unactive range,
And of their doings God takes no account.
To-morrow, ere fresh morning streak the east
With first approach of light, we must be risen,
And at our pleasant labour, to reform
Yon flowery arbours, yonder alleys green,
Our walk at noon, with branches overgrown,
That mock our scant manuring, and require
More hands than ours to lop their wanton growth;
Those blossoms also, and those dropping gums,
That lie bestrown, unsightly and unsmooth,
Ask riddance, if we mean to tread with ease;
Meanwhile, as Nature wills, night bids us rest.”
To whom thus Eve, with perfect beauty adorned:
“My author and disposer, what thou biddest
Unargued I obey; so God ordains;
God is thy law, thou mine; to know no more
Is woman’s happiest knowledge, and her praise.
With thee conversing I forget all time,
All seasons, and their change;—all please alike.
Sweet is the breath of morn, her rising sweet,
With charm of earliest birds; pleasant the sun,
When first on this delightful land he spreads
His orient beams, on herb, tree, fruit, and flower,
Glistening with dew; fragrant the fertile earth
After soft showers; and sweet the coming on
Of grateful evening mild; then, silent night,
With this her solemn bird, and this fair moon,
And these the gems of Heaven, her starry train;
But neither breath of morn, when she ascends
   With charm of earliest birds; nor rising sun
On this delightful land; nor herb, fruit, flower,
Glistening with dew; nor fragrance after showers;
Nor grateful evening mild; nor silent night,
With this her solemn bird; nor walk by moon,
   Or glittering starlight, without thee is sweet.
But wherefore all night long shine these? For whom
This glorious sight, when sleep hath shut all eyes?"
To whom our general ancestor replied:
"Daughter of God and man, accomplished Eve,
Those have their course to finish round the earth
By morrow evening, and from land to land
In order, though to nations yet unborn,
Ministering light prepared, they set and rise;
Lest total darkness should by night regain
Her old possession, and extinguish life
In nature and all things, which these soft fires
Not only enlighten, but with kindly heat
Of various influence foment and warm,
Temper or nourish, or in part shed down
Their stellar virtue on all kinds that grow
On earth, made hereby apter to receive
Perfection from the sun's more potent ray.
These, then, though unbeheld in deep of night,
Shine not in vain; nor think, though men were none,
That Heaven would want spectators, God want praise.
Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth
Unseen, both when we wake and when we sleep;
All these with ceaseless praise his works behold
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 other's note,
Singing their great Creator! Oft in bands
While they keep watch, or nightly rounding walk,
With heavenly touch of instrumental sounds
In full harmonic number joined, their songs
Divide the night, and lift our thoughts to Heaven."

Thus talking, hand in hand, alone they passed

On to their blissful bower. It was a place
Chosen by the Sovran Planter, when he framed
All things to man's delightful use; the roof,
Of thickest covert, was inwoven shade,
Laurel and myrtle, and what higher grew

Of firm and fragrant leaf; on either side
Acanthus, and each odorous bushy shrub,
Fenced up the verdant wall; each beauteous flower,
Iris all hues, roses, and jessamine,
Reared high their flourished heads between, and wrought

Mosaic; underfoot the violet,
Crocus, and hyacinth, with rich inlay
Broadered the ground, more coloured than with stone
Of costliest emblem. Other creature here,
Beast, bird, insect, or worm, durst enter none;

Such was their awe of man. In shadier bower,
More sacred and sequestered, though but feigned,
Pan or Sylvanus never slept, nor nymph
Nor Faunus haunted. Here, in close recess,
With flowers, garlands, and sweet-smelling herbs,

Espousèd Eve decked first her nuptial bed,
And heavenly choirs the hymnæan sung,
What day the genial Angel to our sire
Brought her, in naked beauty more adorned,
More lovely, than Pandora, whom the gods

Endowed with all their gifts, and, oh! too like
In sad event, when, to the unwiser son
Of Japhet brought by Hermes, she ensnared
Mankind with her fair looks, to be avenged
On him who had stole Jove's authentic fire.
Thus, at their shady lodge arrived, both stood,
Both turned, and under open sky adored
The God that made both sky, air, earth, and heaven,
Which they beheld, the moon's resplendent globe,
And starry pole: "Thou also madest the night,
Maker Omnipotent! and thou the day,
Which we, in our appointed work employed,
Have finished, happy in our mutual help,
And mutual love, the crown of all our bliss
Ordained by thee, and this delicious place,
For us too large, where thy abundance wants
Partakers, and uncropped falls to the ground.
But thou hast promised from us two a race
To fill the earth, who shall with us extol
Thy goodness infinite, both when we wake,
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 their inmost bower
Handed they went; and, eased the putting off
These troublesome disguises which we wear,
Straight side by side were laid; nor turned, I ween,
Adam from his fair spouse, nor Eve the rites
Mysterious of connubial love refused;
Whatever hypocrites austerely talk
Of purity, and place, and innocence,
Defaming as impure what God declares
Pure, and commands to some, leaves free to all.
Our Maker bids increase; who bids abstain
But our destroyer, foe to God and man?
Hail, wedded love! mysterious law, true source
Of human offspring, sole propriety
In Paradise of all things common else!
By thee adulterous lust was driven from men
Among the bestial herds to range; by thee,
755 Founded in reason, loyal, just, and pure,
   Relations dear, and all the charities
   Of father, son, and brother, first were known.
   Far 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 undefiled and chaste pronounced,
   Present, or past, as saints and patriarchs used.
   Here Love his golden shafts employs, here lights
   His constant lamp, and waves his purple wings,

765 Reigns here and revels; not in the bought smile
   Of harlots, loveless, joyless, unredeemed,
   Casual fruition; nor in court-amours,
   Mixed dance, or wanton mask, or midnight ball,
   Or serenate, which the starved lover sings

770 To his proud fair, best quitted with disdain.
   These, lulled by nightingales, embracing slept,
   And on their naked limbs the flowery roof
   Showered roses, which the morn repaired. Sleep on,
   Blest pair; and, oh! yet happiest, if ye seek

775 No happier state, and know to know no more.
   Now had night measured with her shadowy cone
   Half-way up hill this vast sublunar vault;
   And from their ivory port the Cherubim,
   Forth issuing at the accustomed hour, stood armed

780 To their night watches in warlike parade,
   When Gabriel to his next in power thus spake:
      “Uzziel! half these draw off, and coast the south
   With strictest watch; these other wheel the north;
   Our circuit meets full west.” As flame they part,

785 Half wheeling to the shield, half to the spear.
   From these, two strong and subtle Spirits he called,
   That near him stood, and gave them thus in charge:
      “Ithuriel, and Zephon, with winged speed
   Search through this garden, leave unsearched no nook,
790 But chiefly where those two fair creatures lodge,
    Now laid perhaps asleep, secure of harm.
This evening from the sun’s decline arrived
Who tells of some infernal Spirit seen
Hitherward bent (who could have thought?), escaped
795 The bars of Hell, on errand bad, no doubt;
    Such, where ye find, seize fast, and hither bring.”
    So saying, on he led his radiant files,
    Dazzling 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 ear of Eve,
    Assaying, by his devilish art, to reach
The organs of her fancy, and with them forge
Illusions, as he list, phantasms, and dreams;
Or if, inspiring venom, he might taint
805 The animal spirits, that from pure blood arise
    Like gentle breaths from rivers pure, thence raise
At least distempered, discontented thoughts,
Vain hopes, vain aims, inordinate desires,
Blown up with high conceits engendering pride.
810 Him thus intent Ithuriel with his spear
    Touched lightly; for no falsehood can endure
Touch of celestial temper, but returns
Of force to its own likeness; up he starts,
Discovered and surprised. As when a spark
815 Lights on a heap of nitrous powder, laid
    Fit for the tun, some magazine to store
Against a rumoured war, the smutty grain,
With sudden blaze diffused, inflames the air;
So started up in his own shape the Fiend.
820 Back stepped those two fair Angels, half amazed
    So sudden to behold the grisly king;
Yet thus, unmoved with fear, accost him soon:
"Which of those rebel spirits, adjudged to Hell,
Comest thou, escaped thy prison? and transformed
825 Why sat'st thou, like an enemy in wait,
    Here watching at the head of these that sleep?"
    "Know ye not, then," said Satan, filled with scorn,
    "Know ye not me? ye knew me once no mate
For you, there sitting where ye durst not soar.
830 Not to know me argues yourselves 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 undiminished brightness, to be known,
As when thou stood'st in Heaven, upright and pure;
That glory then, when thou no more wast good,
Departed from thee; and thou resembllest now
840 Thy sin and place of doom obscure and foul.
    But come, for thou, be sure, shalt give account
To him who sent us, whose charge is to keep
This place inviolable, and these from harm."
    So spake the Cherub; and his grave rebuke,
845 Severe in youthful beauty, added grace
Invincible. Abashed the Devil stood,
    And felt how awful goodness is, and saw
Virtue in her shape how lovely; saw, and pined
His loss; but chiefly to find here observed
850 His lustre visibly impaired; yet seemed
Undaunted. "If I must contend," said he,
    "Best with the best, the sender not the sent,
Or all at once; more glory will be won,
Or less be lost." "Thy fear," said Zephon bold,
855 "Will save us trial what the least can do
Single against thee wicked, and thence weak."
    The Fiend replied not, overcome with rage;
But, like a proud steed reined, went haughty on,
Champing his iron curb; to strive or fly
He held it vain; awe from above had quelled
His heart, not else dismayed. Now drew they nigh
The western point, where those half-rounding guards
Just met, and closing stood in squadron joined,
Awaiting next command. To whom their Chief,

Gabriel, from the front thus called aloud:
"O friends! I hear the tread of nimble feet
Hasting this way, and now by glimpse discern
Ithuriel and Zephon through the shade,
And with them comes a third of regal port,

But faded splendour wan; who, by his gait,
And fierce demeanour, seems the Prince of Hell,
Not likely to part hence without contest;
Stand firm, for in his look defianceours."

He scarce had ended, when those two approached,

And brief related whom they brought, where found,
How busied, in what form and posture couched.
To whom with stern regard thus Gabriel spake:
"Why hast thou, Satan, broke the bounds prescribed
To thy transgressions, and disturbed the charge

Of others, who approve not to transgress
By thy example, but have power and right
To question thy bold entrance on this place;
Employed, it seems, to violate sleep, and those
Whose dwelling God hath planted here in bliss?"

To whom thus Satan, with contemptuous brow:
"Gabriel, thou hadst in Heaven the esteem of wise,
And such I held thee; but this question asked
Puts me in doubt. Lives there who loves his pain?
Who would not, finding way, break loose from Hell,

Though thither doomed? Thou wouldst thyself, no
doubt,
And boldly venture to whatever place
Farthest from pain, where thou mightst hope to change
Torment with ease, and soonest recompense
Dole with delight, which in this place I sought;
895 To thee no reason, who knowest only good,
But evil hast not tried; and wilt object
His will who bound us? Let him surer bar
His iron gates, if he intends our stay
In that dark durance; thus much what was asked.
900 The rest is true, they found me where they say;
But that implies not violence or harm.”
Thus he in scorn. The warlike Angel moved,
Disdainfully half-smiling, thus replied:
“O loss of one in Heaven to judge of wise,
905 Since Satan fell, whom folly overthrew,
And now returns him from his prison scaped,
Gravely in doubt whether to hold them wise
Or not, who ask what boldness brought him hither
Unlicensed, from his bounds in Hell prescribed;
910 So wise he judges it to fly from pain
However, and to scape his punishment.
So judge thou still, presumptuous, till the wrath,
Which thou incurrest by flying, meet thy flight
Sevenfold, and scourge that wisdom back to Hell,
915 Which taught thee yet no better that no pain
Can equal anger infinite provoked.
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 than they
920 Less hardy to endure? Courageous chief!
The first in flight from pain, hadst thou alleged
To thy deserted host this cause of flight,
Thou surely hadst not come sole fugitive.”
To which the Fiend thus answered, frowning stern:
“Not that I less endure, or shrink from pain,
925 Insulting Angel! well thou know’st I stood
Thy fiercest, when in battle to thy aid
The blasting volleyed thunder made all speed
And seconded thy else not dreaded spear.

930 But still thy words at random, as before,
Argue thy inexperience what behoves,
From hard assays and ill successes past,
A faithful leader, not to hazard all
Through ways of danger by himself untried.

935 I therefore, I alone, first undertook
To wing the desolate abyss, and spy
This new-created world, whereof in Hell
Fame is not silent; here in hope to find
Better abode, and my afflicted powers

940 To settle here on earth, or in mid air;
Though for possession put to try once more
What thou and thy gay legions dare against;
Whose easier business were to serve their Lord
High up in Heaven, with songs to hymn his throne,

945 And practised distances to cringe, not fight.”

To whom the warrior Angel soon replied:
“'To say and straight unsay, pretending first
Wise to fly pain, professing next the spy,
Argues no leader but a liar traced,

950 Satan, and couldst thou ‘faithful’ add? O name,
O sacred name of faithfulness profaned!
Faithful to whom? to thy rebellious crew?
Army of fiends, fit body to fit head!
Was this your discipline and faith engaged,

955 Your military obedience, to dissolve
Allegiance to the acknowledged Power supreme?
And thou, sly hypocrite! who now wouldst seem
Patron of liberty, who more than thou
Once fawned, and cringed, and servilely adored

960 Heaven’s awful Monarch? wherefore, but in hope
To dispossess him, and thyself to reign?
But mark what I areed thee now—Avaunt!
Fly thither whence thou fledst. If from this hour
Within these hallowed limits thou appear,
965 Back to the infernal pit I drag thee chained,
And seal thee so, as henceforth not to scorn
The facile gates of Hell too slightly barred."
So threatened he; but Satan to no threats
Gave heed, but, waxing more in rage, replied:
970 "Then when I am thy captive talk of chains,
Proud limitary Cherub! but ere then
Far heavier load thyself expect to feel
From my prevailing arm, though Heaven's King
Ride on thy wings, and thou with thy compeers,
975 Used to the yoke, draw'st his triumphant wheels
In progress through the road of Heaven star-paved."
While thus he spake, the angelic squadron bright
Turned fiery red, sharpening in moon'd horns
Their phalanx, and began to hem 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
Sways them; the careful ploughman doubting stands
Lest on the threshing-floor his hopeful sheaves
985 Prove chaff. On the other side, Satan, alarmed,
Collecting all his might, dilated stood,
Like Teneriff or Atlas unremoved;
His stature reached the sky, and on his crest
Sat horror plumèd; nor wanted in his grasp
990 What seemed both spear and shield. Now dreadful deeds
Might have ensued, nor only Paradise
In this commotion, but the starry cope
Of heaven, perhaps, or all the elements
At least, had gone to wrack, disturbed and torn
995 With violence of this conflict, had not soon
The Eternal, to prevent such horrid fray,
Hung forth in Heaven his golden scales, (yet seen
Betwixt Astrea and the Scorpion sign,
Wherein all things created first he weighed,
1000 The pendulous round earth, with balanced air
In counterpoise, now ponders all events,
Battles and realms). In these he put two weights,
The sequel each of parting and of fight;
The latter quick up flew, and kicked the beam;
1005 Which Gabriel spying thus bespake the Fiend:
"Satan, I know thy strength, and thou know'st mine,
Neither our own, but given; what folly then
To boast what arms can do? since thine no more
Than Heaven permits, nor mine, though doubled now
1010 To trample thee as mire; for proof look up,
And read thy lot in yon celestial sign,
Where thou art weighed and shown how light, how weak,
If thou resist." The Fiend looked 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.
BOOK V.
THE ARGUMENT.

Morning approached, Eve relates to Adam her troublesome dream; he likes it not, yet comforts her. They come forth to their day labours; their morning hymn at the door of their 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; and whatever else may avail Adam to know. Raphael comes down to Paradise; his appearance described; his coming discerned 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 choicest fruits of Paradise got together by Eve; their discourse at table. Raphael performs his message, minds Adam of his state and of his enemy; relates, at Adam's request, 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, persuading all but only Abdiel, a seraph, who in argument dissuades and opposes him, then forsakes him.
BOOK V.

OW Morn, her rosy steps in the eastern clime
Advancing, sowed the earth with orient pearl,
When Adam waked, so customed, for his sleep
Was aery light, from pure digestion bred,
And temperate vapours bland, which the only sound
Of leaves and fuming rills, Aurora’s fan,
Lightly dispersed, and the shrill matin song
Of birds on every bough; so much the more
His wonder was to find unwakened Eve
With tresses discomposed and glowing cheek,
As through unquiet rest. He, on his side
Leaning half-raised, with looks of cordial love
Hung over her enamoured, and beheld
Beauty, which, whether waking or asleep,
Shot forth peculiar graces; then, with voice
Mild as when Zephyrus on Flora breathes,
Her hand soft touching, whispered thus: “Awake,
My fairest, my espoused, my latest found,
Heaven’s last best gift, my ever-new delight!
Awake! the morning shines, and the fresh field
Calls us; we lose the prime to mark how spring
Our tended plants, how blows the citron grove,
What drops the myrrh, and what the balmy reed,
How Nature paints her colours, how the bee
Sits on the bloom extracting liquid sweet."
Such whispering waked her, but with startled eye
On Adam, whom embracing, thus she spake:
"O sole in whom my thoughts find all repose,
My glory, my perfection! glad I see
Thy face, and morn returned; for I this night
(Such night till this I never passed) have dreamed,—
If dreamed,—not, as I oft am wont, of thee,
Works of day past, or morrow's next design,
But of offence and trouble, which my mind
Knew never till this irksome night. Methought,
Close at mine ear one called me forth to walk
With gentle voice; I thought it thine. It said,
'Why sleep'st thou, Eve? now is the pleasant time,
The cool, the silent, save where silence yields
To the night-warbling bird, that now awake
Tunes sweetest his love-laboured song; now reigns
Full-orbed the moon, and with more pleasing light
Shadowy sets off the face of things, in vain,
If none regard. Heaven wakes with all his eyes,
Whom to behold but thee, Nature's desire?
In whose sight all things joy, with ravishment
Attracted by thy beauty still to gaze.'
I rose as at thy call, but found thee not;
To find thee I directed then my walk;
And on, methought, alone I passed through ways
That brought me on a sudden to the tree
Of interdicted knowledge; fair it seemed,
Much fairer to my fancy than by day;
And, as I wondering looked, beside it stood
One shaped and winged like one of those from Heaven
By us oft seen; his dewy locks distilled
Ambrosia. On that tree he also gazed;  
And, 'O fair plant,' said he, 'with fruit surcharged,
Deigns none to ease thy load and taste thy sweet,

Nor god, nor man? Is knowledge so despised?  
Or envy, or what reserve, forbids to taste?
Forbid who will, none shall from me withhold
Longer thy offered good, why else set here?'

This said, he paused not, but with venturous arm
He plucked, he tasted; me damp horror chilled
At such bold words vouched with a deed so bold;
But he thus, overjoyed: 'O fruit divine,
Sweet of thyself, but much more sweet thus cropped,
Forbidden here, it seems, as only fit

For gods, yet able to make gods of men;
And why not gods of men, since good, the more
Communicated, more abundant grows,
The author not impaired, but honoured more?
Here, happy creature, fair angelic Eve,
Partake thou also; happy though thou art,
Happier thou may'st be, worthier canst not be;
Take this, and be henceforth among the gods
Thyself a goddess, not to earth confined,
But sometimes in the air, as we, sometimes

Ascend to Heaven, 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 plucked; the pleasant savoury smell

So quickened appetite, that I, methought,
Could not but taste. Forthwith up to the clouds
With him I flew, and underneath beheld
The earth outstretched immense, a prospect wide
And various;—wondering at my flight and change

To this high exaltation, suddenly
My guide was gone, and I, methought, sunk down,
And fell asleep; but oh, how glad I waked
To find this but a dream!" Thus Eve her night
Related, and thus Adam answered sad:—

"Best image of myself, and dearer half,
The trouble of thy thoughts this night in sleep
Affects me equally; nor can I like
This uncouth dream, of evil sprung I fear;
Yet evil whence? in thee can harbour none,

Created pure. But know, that in the soul
Are many lesser faculties, that serve
Reason as chief; among these Fancy next
Her office holds; of all external things,
Which the five watchful senses represent,

She forms imaginations, aery shapes,
Which Reason, joining or disjoining, frames
All what we affirm or what deny, and call
Our knowledge or opinion; then retires
Into her private cell when Nature rests.

Oft in her absence mimic Fancy wakes
To imitate her, but, misjoining shapes,
Wild work produces oft, and most in dreams,
Ill matching words and deeds long past or late.
Some such resemblances, methinks, I find

Of our last evening's 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 unapproved, and leave
No spot or blame behind; which gives me hope

That what in sleep thou didst abhor to dream
Waking thou never wilt consent to do.
Be not disheartened then, nor cloud those looks,
That wont to be more cheerful and serene
Than when fair Morning first smiles on the world;

And let us to our fresh employments rise
Among the groves, the fountains, and the flowers
That open now their choicest bosomed smells,
Reserved from night, and kept for thee in store.”
    So cheered he his fair spouse, and she was cheered,
130 But silently a gentle tear let fall
    From either eye, and wiped them with her hair;
Two other precious drops, that ready stood,
Each in their crystal sluice, he ere they fell
Kissed as the gracious signs of sweet remorse,
135 And pious awe, that feared to have offended.
    So all was cleared, and to the field they haste.
But first, from under shady arborous roof
Soon as they forth were come to open sight
Of day-spring, and the sun,—who scarce up-risen,
140 With wheels yet hovering o’er the ocean-brim,
    Shot parallel to the earth his dewy ray,
Discovering in wide landscape all the east
Of Paradise and Eden’s happy plains,—
Lowly they bowed adoring, and began
145 Their orisons, each morning duly paid
    In various style; for neither various style
Nor holy rapture wanted they to praise
Their Maker, in fit strains pronounced or sung
Unmeditated, such prompt eloquence
150 Flowed from their lips, in prose or numerous verse,
    More tuneable than needed lute or harp
To add more sweetness; and they thus began:
    “These are thy glorious works, Parent of good!
Almighty! thine this universal frame,
155 Thus wondrous fair; thyself how wondrous then!
Unspeakable, who sitt’st above these Heavens
To us invisible, or dimly seen
In these thy lowest works; yet these declare
Thy goodness beyond thought, and power divine.
160 Speak ye who best can tell, ye Sons of Light,
    Angels,—for ye behold him, and with songs
And choral symphonies, day without night,
Circle his throne rejoicing,—ye in Heaven;
On Earth join all ye creatures to extol

165 Him first, him last, him midst, and without end.
Fairest of Stars, last in the train of night,
If better thou belong not to the dawn,
Sure pledge of day, that crown'st the smiling morn
With thy bright circlet, praise him in thy sphere,

170 While day arises, that sweet hour of prime.
Thou Sun, of this great world both eye and soul,
Acknowledge him thy greater; sound his praise
In thy eternal course, both when thou climb'st,
And when high noon hast gained, and when thou fall'st.

175 Moon, (that now meet'st the orient sun, now fliest,)
With the fixed Stars, fixed in their orb that flies;
And ye five other wandering Fires, that move
In mystic dance not without song, resound
His praise, who out of darkness called up light.

180 Air, and ye Elements, the eldest birth
Of Nature's womb, that in quaternion run
Perpetual circle, multiform, and mix
And nourish all things, let your ceaseless change
Vary to our great Maker still new praise.

185 Ye Mists and Exhalations, that now rise
From hill or steaming lake, dusky or grey,
Till the sun paint your fleecy skirts with gold,
In honour to the world's great Author rise,
Whether to deck with clouds the uncoloured sky,

190 Or wet the thirsty 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 ye that warble, as ye flow,
Melodious murmurs, warbling tune his praise.
Join voices, all ye living Souls; ye Birds,
That singing up to Heaven-gate ascend,
Bear on your wings and in your notes his praise.

Ye that in waters glide, and ye that walk
The earth, and stately tread, or lowly creep,
Witness if I be silent, morn or even,
To hill or valley, fountain, or fresh shade,
Made vocal by my song, and taught his praise.

Hail, universal Lord! be bounteous still
To give us only good; and, if the night
Have gathered aught of evil, or concealed,
Disperse it, as now light dispels the dark."

So prayed they innocent, and to their thoughts

Firm peace recovered soon, and wonted calm.
On to their morning's rural work they haste,
Among sweet dews and flowers; where any row
Of fruit-trees over-woody reached too far
Their pampered boughs, and needed hands to check

Fruitless embraces; or they led the vine
To wed her elm; she, spoused, about him twines
Her marriageable arms, and with her brings
Her dower, the adopted clusters, to adorn
His barren leaves. Them thus employed beheld

With pity Heaven's high King, and to him called
Raphael, the sociable Spirit, that deigned
To travel with Tobias, and secured
His marriage with the seven-times-wedded maid.

"Raphael, said he, "thou hear'st what stir on
earth"

Satan, from Hell scaped through the darksome gulf,
Hath raised in Paradise, and how disturbed
This night the human pair; how he designs
In them at once to ruin all mankind.
Go therefore, half this day as friend with friend
Converse with Adam, in what bower or shade
Thou find'st him, from the heat of noon retired,
To respite his day-labour with repast
Or with repose; and such discourse bring on,
As may advise him of his happy state,

Happiness in his power left free to will,
Left to his own free will, his will though free
Yet mutable; whence warn him to beware
He swerve not, too secure; tell him, withthal,
His danger, and from whom; what enemy,

Late fallen himself from Heaven, 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,
Lest wilfully transgressing he pretend

Surprisal, unadmonished, unforewarned."
So spake the Eternal Father, and fulfilled
All justice; nor delayed the winged Saint
After his charge received; but from among
Thousand celestial Ardours, where he stood

Veiled with his gorgeous wings, up springing light,
Flew through the midst of Heaven; the angelic
choirs,
On each hand parting, to his speed gave way
Through all the empyreal road; till, at the gate
Of Heaven arrived, the gate self-opened wide,

On golden hinges turning, as by work
Divine the sovrain Architect had framed.
From hence,—no cloud or, to obstruct his sight,
Star interposed however small,—he sees,
Not unconform to other shining globes,

Earth, and the garden of God, with cedars crowned
Above all hills. As when by night the glass
Of Galileo, less assured, observes
Imagined lands and regions in the moon;
Or pilot, from amidst the Cyclades
265 Delos or Samos first appearing, kens
    A cloudy spot. Down thither prone in flight
He speeds, and through the vast ethereal sky
Sails between worlds and worlds, with steady wing
Now on the polar winds, then with quick fan
270 Winnows the buxom air; till, within soar
    Of towering eagles, to all the fowls he seems
A phoenix, gazed by all, as that sole bird,
When, to enshrine his reliques in the Sun's
Bright temple, to Egyptian Thebes he flies.
275 At once on the eastern cliff of Paradise
    He lights, and to his proper shape returns,
A Seraph winged; six wings he wore to shade
His lineaments divine; the pair that clad
Each shoulder broad came mantling o'er his breast
280 With regal ornament; the middle pair
    Girt like a starry zone his waist, and round
Skirted his loins and thighs with downy gold
And colours dipped in heaven; the third his feet
Shadowed from either heel with feathered mail,
285 Sky-tinctured grain. Like Maia's son he stood,
    And shook his plumes, that heavenly fragrance filled
The circuit wide. Straight knew him all the bands
Of Angels under watch; and to his state
And to his message high in honour rise;
290 For on some message high they guessed him bound.
Their glittering tents he passed, and now is come
Into the blissful field, through groves of myrrh,
And flowering odours, cassia, nard, and balm;
A wilderness of sweets; for Nature here
295 Wantoned as in her prime, and played at will
    Her virgin fancies, pouring forth more sweet,
Wild above rule or art, enormous bliss.
Him through the spicy forest onward come
Adam discerned, as in the door he sat
Of his cool bower, while now the mounted sun
Shot down direct his servid rays to warm
Earth's inmost womb, more warmth than Adam needs;
And Eve within, due at her hour, prepared
For dinner savoury fruits, of taste to please
305 True appetite, and not disrelish thirst
Of nectarous draughts between, from milky stream,
Berry or grape; to whom thus Adam called:
"Haste hither, Eve, and, worth thy sight, behold,
Eastward among those trees, what glorious shape"
310 Comes this way moving; seems another morn
Risen on mid-noon; some great behest from Heaven
To us perhaps he brings, and will vouchsafe
This day to be our guest. But go with speed,
And what thy stores contain bring forth, and pour
315 Abundance, fit to honour and receive
Our heavenly stranger; well we may afford
Our givers their own gifts, and large bestow
From large bestowed, where Nature multiplies
Her fertile growth, and by disburdening grows
320 More fruitful, which instructs us not to spare."
To whom thus Eve: "Adam, earth's hallowed mould,
Of God inspired, small store will serve, where store,
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 brake,
Each plant and juiciest gourd, will pluck such choice
To entertain our Angel-guest, as he
Beholding shall confess that here on Earth
330 God hath dispensed his bounties as in Heaven."
So saying, with despatchful looks in haste
She turns, on hospitable thoughts intent
What choice to choose for delicacy best,
What order, so contrived as not to mix
Tastes, not well joined, inelegant, but bring
Taste after taste upheld with kindliest change;
Bestirs her then, and from each tender stalk
Whatever Earth, all-bearing mother, yields
In India East or West, or middle shore,

In Pontus, or the Punic coast, or where
Alcinous reigned, fruit of all kinds, in coat
Rough or smooth rined, or bearded husk, or shell,
She gathers, tribute large, and on the board
Heaps with unsparing hand; for drink the grape

She crushes, inoffensive must, and meaths
From many a berry; and from sweet kernels pressed
She tempers dulcet creams; nor these to hold
Wants her fit vessels pure; then strews the ground
With rose and odours from the shrub unfumed.

Meanwhile our primitive great sire, to meet
His godlike guest, walks forth, without more train
Accompanied than with his own complete
Perfections; in himself was all his state,
More solemn than the tedious pomp that waits

On princes, when their rich retinue long
Of horses led, and grooms besmeared with gold,
Dazzles the crowd, and sets them all âgépe.
Nearer his presence, Adam, though not awed,
Yet with submiss approach and reverence meek,

As to a superior nature, bowing low,
Thus said: "Native of Heaven! for other place
None can than Heaven such glorious shape contain;
Since, by descending from the Thrones above,
Those happy places thou hast deigned awhile

To want, and honour these, vouchsafe with us
Two only, who yet by sovran gift possess
This spacious ground, in yonder shady bower
To rest, and what the garden choicest bears
To sit and taste, till this meridian heat
370 Be over, and the sun more cool decline."
    Whom thus the angelic Virtue answered mild:
    "Adam! I therefore came; nor art thou such
    Created, or such place hast here to dwell,
    As may not oft invite, though Spirits of Heaven,
    To visit thee; lead on then where thy bower
    O'ershades; for these mid-hours, till evening rise,
    I have at will." So to the sylvan lodge
    They came, that like Pomona's arbour smiled,
    With flowerets decked and fragrant smells; but Eve,
    Undecked, save with herself, more lovely fair
    Than wood-nymph, or the fairest goddess feigned
    Of three that in Mount Ida naked strove,
    Stood to entertain her guest from Heaven; no veil
    She needed, virtue-proof; no thought infirm
    Altered her cheek. On whom the Angel 'Hail!'
    Bestowed, the holy salutation used
    Long after to Bless'd Mary, second Eve.
    "Hail mother of mankind! whose fruitful womb
    Shall fill the world more numerous with thy sons,
    Than with these various fruits the trees of God
    Have heaped this table." Raised of grassy turf
    Their table was, and mossy seats had round,
    And on her ample square from side to side
    All autumn piled, though Spring and Autumn here
    Danced hand in hand. Awhile discourse they hold,
    No fear lest dinner cool; when thus began
    Our author: "Heavenly stranger! please to taste
    These bounties, which our Nourisher,—from whom
    All perfect good, unmeasured out, descends,—
    To us for food and for delight hath caused
    The earth to yield; unsavoury food perhaps
    To spiritual natures; only this I know,
    That one celestial Father gives to all."
To whom the Angel: "Therefore what he gives
(Whose praise be ever sung!) to man in part
Spiritual, may of purest Spirits be found
No ingrateful food; and food alike those pure
Intelligential substances require,
As doth your rational; and both contain

Within them every lower faculty
Of sense, whereby they hear, see, smell, touch, taste,
Tasting concoct, digest, assimilate,
And corporeal to incorporeal turn.
For know, whatever was created needs

To be sustained and fed; of elements
The grosser feeds the purer, earth the sea,
Earth and the sea feed air, the air those fires
Ethereal, and, as lowest, first the moon;
Whence, in her visage round, those spots, unpurged

Vapours not yet into her substance turned.
Nor doth the moon no nourishment exhale
From her moist continent to higher orbs.
The sun, that light imparts to all, receives
From all his alimental recompense

In humid exhalations; and at even
Sups with ocean. 'Though in Heaven the trees
Of life ambrosial fruitage bear, and vines
Yield nectar; though from off the boughs each morn
We brush mellifluous dews, and find the ground

Covered 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." So down they sat,
And to their viands fell; nor seemingly

The Angel, nor in mist, the common gloss
Of theologians, but with keen despatch
Of real hunger, and concoctive heat
To transubstantiate; what redounds transpires
Through Spirits with ease; nor wonder, if by fire
Of sooty coal the empiric alchemist
Can turn, or holds it possible to turn,
Metals of drossiest ore to perfect gold,
As from the mine. Meanwhile at table Eve
Ministered naked, and their flowing cups
With pleasant liquors crowned. O innocence
Deserving Paradise! if ever, then,
Then had the sons of God excuse to have been
Enamoured at that sight; but in those hearts
Love unlibidinous reigned, nor jealousy
Was understood, the injured lover's hell.
Thus when with meats and drinks they had sufficed
Not burdened nature, sudden mind arose
In Adam, not to let the occasion pass,
Given him by this great conference, to know
Of things above his world, and of their being
Who dwell in Heaven, whose excellence he saw
Transcend his own so far, whose radiant forms—
Divine effulgence,—whose high power so far
Exceeded human; and his wary speech
Thus to the empyreal minister he framed:
"Inhabitant with God! now know I well
Thy favour in this honour done to man,
Under whose lowly roof thou hast vouchsafed
To enter, and these earthly fruits to taste,
Food not of Angels, yet accepted so,
As that more willingly thou couldst not seem
At Heaven's high feasts to have fed; yet what com-
pare?"
To whom the wingèd hierarch replied:
"O Adam! one Almighty is, from whom
All things proceed, and up to him return,
If not depraved from good, created all
Such to perfection, one first matter all,
Endued with various forms, various degrees
Of substance, and, in things that live, of life;
But more refined, more spirituous, and pure,
As nearer to him placed or nearer tending,
Each in their several active spheres assigned,
Till body up to spirit work, in bounds
Proportioned to each kind. So from the root
Springs lighter the green stalk, from thence the leaves
More aery, last the bright consummate flower
Spirits odorous breathes; flowers and their fruit,
Man's nourishment, by gradual scale sublimed,
To vital spirits aspire, to animal,
To intellectual; give both life and sense,
Fancy and understanding; whence the soul
Reason receives, and reason is her being,
Discursive, or intuitive; discourse
Is oftest yours, the latter most is ours,
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 substance; time may come, when men
With angels may participate, and find
No inconvenient diet, nor too light fare;
And from these corporal nutriments, perhaps,
Your bodies may at last turn all to spirit,
Improved by tract of time, and winged ascend
Ethereal, as we, or may, at choice,
Here or in heavenly Paradises dwell;
If ye be found obedient, and retain
Unalterably firm his love entire,
Whose progeny you are. Meanwhile enjoy
Your fill what happiness this happy state
Can comprehend, incapable of more.”
To whom the patriarch of mankind replied:
"O favourable Spirit, propitious guest!
Well hast thou taught the way that might direct
Our knowledge, and the scale of nature set

From centre to circumference, whereon,
In contemplation of created things,
By steps we may ascend to God. But say,
What meant that caution joined, *If ye be found
Obedient?* Can we want obedience, then,

To him, or possibly his love desert,
Who formed us from the dust, and placed us here
Full to the utmost measure of what bliss
Human desires can seek or apprehend?"

To whom the Angel: "Son of Heaven and Earth,

Attend! That thou art happy, owe to God;
That thou continuist such, owe to thyself,
That is, to thy obedience; therein stand.
This was that caution given thee; be advised.
God made thee perfect, not immutable;

And good he made thee, but to persevere
He left it in thy power; ordained thy will
By nature free, not over-ruled by fate
Inextricable, or strict necessity;
Our voluntary service he requires,

Not our necessitated; such with him
Finds no acceptance, nor can find; for how
Can hearts not free be tried whether they serve
Willing or no, who will but what they must
By destiny, and can no other choose?

Myself, and all the angelic host, that stand
In sight of God enthroned, our happy state
Hold, as you yours, while our obedience holds;
On other surety none; freely we serve,
Because we freely love, as in our will

To love or not; in this we stand or fall;
And some are fallen,—to disobedience fallen,
And so from Heaven 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 ear,
Divine instructor, I have heard, than when
Cherubic songs by night from neighbouring hills
Aerial 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
Assured me, and still assure; though what thou tell'st
Hath passed in Heaven some 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 finished half his journey, and scarce begins

560 His other half in the great zone of heaven."

Thus Adam made request; and Raphael,
After short pause assenting, thus began:
"High matter thou enjoin'st me, O prime of men,
Sad task and hard; for how shall I relate

565 To human sense the invisible exploits
Of warring Spirits? how, without remorse,
The ruin of so many, glorious once
And perfect while they stood? how, last, unfold
The secrets of another world, perhaps

570 Not lawful to reveal? Yet for thy good
This is dispensed, and what surmounts the reach
Of human sense I shall delineate so,
By likening spiritual to corporal forms,
As may express them best; though what if earth

575 Be but the shadow of Heaven, and things therein
Each to other like, more than on earth is thought?
"As yet this world was not, and Chaos wild
Reigned where these heavens now roll, where earth
now rests
Upon her centre poised; when, on a day,

(For time, though in eternity, applied
To motion, measures all things durable
By present, past, and future) on such day
As Heaven's great year brings forth, the empyreal host
Of Angels, by imperial summons called,

Innumerable before the Almighty's throne
Forthwith from all the ends of Heaven appeared
Under their hierarchs in orders bright;
Ten thousand thousand ensigns high advanced,
Standards and gonfalons, 'twixt van and rear

Stream in the air, and for distinction serve
Of hierarchies, of orders, and degrees;
Or in their glittering tissues bear emblazoned
Holy memorials, acts of zeal and love
Recorded eminent. Thus, when in orbs

Of circuit inexpressible they stood,
Orb within orb, the Father infinite,
By whom, in bliss embosomed, sat the Son,
Amidst, as from a flaming mount, whose top
Brightness had made invisible, thus spake:

"Hear, all ye Angels, progeny of light,
Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers!
Hear my decree, which unrevoke shall stand.
This day I have begot whom I declare
My only Son, and on this holy hill

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 Heaven, and shall confess him Lord;
Under his great vicegerent reign abide

United as one individual soul,
For ever happy. Him who disobeys,
Me disobeys, breaks union, and that day,
Cast out from God and blessed vision, falls
Into utter darkness, deep engulfed, his place

615 Ordained without redemption, without end.'

"So spake the Omnipotent, and with his words
All seemed well pleased; all seemed, but were not all.
That day, as other solemn days, they spent
In song and dance about the sacred hill,

620 Mystical dance, which yonder starry sphere
Of planets and of fixed in all her wheels
Resembles nearest, mazes intricate,
Eccentric, interwoven, yet regular
Then most, when most irregular they seem;

625 And in their motions harmony divine
So smooths her charming tones, that God's own ear
Listens delighted. Evening now approached
(For we have also our evening and our morn,—
We 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 piled
With Angels' food, and rubied nectar flows
In pearl, in diamond, and massy gold,

635 Fruit of delicious vines, the growth of Heaven.
On flowers reposed, and with fresh flowerets crowned,
They eat, they drink, and in communion sweet
Quaff immortality and joy, secure
Of surfeit, where full measure only bounds

640 Excess, before the all-bounteous King, who showered
With copious hand, rejoicing in their joy.
Now, when ambrosial night, with clouds exhaled
From that high mount of God, whence light and shade
Spring both, the face of brightest Heaven had changed

645 To grateful twilight, (for night comes not there
In darker veil) and roseate dews disposed
All but the unsleeping eyes of God to rest,
Wide over all the plain, and wider far
Than all this globous earth in plain outspread,
650 (Such are the courts of God) the angelic throng,
Dispersed in bands and files, their camp extend
By living streams among the trees of life,
Pavilions numberless, and sudden reared,
Celestial tabernacles, where they slept
655 Fanned with cool winds, save those who, in their course,
Melodious hymns about the sovrans throne
Alternate all night long. But not so waked
Satan (so call him now, his former name
Is heard no more in Heaven); he, of the first,
660 If not the first Archangel, great in power,
In favour, and pre-eminence, yet fraught
With envy against the Son of God,—that day
Honoured by his great Father, and proclaimed
Messiah, King Anointed,—could not bear
665 Through pride that sight, and thought himself im-
paired.
Deep malice thence conceiving, and disdain,
Soon as midnight brought on the dusky hour
Friendliest to sleep and silence, he resolved
With all his legions to dislodge, and leave
670 Unworshipped, unobeyed, the throne supreme,—
Contemptuous; and his next subordinate
Awakening, thus to him in secret spake:

"'Sleep'st thou, companion dear? What sleep can
close
Thy eyelids, and remember'st what decree
675 Of yesterday, so late, hath passed the lips
Of Heaven's Almighty? 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 imposed;
680 New laws from him who reigns, new minds may raise
In us who serve, new counsels, to debate
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 shadowy cloud withdraws, I am to haste,
And all who under me their 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 Archangel, and infused
695 Bad influence into the unwary breast
Of his associate; he 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 disencumbered Heaven,
The great hierarchal standard was to move;
Tells the suggested cause, and casts between
Ambiguous words and jealousies, to sound
Or taint integrity. But all obeyed
705 The wonted signal, and superior voice
Of their great Potentate; for great indeed
His name, and high was his degree in Heaven;
His countenance, as the morning star that guides
The starry flock, allured them, and with lies
710 Drew after him the third part of Heaven's host.
"Meanwhile the Eternal Eye, whose sight discerns
Abstrusest thoughts, from forth his holy mount,
And from within the golden lamps that burn
Nightly before him, saw without their light
Rebellion rising; saw in whom, how spread
Among the sons of morn, what multitudes
Were banded to oppose his high decree;
And, smiling, to his only Son thus said:

"Son! thou in whom my glory I behold
In full resplendence, Heir of all my might,
Nearly it now concerns us to be sure
Of our omnipotence, and with what arms
We mean to hold what anciently we claim
Of deity or empire; such a foe
Is rising, who intends to erect his throne
Equal to ours, throughout the spacious north;
Nor so content, hath in his thought to try
In battle what our power is, or our right.
Let us advise, and to this hazard draw
With speed what force is left, and all employ
In our defence, lest unawares we lose
This our high place, our sanctuary, our hill.'

"To whom the Son, with calm aspect and clear,
Light'ning divine, ineffable, serene,
Made answer: 'Mighty Father! thou thy foes
Justly hast in derision, and, secure,
Laugh'st at their vain designs and tumults vain,
Matter to me of glory, whom their hate
Illustrates, when they see all regal power
Given me to quell their pride, and in event
Know whether I be dextrous to subdue
Thy rebels, or be found the worst in Heaven.'

"So spake the Son; but Satan with his Powers
Far was advanced on wingèd speed, an host
Innumerable as the stars of night,
Or stars of morning, dew-drops, which the sun
Impearls on every leaf and every flower.
Regions they passed, the mighty regencies
Of Seraphim and Potentates and Thrones
750 In their triple degrees; regions to which
All thy dominion, Adam, is no more
Than what this garden is to all the earth
And all the sea from one entire globose
Stretched into longitude; which having passed,
755 At length into the limits of the North
They came, and Satan to his royal seat,
High on a hill, far blazing, as a mount
Raised on a mount, with pyramids and towers
From diamond quarries hewn, and rocks of gold;
760 The palace of great Lucifer, (so call
That structure in the dialect of men
Interpretied,) which, not long after, he
Affecting all equality with God,
In imitation of that mount whereon
765 Messiah was declared in sight of Heaven,
The Mountain of the Congregation called;
For thither he assembled all his train,
Pretending so commanded to consult
About the great reception of their King
770 Thither to come, and with calumnious art
Of counterfeited truth thus held their ears:
"Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues,
Powers!
If these magnific titles yet remain
Not merely titular, since by decree
775 Another now hath to himself engrossed
All power, and us eclipsed, under the name
Of King Anointed; for whom all this haste
Of midnight march, and hurried meeting here,
This only to consult, how we may best,
780 With what may be devised of honours new,
Receive him coming to receive from us
Knee-tribute yet unpaid, prostration vile!
Too much to one, but double how endured,—
To one and to his image now proclaimed?
785 But what if better counsels might erect
Our minds, and teach us to cast off this yoke!
Will ye submit your necks, and choose to bend
The supple knee? Ye will not, if I trust
To know ye right, or if ye know yourselves
790 Natives and sons of Heaven possessed before
By none, and if not equal all, yet free,
Equally free; for orders and degrees
Jar not with liberty, but well consist.
Who can in reason, then, or right, assume
795 Monarchy over such as live by right
His equals, if in power and splendour less,
In freedom equal? or can introduce
Law and edict on us, who without law
Err not? much less for this to be our Lord,
800 And look for adoration, to the abuse
Of those imperial titles, which assert
Our being ordained to govern, not to serve!'
"Thus far his bold discourse without control
Had audience, when among the Seraphim
805 Abdiel, than whom none with more zeal adored
The Deity, and divine commands obeyed,
Stood up, and in a flame of zeal severe
The current of his fury thus opposed:
"'O argument blasphémous, false, and proud!
810 Words which no ear ever to hear in Heaven
Expected, least of all from thee, ingrate,
In place thyself so high above thy peers.
Canst thou with impious obloquy condemn
The just decree of God, pronounced and sworn,
815 That to his only Son, by right endued
With regal sceptre, every soul in Heaven
Shall bend the knee, and in that honour due
Confess him rightful King? Unjust, thou say'st,
Flatly unjust, to bind with laws the free,
And equal over equals to let reign,
One over all with unsucceeded power.
Shalt thou give law to God? shalt thou dispute
With him the points of liberty, who made
Thee what thou art, and formed the Powers of Heaven
Such as he pleased, and circumscribed their being?
Yet, by experience taught, we know how good,
And of our good and of our dignity
How provident he is, how far from thought
To make us less, bent rather to exalt
Our happy state, under one Head more near
United. But to grant it thee unjust
That equal over equals monarch reign;—
Thyself, though great and glorious, dost thou count,
Or all angelic nature joined in one,
Equal to him, begotten Son? by whom,
As by his Word, the mighty Father made
All things, even thee, and all the Spirits of Heaven
By him created in their bright degrees,
Crowned them with glory, and to their glory named
Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,
Essential Powers; nor by his reign obscured,
But more illustrious made; since he, the Head,
One of our number thus reduced becomes;
His laws our laws; all honour to him done
Returns our own. 'Cease then this impious rage,
And tempt not these; but hasten to appease
The incensèd Father and the incensèd Son,
While pardon may be found, in time besought.'
"So spake the fervent Angel; but his zeal
None seconded, as out of season judged,
Or singular and rash; whereat rejoiced
The Apostate, and more haughty thus replied:
‘That we were formed then sayest thou? and the work
Of secondary hands, by task transferred
855 From Father to his Son? Strange point and new!
Doctrine which we would know whence learnt; who
saw
When this creation was? rememberest 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-raised
By our own quickening power, when fatal course
Had circled his full orb, the birth mature
Of this our native Heaven, ethereal sons.
Our puissance is our own; our own right hand
865 Shall teach us highest deeds, by proof to try
Who is our equal; then thou shalt behold
Whether by supplication we intend
Address, and to begirt the Almighty Throne
Beseeching or besieging. This report,
870 These tidings, carry to the anointed King,
And fly, ere evil intercept thy flight.’

“He said, and, as the sound of waters deep,
Hoarse murmur echoed to his words applause
Through the infinite host; nor less for that
875 The flaming Seraph, fearless, though alone,
Encompassed round with foes, thus answered bold:

‘O alienate from God, O Spirit accursed,
Forsaken of all good! I see thy fall
Determined, and thy hapless crew involved
880 In this perfidious fraud, contagion spread
Both of thy crime and punishment; henceforth
No more be troubled how to quit the yoke
Of God’s Messiah; those indulgent laws
Will not be now vouchsafed; other decrees
885 Against thee are gone forth without recall;
That golden sceptre, which thou didst reject,
Is now an iron rod to bruise and break
Thy disobedience. Well thou didst advise;
Yet not for thy advice or threats I fly

890 These wicked tents devoted, lest the wrath
Impendent, raging into sudden flame,
Distinguish not; for soon expect to feel
His thunder on thy head, devouring fire.
Then who created thee lamenting learn,

895 When who can uncreate thee thou shalt know.'

"So spake the Seraph Abdiel, faithful found
Among the faithless, faithful only he;
Among innumerable false, unmoved,
Unshaken, unseduced, unterrified,

900 His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal;
Nor number, nor example, with him wrought
To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind,
Though single. From amidst them forth he passed,
Long way through hostile scorn, which he sustained

905 Superior, nor of violence feared aught;
And with retorted scorn his back he turned
On those proud towers to swift destruction doomed.

THE END OF THE FIFTH BOOK.
BOOK VI.
THE ARGUMENT.

Raphael continues to relate how Michael and Gabriel were sent forth to battle against Satan and his Angels. The first fight described; Satan and his powers retire under night; he calls a council; invents devilish engines, which, in the second day’s fight, put Michael and his Angels to some disorder; but they at length, pulling up mountains, overwhelmed both the force and machines of Satan; yet the tumult not so ending, God, on the third day, sends Messiah, his Son, for whom he had reserved the glory of that victory. He, 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 of Heaven; which opening, they leap down, with horror and confusion, into the place of punishment prepared for them in the deep. Messiah returns with triumph to his Father.
BOOK VI.

"ILL night the dreadless Angel, unpursued,
Through Heaven's wide champaign held his way, till Morn,
Waked by the circling Hours, with rosy hand
Unbarred the gates of light. There is a cave
Within the mount of God, fast by his throne,
Where light and darkness, in perpetual round,
Lodge and dislodge by turns, which makes through Heaven
Grateful vicissitude, like day and night;
Light issues forth, and at the other door
Obsequious darkness enters, till her hour
To veil the Heaven, though darkness there might well
Seem twilight here. And now went forth the Morn,
Such as in highest Heaven, arrayed in gold
Empyrean; from before her vanished Night,
15 Shot through with orient beams; when all the plain,
Covered with thick embattled squadrons bright,
Chariots, and flaming arms, and fiery steeds,
Reflecting blaze on blaze, first met his view;
War he perceived—war in procinct; and found
Already known what he, for news, had thought
to have reported; gladly then he mixed
Among those friendly Powers, who him received
With joy and acclamations loud, that one—
That of so many myriads fallen, yet one
Returned not lost. On to the sacred hill
They led him high applauded, and present
Before the seat supreme; from whence a voice,
From midst a golden cloud, thus mild was heard:
"Servant of God, well done! well hast thou fought"
The better fight, who single hast maintained
Against revolted multitudes the cause
Of truth, in word mightier than they in arms;
And for the testimony of truth hast borne
Universal reproach, far worse to bear
Than violence; for this was all thy care
To stand approved in sight of God, though worlds
Judged thee perverse; the easier conquest now
Remains thee, aided by this host of friends,
Back on thy foes more glorious to return
Than scorned thou didst depart, and to subdue
By force who reason for their law refuse,—
Right reason for their law, and for their King
Messiah, who by right of merit reigns.
Go, Michael, of celestial armies prince,
And thou, in military prowess next,
Gabriel, lead forth to battle these my sons
Invincible; lead forth my armed Saints,
By thousands and by millions, ranged for fight,
Equal in number to that godless crew
Rebellious; them with fire and hostile arms
Fearless assault; and, to the brow of Heaven
Pursuing, drive them out from God and bliss,
Into their place of punishment,—the gulf
Of Tartarus, which ready opens wide
55 His fiery chaos to receive their fall.'
"So spake the Sovran Voice, and clouds began
To darken all the hill, and smoke to roll,
In dusky wreaths, reluctant flames, the sign
Of wrath awaked; nor with less dread the loud
60 Ethereal trumpet from on high gan blow.
At which command the Powers militant
That stood for Heaven, in mighty quadrate joined
Of union irresistible, moved on
In silence their bright legions, to the sound
65 Of instrumental harmony, that breathed
Heroic ardour to adventurous deeds,
Under their godlike leaders, in the cause
Of God and his Messiah. On they move
Indissolubly firm; nor obvious hill,
70 Nor straitening vale, nor wood, nor stream, divides
Their perfect ranks; for high above the ground
Their march was, and the passive air upbore
Their nimble tread. As when the total kind
Of birds, in orderly array on wing,
75 Came summoned over Eden to receive
Their names of thee; so over many a tract
Of Heaven they marched, and many a province wide,
Tenfold the length of this terrene. At last,
Far in the horizon to the north, appeared
80 From skirt to skirt a fiery region, stretched
In battailous aspect; and, nearer view,
Bristled with upright beams innumerable
Of rigid spears, and helmets thronged, and shields
Various, with boastful argument portrayed,
85 The banded Powers of Satan hasting on
With furious expedition; for they weened
That self-same day, by fight or by surprise,
To win the mount of God, and on his throne
To set the envier of his state, the proud
90 Aspirer; but their thoughts proved fond and vain
In the midway. Though strange to us it seemed
At first, that Angel should with Angel war,
And in fierce hosting meet, who-wont to meet
So oft in festivals of joy and love
95 Unanimous, as sons of one great Sire,
Hymning the Eternal Father; but the shout
Of battle now began, and rushing sound
Of onset ended soon each milder thought.
    "High in the midst, exalted as a God,
100 The Apostate in his sun-bright chariot sat,
Idol of majesty divine, enclosed
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 interval,—and front to front
Presented stood in terrible array
Of hideous length; before the cloudy van,
On the rough edge of battle ere it joined,
Satan, with vast and haughty strides advanced,
110 Came towering, armed in adamant and gold.
Abdiel that sight endured not, where he stood
Among the mightiest, bent on highest deeds,
And thus his own undaunted heart explores:
    "'O Heaven! that such resemblance of the Highest
115 Should yet remain, where faith and reality
Remain not; wherefore should not strength and might
There fail where virtue fails, or weakest prove
Where boldest, though to sight unconquerable?
His puissance, trusting in the Almighty's aid,
120 I mean to try, whose reason I have tried
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 foul,
When reason hath to deal with force; yet so
Most reason is that reason overcome.'
"So pondering, and from his armed peers
Forth stepping opposite, half-way he met
His daring foe, at this prevention more
Incensed, and thus securely him defied:
"'Proud! art thou met? Thy hope was to have reached
The height of thy aspiring unopposed,
The throne of God unguarded, and his side
Abandoned at the terror of thy power
Or potent tongue. Fool! not to think how vain
Against the Omnipotent to rise in arms;
Who, out of smallest things, could without end
Have raised incessant armies to defeat
Thy folly; or, with solitary hand,
Reaching beyond all limit, at one blow,
Unaided, could have finished thee, and whelmed
Thy legions under darkness. But thou seest
All are not of thy train; there be who faith
Prefer, and piety to God, though then
To thee not visible, when I alone
Seemed in thy world erroneous to dissent
From all; my sect thou seest; now learn too late
How few sometimes may know, when thousands err.'
"Whom the grand foe, with scornful eye askance,
Thus answered: 'Ill for thee, but in wished hour
Of my revenge, first sought for, thou return'st
From flight, seditious Angel, to receive
Thy merited reward, the first assay
Of this right hand provoked, since first that tongue,
Inspired with contradiction, durst oppose
A third part of the gods, in synod met
Their deities to assert, who, while they feel
Vigour divine within them, can allow
Omnipotence to none. But well thou com'st
Before thy fellows, ambitious to win
From me some plume, that thy success may show
Destruction to the rest; this pause between,
(Unanswered lest thou boast,) to let thee know;—
At first I thought that liberty and Heaven
To heavenly souls had been all one; but now
I see that most through sloth had rather serve,
Ministering Spirits, trained up in feast and song;
Such hast thou armed—the minstrelsy of Heaven—
Servility with freedom to contend,
As both their deeds compared this day shall prove.'
"To whom in brief thus Abdiel stern replied:
'Apostate! still thou errest, nor end wilt find
Of erring, from the path of truth remote.
Unjustly thou depravest it with the name
Of servitude, to serve whom God ordains,
Or Nature; God and Nature bid the same,
When he who rules is worthiest, and excels
Them whom he governs. This is servitude,
To serve the unwise, or him who hath rebelled
Against his worthier, as thine now serve thee,
Thyself not free, but to thyself enthralled;
Yet lewdly darest our ministering upbraid.
Reign thou in Hell—thy kingdom; let me serve
In Heaven God ever blest, and his divine
Behests obey, worthiest to be obeyed.
Yet chains in Hell, not realms, expect; meanwhile,
From me returned, as erst thou saidst, from flight,
This greeting on thy impious crest receive.'
"So saying, a noble stroke he lifted high,
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 recoiled; the tenth on bended knee

195 His massy spear upstayed; as if on earth,
Winds under ground, or waters forcing way,
Sidelong had pushed a mountain from his seat,
Half sunk with all his pines. Amazement seized
The rebel Thrones, but greater rage, to see

200 Thus foiled their mightiest; ours joy filled, and shout,
Presage of victory, and fierce desire
Of battle; whereat Michaël bid sound
The archangel trumpet; through the vast of Heaven
It sounded, and the faithful armies rung

205 Hosanna to the Highest; nor stood at gaze
The adverse legions, nor less hideous joined
The horrid shock. Now storming fury rose,
And clamour such as heard in Heaven till now
Was never; arms on armour clashing brayed

210 Horrible discord, and the madding wheels
Of brazen chariots raged; dire was the noise
Of conflict; over head the dismal hiss
Of fiery darts in flaming volleys flew,
And, flying, vaulted either host with fire.

215 So under fiery cope together rushed
Both battles main, with ruinous assault
And inextinguishable rage; all Heaven
Resounded, and, had Earth been then, all Earth
Had to her centre shook. What wonder? when

220 Millions of fierce encountering Angels fought
On either side, the least of whom could wield
These elements, and arm him with the force
Of all their regions; how much more of power
Army against army numberless to raise

225 Dreadful combustion warring, and disturb,
Though not destroy, their happy native seat;
Had not the Eternal King Omnipotent,
From his stronghold of Heaven, high over-ruled
And limited their might; though numbered such
230 As each divided legion might have seemed
A numerous host; in strength each armed hand
A legion; led in fight, yet leader seemed
Each warrior single as in chief, expert
When to advance, or stand, or turn the sway
235 Of battle, open when, and when to close
The ridges of grim war. No thought of flight,
None of retreat; no unbecoming deed
That argued fear; each on himself relied,
As only in his arm the moment lay
240 Of victory. Deeds of eternal fame
Were done, but infinite; for wide was spread
That war and various; sometimes on firm ground
A standing fight; then, soaring on main wing,
Tormented all the air; all air seemed then
245 Conflicting fire. Long time in even scale
The battle hung; till Satan, who that day
Prodigious power had shown, and met in arms
No equal, ranging through the dire attack
Of fighting Seraphim confused, at length
250 Saw where the sword of Michael smote, and felled
Squadrons at once; with huge two-handed sway
Brandished aloft, the horrid edge came down,
Wide-wasting. Such destruction to withstand
He hasted, and opposed the rocky orb
255 Of tenfold adamant, his ample shield,
A vast circumference. At his approach,
The great Archangel from his warlike toil
Surceased, and, glad, as hoping here to end
Intestine war in Heaven, the Arch-foe subdued,
260 Or captive dragged in chains, with hostile frown
And visage all inflamed, first thus began:
" 'Author of Evil, unknown till thy revolt,
Unnamed in Heaven, now plenteous, as thou seest
These acts of hateful strife, hateful to all,

265 Though heaviest, by just measure, on thyself
And thy adherents; how hast thou disturbed
Heaven’s blessed peace, and into Nature brought
Misery, uncreated till the crime
Of thy rebellion! how hast thou instilled

270 Thy malice into thousands, once upright
And faithful, now proved false! But think not here
To trouble holy rest; Heaven casts thee out
From all her confines. Heaven, the seat of bliss,
Brooks not the works of violence and war.

275 Hence, then! and Evil go with thee along,
Thy offspring, to the place of Evil, Hell,
Thou and thy wicked crew! there mingle broils,
Ere this avenging sword begin thy doom,
Or some more sudden vengeance, winged from God,

280 Precipitate thee with augmented pain.’

“So spake the Prince of Angels; to whom thus
The Adversary: ‘Nor think thou with wind
Of aery threats to awe whom yet with deeds
Thou canst not. Hast thou turned the least of these

285 To flight, or if to fall, but that they rise
Unvanquished, easier to transact with me
That thou shouldst hope, imperious, and with threats
To chase me hence? Err not, that so shall end
The strife which thou callest evil, but we style

290 The strife of glory; which we mean to win,
Or turn this Heaven itself into the Hell
Thou fablest; here, however, to dwell free,
If not to reign. Meanwhile thy utmost force
(And join him named Almighty to thy aid)

295 I fly not, but have sought thee far and nigh.’

“They ended parle, and both addressed for fight
 Unspeakable; for who, though with the tongue
Of Angels, can relate, or to what things
Lik'en on earth conspicuous, that may lift

300 Human imagination to such height
Of godlike power? for likest gods they seemed,
Stood they or moved, in stature, motion, arms,
Fit to decide the empire of great Heaven.
Now waved their fiery swords, and in the air

305 Made horrid circles; two broad suns their shields
Blazed opposite, while expectation stood
In horror; from each hand with speed retired,
Where erst was thickest fight, the angelic throng,
And left large field, unsafe within the wind

310 Of such commotion; such as (to set forth
Great things by small) if, Nature's concord broke,
Among the constellations war were sprung,
Two planets, rushing from aspect malign
Of fiercest opposition, in mid sky

315 Should combat, and their jarring spheres confound.
Together both, with next to almighty arm
Uplifted imminent, one stroke they aimed
That might determine, and not need repeat
As not of power at once; nor odds appeared

320 In might or swift prevention; but the sword
Of Michael from the armoury of God
Was given him tempered 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 sheer; nor stayed,
But, with swift wheel reverse, deep entering, shared
All his right side. Then Satan first knew pain,
And writhed him to and fro convolved; so sore
The gridding sword with discontinuous wound

330 Passed through him; but the ethereal substance closed,
Not long divisible; and from the gash
A stream of nectarous humour issuing flowed
Sanguine, such as celestial Spirits may bleed,
And all his armour stained, erewhile so bright.

335 Forthwith on all sides to his aid was run
By angels many and strong, who interposed
Defence; while others bore him on their shields
Back to his chariot, where it stood retired
From off the files of war; there they him laid

340 Gnashing for anguish, and despite, and shame,
To find himself not matchless, and his pride
Humbled by such rebuke, so far beneath
His confidence to equal God in power.
Yet soon he healed; for Spirits that live throughout

345 Vital in every part, (not as frail man
In entrails, heart or head, liver or reins,)
Cannot, but by annihilating, die;
Nor in their liquid texture mortal wound
Receive, no more than can the fluid air.

350 All heart they live, all head, all eye, all ear,
All intellect, all sense; and, as they please,
They limb themselves, and colour, shape, or size
Assume, as likes them best, condense or rare.

“Meanwhile in other parts like deeds deserved

355 Memorial, where the might of Gabriel fought,
And with fierce ensigns pierced the deep array
Of Moloch, furious king, who him defied,
And at his chariot-wheels to drag him bound
Threatened, nor from the Holy One of Heaven

360 Refrained his tongue blasphemous; but anon,
Down cloven to the waist, with shattered arms
And uncouth pain, fled bellowing. On each wing,
Uriel and Raphaël his vaunting foe,

365 Though huge, and in a rock of diamond armed,
Vanquished, Adramelec and Asmadai,
Two potent Thrones, that to be less than gods
Disdained, but meaner thoughts learned in their flight,
Mangled with ghastly wounds through plate and mail.
Nor stood unmindful Abdiel to annoy
The atheist crew, but with redoubled blow
Ariel, and Arioc, and the violence
Of Ramiel scorched and blasted, overthrew.
I might relate of thousands, and their names
Etérnize here on earth; but those elect
Angels, contented with their fame in Heaven,
Seek not the praise of men; the other sort,
In might though wondrous and in acts of war,
Nor of renown less eager, yet by doom
Cancelled from Heaven and sacred memory,
Nameless in dark oblivion let them dwell;
For strength, from truth divided and from just,
Illaudable, nought merits but dispraise
And ignominy; yet to glory aspires
Vain-glorious, and through infamy seeks fame;
Therefore eternal silence be their doom.
"And now, their mightiest quelled, the battle swerved,
With many an inroad gored; deformed rout
Entered, and foul disorder; all the ground
With shivered armour strown, and on a heap
Chariot and charioteer lay overturned,
And fiery foaming steeds; what stood recoiled
O'erwearied, through the faint Satanic host,
Defensive scarce; or, with pale fear surprised,
(Then first with fear surprised, and sense of pain,)
Fled ignominious—to such evil brought
By sin of disobedience, till that hour
Not liable to fear, or flight, or pain.
Far otherwise the inviolable Saints,
In cubic phalanx firm, advanced entire,
Invulnerable, impenetrably armed;
Such high advantages their innocence
Satan calls a Council of War.

Gave them above their foes—not to have sinned,
Not to have disobeyed; in fight they stood
Unwearied, unobnoxious to be pained

405 By wound, though from their place by violence moved.
   "Now Night her course began, and, over Heaven
   Inducing darkness, grateful truce imposed,
   And silence on the odious din of war;
   Under her cloudy covert both retired,

410 Victor and vanquished. On the foughten field
   Michaël and his Angels prevalent
   Encamping, placed in guard their watches round,
   Cherubic waving fires; on the other part,
   Satan with his rebellious disappeared,

415 Far in the dark dislodged, and, void of rest,
   His Potentates to council called by night;
   And, in the midst, thus undismayed began:
   "'O now in danger tried, now known in arms
   Not to be overpowered, companions dear!

420 Found worthy not of liberty alone,
   Too mean pretence, but, what we more affect,
   Honour, dominion, glory, and renown,
   Who have sustained one day in doubtful fight
   (And if one day, why not eternal days?)

425 What Heaven's Lord had powerfulest to send
   Against us from about his throne, and judged
   Sufficient to subdue us to his will,
   But proves not so; then fallible, it seems,
   Of future we may deem him, though till now

430 Omniscient thought. True is, less firmly armed,
   Some disadvantage we endured, and pain
   Till now not known, but, known, as soon contemned;
   Since now we find this our empyreal form
   Incapable of mortal injury,

435 Imperishable, and, though pierced with wound,
   Soon closing, and by native vigour healed.
Of evil then so small, as easy think
The remedy; perhaps more valid arms,
Weapons more violent, when next we meet,
May serve to better us, and worse our foes;
Or equal what between us made the odds,
In nature none. If other hidden cause
Left them superior, while we can preserve
Unhurt our minds, and understanding sound,
Due search and consultation will disclose.'
"He sat; and in the assembly next stood up
Nisroch, of Principalities the prime;
As one he stood escaped from cruel fight,
Sore toiled, his riven arms to havoc hewn,
And, cloudy in aspect, thus answering spake:
"'Deliverer from new Lords, leader to free
Enjoyment of our right as gods! yet hard
For gods, and too unequal work we find
Against unequal arms to fight in pain,'
Against unpained, impassive; from which evil
Ruin must needs ensue; for what avails
Valour or strength, though matchless, quelled with pain
Which all subdues, and makes remiss the hands
Of mightiest? Sense of pleasure we may well
Spare out of life perhaps, and not repine,
But live content, which is the calmest life;
But pain is perfect misery, the worst
Of evils, and, excessive, overturns
All patience. He who therefore can invent
With what more forcible we may offend
Our yet unwounded enemies, or arm
Ourselves with like defence, to me deserves
No less than for deliverance what we owe.'
"Whereeto, with look composed, Satan replied:
'Not uninvented that, which thou aright
Believ'st so main to our success, I bring.
Which of us who beholds the bright surface
Of this ethereal mould whereon we stand—
This continent of spacious Heaven, adorned

With plant, fruit, flower ambrosial, gems, and gold—
Whose eye so superficially surveys
These things, as not to mind from whence they grow
Deep under ground, materials dark and crude,
Of spiritous and fiery spume, till touched

With Heaven's ray, and tempered, they shoot forth
So beautuous, opening to the ambient light?
These, in their dark nativity, the deep
Shall yield us, pregnant with infernal flame;
Which, into hollow engines, long and round,

Thick-rammed, at the other bore with touch of fire
Dilated and infuriate, shall send forth
From far, with thundering noise, among our foes
Such implements of mischief as shall dash
To pieces and o'erwhelm whatever stands

Adverse, that they shall fear we have disarmed
The Thunderer of his only dreaded bolt.
Nor long shall be our labour; yet, ere dawn,
Effect shall end our wish. Meanwhile revive;
Abandon fear; to strength and counsel joined

Think nothing hard, much less to be despaired.'

"He ended; and his words their drooping cheer
Enlightened, and their languished hope revived.
The invention all admired, and each, how he
To be the inventor missed; so easy it seemed

Once found, which yet unfound most would have thought
Impossible. Yet, haply, of thy race
In future days, if malice should abound,
Some one intent on mischief, or inspired
With devilish machination, might devise

Like instrument to plague the sons of men
For sin, on war and mutual slaughter bent.
Forthwith from council to the work they flew;
None arguing stood; innumerable hands
Were ready; in a moment up they turned
Wide the celestial soil, and saw beneath
The originals of nature in their crude
Conception; sulphurous and nitrous foam
They found, they mingled, and, with subtle art
Concocted and adjusted, they reduced
To blackest grain, and into store conveyed.
Part hidden veins digged up (nor hath this earth
Entrails unlike) of mineral and stone,
Whereof to found their engines, and their balls
Of massive ruin; part incentive reed
Provide, pernicious with one touch to fire.
So all ere day-spring, under conscious night,
Secret they finished, and in order set,
With silent circumspection, unespied.
“Now when fair Morn orient in Heaven appeared,
Up rose the victor Angels, and to arms
The matin trumpet sung; in arms they stood
Of golden panoply, refulgent host,
Soon banded; others from the dawning hills
Looked round, and scouts each coast light-armed scour,
Each quarter—to descrive the distant foe,
Where lodged, or whither fled, or if for fight,
In motion or in halt; him soon they met
Under spread ensigns moving nigh, in slow
But firm battalion. Back with speediest sail,
Zophiel, of Cherubim the swiftest wing,
Came flying, and in mid air aloud thus cried:
“‘Arm, warriors—arm 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
He comes, and settled in his face I see
Sad resolution, and secure. Let each
His adamantine coat gird well, and each
Fit well his helm, gripe fast his orbéd shield,
Borne even, or high, for this day will pour down,
545 If I conjecture aught, no drizzling shower,
But rattling storm of arrows barbed with fire.'

"So warned he them, aware themselves; and soon
In order, quit of all impediment,
Instant without disturb they took alarm,
550 And onward move embattled; when, behold,
Not distant far with heavy pace the foe
Approaching gross and huge, in hollow cube
Training his devilish enginery, impaled
On every side with shadowing squadrons deep,
555 To hide the fraud. At interview both stood
Awhile; but suddenly at head appeared
Satan, and thus was heard commanding loud:
"'Vanguard, to right and left the front unfold;
That all may see, who hate us, how we seek
560 Peace and composure, and, with open breast,
Stand ready to receive them, if they like
Our overture, and turn not back perverse;
But that I doubt; however, witness Heaven!
Heaven, witness thou anon, while we discharge
565 Freely our part! Ye, 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 retired.
Which to our eyes discovered, new and strange,
A triple-mounted row of pillars laid
On wheels (for like to pillars most they seemed,
Or hollowed bodies made of oak or fir,
575 With branches loft, in wood or mountain felled),
Brass, iron, stony mould, had not their mouths
With hideous orifice gaping on us wide,
Portending hollow truce. At each behind
A seraph stood, and in his hand a reed

580 Stood waving tipt with fire; while we, suspense,
Collected stood within our thoughts amused;
Not long, for sudden all, at once, their reeds
Put forth, and to a narrow vent applied
With nicest touch. Immediate in a flame,

585 But soon obscured with smoke, all Heaven appeared,
From those deep-throated engines belched, whose roar
Embowelled with outrageous noise the air,
And all her entrails tore, disgorging foul
Their devilish glut, chained thunderbolts and hail

590 Of iron globes, which, on the victor host
Levelled, with such impetuous fury smote,
That whom they hit none on their feet might stand,
Though standing else as rocks, but down they fell
By thousands, Angel on Archangel rolled,

595 The sooner for their arms; unarmed, they might
Have easily, as Spirits, evaded swift
By quick contraction or remove; but now
Foul dissipation followed and forced rout;
Nor served it to relax their serried files.

600 What should they do? If on they rushed, repulse
Repeated, and indecent overthrow.
Doubled, would render them yet more despised,
And to their foes a laughter; for in view
Stood ranked of Seraphim another row,

605 In posture to displode their second tire
Of thunder; back defeated to return
They worse abhorred. Satan beheld their plight,
And to his mates thus in derision called:

"O friends! why come not on these victors proud?

610 Erewhile they fierce were coming; and when we,
To entertain them fair with open front
And breast (what could we more?), propounded terms
Of composition, straight they changed their minds,
Flew off, and into strange vagaries fell,

615 As they would dance; yet for a dance they seemed
Somewhat extravagant and wild; perhaps
For joy of offered 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 gamesome mood:
'Leader! the terms we sent were terms of weight,
Of hard contents, and full of force urged home,
Such as we might perceive amused them all,
And stumbled many; who receives them right

625 Had need from head to foot well understand;
Not understood this gift they have besides,
They show us when our foes walk not upright.'
"So they among themselves in pleasant vein
Stood scoffing, heightened in their thoughts beyond

630 All doubt of victory; Eternal Might
To match with their inventions they presumed
So easy, and of his thunder made a scorn,
And all his host derided, while they stood
Awhile 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 placed!)
Their arms away they threw, and to the hills

640 (For Earth hath this variety from Heaven
Of pleasure situate in hill and dale,)
Light as the lightning glimpse they ran, they flew;
From their foundations, loosening to and fro,
They plucked the seated hills, with all their load—

645 Rocks, waters, woods, and, by the shaggy tops
Uplifting, bore them in their hands. Amaze,
Be sure, and terror, seized the rebel host,
When, coming towards them, so dread they saw
The bottom of the mountains upward turned;

650 Till on those cursed engines' triple row
They saw them whelmed, and all their confidence
Under the weight of mountains buried deep;
Themselves invaded next, and on their heads
Main promontories flung, which in the air

655 Came shadowing, and oppressed whole legions armed.
Their armour helped their harm, crushed in and bruised
Into their substance pent, which wrought them pain
Implacable, 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 arms
Betook them, and the neighbouring hills upthor;
So hills amid the air encountered hills,

665 Hurl'd to and fro with jaculation dire,
That under ground they fought in dismal shade;
Infernal noise! war seemed a civil game
To this uproar; horrid confusion heaped
Upon confusion rose. And now all Heaven

670 Had gone to wrack, with ruin overspread,
Had not the Almighty Father, where he sits
Shrined in his sanctuary of Heaven secure,
Consulting on the sum of things, foreseen
This tumult, and permitted all, advised,

675 That his great purpose he might so fulfil,
To honour his anointed Son, avenged
Upon his enemies, and to declare
All power on him transferred; whence to his Son,
The Assessor of his throne, he thus began:

680 "Effulgence of my glory, Son beloved!
Son, in whose face invisible is beheld
Visibly, what by Deity I am,
And in whose hand what by decree I do,
Second Omnipotence! two days are past,

685 Two days, as we compute the days of Heaven,
Since Michael and his Powers went forth to tame
These disobedient; sore hath been their fight,
As likeliest was, when two such foes met armed;
For to themselves I left them; and, thou know'st,

690 Equal in their creation they were formed,
Save what sin hath impaired, which yet hath wrought
Insensibly, for I suspend their doom;
Whence in perpetual fight they needs must last
Endless, and no solution will be found.

695 War wearied hath performed what war can do,
And to disordered rage let loose the reins,
With mountains, as with weapons, armed; which makes
Wild work in Heaven, and dangerous to the main.
Two days are therefore past, the third is thine;

700 For thee I have ordained it, and thus far
Have suffered, that the glory may be thine
Of ending this great war, since none but thou
Can end it. Into thee such virtue and grace
Immense I have transfused, that all may know

705 In Heaven and Hell thy power above compare,
And this perverse commotion governed thus,
To manifest thee worthiest to be Heir
Of all things, to be Heir, and to be King
By sacred unction, thy deserved right.

710 Go then, thou Mightiest, in thy Father's might,
Ascend my chariot, guide the rapid wheels
That shake Heaven's basis, bring forth all my war,
My bow and thunder, my almighty arms
Gird on, and sword upon thy puissant thigh;

715 Pursue these sons of darkness, drive them out
From all Heaven's bounds into the utter deep;
There let them learn, as likes them, to despise
God and Messiah his anointed King.'

"He said, and on his Son with rays direct
Shone full; he all his Father full expressed
Ineffably into his face received;
And thus the filial Godhead answering spake:

"'O Father! O Supreme of heavenly Thrones!
First, Highest, Holiest, Best! Thou always seek'st
To glorify thy Son, I always thee,
As is most just; this I my glory account,
My exaltation, and my whole delight,
That thou in me, well pleased, declarest thy will
Fulfilled, which to fulfil is all my bliss.

Sceptre and power, thy giving, I assume;
And gladier shall resign, when in the end
Thou shalt be all in all, and I in thee
For ever, and in me all whom thou lovest.
But whom thou hat'st, I hate, and can put on
Thy terrors, as I put thy mildness on,
Image of thee in all things; and shall soon,
Armed with thy might, rid Heaven of these rebelled,
To their prepared ill mansion driven down,
To chains of darkness and the undying worm,

That from thy just obedience could revolt,
Whom to obey is happiness entire.

Then shall thy Saints unmixed, and from the impure
Far separate, circling thy holy mount,
Unfeignèd hallelujahs to thee sing,

Hymns of high praise, and I among them chief.'

"So said, he, o'er his sceptre bowing, rose
From the right hand of Glory where he sat;
And the third sacred morn began to shine,
Dawning through Heaven. Forth rushed with whirlwind sound

The chariot of paternal Deity,
Flashing thick flames, wheel within wheel undrawn,
Itself instinct with spirit, but convoyed
By four cherubic shapes; four faces each
Had wondrous; as with stars, their bodies all,

755 And wings, were set with eyes; with eyes the wheels
Of beryl, and careering fires between;
Over their heads a crystal firmament,
Whereon a sapphire throne, inlaid with pure
Amber and colours of the showery arch.

760 He, in celestial panoply all armed
Of radiant Urim, work divinely wrought,
Ascended; at his right hand Victory
Sat eagle-winged; beside him hung his bow
And quiver with three-bolted thunder stored;

765 And from about him fierce effusion rolled
Of smoke, and bickering flame, and sparkles dire.
Attended with ten thousand thousand Saints,
He onward came; far off his coming shone;
And twenty thousand (I their number heard)

770 Chariots of God, half on each hand, were seen.
He on the wings of Cherub rode sublime
On the crystalline sky, in sapphire throned,
Illustrious far and wide, but by his own
First seen; them unexpected joy surprised,

775 When the great ensign of Messiah blazed
Aloft, by angels borne—his sign in Heaven;
Under whose conduct Michael soon reduced
His army, circumfused on either wing,
Under their Head embodied all in one.

780 Before him Power Divine his way prepared;
At his command the uprooted hills retired
Each to his place; they heard his voice, and went
Obsequious; Heaven his wonted face renewed,
And with fresh flowerets hill and valley smiled.

785 "This saw his hapless foes, but stood obdure,
And to rebellious fight rallied their Powers,
Insensate, hope conceiving from despair.
In heavenly Spirits could such perverseness dwell?
But to convince the proud what signs avail,

790 Or wonders move the obdurate to relent?
They, hardened more by what might most reclaim,
Grieving to see his glory, at the sight
Took envy, and, aspiring to his height,
Stood re-embattled fierce, by force or fraud

795 Weening to prosper, and at length prevail
Against God and Messiah, or to fall
In universal ruin last; and now
To final battle drew, disdaining 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 armed! this day from battle rest;
Faithful hath been your warfare, and of God
Accepted, fearless in his righteous cause;

805 And as ye have received, so have ye done
Invincibly. But of this cursèd crew
The punishment to other hand belongs;
Vengeance is his, or whose he sole appoints.
Number to this day's work is not ordained,

810 Nor multitude; stand only, and behold
God's indignation on these godless poured
By me. Not you, but me, they have despised,
Yet envied; against me is all their rage,
Because the Father, to whom in Heaven supreme

815 Kingdom, and power, and glory appertains,
Hath honoured me according to his will.
Therefore to me their doom he hath assigned,
That they may have their wish, to try with me
In battle 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 excels;
Nor other strife with them do I vouchsafe.'

"So spake the Son; and into terror changed
His countenance, too severe to be beheld,
And full of wrath bent on his enemies.
At once the Four spread out their starry wings
With dreadful shade contiguous; and the orbs
Of his fierce chariot rolled, as with the sound
Of torrent floods, or of a numerous host.
He on his impious foes right onward drove
Gloomy as night; under his burning wheels
The steadfast Empyréan shook throughout,
All but the throne itself of God. Full soon
Among them he arrived, in his right hand
Grasping ten thousand thunders, which he sent
Before him, such as in their souls infixed
Plagues; they, astonished, all resistance lost,
All courage; down their idle weapons dropt;
O'er shields, and helms, and helmèd heads he rode
Of Thrones and mighty Seraphim prostráte,
That wished the mountains now might be again
Thrown on them, as a shelter from his ire.
Nor less, on either side, tempestuous fell
His arrows, from the fourfold-visaged Four,
Distinct with eyes, and from the living wheels
Distinct alike with multitude of eyes;
One spirit in them ruled, and every eye
Glared lightning, and shot forth pernicious fire
Among the accursed, that withered all their strength,
And of their wonted vigour left them drained—
Exhausted, spiritless, afflicted, fallen.
Yet half his strength he put not forth, but checked
His thunder in mid volley; for he meant
Not to destroy, but root them out of Heaven.
The overthrown he raised, and, as a herd
Of goats or timorous flock together thronged,
Drove them before him thunder-struck, pursued
With terrors and with furies, to the bounds

860 And crystal wall of Heaven; which, opening wide,
Rolled inward, and a spacious gap disclosed
Into the wasteful deep; the monstrous sight
Struck them with horror backward; but far worse
Urged them behind; headlong themselves they threw

865 Down from the verge of Heaven; eternal wrath
Burned after them to the bottomless pit.
“Hell heard the insufferable noise. Hell saw
Heaven ruining from Heaven, and would have fled
Affrighted; but strict Fate had cast too deep

870 Her dark foundations, and too fast had bound.
Nine days they fell; confounded Chaos roared,
And felt tenfold confusion in their fall
Through his wild anarchy, so huge a rout
Encumbered him with ruin. Hell at last

875 Yawning received them whole, and on them closed;—
Hell, their fit habitation, fraught with fire
Unquenchable, the house of woe and pain.
Disburdened Heaven rejoiced, and soon repaired
Her mural breach, returning whence it rolled.

880 Sole victor, from the expulsion of his foes,
Messiah his triumphal chariot turned.
To meet him all his saints, who silent stood
Eye-witnesses of his almighty acts,
With jubilee advanced; and, as they went,

885 Shaded with branching palm, each order bright,
Sung triumph, and him sung victorious King,
Son, Heir, and Lord, to him dominion given,
Worthiest to reign. He, celebrated, rode
Triumphant through mid Heaven, into the courts

890 And temple of his mighty Father throned
On high! who into glory him received,
Where now he sits at the right hand of bliss.
"Thus, measuring things in Heaven by things on
Earth,
At thy request, and that thou may'st beware
895 By what is past, to thee I have revealed
What might have else to human race been hid;
The discord which befell, and war in Heaven
Among the angelic Powers, and the deep fall
Of those too high aspiring, who rebelled
With Satan,—he, who envies now thy state,
Who now is plotting how he may seduce
Thee also from obedience, that, with him
Bereaved of happiness, thou may'st partake
His punishment, eternal misery;
900 Which would be all his solace and revenge,
As a despite done against the Most High,
Thee once to gain companion of his woe.
But listen not to his temptations; warn
Thy weaker; let it profit thee to have heard,
905 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.
BOOK VII.
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, declared 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 days; the Angels celebrate with hymns the performance thereof, and his re-ascension into Heaven.
BOOK VII.

DESCEND from Heaven, Urania, by that name
If rightly thou art called, whose voice divine
Following, above the Olympian hill I soar,
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, heavenly-born,
Before the hills appeared or fountain flowed,
Thou with eternal Wisdom didst converse,

10 Wisdom thy sister, and with her didst play
In presence of the Almighty Father, pleased
With thy celestial song. Up led by thee
Into the Heaven of Heavens I have presumed,
An earthly guest, and drawn empyreal air,

15 Thy tempering; with like safety guided down
Return me to my native element;
Lest from this flying steed unreined (as once
Bellerophon, though from a lower clime)
Dismounted, on the Aleian field I fall,

20 Erroneous there to wander and forlorn.
Half yet remains unsung, but narrower bound
Within the visible diurnal sphere.
Standing on earth, not rapt above the pole,
More safe I sing with mortal voice, unchanged

To hoarse or mute, though fallen on evil days,
On evil days though fallen, and evil tongues,
In darkness, and with dangers compassed round,
And solitude; yet not alone, while thou
Visit'st my slumbers nightly, or when morn

Purples the east. Still govern thou my song,
Urania, and fit audience find though few.
But drive far off the barbarous dissonance
Of Bacchus and his revellers, the race
Of that wild rout that tore the Thracian bard

In Rhodope, where woods and rocks had ears
To rapture, till the savage clamour drowned
Both harp and voice; nor could the Muse defend
Her son. So fail not thou who thee implores;
For thou art heavenly, she an empty dream.

Say, Goddess, what ensued when Raphael,
The affable Archangel, had forewarned
Adam by dire example to beware
Apostasy, by what befell in Heaven
To those apostates, lest the like befall

In Paradise to Adam or his race,
Charged not to touch the interdicted tree,
If they transgress, and slight that sole command,
So easily obeyed, amid the choice
Of all tastes else to please their appetite,

Though wandering. He with his consorted Eve
The story heard attentive, and was filled
With admiration and deep muse, to hear
Of things so high and strange, things to their thought
So unimaginable as hate in Heaven,

And war so near the peace of God in bliss
With such confusion; but the evil, soon
Driven back, redounded as a flood on those
From whom it sprung, impossible to mix
With blessedness. Whence Adam soon repealed

60 The doubts that in his heart arose; and now
Led on, yet sinless, with desire to know
What nearer might concern him, how this world
Of heaven and earth conspicuous first began,
When, and whereof created, for what cause,

65 What within Eden or without was done
Before his memory,—as one, whose drouth
Yet scarce allayed, still eyes the current stream,
Whose liquid murmur heard new thirst excites,—
Proceeded thus to ask his heavenly guest:

70 "Great things, and full of wonder in our ears,
Far differing from this world, thou hast revealed,
Divine Interpreter, by favour sent
Down from the Empyrean to forewarn
Us timely of what might else have been our loss,

75 Unknown, which human knowledge could not reach;
For which to the infinitely Good we owe
Immortal thanks, and his admonishment
Receive with solemn purpose to observe
Immutably his sovrant will, the end

80 Of what we are. But, since thou hast vouchsafed
Gently for our instruction to impart
Things above earthly thought, which yet concerned
Our knowing, as to highest Wisdom-seemed,
Deign to descend now lower, and relate

85 What may no less perhaps avail us known;
How first began this heaven, which we behold
Distant so high, with moving fires adorned
Innumerable, and this which yields or fills
All space, the ambient air wide interfused,

90 Embracing round this florid earth; what cause
Moved the Creator, in his holy rest
Through all eternity, so late to build
In Chaos, and, the work begun, how soon
Absolved; if unforbid thou may'st unfold

95 What we not to explore the secrets ask
Of his eternal empire, but the more
To magnify his works, the more we know.
And the great light of day yet wants to run
Much of his race though steep; suspense in heaven,

100 Held by thy voice, thy potent voice, he hears,
And longer will delay to hear thee tell
His generation, and the rising birth
Of Nature from the unapparent deep;
Or if the star of evening and the moon

105 Haste to thy audience, Night with her will bring
Silence, and Sleep listening to thee will watch;
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 answered mild:

“This also thy request, with caution asked,
Obtain; though to recount almighty 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 glorify the Maker, and infer
Thee also happier, shall not be witheld
Thy hearing; such commission from above
I have received, to answer thy desire

120 Of knowledge within bounds; beyond abstain
To ask, nor let thine own inventions hope
Things not revealed, which the invisible King,
Only omniscient, hath suppressed in night,
To none communicable in earth or Heaven.

125 Enough 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 surfeit, and soon turns
Wisdom to folly, as nourishment to wind.

"Know then, that, after Lucifer from Heaven
(So call him, brighter once amidst the host
Of Angels than that star the stars among)
Fell with his flaming legions through the deep

Into his place, and the great Son returned
Victorious with his Saints, the Omnipotent
Eternal Father from his throne beheld
Their multitude, and to his Son thus spake:

"At least our envious foe hath failed, who thought
All like himself rebellious, by whose aid
This inaccessible high strength, the seat
Of Deity supreme, us dispossessed,
He trusted to have seized, and into fraud
Drew many, whom their place knows here no more.

Yet far the greate part have kept, I see,
Their station; Heaven, yet populous, retains
Number sufficient to possess her realms
Though wide, and this high temple to frequent
With ministeries due and solemn rites.

But, lest his heart exalt him in the harm
Already done, to have dispeopled Heaven—
My damage fondly deemed,—I can repair
That detriment, if such it be to lose
Self-lost, and in a moment will create

Another world, out of one man a race
Of men innumerable, there to dwell,
Not here, till, by degrees of merit raised,
They open to themselves at length the way
Up hither, under long obedience tried,

And Earth be changed to Heaven, and Heaven to Earth,
One kingdom, joy and union without end.
Meanwhile inhabit lax, ye Powers of Heaven!
And thou, my Word, begotten Son, by thee
This I perform; speak thou, and be it done!

My overshadowing Spirit and might with thee
I send along; ride forth, and bid the deep
Within appointed bounds be heaven and earth;
Boundless the deep, because I am who fill
Infinitude; nor vacuous the space,

Though I uncircumscribed myself retire,
And put not forth my goodness, which is free
To act or not. Necessity and Chance
Approach not me, and what I will is fate.

"So spake the Almighty, and to what he spake
His Word, the Filial Godhead, gave effect.
Immediate are the acts of God, more swift
Than time or motion, but to human ears
Cannot without process of speech be told,
So told as earthly notion can receive.

"Great triumph and rejoicing was in Heaven
When such was heard declared the Almighty's will.
Glory they sung to the Most High, good will
To future men, and in their dwellings peace—
Glory to Him, whose just avenging ire

Had driven out the ungodly from his sight
And the habitations of the just; to Him
Glory and praise, whose wisdom had ordained
Good out of evil to create—instead
Of Spirits malign, a better race to bring

Into their vacant room, and thence diffuse
His good to worlds and ages infinite!

"So sang the Hierarchies. Meanwhile the Son
On his great expedition now appeared,
Girt with omnipotence, with radiance crowned

Of majesty divine, sapience and love
Immense, and all his Father in him shone.
About his chariot numberless were poured
Cherub and Seraph, Potentates and Thrones,
And Virtues, wingèd Spirits, and chariots winged

200 From the armoury of God, where stand of old
Myriads, between two brazen mountains lodged
Against a solemn day, harnessed at hand,
Celestial equipage; and now came forth
Spontaneous, for within them Spirit lived

205 Attendant on their Lord. Heaven opened wide
Her ever-during gates, harmonious sound
On golden hingès moving, to let forth
The King of Glory, in his powerful Word
And Spirit coming to create new worlds.

210 On heavenly ground they stood, and from the shore
They viewed the vast immeasurable abyss
Outrageous as a sea, dark, wasteful, wild,
Up from the bottom turned by furious winds,
And surging waves, as mountains, to assault

215 Heaven's height, and with the centre mix the pole.
    "'Silence ye troubled Waves, and thou Deep,
    peace!'
    
    Said then the Omnific Word: 'your discord end!'
Nor stayed; but, on the wings of Cherubim
Uplifted, in paternal glory rode

220 Far into Chaos, and the world unborn;
For Chaos heard his voice. Him all his train
Followed in bright procession, to behold
Creation, and the wonders of his might.
Then stayed the fervid wheels, and in his hand

225 He took the golden compasses, prepared
In God's eternal store, to circumscribe
This universe, and all created things.
One foot he centred, and the other turned
Round through the vast profundity obscure,

230 And said, 'Thus far extend—thus far thy bounds—
This be thy just circumference, O world!'
Thus God the heaven created, thus the earth,—
Matter unformed and void. Darkness profound
Covered the abyss; but on the watery calm
His brooding wings the Spirit of God outspread,
And vital virtue infused, and vital warmth,
Throughout the fluid mass, but downward purged
The black, tartareous, cold, infernal dregs,
Adverse to life; then founded, then conglobed
Like things to like, the rest to several place
Disparted, and between spun out the air,
And Earth, self-balanced, on her centre hung.

"'Let there be Light,' said God, and forthwith Light
Ethereal, first of things, quintessence pure,
Sprung from the deep, and from her native east
To journey through the aery gloom began,
Sphered in a radiant cloud, for yet the sun
Was not; she in a cloudy tabernacle
Sojourned the while. God saw the Light was good;
And light from darkness by the hemisphere
Divided; Light the Day, and Darkness Night
He named. Thus was the first Day even and morn;
Nor passed uncelebrated, nor unsung
By the celestial choirs, when orient light
Exhaling first from darkness they beheld,
Birthday of Heaven and Earth; with joy and shout
The hollow universal orb they filled,
And touched their golden harps, and hymning praised
God and his works; Creator him they sung,
Both when first evening was, and when first morn.

"Again, God said, 'Let there be firmament
Amid the waters, and let it divide
The waters from the waters!' and God made
The firmament, expanse of liquid, pure,
Transparent, elemental air, diffused
In circuit to the uttermost convex
Of this great round—partition firm and sure,
The waters underneath from those above
Dividing; for as earth, so he the world

Built on circumfluous waters calm, in wide
Crystalline ocean, and the loud misrule
Of Chaos far removed, lest fierce extremes
Contiguous might distemper the whole frame;
And Heaven he named the Firmament. So even

And morning chorus sung the second Day.
"The earth was formed, but, in the womb as yet
Of waters, embryon immature, involved,
Appeared not; over all the face of earth
Main ocean flowed, not idle, but, with warm

Prolific humour softening all her globe,
Fermented the great mother to conceive,
Satiate with genial moisture; when God said
'Be gathered now, ye waters under heaven,
Into one place, and let dry land appear!'

Immediately the mountains huge appear
Emergent, and their broad bare backs upheave
Into the clouds; their tops ascend the sky.
So high as heaved the tumid hills, so low
Down sunk a hollow bottom, broad and deep,

Capacious bed of waters; thither they
Hasted with glad precipitance, uprolled,
As drops on dust conglobing, from the dry;
Part rise in crystal wall, or ridge direct,
For haste; such flight the great command impressed

On the swift floods; as armies, at the call
Of trumpet (for of armies thou hast heard,) Troop to their standard, so the watery throng,
Wave rolling after wave, where way they found,
If steep, with torrent rapture, if through plain,

Soft-ebbing; nor withstood them rock or hill;
But they, or under ground, or circuit wide
With serpent error wandering, found their way;
And on the washy ooze deep channels wore;
Easy, ere God had bid the ground be dry,

All but within those banks, where rivers now
Stream, and perpetual draw their humid train.
The dry land, Earth, and the great receptacle
Of congregated waters he called Seas;
And saw that it was good, and said, 'Let the Earth

Put forth the verdant grass, herb yielding seed,
And fruit-tree yielding fruit after her kind,
Whose seed is in herself upon the Earth!'
He scarce had said, when the bare Earth, till then
Desert and bare, unsightly, unadorned,

Brought forth the tender grass, whose verdure clad
Her universal face with pleasant green;
Then herbs of every leaf, that sudden flowered,
Opening their various colours, and made gay
Her bosom, smelling sweet; and, these scarce blown,

Forth flourished thick the clustering vine, forth crept
The smelling gourd, up stood the corny reed
Embattled in her field; add the humble shrub,
And bush with frizzled hair implicit; last,
Rose, as in dance, the stately trees, and spread

Their branches hung with copious fruit, or gemmed
Their blossoms; with high woods the hills were
crowned,

With tufts the valleys, and each fountain-side,
With borders long the rivers; that Earth now
Seemed like to Heaven, a seat where gods might dwell,

Or wander with delight, and love to haunt
Her sacred shades; though God had yet not rained
Upon the Earth, and man to till the ground
None was, but from the earth a dewy mist
Went up, and watered all the ground, and each
335 Plant of the field, which, ere it was in the earth,
   God made, and every herb, before it grew
On the green stem. God saw that it was good;
So even and morn recorded the third Day.
   "Again the Almighty spake, 'Let there be Lights
340 High in the expanse of Heaven, to divide
   The day from night; and let them be for signs,
For seasons, and for days, and circling years;
And let them be for lights, as I ordain
Their office in the firmament of heaven,
345 To give light on the earth!" and it was so.
   And God made two great Lights (great, for their use
To man), the greater to have rule by day,
The less by night, altern; and made the Stars,
And set them in the firmament of heaven.
350 To illuminate the earth, and rule the day
In their vicissitude, and rule the night,
And light from darkness to divide. God saw,
Surveying his great work, that it was good;
For, of celestial bodies, first the Sun.
355 A mighty sphere he framed, unlightsome first,
   Though of ethereal mould; then formed the Moon
Globose, and every magnitude of stars,
And sowed with stars the heaven thick as a field.
Of light by far the greater part he took,
360 Transplanted from her cloudy shrine, and placed
In the Sun's orb, made porous to receive
And drink the liquid light, firm to retain
Her gathered beams,—great palace now of light.
Hither, as to their fountain, other stars.
365 Repairing, in their golden urns draw light,
   And hence the morning planet gilds her horns;
By tincture or reflection they augment
Their small peculiar, though, from human sight
So far remote, with diminution seen.
First in his east the glorious lamp was seen,
Regent of day, and all the horizon round
Invested with bright rays, jocund to run
His longitude through heaven's high road; the grey
Dawn, and the Pleiades, before him danced,

Shedding sweet influence. Less bright the Moon,
But opposite in levelled west, was set,
His mirror, with full face borrowing her light
From him; for other light she needed none
In that aspect, and still that distance keeps

Till night; then in the east her turn she shines,
Revolved on heaven's great axle, and her reign
With thousand lesser lights dividual holds,
With thousand thousand stars, that then appeared
Spangling the hemisphere. Then first adorned

With their bright luminaries, that set and rose,
Glad evening and glad morn crowned the fourth Day.

"And God said, 'Let the waters generate
Reptile with spawn abundant, living soul;
And let fowl fly above the earth, with wings

Displayed on the open firmament of heaven!'
And God created the great whales, and each
Soul living, each that crept, which plenteously
The waters generated by their kinds;
And every bird of wing after his kind;

And saw that it was good, and blessed them, saying:
'Be fruitful, multiply, and, in the seas,
And lakes, and running streams, the waters fill;
And let the fowl be multiplied on the earth!'
Forthwith the sounds and seas, each creek and bay,

With fry innumerable swarm, and shoals
Of fish that with their fins and shining scales
Glide under the green wave in sculls that oft
Bank the mid sea; part single, or with mate,
Graze the sea-weed their pasture, and through groves
SEVENTH.]  The Creation—the Fifth Day.  193

405  Of coral stray; or sporting with quick glance,
   Show to the sun their waved coats dropt with gold;
   Or, in their pearly shells at ease, attend
   Moist nutriment; or, under rocks, their food
   In jointed armour watch; on smooth the seal

410  And bended dolphins play; part, huge of bulk,
   Wallowing unwieldy, enormous in their gait,
   Tempest the ocean; there leviathan,
   Hugest of living creatures, on the deep
   Stretched like a promontory, sleeps or swims,

415  And seems a moving land, and at his gills
   Draws in, and at his trunk spouts out, a sea.
   Meanwhile the tepid caves, and fens, and shores,
   Their brood as numerous hatch from the egg, that soon,
   Bursting with kindly rupture, forth disclosed

420  Their callow young; but feathered soon and fledge
   They summ'd their pens, and, soaring the air sublime,
   With clang despised the ground, under a cloud
   In prospect.  There the eagle and the stork
   On cliffs and cedar-tops their eyries build.

425  Part loosely wing the region; part, more wise,
   In common, ranged in figure, wedge their way,
   Intelligent of seasons, and set forth
   Their aery caravan, high over seas
   Flying, and over lands, with mutual wing

430  Easing their flight; so steers the prudent crane
   Her annual voyage, borne on winds; the air
   Floats as they pass, fanned with unnumbered plumes.
   From branch to branch the smaller birds with song
   Solaced the woods, and spread their painted wings

435  Till even, nor then the solemn nightingale
   Ceased warbling, but all night tuned her soft lays.
   Others, on silver lakes and rivers, bathed
   Their downy breast; the swan, with archèd neck
   Between her white wings mantling proudly, rows
Her state with oary feet; yet oft they quit
The dank, and, rising on stiff pennons, tower
The mid aerial sky. Others on ground
Walked firm; the crested cock, whose clarion sounds
The silent hours, and the other, whose gay train
Adorns him, coloured with the florid hue
Of rainbows and starry eyes. The waters thus
With fish replenished, and the air with fowl,
Evening and morn solemnized the fifth Day.
"The sixth, and of Creation last, arose
With evening harps and matin; when God said:
'Let the earth bring forth soul living in her kind,
Cattle, and creeping things, and beast of the earth,
Each in their kind!' The Earth obeyed, and straight,
Opening her fertile womb, teemed at a birth
Innumerous living creatures, perfect forms,
Limbed and full-grown. Out of the ground up rose,
As from his lair, the wild beast, where he wins
In forest wild, in thicket, brake, or den;
Among the trees in pairs they rose, they walked;
The cattle in the fields and meadows green;
Those rare and solitary, these in flocks
Pasturing at once, and in broad herds upsprung.
The grassy clods now calved; now half appeared
The tawny lion, pawing to get free
His hinder parts, then springs, as broke from bonds,
And rampant shakes his brinded mane; the ounce,
The libbard, and the tiger, as the mole
Rising, the crumbled earth above them threw
In hillocks; the swift stag from underground
Bore up his branching head; scarce from his mould
Behemoth, biggest born of earth, upheaved
His vastness; fleeced the flocks and bleating rose,
As plants; ambiguous between sea and land,
The river-horse and scaly crocodile.
At once came forth whatever creeps the ground,
Insect or worm. Those waved their limber fans
For wings, and smallest lineaments exact
In all the liveries decked of summer’s pride,
With spots of gold and purple, azure and green;
These, as a line, their long dimension drew,
Streaking the ground with sinuous trace; not all
Minims of nature; some of serpent kind,
Wondrous in length and corpulence, involved
Their snaky folds, and added wings. First crept
The parsimonious emmet, provident
Of future, in small room large heart enclosed,
Pattern of just equality perhaps
Hereafter, joined in her popular tribes
Of commonalty. Swarming next appeared
The female bee, that feeds her husband drone
Deliciously, and builds her waxen cells
With honey stored. The rest are numberless,
And thou their natures know’st, and gavest them names,
Needless to thee repeated; nor unknown
The serpent, subtest beast of all the field,
Of huge extent sometimes, with brazen eyes
And hairy mane terrific, though to thee
Not noxious, but obedient at thy call.
“Now Heaven in all her glory shone, and rolled
Her motions, as the great First-Mover’s hand
First wheeled their course; earth in her rich attire
Consummate lovely smiled; air, water, earth,
By fowl, fish, beast, was flown, was swum, was walked,
Frequent; and of the sixth Day yet remained;
There wanted yet the master-work, the end
Of all yet done; a creature, who, not prone
And brute as other creatures, but endued
With sanctity of reason, might erect
His stature, and upright with front serene
Governing the rest, self-knowing, and from thence
Magnanimous to correspond with Heaven,
But grateful to acknowledge whence his good
Descends; thither with heart, and voice, and eyes,
Directed in devotion, to adore.

And worship God Supreme, who made him chief
Of all his works; therefore the Omnipotent
Eternal Father (for where is not He
Present?) thus to his Son audibly spake:

"Let us make now Man in our image, Man
In our similitude, and let them rule
Over the fish and fowl of sea and air,
Beast of the field, and over all the earth,
And every creeping thing that creeps the ground!"
This said, he formed thee, Adam, thee, O Man,

Dust of the ground, and in thy nostrils breathed
The breath of life; in his own image he
Created thee, in the image of God
Express, and thou becamest a living soul.
Male he created thee, but thy consort
Female, for race; then blessed mankind, and said,
'Be fruitful, multiply, and fill the earth;
Subdue it, and throughout dominion hold
Over fish of the sea, and fowl of the air,
And every living thing that moves on the earth!'

Wherever thus created, (for no place
Is yet distinct by name,) thence, as thou know'st,
He brought thee into this delicious grove,
This garden, planted with the trees of God,
Delectable both to behold and taste;

And freely all their pleasant fruit for food
Gave thee; all sorts are here that all the earth yields,
Variety without end; but of the tree,
Which, tasted, works knowledge of good and evil,
Thou may'st not; in the day thou eat'st, thou diest.
The Work of Creation ended.

545 Death is the penalty imposed; beware,
And govern well thy appetite, lest Sin
Surprise thee, and her black attendant, Death.

"Here finished he, and all that he had made
Viewed, and, behold, all was entirely good.

550 So even and morn accomplished the sixth Day;
Yet not till the Creator, from his work
Desisting, though unweary'd, up returned,
Up to the Heaven of Heavens, his high abode,
Thence to behold his new-created world,

555 The addition of his empire—how it showed
In prospect from his throne—how good—how fair,
Answering his great idea. Up he rode,
Followed with acclamation, and the sound
Symphonious of ten thousand harps, that tuned

560 Angelic harmonies. The earth, the air
Resounded—(thou remember'st for thou heard'st,)
The heavens and all the constellations rung,
The planets in their stations listening stood,
While the bright pomp ascended jubilant.

565 'Open, ye everlasting gates!' they sung;
'Open, ye heavens, your living doors! let in
The great Creator, from his work returned
Magnificent, his six days' work, a world!
Open, and henceforth oft; for God will deign

570 To visit oft the dwellings of just men
Delighted, and with frequent intercourse
Thither will send his wingèd messengers
On errands of supernal grace.' So sung
The glorious train ascending. He through Heaven,

575 That opened wide her blazing portals, led
To God's eternal house direct the way,
A broad and ample road, whose dust is gold,
And pavement stars, as stars to thee appear,
Seen in the galaxy,—that milky way,
580  Which nightly, as a circling zone, thou seest
      Powdered with stars.  And now on earth the seventh
Evening arose in Eden, for the sun
Was set, and twilight from the east came on,
Forerunning night; when at the holy mount
585  Of Heaven's high-seated top, the imperial throne
Of Godhead, fixed for ever firm and sure,
The Filial Power arrived, and sat him down
With his great Father; for he also went
Invisible, yet stayed, (such privilege
590  Hath Omnipresence,) and the work ordained,
Author and End of all things, and, from work
Now resting, blessed and hallowed the seventh 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 of sweet stop,
      All sounds on fret, by string or golden wire,
      Tempered soft tunings, intermixed with voice
      Choral or unison; of incense clouds,
600  Fuming from golden censers, hid the Mount.
Creation and the six days' 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  Than from the giant Angels; thee that day
    Thy thunders magnified; but to create
    Is greater than created to destroy.
    Who can impair thee, mighty King, or bound
    Thy empire?  Easily the proud attempt
610  Of Spirits apostate, and their counsels vain,
    Thou hast repelled, while impiously they thought
    Thee to diminish, and from thee withdraw
    The number of thy worshippers.  Who seeks
    To lessen thee, against his purpose serves
615 To manifest the more thy might; his evil
    Thou usest, and from thence greatest more good.
Witness this new-made world, another Heaven
From Heaven-gate not far, founded in view
On the clear hyaline, the glassy sea;
620 Of amplitude almost immense, with stars
    Numerous, and every star perhaps a world
Of destined habitation; but thou know'st
Their seasons; among these, the seat of men,
Earth with her nether ocean circumfused,
625 Their pleasant dwelling-place. Thrice happy men,
    And sons of men, whom God hath thus advanced,
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
    Holy and just; thrice happy, if they know
Their happiness, and persevere upright!
    "So sung they, and the Empyréan rung
With halleluiah; thus was Sabbath kept.
635 And thy request think now fulfilled, that asked
    How first this world and face of things began,
And what, before thy memory, was done
From the beginning, that posterity,
Informed by thee, might know. If else thou seek'st
640 Aught, not surpassing human measure, say."

THE END OF THE SEVENTH BOOK.
BOOK VIII.
THE ARGUMENT.

Adam inquires concerning celestial motions; is doubtfully answered, and exhort ed to search rather things more worthy of knowledge; Adam assents, and, still desirous to detain Raphael, relates to him what he remembered since his own creation; his placing in Paradise; his talk with God concerning solitude and fit society; his first meeting and nuptials with Eve; his discourse with the Angel thereupon; who, after admonitions repeated, departs.
BOOK VIII.

HE Angel ended, and in Adam's ear
So charming left his voice, that he awhile
Thought him still speaking, still stood fixed to hear;
Then, as new-waked, thus gratefully replied:

"What thanks sufficient, or what recompense
Equal, have I to render thee, divine
Historian, who thus largely hast allayed
The thirst I had of knowledge, and vouchsafed
This friendly condescension to relate

Things else by me unsearchable, now heard
With wonder, but delight, and, as is due,
With glory attributed to the high
Creator? Something yet of doubt remains,
Which only thy solution can resolve.

When I behold this goodly frame, this world,
Of heaven and earth consisting, and compute
Their magnitudes; this earth, a spot, a grain,
An atom, with the firmament compared
And all her numbered stars, that seem to roll

Spaces incompassible (for such
Their distance argues, and their swift return
Diurnal), merely to officiate light
Round this opaceous earth, this punctual spot,
One day and night, in all their vast survey

25 Useless besides; reasoning I oft admire,
How Nature, wise and frugal, could commit
Such disproportions, with superfluous hand
So many nobler bodies to create,
Greater so manifold, to this one use,

30 For aught appears, and on their orbs impose
Such restless revolution day by day
Repeated, while the sedentary earth
(That better might with far less compass move,)
Served by more noble than herself, attains

35 Her end without least motion, and receives,
As tribute, such a sumless journey brought
Of incorporeal speed, her warmth and light;
Speed, to describe whose swiftness number fails."

So spake our sire, and by his countenance seemed

40 Entering on studious thoughts abstruse; which Eve
Perceiving, where she sat retired in sight,
With lowness majestic from her seat,
And grace that won who saw to wish her stay,
Rose, and went forth among her fruits and flowers,

45 To visit how they prospered, bud and bloom,
Her nursery; they at her coming sprung,
And, touched by her fair tendance, gladlier grew.
Yet went she not as not with such discourse
Delighted, or not capable her ear

50 Of what was high; such pleasure she reserved,
Adam relating, she sole auditress;
Her husband the relater she preferred
Before the Angel, and of him to ask
Chose rather; he, she knew, would intermix

55 Grateful digressions, and solve high dispute
With conjugal caresses; from his lip
Not words alone pleased her. Oh! when meet now
Such pairs, in love and mutual honour joined?
With goddess-like demeanour forth she went,

60 Not unattended; for on her, as queen,
A pomp of winning Graces waited still,
And from about her shot darts of desire
Into all eyes, to wish her still in sight.
And Raphael now to Adam's doubt proposed

65 Benevolent and facile thus replied:
"To ask or search, I blame thee not; for heaven
Is as the book of God before thee set,
Wherein to read his wondrous works, and learn
His seasons, hours, or days, or months, or years.

70 This to attain, whether heaven move or earth,
Imports not, if thou reckon right; the rest
From man or Angel the great Architect
Did wisely to conceal, and not divulge
His secrets to be scanned by them who ought

75 Rather admire; or, if they list to try
Conjecture, he his fabric of the heavens
Hath left to their disputes, perhaps to move
His laughter at their quaint opinions wide
Hereafter, when they come to model heaven

80 And calculate the stars; how they will wield
The mighty frame; how build, unbuild, contrive,
To save appearances; how gird the sphere
With centric and eccentric scribbled o'er,
Cycle and epicycle, orb in orb.

85 Already by thy reasoning this I guess,
Who art to lead thy offspring, and supposest
That bodies bright and greater should not serve
The less not bright, nor heaven such journeys run,
Earth sitting still, when she alone receives

90 The benefit. Consider first, that great
Or bright infers not excellence; the earth,
Though, in comparison of Heaven, so small,
Nor glistering, may of solid good contain
More plenty than the sun that barren shines,

Whose virtue on itself works no effect,
But in the fruitful earth; there first received,
His beams, unactive else, their vigour find.
Yet not to earth are those bright luminaries
Officious, but to thee, earth's habitant.

And for the heaven's wide circuit, let it speak
The Maker's high magnificence, who built
So spacious, and his line stretched out so far,
That man may know he dwells not in his own,
An edifice too large for him to fill,

Lodged in a small partition, and the rest
Ordained for uses to his Lord best known.
The swiftness of those circles attribute,
Though numberless, to his omnipotence,
That to corporeal substances could add

Speed almost spiritual. Me thou think'st not slow,
Who since the morning hour set out from Heaven,
Where God resides, and ere mid-day arrived
In Eden, distance inexpressible
By numbers that have name. But this I urge,

Admitting motion in the heavens, to show
Invalid that which thee to doubt it moved;
Not that I so affirms, though so it seem
To thee who hast thy dwelling here on earth.
God, to remove his ways from human sense,

Placed heaven from earth so far, that earthly sight,
If it presume, might err in things too high,
And no advantage gain. What if the sun
Be centre to the world, and other stars,
By his attractive virtue and their own

Incited, dance about him various rounds?
Their wandering course, now high, now low, then hid,
Progressive, retrograde, or standing still,
In six thou seest; and what if seventh to these
The planet earth, so steadfast though she seem,

130 Insensibly three different motions move?
Which else to several sphères thou must ascribe,
Moved contrary with thwart obliquities;
Or save the sun his labour, and that swift
Nocturnal and diurnal rhomb supposed,

135 Invisible else above all stars, the wheel
Of day and night; which needs not thy belief,
If earth, industrious of herself, fetch day
Travelling east, and with her part averse
From the sun's beam meet night, her other part

140 Still luminous by his ray. What if that light,
Sent from her through the wide transpicuous air,
To the terrestrial moon be as a star,
Enlightening her by day, as she by night
This earth, reciprocal, if land be there,

145 Fields and inhabitants? Her spots thou seest
As clouds, and clouds may rain, and rain produce
Fruits in her softened soil, for some to eat
Allotted there; and other suns, perhaps,
With their attendant moons, thou wilt descry,

150 Communicating male and female light
(Which two great sexes animate the world),
Stored in each orb perhaps with some that live.
For such vast room in nature unpossessed
By living soul, desert and desolate,

155 Only to shine, yet scarce to contribûte
Each orb a glimpse of light, conveyed so far
Down to this habitable, which returns
Light back to them, is obvious to dispute.
But whether thus these things, or whether not,—

160 Whether the sun, predominant in heaven,
Rise on the earth, or earth rise on the sun;
He from the east his flaming road begin,
Or she from west her silent course advance
With inoffensive pace, that spinning sleeps

165 On her soft axle, while she paces even
And bears thee soft with the smooth air along;
Solicit not thy thoughts with matters hid;
Leave them to God above; him serve and fear.
Of other creatures, as him pleases best,

170 Wherever placed, let him dispose; joy thou
In what he gives to thee—this Paradise
And thy fair Eve; Heaven is for thee too high
To know what passes there; be lowly wise;
Think only what concerns thee and thy being;

175 Dream not of other worlds, what creatures there
Live, in what state, condition, or degree;
Contented that thus far hath been revealed,
Not of earth only, but of highest Heaven.”

To whom thus Adam, cleared of doubt, replied:

180 “How fully hast thou satisfied me, pure
Intelligence of Heaven, Angel serene,
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 far off all anxious cares,
And not molest us, unless we ourselves
Seek them with wandering thoughts, and notions vain.
But apt the mind or fancy is to rove
Unchecked, and of her roving is no end;

190 Till, warned, or by experience taught, she learn
That not to know at large of things remote
From use, obscure and subtle, but to know
That which before us lies in daily life,
Is the prime wisdom; what is more, is fume,

195 Or emptiness, or fond impertinence,
And renders us, in things that most concern,
Unpractised, unprepared, and still to seek.
Therefore from this high pitch let us descend
A lower flight, and speak of things at hand

200 Useful; whence, haply, mention may arise
Of something not unseasonable to ask,
By sufferance, and thy wonted favour, deigned.
Thee I have heard relating what was done
Ere my remembrance; now, here me relate

205 My story, which perhaps thou hast not heard.
And day is not yet spent; till then thou seest
How subtly to detain thee I devise,
Inviting thee to hear while I relate,—
Fond, were it not in hope of thy reply.

210 For, while I sit with thee, I seem in Heaven;
And sweeter thy discourse is to my ear
Than fruits of palm-tree, pleasantest to thirst
And hunger both, from labour, at the hour
Of sweet repast; they satiate, and soon fill,

215 Though pleasant; but thy words, with grace divine
Imbued, bring to their sweetness no satiety."

To whom thus Raphael answered heavenly meek:
"Nor are thy lips ungraceful, Sire of Men,
Nor tongue ineloquent; for God on thee

220 Abundantly his gifts hath also poured,
Inward and outward both, his image fair;
Speaking, or mute, all comeliness and grace
Attends thee, and each word, each motion forms.
Nor less think we in Heaven of thee on earth.

225 Than of our fellow-servant, and inquire
Gladly into the ways of God with man;
For God, we see, hath honoured thee, and set
On man his equal love. Say therefore on;
For I that day was absent, as befell,

230 Bound on a voyage uncouth and obscure,
Far on excursion toward the gates of Hell;
Squared in full legion (such command we had),
To see that none thence issued forth a spy,
Or enemy, while God was in his work,

Lest he, incensed at such eruption bold,
Destruction with creation might have mixed.
Not that they durst without his leave attempt;
But us he sends upon his high behests
For state, as sovan King, and to inure

Our prompt obedience. Fast we found, fast shut,
The dismal gates, and barricadoed strong;
But, long ere our approaching, heard within
Noise, other than the sound of dance or song;
Torment, and loud lament, and furious rage.

Glad we returned up to the coasts of light
Ere Sabbath evening; so we had in charge.
But thy relation now; for I attend,
Pleased with thy words no less than thou with mine."

So spake the godlike Power, and thus our Sire:

"For man to tell how human life began
Is hard; for who himself beginning knew?
Desire with thee still longer to converse
Induced me. As new-waked from soundest sleep,
Soft on the flowery herb I found me laid,

In balmy sweat, which with his beams the sun
Soon dried, and on the reeking moisture fed.
Straight toward heaven my wondering eyes I turned,
And gazed awhile the ample sky, till, raised
By quick instinctive motion, up I sprung,

As thitherward endeavouring, and upright
Stood on my feet. About me round I saw
Hill, dale, and shady woods, and sunny plains,
And liquid lapse of murmuring streams; by these,
Creatures that lived and moved, and walked or flew,

Birds on the branches warbling; all things smiled;
With fragrance and with joy my heart o'erflowed.
Myself I then perused, and limb by limb
Surveyed, and sometimes went, and sometimes ran
With supple joints, as lively vigour led;

270 But who I was, or where, or from what cause,
Knew not. To speak I tried, and forthwith spake;
My tongue obeyed, and readily could name
Whate'er I saw. 'Thou sun,' said I, 'fair light,
And thou enlightened earth, so fresh and gay,
275 Ye hills, and dales, ye rivers, woods, and plains,
And ye that live and move, fair creatures, tell,
Tell, if ye saw, how came I thus, how here!
Not of myself; by some great Maker then,
In goodness and in power pre-eminent.

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 than I know.'
While thus I called, and strayed I knew not whither,
From where I first drew air, and first beheld
285 This happy light, when answer none returned,
On a green shady bank, profuse of flowers,
Pensive I sat me down; there gentle sleep
First found me, and with soft oppression seized
My drowsèd sense, untroubled, 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 moved
My fancy to believe I yet had being,

295 And lived. One came, methought, of shape divine,
And said, 'Thy mansion wants thee, Adam; rise,
First man, of men innumerable ordained
First father! called by thee, I come thy guide
To the garden of bliss, thy seat prepared.'

300 So saying, by the hand he took me, raised,
And, over fields and waters, as in air
Smooth sliding without step, last led me up
A woody mountain, whose high top was plain,
A circuit wide, enclosed, with goodliest trees
Planted, with walks and bowers, that what I saw
Of earth before scarce pleasant seemed. Each tree,
Loaden with fairest fruit, that hung to the eye
Tempting, stirred in me sudden appetite
To pluck and eat; whereat I waked, and found
Before mine eyes all real, as the dream
Had lively shadowed. Here had new begun
My wandering, had not He, who was my guide
Up hither, from among the trees appeared,
Presence Divine! Rejoicing, but with awe,
In adoration at his feet I fell
Submiss. He reared me, and, 'Whom thou sought'st
I am,'
Said mildly, 'Author of all this thou seest
Above, or round about thee, or beneath.
This Paradise I give thee; count it thine
To till and keep, and of the fruit to eat;
Of every tree that in the garden grows
Eat freely with glad heart; fear here no dearth;
But of the tree whose operation brings
Knowledge of good and ill, which I have set,
The pledge of thy obedience and thy faith,
Amid the garden, by the Tree of Life,
Remember what I warn thee, shun to taste,
And shun the bitter consequence; for know,
The day thou eat'st thereof,—my sole command
Transgressed,—inevitably thou shalt die,
From that day mortal, and this happy state
Shalt lose, expelled from hence into a world
Of woe and sorrow.' Sternly he pronounced
The rigid interdiction, which resounds
335 Yet dreadful in mine ear, though in my choice
   Not to incur; but soon his clear aspect
   Returned, and gracious purpose thus renewed:
   'Not only 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 air,—beast, fish, and fowl.
   In sign whereof, each bird and beast behold
   After their kinds; I bring them to receive
   From thee their names, and pay thee fealty
345 With low subjection; understand the same
   Of fish within their watery residence,
   Not hither summoned, since they cannot change
   Their element to draw the thinner air.'
   As thus he spake, each bird and beast behold
350 Approaching, two and two, these cowering low
   With blandishment, each bird stooped on his wing.
   I named them as they passed, and understood
   Their nature; with such knowledge God endued
   My sudden apprehension. But in these
355 I found not what, methought, I wanted still;
   And to the heavenly Vision thus presumed:
   "'Oh, by what name,—for thou above all these,
   Above mankind, or aught than mankind higher,
   Surpassest far 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 me
   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 brightened, thus replied:
   "'What call'st thou solitude? Is not the earth
With various living creatures, and the air
Replenished, and all these at thy command
To come and play before thee? Know'st thou not
Their language and their ways? They also know
And reason not contemptibly; with these
Find pastime, and bear rule; thy realm is large.'
So spake the Universal Lord, and seemed
So ordering. I, with leave of speech implored,
And humble depreciation, thus replied:
"'Let not my words offend thee, heavenly Power!
My Maker, be propitious while I speak.
Hast thou not made me here thy substitute,
And these inferior far beneath me set?
Among unequals what society
Can sort, what harmony or true delight?
Which must be mutual, in proportion due
Given and received; but, in disparity,
The one intense, the other still remiss,
Cannot well suit with either, but soon prove
Tedious alike. Of fellowship I speak,
Such as I seek, fit to participate
All rational delight, wherein the brute
Cannot be human consort; they rejoice
Each with their kind, lion with lioness;
So fitly them in pairs thou hast combined;
Much less can bird with beast, or fish with fowl
So well converse, nor with the ox the ape;
Worse, then, can man with beast, and least of all.'
"Whereeto the Almighty answered, not displeased:
'A nice and subtle happiness, I see,
Thou to thyself proposest, in the choice
Of thy associates, Adam, and wilt taste
No pleasure, though in pleasure, solitary.
What think'st thou, then, of me, and this my state?
Seem I to thee sufficiently possessed
Of happiness, or not? who am alone
From all eternity; for none I know
Second to me or like, equal much less.
How have I then with whom to hold converse,
Save with the creatures which I made, and those

To me inferior, infinite descents
Beneath what other creatures are to thee?'
"He ceased; I lowly answered: 'To attain
The height and depth of thy eternal ways
All human thoughts come short, Supreme of things!

Thou in thyself art perfect, and in thee
Is no deficiency found; not so is man,
But in degree—the cause of his desire
By conversation with his like to help
Or solace his defects. No need that thou

Shouldst propagate, 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 multiplied,

In unity defective, which requires
Collateral love, and dearest amity.
Thou, in thy secrecy although alone,
Best with thyself accompanied, seek'st not
Social communication, yet, so pleased,

Canst raise thy creature to what height thou wilt
Of union, or communion, deified;
I, by conversing, cannot these erect
From prone, nor in their ways complacence find.'
Thus I emboldened spake, and freedom used

Permissive, and acceptance found; which gained
This answer from the gracious Voice Divine:
"'Thus far to try thee, Adam, I was pleased,
And find thee knowing not of beasts alone,
Which thou hast rightly named, but of thyself,
Expressing well the spirit within thee free,—
My image,—not imparted to the brute;
Whose fellowship, therefore, unmeet for thee,
Good reason was thou freely shouldst dislike;
And be so minded still. I, ere thou spakest,
Knew it not good for man to be alone,
And no such company as then thou saw'st
Intended thee, for trial only brought,
To see how thou couldst judge of fit and meet;
What next I bring shall please thee, be assured,—
Thy likeness, thy fit help, thy other self,—
Thy wish exactly to thy heart's desire.'
"He ended, or I heard no more; for now
My earthly by his heavenly overpowered,
Which it had long stood under, strained to the height
In that celestial colloquy sublime,
As with an object that excels the sense,
Dazzled and spent, sunk down, and sought repair
Of sleep, which instantly fell on me, called
By nature as in aid, and closed mine eyes.
Mine eyes he closed, but open left the cell
Of fancy, my internal sight; by which,
Abstract as in a trance, methought I saw,
Though sleeping, where I lay, and saw the Shape,
Still glorious, before whom awake I stood;
Who, stooping, opened my left side, and took
From thence a rib, with cordial spirits warm,
And life-blood streaming fresh; wide was the wound,
But suddenly with flesh filled up and healed.
The rib he formed and fashioned with his hands;
Under his forming hands a creature grew,
Manlike, but different sex, so lovely fair,
That what seemed fair in all the world, seemed now
Mean, or in her summed up, in her contained,
And in her looks, which from that time infused
475 Sweetness into my heart unfelt before,  
      And into all things from her air inspired  
      The spirit of love and amorous delight.  
      She disappeared, and left me dark; I waked,  
      To find her, or for ever to deplore  

480 Her loss and other pleasures all abjure:  
      When, out of hope, behold her, not far off,  
      Such as I saw her in my dream, adorned  
      With what all earth or Heaven could bestow  
      To make her amiable. On she came,  

485 Led by her heavenly Maker, though unseen,  
      And guided by his voice, nor uninformed  
      Of nuptial sanctity and marriage rites.  
      Grace was in all her steps, Heaven in her eye,  
      In every gesture dignity and love.  

490 I, overjoyed, could not forbear aloud:  
      "This turn hath made amends; thou hast fulfilled  
      Thy words, Creator bounteous and benign,  
      Giver of all things fair! but fairest this  
      Of all thy gifts! nor enviest. I now see  

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 forgo  
      Father and mother, and to his wife adhere;  
      And they shall be one flesh, one heart, one soul.'  

500 "She heard me thus; and, though divinely brought,  
      Yet innocence, and virgin modesty,  
      Her virtue, and the conscience of her worth,  
      That would be wooed, and not unsought be won,  
      Not obvious, not obtrusive, but retired,  

505 The more desirable, or, to say all,  
      Nature herself, though pure of sinful thought,  
      Wrought in her so, that, seeing me, she turned;  
      I followed her; she what was honour knew,  
      And, with obsequious majesty, approved
510 My pleaded reason. To the nuptial bower
    I led her blushing like the Morn; all heaven,
    And happy constellations, on that hour
    Shed their selectest influence; the earth
    Gave sign of gratulation, and each hill;
515 Joyous the birds; fresh gales and gentle airs
    Whispered it to the woods, and from their wings
    Flung rose, flung odours from the spicy shrub,
    Disporting, till the amorous bird of night
    Sung spousal, and bid haste the evening star
520 On his hill top to light the bridal lamp.
    "Thus have I told thee all my state, and brought
    My story to the sum of earthly bliss
    Which I enjoy; and must confess to find
    In all things else delight indeed, but such
525 As, used or not, works in the mind no change,
    Nor vehement desire,—these delicacies
    I mean of taste, sight, smell, herbs, fruits, and flowers,
    Walks, and the melody of birds; but here
    Far otherwise, transported I behold,
530 Transported touch; here passion first I felt,
    Commotion strange, in all enjoyments else
    Superior and unmoved, here only weak
    Against the charm of beauty's powerful glance.
    Or Nature failed in me, and left some part
535 Not proof enough such object to sustain,
    Or, from my side subducting, took perhaps
    More than enough; at least on her bestowed
    Too much of ornament, in outward show
    Elaborate, of inward less exact.
540 For well I understand, in the prime end
    Of Nature, her the inferior, in the mind
    And inward faculties, which most excel;
    In outward also her resembling less
    His image who made both, and less expressing
545 The character of that dominion given
O'er other creatures. Yet, when I approach
Her loveliness, so absolute she seems,
And in herself complete, so well to know
Her own, that what she wills to do or say,
550 Seems wisest, virtuousest, discreetest, best;
All higher Knowledge in her presence falls
Degraded; Wisdom in discourse with her
Loses countenance, and like Folly shows;
Authority and Reason on her wait,
555 As one intended first, not after made
Occasionally; and to consummate all,
Greatness of mind, and nobleness, their seat
Build in her loveliest, and create an awe
About her, as a guard angelic placed."

560 To whom the Angel, with contracted brow:
"Accuse not Nature, she hath done her part;
Do thou but thine, and be not diffident
Of Wisdom; she deserts thee not, if thou
Dismiss not her, when most thou need'st her nigh,

565 By attributing overmuch to things
Less excellent, as thou thyself perceivest.
For, what admirest 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 thyself;
Then value. Oft-times nothing profits more
Than self-esteem, grounded on just and right,
Well managed; 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, that with honour thou may'st love
Thy mate, who sees when thou art seen least wise.
But if the sense of touch, whereby mankind
Is propagated, seem such dear delight
Beyond all other, think the same vouchsafed
To cattle and each beast; which would not be
To them made common and divulged, if aught
Therein enjoyed were worthy to subdue

The soul of man, or passion in him move.
What higher in her society thou find'st
Attractive, human, rational, love still;
In loving thou dost well, in passion not,
Wherein true love consists not. Love refines

The thoughts, and heart enlarges; hath his seat
In reason, and is judicious; is the scale
By which to heavenly love thou may'st ascend,
Not sunk in carnal pleasure; for which cause,
Among the beasts no mate for thee was found."

To whom thus, half abashed, Adam replied:
"Neither her outside formed so fair, nor aught
In procreation, common to all kinds,
(Though higher of the genial bed by far,
And with mysterious reverence, I deem),

So much delights me, as those graceful acts,
Those thousand decencies, that daily flow
From all her words and actions, mixed with love
And sweet compliance, which declare unfeigned
Union of mind, or in us both one soul;

Harmony to behold in wedded pair
More grateful than harmonious sound to the ear.
Yet these subject not; I to thee disclose
What inward thence I feel, not therefore foiled,
Who meet with various objects, from the sense

Variously representing, yet, still free,
Approve the best, and follow what I approve.
To love thou blamest me not; for love, thou say'st,
Leads up to Heaven—is both the way and guide;
Bear with me then, if lawful what I ask.
615 Love not the heavenly Spirits, and how their love
   Express they? by looks only? or do they mix
   Irradiance, virtual or immediate touch?"
   To whom the Angel, with a smile that glowed
   Celestial rosy red, love's proper hue,
620 Answered: "Let it suffice thee that thou know'st
   Us happy, and without love no happiness.
   Whatever pure thou in the body enjoy'st
   (And pure thou wert created), we enjoy
   In eminence, and obstacle find none
625 Of membrane, joint, or limb, exclusive bars;
   Easier than air with air, if Spirits embrace,
   Total they mix, union of pure with pure
   Desiring, nor restrained conveyance need,
   As flesh to mix with flesh, or soul with soul.
630 But I can now no more; the parting sun
   Beyond the Earth's green Cape and Verdant Isles
   Hesperian sets, my signal to depart.
   Be strong, live happy, 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 placed; beware!
   I in thy persevering shall rejoice,
640 And all the Blest. Stand fast! to stand, or fall,
   Free in thine own arbitrement it lies.
   Perfect within, no outward aid require;
   And all temptation to transgress repel."
   So saying, he arose; whom Adam thus
645 Followed with benediction: "Since to part,
   Go, heavenly guest, ethereal messenger,
   Sent from whose sovran goodness I adore!
   Gentle to me and affable hath been
   Thy condescension, and shall be honoured ever
With grateful memory; thou to mankind
Be good and friendly still, and oft return!"
So parted they; the Angel up to heaven
From the thick shade, and Adam to his bower.

THE END OF THE EIGHTH BOOK.
BOOK IX.
THE ARGUMENT.

Satan having compassed 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 their labours, which Eve proposes to divide in several places, each labouring apart; Adam consents not, alleging the danger, lest that enemy, of whom they were forewarned, should attempt her found alone. Eve, loth to be thought not circumspect or firm enough, urges her going apart, the rather desirous to make trial 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, wondering to hear the serpent speak, asks how he attained to human speech, and such understanding, not till now; the serpent answers, that by tasting of a certain tree in the garden he attained 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, pleased with the taste, deliberates awhile whether to impart thereof to Adam or not; at last brings him of the fruit; relates what persuaded her to eat thereof. Adam, at first amazed, 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 their nakedness; then fall to variance and accusation of one another.
BOOK IX.

O more of talk where God or angel guest
With man, as with his friend, familiar used
To sit indulgent, and with him partake
Rural repast, permitting him the while
Venial discourse unblamed. I now must change
Those notes to tragic; foul distrust, and breach
Disloyal, on the part of man, revolt,
And disobedience; on the part of Heaven
Now alienated, distance and distaste,
Anger, and just rebuke, and judgment given,
That brought into this world a world of woe,—
Sin and her shadow Death, and Misery,
Death's harbinger. Sad task! yet argument
Not less, but more heroic, than the wrath
Of stern Achilles on his foe pursued
Thrice fugitive about Troy wall; or rage
Of Turnus for Lavinia disespoused;
Or Neptune's ire, or Juno's, that so long
Perplexed the Greek, and Cytherea's son;
If answerable style I can obtain
Of my celestial patroness, who deigns
Her nightly visitation unimplored,
And dictates to me slumbering, or inspires
Easy my unpremeditated verse,

Since first this subject for heroic song
Pleased me, long choosing and beginning late;
Not sedulous by nature to indite
Wars, hitherto the only argument
Heroic deemed chief mastery to dissect

With long and tedious havoc fabled knights
In battles feigned (the better fortitude
Of patience and heroic martyrdom
Unsung), or to describe races and games,
Or tilting furniture, emblazoned shields,

Impresses quaint, caparisons and steeds,
Bases and tinsel trappings, gorgeous knights
At joust and tournament; then marshalled feast
Served up in hall with sewers and seneschals;
The skill of artifice or office mean!

Not that which justly gives heroic name
To person, or to poem. Me, of these
Nor skilled nor studious, higher argument
Remains, sufficient of itself to raise
That name, unless an age too late, or cold

Climate, or years, damp my intended wing
Depressed; 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 star
Of Hesperus, whose office is to bring

Twilight upon the earth, short arbiter
'Twixt day and night; and now from end to end,
Night's hemisphere had veiled the horizon round;
When Satan, who late fled before the threats
Of Gabriel out of Eden, now improved

In meditated fraud and malice,—bent
On man's destruction, maugre what might hap
Satan chooses the Serpent.

Of heavier on himself,—fearless returned.
By night he fled, and at midnight returned
From compassing the earth; cautious of day,

60 Since Uriel, regent of the sun, descried
His entrance, and forewarned the Cherubim
That kept their watch. Thence, full of anguish, driven,
The space of seven continued nights he rode
With darkness; thrice the equinoctial line

65 He circled; four times crossed the car of Night
From pole to pole, traversing each colure;
On the eighth returned, and, on the coast averse
From entrance or cherubic watch by stealth
Found unsuspected way. There was a place,

70 Now not, though sin, not time, first wrought 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, involved in rising mist; then sought
Where to lie hid. Sea he had searched and land,
From Eden over Pontus, and the pool
Mæotis, up beyond the river Ob;
Downward as far as antarctic; and, in length,

80 West from Orontes to the Ocean barred
At Darien, thence to the land where flows
Ganges and Indus; thus the orb he roamed
With narrow search, and with inspection deep
Considered every creature, which of all

85 Most opportune might serve his wiles, and found
The serpent subtlest beast of all the field.
Him, after long debate, irresolute
Of thoughts revolved, his final sentence chose
Fit vessel, fittest imp of fraud, in whom

90 To enter, and his dark suggestions hide
From sharpest sight; for in the wily snake
Whatever sleights none would suspicious mark,
As from his wit and native subtlety
Proceeding, which, in other beasts observed,
Doubt might beget of diabolic power
Active within beyond the sense of brute.
Thus he resolved; but first from inward grief
His bursting passion into plaints thus poured:
"O Earth, how like to Heaven, if not preferred
More justly, seat worthier of Gods, as built
With second thoughts, reforming what was old!
For what God, after better, worse would build?
Terrestrial Heaven, danced round by other Heavens
That shine, yet bear their bright officious lamps,
Light above light, for thee alone, as seems,
In thee concentring all their precious beams
Of sacred influence! As God in Heaven
Is centre, yet extends to all, so thou,
Centring, receivest from all those orbs; in thee,
Not in themselves, all their known virtue appears
Productive in herb, plant, and nobler birth
Of creatures animate with gradual life,
Of growth, sense, reason, all summed up in man.
With what delight could I have walked thee round,
If I could joy in aught, sweet interchange
Of hill and valley, rivers, woods and plains,
Now land, now sea, and shores with forest crowned,
Rocks, dens, and caves. But I in none of these
Find place or refuge; and the more I see
Pleasures about me, so much more I feel
Torment within me, as from the hateful siege
Of contraries; all good to me becomes
Bane, and in Heaven much worse would be my state.
But neither here seek I, no, nor in Heaven
To dwell, unless by mastering Heaven's Supreme;
Nor hope to be myself less miserable
By what I seek, but others to make such
As I, though thereby worse to me redound;
For only in destroying I find ease

To my relentless thoughts; and, him destroyed,
Or won to what may work his utter loss,
For whom all this was made, all this will soon
Follow, as to him linked in weal or woe;
In woe then, that destruction wide may range!

To me shall be the glory sole among
The infernal Powers, in one day to have marred
What he, Almighty styled, six nights and days
Continued making, and who knows how long
Before had been contriving? though perhaps

Not longer than since I, in one night, freed
From servitude inglorious well nigh half
The angelic name, and thinner left the throng
Of his adorers. He, to be avenged,
And to repair his numbers thus impaired,

(Whether such virtue spent of old now failed
More angels to create, if they at least
Are his created, or to spite us more,)
Determined to advance into our room
A creature formed of earth, and him endow,

Exalted from so base original,
With heavenly spoils—our spoils. What he decreed,
He effected; man he made, and for him built
Magnificent this world, and earth his seat,
Him lord pronounced, and, O indignity!

Subjected to his service angel-wings,
And flaming ministers to watch and tend
Their earthy charge. Of these the vigilance
I dread; and, to elude, thus wrapt in mist
Of midnight vapour glide obscure, and pry

In every bush and brake, where hap may find
The serpent sleeping, in whose mazy folds
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 constrained
165 Into a beast, and, mixed with bestial slime,
This essence to incarnate and imbrute,
That to the height of deity aspired!
But what will not ambition and revenge
Descend to? Who aspires must down as low
170 As high he soared, obnoxious, first or last,
To basest things. Revenge, at first though sweet,
Bitter ere long, back on itself recoils;
Let it; I reck not, so it light well aimed
(Since higher I fall short) on him who next
175 Provokes my envy—this new favourite
Of Heaven—this man of clay—son of despite,
Whom, us the more to spite, his Maker raised
From dust; spite then with spite is best repaid."
So saying, through each thicket dank or dry,
180 Like a black mist low creeping, he held on
His midnight search, where soonest he might find
The serpent; him fast sleeping soon he found
In labyrinth of many a round self-rolled,
His head the midst, well stored with subtle wiles;
185 Not yet in horrid shade or dismal den,
Nor nocent yet, but, on the grassy herb,
Fearless, ungeared, he slept. In at his mouth
The Devil entered, and his brutal sense,
In heart or head, possessing, soon inspired
190 With act intelligential; but his sleep
Disturbed not, waiting close the approach of morn.
Now, whenas sacred light began to dawn
In Eden on the humid flowers, that breathed
Their morning incense, when all things that breathe
195 From the Earth's great altar send up silent praise
To the Creator, and his nostrils fill
With grateful smell, forth came the human pair,
And joined their vocal worship to the choir
Of creatures wanting voice; that done, partake

The season, prime for sweetest scents and airs;
Then commune how that day they best may ply
Their growing work; for much their work outgrew
The hands' dispatch of two, gardening so wide;
And Eve first to her husband thus began:

"Adam, well may we labour still to dress
This garden, still to tend plant, herb, and flower—
Our pleasant task enjoined; but, till more hands
Aid us, the work under our labour grows,
Luxurious by restraint; what we by day

Lop overgrown, or prune, or prop, or bind,
One night or two with wanton growth derides,
Tending to wild. Thou therefore now advise,
Or hear what to my mind first thoughts present;
Let us divide our labours; thou, where choice

Leads thee, or where most needs, whether to wind
The woodbine round this arbour, or direct
The clasping ivy where to climb; while I,
In yonder spring of roses intermixed
With myrtle, find what to redress till noon;

For, while so near each other thus all day
Our task we choose, what wonder if so near
Looks intervene and smiles, or object new
Casual discourse draw on, which intermits
Our day's work, brought to little, though begun

Early, and the hour of supper comes unearned?"

To whom mild answer Adam thus returned:
"Sole Eve, associate sole, to me beyond
Compare above all living creatures dear!
Well hast thou motioned, well thy thoughts employed

How we might best fulfil the work which here
God hath assigned us, nor of me shalt pass
Unpraised; for nothing lovelier can be found
In woman than to study household good,
And good works in her husband to promote.

Yet not so strictly hath our Lord imposed
Labour as to debar us when we need
Refreshment, whether food, or talk between—
Food of the mind—or this sweet intercourse
Of looks and smiles; for smiles from reason flow,

To brute denied, and are of love the food—
Love, not the lowest end of human life.
For not to irksome toil, but to delight,
He made us, and delight to reason joined.
These paths and bowers doubt not but our joint hands

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 sometimes is best society,

And short retirement urges sweet return.
But other doubt possesses me, lest harm
Befall thee severed from me; for thou know'st
What hath been warned us, what malicious foe,
Envying our happiness, and of his own

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 joined, where each

To other speedy aid might lend at need;
Whether his first design be to withdraw
Our fealty from God, or to disturb
Conjugal love, than which perhaps no bliss
Enjoyed by us excites his envy more;

Or this, or worse, leave not the faithful side
That gave thee being, still shades thee and protects.
The wife, where danger or dishonour lurks,
Safest and seemliest by her husband stays,
Who guards her, or with her the worst endures."

270 To whom the virgin majesty of Eve,
As one who loves, and some unkindness meets,
With sweet austere composure thus replied:
"Offspring of Heaven and Earth, and all Earth's Lord!
That such an enemy we have, who seeks

275 Our ruin, both by thee informed I learn,
And from the parting Angel overheard,
As in a shady nook I stood behind,
Just then returned at shut of evening flowers.
But that thou shouldst my firmness therefore 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 we, not capable of death or pain,
Can either not receive, or can repel.

285 His fraud is then thy fear, which plain infers
Thy equal fear that my firm faith and love
Can by his fraud be shaken or seduced;
Thoughts, which how found they harbour in thy breast,
Adam, misthought of her to thee so dear?"

290 To whom with healing words Adam replied:
"Daughter of God and man, immortal Eve!
For such thou art, from sin and blame entire;
Not diffident of thee do I dissuade
Thy absence from my sight, but to avoid

295 The attempt itself, intended by our foe.
For he who tempts, though in vain, at least asperses
The tempted with dishonour foul, supposed
Not incorruptible of faith, not proof
Against temptation; thou thyself with scorn

300 And anger wouldst resent the offered wrong,
Though ineffectual found; misdeem not, then,
If such affront I labour to avert
From thee alone, which on us both at once
The enemy, though bold, will hardly dare,

305 Or daring, first on me the assault shall light.
Nor thou his malice and false guile contemn,—
Subtle he needs must be, who could seduce
Angels,—nor think superfluous others' aid.
I, from the influence of thy looks, receive

310 Access in every virtue, in thy sight
More wise, more watchful, stronger, if need were
Of outward strength; while shame, thou looking on,
Shame to be overcome or overreached,
Would utmost vigour raise, and raised 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 virtue tried?"

So spake domestic Adam, in his care
And matrimonial love; but Eve, who thought

320 Less attributed to her faith sincere,
Thus her reply with accent sweet renewed:
"If this be our condition, thus to dwell
In narrow circuit, straitened by a foe,
Subtle or violent, we not endued

325 Single with like defence wherever met,
How are we happy, still in fear of harm?
But harm precedes not sin; only our foe,
Tempting, affronts us with his foul esteem
Of our integrity; his foul esteem

330 Sticks no dishonour on our front, but turns
Foul on himself; then wherefore shunned or feared
By us? who rather double honour gain
From his surmise proved false, find peace within,
Favour from Heaven, our witness, from the event.

335 And what is faith, love, virtue, unassayed
Alone, without exterior help sustained?
Let us not then suspect our happy state
Left so imperfect by the Maker wise,
As not secure to single or combined.

340 Frail is our happiness, if this be so;
And Eden were no Eden, thus exposed.”

To whom thus Adam fervently replied:
“O woman! best are all things as the will
Of God ordained them; his creating hand

345 Nothing imperfect or deficient left
Of all that he created, much less man,
Or aught that might his happy state secure,
Secure from outward force; within himself
The danger lies, yet lies within his power;

350 Against his will he can receive no harm.
But God left free the will; for what obeys
Reason is free; and Reason he made right,
But bid her well be ware, and still erect,
Lest by some fair-appearing good surprised,

355 She dictate false, and misinform the will
To do what God expressly hath forbid.
Not then mistrust, but tender love, enjoins
That I should mind thee oft; and mind thou me.
Firm we subsist, yet possible to swerve;

360 Since Reason not impossibly may meet
Some specious object by the foe suborned,
And fall into deception unaware,
Not keeping strictest watch, as she was warned.
Seek not temptation, then, which to avoid

365 Were better, and most likely if from me
Thou sever not; trial will come unsought.
Wouldst thou approve thy constancy, approve
First thy obedience; the other who can know,
Not seeing thee attempted? who attest?

370 But, if thou think trial unsought may find
Us both secureer than thus warned thou seem'st,
Go; for thy stay, not free, absents thee more.
Go in thy native innocence, rely
On what thou hast of virtue; summon all;
For God towards thee hath done his part; do thine."
So spake the patriarch of mankind; but Eve
Persisted; yet submiss, though last, replied:
"With thy permission, then, and thus forewarned,
Chiefly by what thy own last reasoning words
Touched only, that our trial, when least sought,
May find us both perhaps far less prepared,
The willinger I go, nor much expect
A foe so proud will first the weaker seek;
So bent, the more shall shame him his repulse."
Thus saying, from her husband's hand her hand
Soft she withdrew, and like a Wood-nymph light,
Oread or Dryad, or of Delia's train,
Betook her to the groves, but Delia's self
In gait surpassed and goddess-like deport,
Though not, as she, with bow and quiver armed,
But with such gardening tools as art, yet rude,
Guiltless of fire, had formed, or angels brought.
To Pales, or Pomona, thus adorned,
Likest she seemed—Pomona, when she fled
Vertumnus—or to Ceres in her prime,
Yet virgin of Proserpina from Jove.
Her long with ardent look his eye pursued
Delighted, but desiring more her stay.
Oft he to her his charge of quick return
Repeated; she to him as oft engaged
To be returned by noon amid the bower,
And all things in best order to invite
Noontide repast, or afternoon's repose.
O, much deceived, much failing, hapless Eve,
Of thy presumed return! event perverse!
Thou never from that hour in Paradise
Found'st either sweet repast, or sound repose;
Such ambush, hid among sweet flowers and shades,
Waited with hellish rancour imminent
To intercept thy way, or send thee back
Despoiled of innocence, of faith, of bliss.
For now, and since first break of dawn, the Fiend,
Mere serpent in appearance, forth was come,
And on his quest, where likeliest he might find
The only two of mankind, but in them
The whole included race, his purposed prey.
In bower and field he sought, where any tuft
Of grove or garden-plot more pleasant lay,
Their tendance or plantation for delight;
By fountain or by shady rivulet
He sought them both, but wished his hap might find
Eve separate; he wished, but not with hope
Of what so seldom chanced; when to his wish,
Beyond his hope, Eve separate he spies,
Veiled in a cloud of fragrance, where she stood,
Half spied, so thick the roses bushing round
About her glowed, oft stooping to support
Each flower of tender stalk, whose head, though gay
Carnation, purple, azure, or specked with gold,
Hung drooping unsustained; them she upstays
Gently with myrtle band, mindless the while
Herself, though fairest unsupported flower,
From her best prop so far, and storm so nigh.
Nearer he drew, and many a walk traversed
Of stateliest covert, cedar, pine, or palm;
Then voluble and bold, now hid, now seen,
Among thick-woven arborets, and flowers
Imbordered on each bank, the hand of Eve;
Spot more delicious than those gardens feigned,
Or of revived Adonis, or renowned
Alcinous, host of old Laërtes' son,
Or that, not mystic, where the sapient king
Held dalliance with his fair Egyptian spouse.
Much he the place admired, the person more.

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

450 The smell of grain, or tedded grass, or kine,
Or dairy, each rural sight, each rural sound;
If chance, with nymph-like step, fair virgin pass,
What pleasing seemed for her now pleases more;
She most, and in her look sums all delight;

455 Such pleasure took the Serpent to behold
This flowery plat, the sweet recess of Eve
Thus early, thus alone. Her heavenly form
Angelic, but more soft and feminine,
Her graceful innocence, her every air

460 Of gesture or least action, overawed
His malice, and with rapine sweet bereaved
His fierceness of the fierce intent it brought.
That space the Evil One abstracted stood
From his own evil, and for the time remained

465 Stupidly good, of enmity disarmed,
Of guile, of hate, of envy, of revenge.
But the hot hell that always in him burns,
Though in mid Heaven, soon ended his delight,
And tortures him now more, the more he sees

470 Of pleasure not for him ordained; then soon
Fierce hate he re-collects, and all his thoughts
Of mischief, gratulating, thus excites:
"Thoughts, whither have ye led me? with what sweet
Compulsion thus transported to forget"

475 What hither brought us! hate, not love, nor hope
Of Paradise for Hell, hope here to taste
The Serpent approaches Eve.

Of pleasure, but all pleasure to destroy,
Save what is in destroying; other joy
To me is lost. Then, let me not let pass
Occasion which now smiles. Behold alone
The woman, opportune to all attempts,
Her husband (for I view far round) not nigh,
Whose higher intellectual more I shun,
And strength, of courage haughty, and of limb
Foe not formidable, exempt from wound,
I not; so much hath Hell debased, and pain
Ensteeled me, to what I was in Heaven.
She fair, divinely fair, fit love for Gods,
Not terrible, though terror be in love
And beauty, not approached by stronger hate,
Hate stronger, under show of love well feigned,
The way which to her ruin now I tend."
So spake the Enemy of mankind, enclosed
In serpent, inmate bad, and toward Eve
Addressed his way, not with indented wave,
Prone on the ground, as since, but on his rear,
Circular base of rising folds, that towered
Fold above fold, a surging maze, his head
Crested aloft, and carbuncle his eyes;
With burnished neck of verdant gold, erect
Amidst his circling spires, that on the grass
Floated redundant. Pleasing was his shape
And lovely; never since of serpent kind
Lovelier; not those that in Illyria changed
Hermione and Cadmus, or the god
In Epidaurus; nor to which transformed
Ammonian Jove, or Capitoline, was seen,
He with Olympias; this with her who bore
Scipio, the height of Rome. With tract oblique
At first, as one who sought access but feared
To interrupt, sidelong he works his way.
As when a ship, by skilful steersman wroght
Nigh river's mouth or foreland, where the wind
515 Veers oft, as oft so steers, and shifts her sail;
So varied he, and of his tortuous train
Curled many a wanton wreath in sight of Eve,
To lure her eye. She, busied, heard the sound
Of rustling leaves, but minded not, as used
520 To such disport before her through the field,
From every beast, more duteous at her call,
Than at Circean call the herd disguised.
He, bolder now, uncalled before her stood,
But as in gaze admiring. Oft he bowed
525 His turret crest and sleek enamelled neck,
Fawning, and licked the ground whereon she trod.
His gentle dumb expression turned at length
The eye of Eve to mark his play; he, glad
Of her attention gained, with serpent tongue
530 Organic, or impulse of vocal air,
His fraudulent temptation thus began:
"Wonder not, sovran mistress, (if perhaps
Thou canst who art sole wonder,) much less arm
Thy looks, the heaven of mildness, with disdain,
535 Displeased that I approach thee thus, and gaze
Insatiate, I thus single, nor have feared
Thy awful brow, more awful thus retired.
Fairest resemblance of thy Maker fair,
Thee all things living gaze on, all things thine
540 By gift, and thy celestial beauty adore
With ravishment beheld—there best beheld,
Where universally admired. But here
In this enclosure wild, these beasts among,
Beholders rude, and shallow to discern
545 Half what in thee is fair, one man except,
Who sees thee? (and what is one?) who shouldst be seen
A Goddess among Gods, adored and served
By Angels numberless, thy daily train."
So glozed the Tempter, and his poem tuned.

550 Into the heart of Eve his words made way,
Though at the voice much marvelling; at length,
Not unamazed, she thus in answer spake:
"What may this mean? Language of man pronounced
By tongue of brute, and human sense expressed!

555 The first at least of these I thought denied
To beasts, whom God on their creation-day
Created mute to all articulate sound;
The latter I demur, for in their looks
Much reason, and in their actions, oft appears.

560 Thee, Serpent, subtlest beast of all the field
I knew, but not with human voice endued.
Redouble then this miracle, and say,
How camest thou speakable of mute, and how
To me so friendly grown above the rest

565 Of brutal kind that daily are in sight?
Say, for such wonder claims attention due."
To whom the guileful Tempter thus replied:
"Empress of this fair world, resplendent Eve!
Easy to me it is to tell thee all

570 What thou command'st, and right thou shouldst be obeyed.
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 discerned
Or sex, and apprehended nothing high;

575 Till on a day, roving the field, I chanced
A goodly tree far, distant to behold
Loaden with fruit of fairest colours mixed,
Ruddy and gold. I nearer drew to gaze;
When from the boughs a savoury odour blown,

580 Grateful to appetite, more pleased my sense
Than smell of sweetest fennel, or the teats
Of ewe or goat dropping with milk at even,
Unsuckèd of lamb or kid, that tend their play.
To satisfy the sharp desire I had
585 Of tasting those fair apples, I resolved
   Not to defer; hunger and thirst at once,
   Powerful persuaders, quickened at the scent
   Of that alluring fruit, urged me so keen.
   About the mossy trunk I wound me soon,
590 For, high from ground, the branches would require
   Thy utmost reach, or Adam’s. 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 spared not, for such pleasure, till that hour,
   At feed or fountain never had I found.
   Sated at length, ere long I might perceive
   Strange alteration in me, to degree
600 Of reason in my inward powers, and speech
   Wanted not long, though to this shape retained.
   Thenceforth to speculations high or deep
   I turned my thoughts, and with capacious mind
   Considered all things visible in heaven,
605 Or earth, or middle, all things fair and good;
   But all that fair and good in thy divine
   Semblance, and in thy beauty’s heavenly ray,
   United I beheld; no fair to thine
   Equivalent or second, which compelled
610 Me thus, though importune perhaps, to come
   And gaze, and worship thee of right declared
   Sovran of creatures, universal Dame!”
   So talked the spirited sly Snake; and Eve,
   Yet more amazed, unwary thus replied:
615  “Serpent, thy overpraising leaves in doubt
The virtue of that fruit, in thee first proved.  
But say, where grows the tree? from hence how far?  
For many are the trees of God that grow  
In Paradise, and various, yet unknown  
620 To us, in such abundance lies our choice,  
As leaves a greater store of fruit untouched,  
Still hanging incorruptible, till men  
Grow up to their provision, and more hands  
Help to disburden Nature of her bearth.”  
625 To whom the wily Adder, blithe and glad:  
"Empress, the way is ready, and not long;  
Beyond a row of myrtles, on a flat,  
Fast by a fountain, one small thicket past  
Of blowing myrrh and balm. If thou accept  
630 My conduct, I can bring thee thither soon.”  
"Lead then," said Eve. He, leading, swiftly rolled  
In tangles, and made intricate seem straight,  
To mischief swift. Hope elevates, and joy  
Brightens his crest. As when a wandering fire  
635 Compact of unctuous vapour, which the night  
Condenses, and the cold environs round,  
Kindled through agitation to a flame  
(Which oft, they say, some evil spirit attends),  
Hovering and blazing with delusive light,  
640 Misleads the amazed night-wanderer from his way  
To bogs and mires, and oft through pond or pool,  
There swallowed up and lost, from succour far;  
So glistered the dire Snake, and into fraud  
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 spared our coming hither,  
Fruitless to me, though fruit be here to excess,  
The credit of whose virtue rest with thee;  
650 Wondrous, indeed, if cause of such effects!
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 ourselves; our Reason is our law."

To whom the Tempter guilefully replied:
"Indeed? hath God then said that of the fruit
Of all these garden trees ye shall not eat,
Yet lords declared of all in earth or air?"

To whom thus Eve yet sinless: "Of the fruit
Of each tree in the garden we may eat,
But of the fruit of this fair tree amidst
The garden, God hath said, 'Ye shall not eat
Thereof, nor shall ye touch it, lest ye die.'"

She scarce had said, though brief, when now, more bold

The Tempter, but with show of zeal and love
To man, and indignation at his wrong,
New part puts on, and, as to passion moved,
Fluctuates disturbed, yet comely, and in act
Raised, as of some great matter to begin.

As when of old some orator renowned
In Athens or free Rome, where eloquence
Flourished, since mute, to some great cause addressed,
Stood in himself collected, while each part,
Motion, each act, won audience ere the tongue,

Sometimes in height began, as no delay
Of preface brooking through his zeal of right.
So standing, moving, or to height upgrown,
The Tempter, all impassioned, thus began:
"O sacred, wise, and wisdom-giving Plant,

Mother of science! now I feel thy power
Within me clear, not only to discern
Things in their causes, but to trace the ways
Of highest agents, deemed however wise.
Queen of this Universe! do not believe
685 Those rigid threats of death; ye shall not die.
   How should ye? By the fruit? it gives you life
   To knowledge. By the Threatener? look on me,
   Me who have touched and tasted, yet both live,
   And life more perfect have attained than Fate
690 Meant me, by venturing higher than my lot.
   Shall that be shut to man which to the beast
   Is open? or will God incense his ire
   For such a petty trespass, and not praise
   Rather your dauntless virtue, whom the pain
695 Of death denounced, whatever thing death be,
   Deterred not from achieving what might lead
   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 shunned?
700 God, therefore, cannot hurt ye, and be just;
   Not just, not God; not feared then, nor obeyed;
   Your fear itself of death removes the fear.
   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 eat thereof your eyes that seem so clear,
   Yet are but dim, shall perfectly be then
   Opened and cleared, 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;
   I, of brute, human; ye, of human, Gods.
   So ye shall die perhaps, by putting off
   Human, to put on Gods, death to be wished,
715 Though threatened, which no worse than this can bring!
   And what are Gods that man may not become
   As they, participating godlike food?
   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,
Warmèd by the sun, producing every kind,
Them nothing. If they all things, who enclosed
Knowledge of good and evil in this tree,
That whoso eats thereof forthwith attains
725 Wisdom without their leave? and wherein lies
The 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 envy? and can envy dwell
730 In heavenly breasts? These, these and many more
Causes import your need of this fair fruit.
Goddess humane, reach then, and freely taste.”
He ended; and his words, replete with guile,
Into her heart too easy entrance won.
735 Fixed on the fruit she gazed, which to behold
Might tempt alone, and in her ears the sound
Yet rung of his persuasive words, impregned
With reason, to her seeming, and with truth.
Meanwhile the hour of noon drew on, and waked
740 An eager appetite, raised by the smell
So savoury of that fruit, which with desire,
Inclinable now grown to touch or taste,
Solicited her longing eye; yet first,
Pausing awhile, thus to herself she mused:
745 “Great are thy virtues, doubtless, best of fruits,
Though kept from man, and worthy to be admired,
Whose taste, too long forborne, at first assay
Gave elocution to the mute, and taught
The tongue not made for speech to speak thy praise.
750 Thy praise he also who forbids thy use
Conceals 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 infers the good
755 By thee communicated, and our want;
For good unknown sure is not had, or, had
And yet unknown, is as not had at all.
In plain, then, what forbids he but to know,
Forbids us good, forbids us to be wise?

760 Such prohibitions bind not. But if death
Bind us with after-bands, what profits then
Our inward freedom? In the day we eat
Of this fair fruit, our doom is, we shall die.
How dies the Serpent? he hath eaten and lives,

765 And knows, and speaks, and reasons, and discerns,
Irrational till then. For us alone
Was death invented? or to us denied
This intellectual food, for beasts reserved?
For beasts it seems; yet that one beast which first

770 Hath tasted envies not, but brings with joy
The good befallen him, author unsuspect,
Friendly to man, far from deceit or guile.
What fear I then? rather, what know to fear
Under this ignorance of good or evil,

775 Of God or death, of law or penalty?
Here grows the cure of all, this fruit divine,
Fair to the eye, inviting to the taste,
Of virtue to make wise. What hinders then
To reach, and feed at once both body and mind?"

780 So saying, her rash hand, in evil hour,
Forth reaching to the fruit, she plucked, she eat;
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 guilty Serpent, and well might, for Eve,
Intent now wholly on her taste, nought else
Regarded, such delight till then, as seemed,
In fruit she never tasted, whether true,
Or fancied so through expectation high
Of knowledge, nor was Godhead from her thought.
Greedily she engorged without restraint,
And knew not eating death. Satiate at length,
And heightened as with wine, jocund and boon,
Thus to herself she pleasingly began:

"O sovran, virtuous, precious of all trees
In Paradise! of operation blest
To sapience, hitherto obscured, infamed,
And thy fair fruit let hang, as to no end
Created; but henceforth my early care,

Not without song, each morning, and due praise,
Shall tend thee, and the fertile burden ease
Of thy full branches offered free to all;
Till, dieted by thee, I grow mature
In knowledge, as the Gods who all things know;

Though others envy what they cannot give,
For, had the gift been theirs, it had not here
Thus grown. Experience, next, to thee I owe,
Best guide; not following thee, I had remained
In ignorance; thou open'st Wisdom's way

And givest access, though secret she retire.
And I perhaps am secret; Heaven is high,
High, and remote to see from thence distinct
Each thing on earth; and other care, perhaps,
May have diverted from continual watch

Our great Forbidder, safe with all his spies
About him. But to Adam in what sort
Shall I appear? Shall I to him make known
As yet my change, and give him to partake
Full happiness with me, or rather not,

But keep the odds of knowledge in my power
Without copartner? so to add what wants
In female sex, the more to draw his love,
And render me more equal, and perhaps,
A thing not undesirable, 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! Confirmed 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 turned;
835 But first low reverence done, as to the Power
That dwelt within, whose presence had infused
Into the plant sciential sap, derived
From nectar, drink of Gods. Adam the while,
Waiting desirous her return, had wove
840 Of choicest flowers a garland, to adorn
Her tresses, and her rural labours crown,
As reapers oft are wont their harvest queen.
Great joy he promised to his thoughts, and new
Solace in her return, so long delayed.
845 Yet oft his heart, divine of something ill,
Misgave him; he the faltering measure felt;
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 downy smiled,
New gathered, and ambrosial smell diffused.
To him she hasted; in her face excuse
Came prologue, and apology to prompt,
855 Which, with bland words at will, she thus addressed:
“Hast thou not wondered, Adam, at my stay?
Thee I have missed, and thought it long, deprived
Thy presence, agony of love till now
Not felt, nor shall be twice, for never more
Mean I to try, what rash untried I sought,
The pain of absence from thy sight. But strange
Hath been the cause, and wonderful to hear.
This Tree is not, as we are told, a tree
Of danger tasted, nor to evil unknown

Opening the way, but of divine effect
To open eyes, and make them Gods who taste;
And hath been tasted such. The Serpent wise,
Or not restrained as we, or not obeying,
Hath eaten of the fruit, and is become,

Not dead, as we are threatened, but thenceforth
Endued with human voice and human sense,
Reasoning to admiration, and with me
Persuasively hath so prevailed that I
Have also tasted, and have also found

The effects to correspond, opener mine eyes,
Dim erst, dilated spirits, ampler heart,
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;

Tedious, unshared with thee, and odious soon.
Thou therefore also taste, that equal lot
May join us, equal joy, as equal love;
Lest, thou not tasting, different degree
Disjoin us, and I then too late renounce

Deity for thee, when fate will not permit."
Thus Eve, with countenance blithe, her story
told;
But in her cheek distemper flushing glowed.
On the other side, Adam, soon as he heard
The fatal trespass done by Eve, amazed,

Astonied stood and blank, while horror chill
Ran through his veins, and all his joints relaxed;
From his slack hand the garland wreathed for Eve
Down dropt, and all the faded roses shed;
Speechless he stood and pale, till thus, at length,
895 First to himself he inward silence broke:
    "O fairest of creation, last and best
Of all God's works, creature in whom excelled
Whatever can to sight or thought be formed,
Holy, divine, good, amiable, or sweet!
900 How art thou lost, how on a sudden lost,
    Defaced, deflowered, and now to death devote?
Rather, how hast thou yielded to transgress
The strict forbiddance, how to violate
The sacred fruit forbidden? Some cursed fraud
905 Of enemy hath beguiled thee, yet unknown,
    And me with thee hath ruined, for with thee
Certain my resolution is to die.
    How can I live without thee? how forgo
Thy sweet converse, and love so dearly joined,
910 To live again in these wild 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 disturbed,
Submitting to what seemed remediless,
920 Thus in calm mood his words to Eve he turned:
    "Bold deed thou hast presumed, adventurous Eve,
And peril great provoked, who thus hast dared
Had it been only coveting to eye
That sacred fruit, sacred to abstinence,
925 Much more to taste it, under ban to touch.
But past who can recall, or done undo?
Not God omnipotent, nor Fate! Yet so
Perhaps thou shalt not die; perhaps the fact
Is not so heinous now, foretasted fruit,
930 Profaned first by the Serpent, by him first
Made common and unhallowed ere our taste;
Nor yet on him found deadly, he yet lives,
Lives, as thou saidst, and gains to live, as man,
Higher degree of life, inducement strong
935 To us, as likely, tasting, to attain
Proportional ascent; which cannot be
But to be Gods, or Angels, Demigods.
Nor can I think that God, Creator wise,
Though threatening, will in earnest so destroy
940 Us his prime creatures, dignified so high,
Set over all his works, which, in our fall,
For us created, needs with us must fail,
Dependent made; so God shall uncreate,
Be frustrate, do, undo, and labour lose;
945 Not well conceived of God, who, though his power
Creation could repeat, yet would be loth
Us to abolish, lest the Adversary
Triumph, and say, 'Fickle their state whom God
Most favours! who can please him long? Me first
950 He ruined, now mankind; whom will he next?'
Matter of scorn, not to be given the Foe.
However, I with thee have fixed my lot,
Certain to undergo like doom; if death
Consort with thee, death is to me as life;
955 So forcible within my heart I feel
The bond of nature draw me to my own,
My own in thee, for what thou art is mine;
Our state cannot be severed, we are one,
One flesh; to lose thee were to lose myself."
960 So Adam; and thus Eve to him replied:
"O glorious trial of exceeding love,
Illustrious evidence, example high!
Engaging me to emulate; but, short
Of thy perfection, how shall I attain,
965 Adam? from whose dear side I boast me sprung,
And gladly of our union hear thee speak,
One heart, one soul in both; whereof good proof
This day affords, declaring thee resolved,
Rather than death, or aught than death more dread,
970 Shall separate us, linked in love so dear,
To undergo with me one guilt, one crime,
If any be, of tasting this fair fruit;
Whose virtue (for of good still good proceeds,
Direct, or by occasion) hath presented
975 This happy trial of thy love, which else
So eminently never had been known.
Were it I thought death menaced would ensue
This my attempt, I would sustain alone
The worst, and not persuade thee,—rather die
980 Deserted than oblige thee with a fact
Pernicious to thy peace, chiefly assured
Remarkably so late of thy so true,
So faithful, love unequalled; but I feel
Far otherwise the event; not death, but life
985 Augmented, opened eyes, new hopes, new joys,
Taste so divine, that what of sweet before
Hath touched my sense flat seems to this and harsh.
On my experience, Adam, freely taste,
And fear of death deliver to the winds."
990 So saying, she embraced him, and for joy
Tenderly wept, much won that he his love
Had so ennobled, as of choice to incur
Divine displeasure for her sake, or death.
In recompense (for such compliance bad
995 Such recompense best merits), from the bough
She gave him of that fair enticing fruit
With liberal hand; he scrupled not to eat,
Against his better knowledge, not deceived,
But fondly overcome with female charm.

Earth trembled from her entrails, as again
In pangs, and Nature gave a second groan,
Sky loured, and, muttering thunder, some sad drops
Wept at completing of the mortal sin
Original; while Adam took no thought,

Eating his fill, nor Eve to iterate
Her former trespass feared, the more to soothe
Him with her loved society; that now,
As with new wine intoxicated both,
They swim in mirth, and fancy that they feel

Divinity within them breeding wings
Wherewith to scorn the earth. But that false fruit
Far other operation first displayed,
Carnal desire inflaming; he on Eve
Began to cast lascivious eyes; she him

As wantonly repaid; in lust they burn;
Till Adam thus gan Eve to dalliance move:
"Eve, now I see thou art exact of taste
And elegant, of sapience no small part,
Since to each meaning savour we apply,

And palate call judicious. I the praise
Yield thee, so well this day thou hast purveyed.
Much pleasure we have lost, while we abstained
From this delightful fruit, nor known till now
True relish, tasting; if such pleasure be

In things to us forbidden, it might be wished
For this one tree had been forbidden ten.
But come, so well refreshed, now let us play,
As meet is, after such delicious fare;
For never did thy beauty, since the day

I saw thee first and wedded thee, adorned
With all perfections, so inflame my sense
With ardour to enjoy thee, fairer now
Than ever, bounty of this virtuous tree!"
So said he, and forbore not glance or toy
Of amorous intent, well understood
Of Eve, whose eye darted contagious fire.
Her hand he seized, and to a shady bank,
Thick overhead with verdant roof embowered,
He led her nothing loth; flowers were the couch,
Pansies, and violets, and asphodel,
And hyacinth,—earth’s freshest, softest lap.
There they their fill of love and love’s disport
Took largely, of their mutual guilt the seal,
The solace of their sin, till dewy sleep
Oppressed them, wearied with their amorous play.
Soon as the force of that fallacious fruit,
That with exhilarating vapour bland
About their spirits had played, and inmost powers
Made err, was now exhaled, and grosser sleep,
Bred of unkindly fumes, with conscious dreams
Encumbered, now had left them, up they rose
As from unrest, and, each the other viewing,
Soon found their eyes how opened, and their minds
How darkened. Innocence, that, as a veil,
Had shadowed them from knowing ill, was gone;
Just confidence, and native righteousness,
And honour, from about them, naked left
To guilty Shame; he covered, but his robe
Uncovered more. So rose the Danite strong,
Herculean Samson, from the harlot-lap
Of Philistine Dalilah, and waked
Shorn of his strength; they, destitute and bare
Of all their virtue. Silent, and in face
Confounded, long they sat, as strucken mute;
Till Adam, though not less than Eve abashed,
At length gave utterance to these words constrained:
"O Eve, in evil hour thou didst give ear
To that false worm, of whomsoever taught
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| 1070 | False in our promised rising; since our eyes 
|      | Opened 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 purity, 
|      | Our wonted ornaments now soiled and stained, 
|      | And in our faces evident the signs 
|      | 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, erst with joy 
|      | And rapture so oft beheld? Those heavenly shapes 
|      | Will dazzle now this earthly with their blaze 
|      | Insufferably bright. Oh might I here |
| 1085 | In solitude live savage, in some glade 
|      | Obscured, where highest woods, impenetrable 
|      | To star or sunlight, spread their umbrage broad, 
|      | 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, and unseemliest seen, |
| 1095 | Some tree, whose broad smooth leaves together sewed, 
|      | And girded on our loins, may cover round 
|      | Those middle parts, that this new comer, Shame, 
|      | There sit not, and reproach us as unclean." 
|      | So counselled he, and both together went |
| 1100 | Into the thickest wood; there soon they chose 
|      | The fig-tree, not that kind for fruit renowned, 
|      | But such as, at this day, to Indians known,
In Malabar or Deccan, spreads her arms
Branching so broad and long that in the ground

1105 The bended twigs take root, and daughters grow
About the mother tree, a pillared shade
High overarched, and echoing walks between;
There oft the Indian herdsman, shunning heat,
Shelters in cool, and tends his pasturing herds

1110 At loop-holes cut through thickest shade. Those
leaves
They gathered, broad as Amazonian targe,
And, with what skill they had, together sewed,
To gird their waist; vain covering, if to hide
Their guilt and dreaded shame! Oh how unlike

1115 To that first naked glory! Such of late
Columbus found the American so girt
With feathered cincture, naked else and wild
Among the trees on isles and woody shores.
Thus fenced, and, as they thought, their shame in part

1120 Covered, but not at rest or ease of mind,
They sat them down to weep; nor only tears
Rained at their eyes, but high winds worse within
Began to rise, high passions, anger, hate,
Mistrust, suspicion, discord, and shook sore

1125 Their inward state of mind, calm region once
And full of peace, now tost and turbulent;
For Understanding ruled not, and the Will
Heard not her lore, both in subjection now
To sensual Appetite, who, from beneath

1130 Usurping over sovran Reason, claimed
Superior sway. From thus distempered breast,
Adam, estranged in look and altered style,
Speech intermitted thus to Eve renewed:
"Would thou hadst hearkened to my words, and
stayed"

1135 With me, as I besought thee, when that strange
Desire of wandering, this unhappy morn,
I know not whence possessed thee! we had then
Remained still happy, not, as now, despoiled
Of all our good—shamed, naked, miserable!

1140 Let none henceforth seek needless cause to approve
The faith they owe; when earnestly they seek
Such proof, conclude they then begin to fail."

To whom, soon moved with touch of blame, thus
Eve:

“What words have passed thy lips, Adam severe?

1145 Imputest thou that to my default or will
Of wandering, as thou call’st it, which who knows
But might as ill have happened thou being by,
Or to thyself perhaps? Hadst thou been there,
Or here the attempt, thou couldst not have discerned

1150 Fraud in the Serpent, speaking as he spake;
No ground of enmity between us known,
Why he should mean me ill or seek to harm.
Was I to have never parted from thy side?
As good have grown there still a lifeless 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 facile then, thou didst not much gainsay,
Nay, didst permit, approve, and fair dismiss.

1160 Hadst thou been firm and fixed in thy dissent,
Neither had I transgressed, nor thou with me.”

To whom, then first incensed, Adam replied:

“Is this the love, is this the recompense
Of mine to thee, ingrateful Eve, expressed

1165 Immutable, when thou wert lost, not I,
Who might have lived, and joyed immortal bliss,
Yet willingly chose rather death with thee?
And am I now upbraided as the cause
Of thy transgressing? not enough severe,
It seems, in thy restraint. What could I more?
I warned thee, I admonished thee, foretold
The danger and the lurking enemy
That lay in wait; beyond this had been force,
And force upon free will hath here no place.

But confidence then bore thee on, secure
Either to meet no danger, or to find
Matter of glorious trial; and perhaps
I also erred in overmuch admiring
What seemed in thee so perfect, that I thought

No evil durst attempt thee; but I rue
That error now, which is become my crime,
And thou the accuser. Thus it shall befall
Him who to worth in women overtrusting
Lets her will rule; restraint she will not brook;

And, left to herself, if evil thence ensue,
She first his weak indulgence will accuse.”
Thus they in mutual accusation spent
The fruitless hours, but neither self-condemning;
And of their vain contest appeared no end.
THE ARGUMENT.

Man’s transgression known, the guardian Angels forsake Paradise, and return up to Heaven to approve their vigilance, and are approved; 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 clothes them both, and re-ascends. Sin and Death, sitting till then at the gates of Hell, by wondrous sympathy feeling the success of Satan in this new world, and the sin by man there committed, resolve to sit no longer confined in Hell, but to follow Satan, their 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 Satan first made; then, preparing for earth, they meet him, proud of his success, returning to Hell; their 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, transformed with himself also suddenly into serpents, according to his doom given in Paradise; then, deluded with a show of the 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 foretells 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 fallen condition, heavily bewails; rejects the condolence of Eve; she persists, and at length appeases him; then, to evade the curse likely to fall on their offspring, proposes to Adam violent ways, which he approves not, but conceiving better hope, puts her in mind of the late promise made them, that her seed should be revenged on the Serpent, and exhorts her, with him, to seek peace with the offended Deity by repentance and supplication.
MEANWHILE the heinous and despiteful act
Of Satan done in Paradise, and how
He in the serpent had perverted Eve,
Her husband she, to taste the fatal fruit,

Was known in Heaven; for what can scarce the eye
Of God all-seeing, or deceive his heart
Omniscient? who, in all things wise and just,
Hindered not Satan to attempt the mind
Of Man, with strength entire, and free will armed,

Complete to have discovered and repulsed
Whatever wiles of foe or seeming friend.
For still they knew, and ought to have still remembered,
The high injunction not to taste that fruit,
Whoever tempted; which they not obeying

Incurred (what could they less?) the penalty,
And, manifold in sin, deserved to fall.

Up into Heaven, from Paradise, in haste
The angelic guards ascended, mute and sad
For Man; for of his state by this they knew,

Much wondering how the subtle Fiend had stolen
Entrance unseen. Soon as the unwelcome news
From earth arrived at Heaven-gate, displeased
All were who heard; dim sadness did not spare
That time celestial visages, yet, mixed
25 With pity, violated not their bliss.
About the new-arrived, in multitudes,
The ethereal people ran, to hear and know
How all befell. They towards the throne supreme,
Accountable, made haste, to make appear,
30 With righteous plea, their utmost vigilance,
And easily approved; when the Most High
Eternal Father, from his secret cloud
Amidst, in thunder uttered thus his voice:
“Assembled Angels, and ye Powers returned
35 From unsuccessful charge, be not dismayed,
Nor troubled 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 crossed the gulf from Hell.
40 I told ye then he should prevail and speed
On his bad errand, man should be seduced
And flattered out of all, believing lies
Against his Maker; no decree of mine
Concurring to necessitate his fall,
45 Or touch with lightest moment of impulse
His free Will, to her own inclining left
In even scale. But fallen he is; and now
What rests, but that the mortal sentence pass
On his transgression, death denounced that day?
50 Which he presumes already vain and void,
Because not yet inflicted, as he feared,
By some immediate stroke; but soon shall find
Forbearance no acquaintance ere day end.
Justice shall not return, as bounty, scorned.
55 But whom send I to judge them? Whom but thee,
Vicegerent Son? To thee I have transferred
The Son descends to Judge.

All judgment, whether in Heaven, or Earth, or Hell.
Easy it may be seen that I intend
Mercy colleague with justice, sending thee,
60 Man's friend, his Mediator, his designed
Both ransom and Redeemer voluntary,
And destined Man himself to judge Man fallen."
So spake the Father; and, unfolding bright
Toward the right hand his glory, on the Son
65 Blazed forth unclouded Deity; he full
Resplendent all his Father manifest
Expressed, and thus divinely answered mild:
"Father Eternal, thine is to decree;
Mine both in Heaven and Earth to do thy will
70 Supreme, that thou in me, thy Son beloved,
May'st ever rest well pleased. I go to judge
On earth these thy transgressors; but thou know'st,
Whoever judged, the worst on me must light,
When time shall be; for so I undertook
75 Before thee, and, not repenting, this obtain
Of right, that I may mitigate their doom
On me derived; yet I shall temper so
Justice with mercy, as may illustrate most
Them fully satisfied, and thee appease.
80 Attendance none shall need, nor train, where none
Are to behold the judgment but the judged,
Those two; the third best absent is condemned,
Convict by flight, and rebel to all law;
Conviction to the Serpent none belongs."
85 Thus saying, from his radiant seat he rose
Of high collateral glory. Him Thrones, and Powers,
Princedoms, and Dominations ministrant,
Accompanied to Heaven-gate, from whence
Eden and all the coast in prospect lay.
90 Down he descended straight; the speed of Gods
Time counts not, though with swiftest minutes winged.
Now was the sun in western cadence low  
From noon, and gentle airs, due at their hour,  
To fan the Earth now waked, and usher in  
95 The evening cool, when he, from wrath more cool,  
Came, the mild Judge and Intercessor both,  
To sentence Man. The voice of God they heard  
Now walking in the garden, by soft winds  
Brought to their ears, while day declined; they heard,  
100 And from his presence hid themselves among  
The thickest trees, both man and wife, till God,  
Approaching, thus to Adam called aloud:  
"Where art thou, Adam, wont with joy to meet  
My coming seen far off? I miss thee here,  
105 Not pleased, thus entertained with solitude,  
Where obvious duty erewhile appeared unsought;  
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, discountenanced both, and discomposed.  
Love was not in their looks, either to God  
Or to each other, but apparent guilt,  
And shame, and perturbation, and despair,  
Anger, and obstinacy, and hate, and guile.  
115 Whence Adam, faltering long, thus answered brief:  
"I heard thee in the garden, and, of thy voice  
Afraid, being naked, hid myself." To whom  
The gracious Judge, without revile, replied:  
"My voice thou oft hast heard, and hast not feared,  
120 But still rejoiced; 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?"  
To whom thus Adam, sore beset, replied:  
125 "O Heaven! in evil strait this day I stand
Before my Judge, either to undergo
Myself 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 necessity
Subdues me, and calamitous constraint,
Lest on my head both sin and punishment,
However insupportable, be all

135 Devolved; though, should I hold my peace, yet thou
Wouldst easily detect what I conceal.
This woman, whom thou madest to be my help,
And gavest me as thy perfect 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 itself,
Her doing seemed to justify the deed,—
She gave me of the tree, and I did eat."

To whom the Sovran Presence thus replied:

145 "Was she thy God, that her thou didst obey
Before his voice? or was she made thy guide,
Superior, or but equal, that to her
Thou didst resign thy manhood, and the place
Wherein God set thee above her, made of thee,

150 And for thee, whose perfection far excelled
Hers in all real dignity? Adorned
She was indeed, and lovely, to attract
Thy love, not thy subjection; and her gifts
Were such as under government well seemed,

155 Unseemly to bear rule; which was thy part
And person, hadst thou known thyself aright."

So having said, he thus to Eve in few:

"Say, Woman, what is this which thou hast done?"
To whom sad Eve, with shame nigh overwhelmed,
160 Confessing soon, yet not before her Judge
    Bold or loquacious, thus abashed replied:
    "The Serpent me beguiled, and I did eat!"
    Which, when the Lord God heard, without delay
    To judgment he proceeded on the accused
165 Serpent, though brute, unable to transfer
    The guilt on him who made him instrument
    Of mischief, and polluted from the end
    Of his creation; justly then accursed
    As vitiated in nature. More to know
170 Concerned not man (since he no farther knew),
    Nor altered his offence; yet God at last
    To Satan, first in sin, his doom applied,
    Though in mysterious terms, judged as then best;
    And on the Serpent thus his curse let fall:
175 "Because thou hast done this, thou art accursed
    Above all cattle, each beast of the field;
    Upon thy belly grovelling thou shalt go,
    And dust shalt eat all the days of thy life.
    Between thee and the Woman I will put
180 Enmity, and between thine and her seed;
    Her seed shall bruise thy head, thou bruise his heel."
    So spake this oracle, then verified,
    When Jesus, son of Mary, second Eve,
    Saw Satan fall like lightning down from Heaven,
185 Prince of the air; then, rising from his grave,
    Spoiled Principalities and Powers, triumphed
    In open show, and, with ascension bright,
    Captivity led captive through the air,
    The realm itself of Satan long usurped,
190 Whom He shall tread at last under our feet,
    Even He who now foretold his fatal bruise,
    And to the woman thus his sentence turned:
    "Thy sorrow I will greatly multiply
    By thy conception; children thou shalt bring
195 In sorrow forth; and to thy husband's will
Thine shall submit, he over thee shall rule."
On Adam last thus judgment he pronounced:
"Because thou hast hearkened to the voice of thy wife,
And eaten of the tree concerning which
200 I charged thee, saying, 'Thou shalt not eat thereof,'
Cursed 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 the herb of the 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 return."
So judged he Man, both Judge and Saviour sent,
210 And the instant stroke of death, denounced that day,
Removed far off; then, pitying how they stood
Before him naked to the air, that now
Must suffer change, disdained not to begin
Thenceforth the form of servant to assume,
215 As when he washed his servants' feet, so now,
As father of his family, he clad
Their nakedness with skins of beasts, or slain,
Or, as the snake, with youthful coat repaid;
And thought not much to clothe his enemies.
220 Nor he their outward only with the skins
Of beasts, but inward nakedness, much more
Opprobrious, with his robe of righteousness
Arraying, covered from his Father's sight.
To him with swift ascent he up returned,
225 Into his blissful bosom reassumed
In glory as of old; to him appeased,
All, though all-knowing, what had passed with man
Recounted, mixing intercession sweet.
Meanwhile, ere thus was sinned and judged on earth,
Within the gates of Hell sat Sin and Death,
In counterview within the gates, that now
Stood open wide, belching outrageous flame
Far into Chaos, since the Fiend passed through,
Sin opening; who thus now to Death began:

"O Son, why sit we here each other viewing
Idly, while Satan, our great author, thrives
In other worlds, and happier seat provides
For us, his offspring dear? It cannot be
But that success attends him; if mishap,
Ere this he had returned, with fury driven
By his avengers, since no place like this
Can fit his punishment, or their revenge.
Methinks I feel new strength within me rise,
Wings growing, and dominion given me large
Beyond this deep; whatever draws me on,
Or sympathy, or some connatural force,
Powerful at greatest distance to unite,
With secret amity, things of like kind
By secretest conveyance. Thou, my shade
Inseparable, must with me along;
For Death from Sin no power can separate.
But, lest the difficulty of passing back
Stay his return, perhaps, over this gulf
Impassable, impervious, let us try—
Adventurous work, yet to thy power and mine
Not unagreeable—to found a path
Over this main from Hell to that new world
Where Satan now prevails, a monument
Of merit high to all the infernal host,
Easing their passage hence, for intercourse,
Or transmigration, as their lot shall lead.
Nor can I miss the way, so strongly drawn
By this new-felt attraction and instinct."
Whom thus the meagre Shadow answered soon:
"Go, whither fate and inclination strong
Leads thee; I shall not lag behind, nor err
The way, thou leading; such a scent I draw
Of carnage, prey innumerable, and taste
The savour of death from all things there that live.

Nor shall I to the work thou enterprisest
Be wanting, but afford thee equal aid."

So saying, with delight he snuffed the smell
Of mortal change on earth. As when a flock
Of ravenous fowl, through many a league remote,

Against the day of battle, to a field
Where armies lie encamped come flying, lured
With scent of living carcasses designed
For death, the following day, in bloody fight;
So scented the grim Feature, and upturned

His nostril wide into the murky air,
Sagacious of his quarry from so far.
Then both, from out Hell-gates, into the waste
Wide anarchy of Chaos, damp and dark,
Flew diverse, and with power (their power was great)

Hovering upon the waters, what they met
Solid or slimy as in raging sea
• Tost up and down, together crowded drove,
From each side shoaling towards the mouth of Hell;
As when two polar winds, blowing adverse

Upon the Cronian sea, together drive
Mountains of ice, that stop the imagined way
Beyond Petsora eastward to the rich
Cathaian coast. The aggregated soil
Death with his mace petrific, cold and dry,

As with a trident smote, and fixed as firm
As Delos, floating once; the rest his look
Bound with Gorgonian rigour not to move,
'And with asphalthic slime; broad as the gate,
Deep to the roots of Hell the gathered beach
They fastened, and the mole immense wrought on
Over the foaming deep high arched, a bridge
Of length prodigious, joining to the wall
Immovable of this now fenceless world,
Forfeit to Death; from hence a passage broad,
Smooth, easy, inoffensive, down to Hell.
So, if great things to small may be compared,
Xerxes, the liberty of Greece to yoke,
From Susa, his Memnonian palace high,
Came to the sea, and, over Hellespont
Bridging his way, Europe with Asia joined,
And scourged with many a stroke the indignant waves.
Now had they brought the work by wondrous art
Pontifical,—a ridge of pendent rock
Over the vexed abyss (following the track
Of Satan to the self-same place where he
First lighted from his wing, and landed safe
From out of Chaos), to the outside bare
Of this round world; with pins of adamant
And chains they made all fast, too fast they made
And durable! And now in little space
The confines met of empyræan Heaven
And of this world, and, on the left hand Hell
With long reach interposed; three several ways,
In sight, to each of these three places led.
And now their way to Earth they had descried,
To Paradise first tending, when, behold
Satan, in likeness of an Angel bright,
Betwixt the Centaur and the Scorpion steering
His zenith, while the sun in Aries rose.
Disguised he came; but those his children dear
Their parent soon discerned, though in disguise.
He, after Eve seduced, unminded slunk
Into the wood fast by, and, changing shape
To observe the sequel, saw his guileful act
By Eve, though all unwept, seconded
Upon her husband, saw their shame that sought
Vain covertures; but when he saw descend
The Son of God to judge them, terrified
He fled, not hoping to escape, but shun

The present, fearing guilty what his wrath
Might suddenly inflict; that past, returned
By night, and listening where the hapless pair
Sat in their sad discourse and various plaint,
Thence gathered his own doom, which understood

Not instant, but of future time. With joy
And tidings fraught, to Hell he now returned,
And at the brink of Chaos, near the foot
Of this new wondrous pontifice, unhoped
Met who to meet him came, his offspring dear.

Great joy was at their meeting, and at sight
Of that stupendous bridge his joy increased.
Long he admiring stood, till Sin, his fair
Enchanting daughter, thus the silence broke:
"O Parent, these are thy magnific deeds,

Thy trophies, which thou view'st as not thine own;
Thou art their author and prime architect;
For I no sooner in my heart divined
(My heart, which by a secret harmony
Still moves with thine, joined in connexion sweet)

That thou on earth hadst prospered, 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 unites us three.

Hell could no longer hold us in her bounds,
Nor this unvoyageable gulf obscure
Detain from following thy illustrious track.
Thou hast achieved our liberty, confined
Within Hell-gates till now; thou us empowered
To fortify thus far, and overlay
With this portentous bridge the dark abyss.
Thine now is all this world; thy virtue hath won
What thy hands builded not; thy wisdom gained,
With odds, what war hath lost, and fully avenged

Our foil in Heaven; here thou shalt monarch reign,
There didst not; there let him still victor sway
As battle hath adjudged, from this new world
Retiring, by his own doom alienated,
And henceforth monarchy with thee divide

Of all things, parted by the empyreal bounds,
His quadrature, from thy orbicular world,
Or try thee now more dangerous to his throne.”

Whom thus the Prince of Darkness answered glad:
“Fair daughter, and thou son and grandchild both,

High proof ye now have given to be the race
Of Satan (for I glory in the name,
Antagonist of Heaven’s Almighty King),
Amply have merited of me, of all
The infernal empire, that, so near Heaven’s door,

Triumphal with triumphal act have met,
Mine with this glorious work, and made one realm,
Hell and this world—one realm, one continent
Of easy thoroughfare. Therefore, while I
Descend through darkness, on your road with ease,

To my associate Powers, them to acquaint
With these successes, and with them rejoice,
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

Dominion exercise and in the air,
Chiefly on Man, sole lord of all declared;
Him first make sure your thrall, and lastly kill.
My substitutes I send ye, and create
Plenipotent on earth, of matchless might
| 405 | Issuing from me; on your joint vigour now  
    | My hold of this new kingdom all depends,  
    | Through Sin to Death exposed by my exploit.  
    | If your joint power prevail, the affairs of Hell  
    | No detriment need fear. Go, and be strong!”  
 410 | So saying, he dismissed them; they with speed  
    | Their course through thickest constellations held,  
    | Spreading their bane; the blasted stars looked wan,  
    | And planets, planet-struck, real eclipse  
    | Then suffered. The other way Satan went down  
 415 | The causey to Hell-gate; on either side  
    | Disparted Chaos overbuilt exclaimed,  
    | And with rebounding surge the bars assailed  
    | That scorned his indignation. Through the gate,  
    | Wide open and unguarded, Satan passed,  
 420 | And all about found desolate; for those,  
    | Appointed to sit there, had left their charge,  
    | Flown to the upper world; the rest were all  
    | Far to the inland retired, about the walls  
    | Of Pandemonium, city and proud seat  
 425 | Of Lucifer, so by allusion called  
    | Of that bright star to Satan paragoned.  
    | There kept their watch the legions, while the Grand  
    | In council sat, solicitous what chance  
    | Might intercept their Emperor sent; so he  
 430 | Departing gave command, and they observed:  
    | As when the Tartar from his Russian foe,  
    | By Astracan, over the snowy plains  
    | Retires, or Bactrian Sophi, from the horns  
    | Of Turkish crescent, leaves all waste beyond  
 435 | The realm of Aladule, in his retreat  
    | To Tauris or Casbeen; so these, the late  
    | Heaven-banished host, left desert utmost Hell  
    | Many a dark league, reduced in careful watch  
    | Round their metropolis, and now expecting
Each hour their great adventurer from the search
Of foreign worlds. He through the midst unmarked,
In show plebeian Angel militant
Of lowest order, passed, and from the door
Of that Plutonian hall, invisible

Ascended his high throne, which, under state
Of richest texture spread, at the upper end
Was placed in regal lustre. Down awhile
He sat, and round about him saw unseen;
At last, as from a cloud, his fulgent head

And shape star-bright appeared, or brighter, clad
With what permissive glory since his fall
Was left him, or false glitter. All amazed
At that so sudden blaze, the Stygian throng
Bent their aspect, and whom they wished beheld,

Their mighty Chief returned; loud was the acclaim;
Forth rushed in haste the great consulting peers,
Raised from their dark divan, and with like joy
Congratulant approached him, who with hand
Silence, and with these words attention won:

"Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues,
Powers!
For in possession such, not only of right,
I call ye, and declare ye now, returned
Successful beyond hope, to lead ye forth
Triumphant out of this infernal pit

Abominable, accursed, the house of woe,
And dungeon of our tyrant. Now possess,
As lords, a spacious world, to our native Heaven
Little inferior, by my adventure hard
With peril great achieved. Long were to tell

What I have done, what suffered, with what pain
Voyaged the unreal, vast, unbounded deep
Of horrible confusion, over which
By Sin and Death a broad way now is paved
To expedite your glorious march; but I
Toiled out my uncouth passage, forced to ride
The untractable abyss, plunged in the womb
Of unoriginal Night and Chaos wild,
That, jealous of their secrets, fiercely opposed
My journey strange, with clamorous uproar
Protesting Fate supreme; thence how I found
The new-created world, which fame in Heaven
Long had foretold, a fabric wonderful
Of absolute perfection, therein Man
Placed in a Paradise, by our exile
Made happy. Him by fraud I have seduced
From his Creator, and, the more to increase
Your wonder, with an apple! He, thereat
Offended (worth your laughter!) hath given up
Both his beloved Man and all his world
To Sin and Death a prey, and so to us,
Without our hazard, labour, or alarm,
To range in, and to dwell, and over Man
To rule, as over all he should have ruled.
True is, me also he hath judged; or rather
Me not, but the brute serpent, in whose shape
Man I deceived; that which to me belongs
Is enmity, which he will put between
Me and mankind; I am to bruise his heel;
His seed, when is not set, shall bruise my head.
A world who would not purchase with a bruise,
Or much more grievous pain? Ye have the account
Of my performance; what remains, ye Gods!
But up, and enter now into full bliss?"
So having said, awhile he stood, expecting
Their universal shout and high applause
To fill his ear; when, contrary, he hears
On all sides, from innumerable tongues,
A dismal universal hiss, the sound
Of public scorn; he wondered, but not long
510 Had leisure, wondering at himself now more;
    His visage drawn he felt to sharp and spare,
    His arms clung to his ribs, his legs entwining
    Each other, till, supplanting, down he fell
    A monstrous serpent on his belly prone,
515 Reluctant, but in vain; a greater Power
    Now ruled him, punished in the shape he sinned,
    According to his doom. He would have spoke,
    But hiss for hiss returned with forkèd tongue
    To forkèd tongue; for now were all transformed
520 Alike, to serpents all, as accessories
    To his bold riot. Dreadful was the din
    Of hissing through the hall, thick-swarming now
    With complicated monsters, head and tail,
    Scorpion, and asp, and amphisbæna dire,
525 Cerastes horned, hydrus, and ellops drear,
    And dipsas (not so thick swarmed once the soil
    Bedropt with blood of Gorgon, or the isle
    Ophiusa); but still greatest he the midst,
    Now dragon grown, larger than whom the sun
530 Engendered in the Pythian vale on slime,
    Huge Python; and his power no less he seemed
    Above the rest still to retain. They all
    Him followed, issuing forth to the open field,
    Where all yet left of that revolted rout,
535 Heaven-fallen, in station stood, or just array,
    Sublime with expectation when to see
    In triumph issuing forth their glorious Chief.
    They saw, but other sight instead—a crowd
    Of ugly serpents. Horror on them fell,
540 And horrid sympathy; for what they saw
    They felt themselves now changing; down their arms,
    Down fell both spear and shield, down they as fast,
    And the dire hiss renewed, and the dire form
Caught by contagion, like in punishment
545 As in their crime. Thus was the applause they meant
Turned to exploding hiss, triumph to shame,
Cast on themselves from their own mouths. There stood
A grove hard by, sprung up with this their change,
(His will who reigns above) to aggravate
550 Their penance, laden with fair fruit, like that
Which grew in Paradise, the bait of Eve
Used by the Tempter; on that prospect strange
Their earnest eyes they fixed, imagining
For one forbidden tree a multitude
555 Now risen, to work them further woe or shame;
Yet, parched with scalding thirst and hunger fierce,
Though to delude them sent, could not abstain,
But on they rolled in heaps, and, up the trees
Climbing, sat thicker than the snaky locks
560 That curled Megæra. Greedily they plucked
The fruitage fair to sight, like that which grew
Near that bituminous lake where Sodom flamed;
This, more delusive, not the touch, but taste
Deceived; they, fondly thinking to allay
565 Their appetite with gust, instead of fruit
Chewed bitter ashes, which the offended taste
With spattering noise rejected. Oft they assayed,
Hunger and thirst constraining; drugged as oft,
With hatefulest disrelish writhed their jaws
570 With soot and cinders filled; so oft they fell
Into the same illusion, not as Man,
Whom they triumphed, once lapsed. Thus were they plagued,
And, worn with famine, long and ceaseless hiss,
Till their lost shape, permitted, they resumed,
575 Yearly enjoined, some say, to undergo
This annual humbling certain numbered days,
To dash their pride, and joy for Man seduced.
However, some tradition they dispersed
Among the heathen of their purchase got,

580 And fabled how the Serpent, whom they called
Ophion, with Eurynome (the wide-
Encroaching Eve perhaps), had first the rule
Of high Olympus, thence by Saturn driven
And Ops, ere yet Dictæan Jove was born.

585 Meanwhile, in Paradise the hellish pair
Too soon arrived; 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 begun:
"Second of Satan sprung, all-conquering Death!
What think'st thou of our empire now, though earned
With travail difficult, not better far
Than still at Hell's dark threshold to have sat watch,

595 Unnamed, undreaded, and thyself half-starved?"

Whom thus the Sin-born Monster answered soon:
"To me, who with eternal famine pine,
Alike is Hell, or Paradise, or Heaven,
There best, where most with ravin I may meet;

600 Which here, though plenteous, all too little seems
To stuff this maw, this vast unhidebound corpse."

To whom the incestuous mother thus replied:
"Thou therefore on these herbs, and fruits, and flowers,
Feed first; on each beast next, and fish, and fowl—

605 No homely morsels; and whatever thing
The scythe of Time mows down devour unsparing;
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 ways,
Both to destroy, or unimmortal make
All kinds, and for destruction to mature
Sooner or later; which the Almighty seeing,
From his transcendent seat the Saints among,

615 To those bright Orders uttered thus his voice:
   "See! with what heat these dogs of Hell advance
To waste and havoc 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 wasteful furies, who impute
Folly to me (so doth the Prince of Hell
And his adherents), that with so much ease
I suffer them to enter and possess
A place so heavenly, and, conniving, seem

625 To gratify my scornful enemies,
That laugh, as if, transported with some fit
Of passion, I to them had quitted all,
At random yielded up to their misrule;
And know not that I called and drew them thither,

630 My hell-hounds, to lick up the dross and filth
Which Man's polluting sin with taint hath shed
On what was pure; till, crammed and gorged, nigh
burst
With sucked 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 hurled, obstruct the mouth of Hell
For ever, and seal up his ravenous jaws.
Then Heaven and Earth, renewed, shall be made pure
To sanctity that shall receive no stain;

640 Till then, the curse pronounced on both precedes."

He ended, and the heavenly audience loud
Sung Halleluiah, 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 thee?" Next, to the Son,
Destined Restorer of mankind, by whom
New Heaven and Earth shall to the ages rise,
Or down from Heaven descend. Such was their song;
While the Creator, calling forth by name
650 His mighty Angels, gave them several charge,
As sorted best with present things. The sun
Had first his precept so to move, so shine,
As might affect the earth with cold and heat
Scarce tolerable, and from the north to call
655 Decrepit winter, from the south to bring
Solstitial summer’s heat. To the blanc moon
Her office they prescribed; to the other five
Their planetary motions, and aspects,
In sextile, square, and trine, and opposite,
660 Of noxious efficacy, and when to join
In synod unbenign; and taught the fixed
Their influence malignant when to shower;
Which of them rising with the sun, or falling,
Should prove tempestuous. To the winds they set
665 Their corners, when with bluster to confound
Sea, air, and shore; the thunder when to roll
With terror through the dark aerial hall.
Some say, he bid his Angels turn askance
The poles of earth twice ten degrees and more
670 From the sun’s axle; they with labour pushed
Oblique the centric globe; some say, the sun
Was bid turn reins from the equinoctial road
Like distant breadth to Taurus with the seven
Atlantic Sisters, and the Spartan Twins,
675 Up to the tropic Crab; thence down amain
By Leo, and the Virgin, and the Scales,
As deep as Capricorn; to bring in change
Of seasons to each clime; else had the spring
Perpetual smiled on earth with vernant flowers,
680 Equal in days and nights, except to those
Beyond the polar circles; to them day
Had unbenighted shone, while the low sun,
To recompense his distance, in their sight
Had rounded still the horizon, and not known

685 Or east or west; which had forbid the snow
From cold Estotiland, and south as far
Beneath Magellan. At that tasted fruit,
The sun, as from Thyéstean banquet, turned
His course intended; else, how had the world

690 Inhabited, though sinless, more than now
Avoided pinching cold and scorching heat?
These changes in the heavens, though slow, produced
Like change on sea and land, sidereal blast,
Vapour, and mist, and exhalation hot

695 Corrupt and pestilent. Now, from the north
Of Norumbega, and the Samoed shore,
Bursting their brazen dungeon, armed with ice,
And snow, and hail, and stormy gust and flaw,
Boreas, and Cæcias, and Argestes loud,

700 And Thrascias, rend the woods, and seas upturn;
With adverse blast upturns them from the south
Notus and Aser black with thunderous clouds
From Serraliana; thwart of these, as fierce
Forth rush the Levant and the Ponent winds,

705 Eurus and Zephyr, with their lateral noise,
Sirocco and Libeccio. Thus began
Outrage from lifeless things; but Discord first,
Daughter of Sin, among the irrational
Death introduced through fierce antipathy;

710 Beast now with beast gan war, and fowl with fowl,
And fish with fish; to graze the herb all leaving
Devoured each other; nor stood much in awe
Of Man, but fled him, or, with countenance grim,
Glared on him passing. These were, from without,

715 The growing miseries, which Adam saw
Already in part, though hid in gloomiest shade,
To sorrow abandoned, but worse felt within,
And, in a troubled sea of passion tost,
Thus to disburden sought with sad complaint:

"O miserable of happy! is this the end
Of this new glorious world, and me so late
The glory of that glory? who now, become
Accursed of blessed, hide me from the face
Of God, whom to behold was then my height
Of happiness! Yet well, if here would end
The misery! I deserved it, and would bear
My own deserving; but this will not serve;
All that I eat or drink, or shall beget,
Is propagated curse. O voice, once heard

Delightfully, 'Increase and multiply,'
Now death to hear! for what can I increase
Or multiply, but curses on my head?
Who, of all ages to succeed, but, feeling
The evil on him brought by me, will curse

My head? 'Ill fare our ancestor impure!
For this we may thank Adam!' but his thanks
Shall be the exclamation. So, besides
Mine own that bide upon me, all from me
Shall with a fierce reflux on me redound—

On me, as on their natural centre, light
Heavy, though in their place. O fleeting joys
Of Paradise, dear bought with lasting woes!
Did I request thee, Maker! from my clay
To mould me man? Did I solicit thee

From darkness to promote me, or here place
In this delicious garden? As my will
Concurred not to my being, it were but right
And equal to reduce me to my dust,
Desirous to resign and render back

All I received, unable to perform
Thy terms too hard, by which I was to hold
The good I sought not. To the loss of that,
Sufficient penalty, 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 refused
Those terms, whatever, when they were proposed.
Thou didst accept them; wilt thou enjoy the good,
Then cavil the conditions? And, though God

760 Made thee without thy leave, what if thy son
Prove disobedient, and, reproved, 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,

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 is fair,

770 That dust I am, and shall to dust return.
O welcome hour whenever! Why delays
His hand to execute what his decree
Fixed on this day? Why do I overlive?
Why am I mocked with death, and lengthened out

775 To deathless pain? How gladly would I meet
Mortality, my sentence, and be earth
Insensible! How glad would lay me down
As in my mother's lap! There I should rest,
And sleep secure; his dreadful voice no more

780 Would thunder in my ears; no fear of worse
To me and to my offspring would torment me
With cruel expectation. Yet one doubt
Pursues me still, lest all I cannot die;
Lest that pure breath of life, the spirit of Man

785 Which God inspired, 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 sinned; what dies but what had life
And sin? The body properly hath neither.
All of me then shall die; let this appease
The doubt, since human reach no further knows.
For, though the Lord of all be infinite,

795 Is his wrath also? Be it, Man is not so,
But mortal doomed. How can he exercise
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
Of weakness, not of power. Will he draw out,
For anger's sake, finite to infinite
In punished man, to satisfy his rigour
Satisfied never? That were to extend

805 His sentence beyond dust and Nature's law,
By which all causes else according still
To the reception of their matter act,
Not to the extent of their own sphere. But say
That death be not one stroke, as I supposed,

810 Bereaving sense, but endless misery
From this day onward, which I feel begun
Both in me, and without me, and so last
To perpetuity.—Ay me! that fear
Comes thundering back with dreadful revolution

815 On my defenceless head; both death and I
Am found eternal, and incorporate both;
Nor I on my part single; in me all
Posterity stands cursed. Fair patrimony
That I must leave ye, sons! Oh, were I able

820 To waste it all myself, and leave ye none!
So disinherited, how would ye bless
Me, now your curse! Ah, why should all mankind,
For one man's fault, thus guiltless be condemned,
If guiltless? But from me what can proceed,

825 But all corrupt, both mind and will depraved,
Not to do only, but to will the same
With me? How can they then acquitted stand
In sight of God? Him, after all disputes,
Forced I absolve; all my evasions vain,

830 And reasonings, though through mazes, lead me still
But to my own conviction; first and last
On me, me only, as the source and spring
Of all corruption, all the blame lights due;
So might the wrath! Fond wish! couldst thou sup-
port

835 That burden, heavier than the earth to bear,
Than all the world much heavier, though divided
With that bad woman? Thus, what thou desirest,
And what thou fear'st, alike destroys 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 driven me; out of which
I find no way, from deep to deeper plunged!"

845 Thus Adam to himself lamented loud
Through the still night, not now, as ere man fell,
Wholesome, and cool, and mild, but with black air
Accompanied, with damps and dreadful gloom;
Which to his evil conscience represented

850 All things with double terror. On the ground
Outstretched he lay, on the cold ground, and oft
Cursed his creation, Death as oft accused
Of tardy execution, since denounced
The day of his offence. "Why comes not Death,"
855 Said he, "with one thrice-acceptable stroke
   To end me? Shall Truth fail to keep her word,
Justice divine not hasten to be just?
   But Death comes not at call; Justice divine
Mends not her slowest pace for prayers or cries.
860 O woods, O fountains, hillocks, dales, and bowers!
   With other echo late I taught your shades
To answer, and resound far other song."
   Whom, thus afflicted, when sad Eve beheld,
Desolate where she sat, approaching nigh,
865 Soft words to his fierce passion she assayed;
   But her, with stern regard, he thus repelled:
   "Out of my sight, thou serpent! That name best
Befits thee, with him leagued, thyself as false
   And hateful; nothing wants, but that thy shape,
870 Like his, and colour serpentine, may show
   Thy inward fraud, to warn all creatures from thee
Henceforth; lest that too heavenly form, pretended
   To hellish falsehood, snare them! But for thee
I had persisted happy, had not thy pride
875 And wandering vanity, when least was safe,
   Rejected my forewarning, and disdained
Not to be trusted, longing to be seen,
   Though by the Devil himself, him overweening
To overreach; but, with the serpent meeting,
880 Fooled and beguiled;—by him thou, I by thee,
   To trust thee from my side, imagined wise,
   Constant, mature, proof against all assaults;
And understood not all was but a show,
   Rather than solid virtue; all but a rib
885 Crooked by nature,—bent, as now appears,
   More to the part sinister,—from me drawn;
Well if thrown out, as supernumerary
   To my just number found! Oh! why did God,
Creator wise, that peopled highest Heaven
890 With Spirits masculine, create at last
   This novelty 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 befallen,
   And more that shall befall—innumerable
   Disturbances on earth through female snares,
   And strait conjunction with this sex. For either
   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 perverseness, but shall see her gained
   By a far worse; or, if she love, withheld
   By parents; or his happiest choice too late
905 Shall meet, already linked and wedlock-bound
   To a fell adversary, his hate or shame;
   Which infinite calamity shall cause
   To human life, and household peace confound."
   He added not, and from her turned; but Eve,
910 Not so repulsed, with tears that ceased not flowing,
   And tresses all disordered, at his feet
   Fell humble, and, embracing them, besought
   His peace, and thus proceeded in her plaint:
   "Forsake me not thus, Adam! Witness, Heaven,
915 What love sincere and reverence in my heart
   I bear thee, and unweaving have offended,
   Unhappily deceived! Thy suppliant
   I beg and clasp thy knees; bereave me not
   Whereon I live,—thy gentle looks, thy aid,
920 Thy counsel in this uttermost distress,
   My only 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 joining,
As joined in injuries, one enmity
Against a foe by doom express assigned us,
That cruel Serpent. On me exercize not
Thy hatred for this misery befallen,
On me already lost—me than thyself

More miserable. Both have sinned; but thou
Against God only, I against God and thee,
And to the place of judgment will return,
There with my cries impromptune Heaven, that all
The sentence, from thy head removed, may light

On me, sole cause to thee of all this woe,
Me, me only, just object of his ire!
She ended weeping; and her lowly plight,
Immovable till peace obtained from fault
Acknowledged and deplored, in Adam wrought

Commiseration. Soon his heart relented
Towards her, his life so late and sole delight,
Now at his feet submissive in distress,
Creature so fair his reconcilement seeking,
His counsel, whom she had displeased, his aid;

As one disarmed his anger all he lost,
And thus with peaceful words upraised her soon:
"Unwary, and too desirous (as before,
So now) of what thou know'st not, who desirest
The punishment all on thyself. Alas!

Bear thine own first, ill able to sustain
His full wrath whose thou feel'st as yet least part,
And my displeasure bear'st so ill. If prayers
Could alter high decrees, I to that place
Would speed before thee, and be louder heard,

That on my head all might be visited,
Thy frailty and infirmer sex forgiven,
To me committed, and by me exposed.
But rise; let us no more contend, nor blame
Each other, blamed enough elsewhere, but strive
In offices of love, how we may lighten
Each other's burden, in our share of woe;
Since this day's death denounced, if aught I see,
Will prove no sudden, but a slow-paced evil,
A long day's dying, to augment our pain,
And to our seed (O hapless seed!) derived."

To whom thus Eve, recovering heart, replied:
"Adam! by sad experiment I know
How little weight my words with thee can find,
Found so erroneous, thence by just event

Found so unfortunate; nevertheless,
Restored by thee, vile as I am, to place.
Of new acceptance, hopeful to regain
Thy love, the sole contentment of my heart,
Living or dying from thee I will not hide

What thoughts in my unquiet breast are risen,
Tending to some relief of our extremes,
Or end, though sharp and sad, yet tolerable,
As in our evils, and of easier choice.
If care of our descent perplex us most,

Which must be born to certain woe, devoured
By death at last,—and miserable it is
To be to others cause of misery,
Our own begotten, and of our loins to bring
Into this cursed world a woeful race,

That after wretched life must be at last
Food for so foul a monster,—in thy power
It lies, yet ere conception, to prevent
The race unblest, to being yet unbegot.
Childless thou art; childless remain; so Death

Shall be deceived his glut, and with us two
Be forced to satisfy his ravenous maw.
But if thou judge it hard and difficult,
Conversing, looking, loving, to abstain
From love's due rites, nuptial embraces sweet,
And with desire to languish without hope,
Before the present object languishing
With like desire, which would be misery
And torment less than none of what we dread,
Then, both ourselves and seed at once to free

From what we fear for both, let us make short,
Let us seek Death, or, he not found, supply
With our own hands his office on ourselves.
Why stand we longer shivering under fears
That show no end but death, and have the power

Of many ways to die the shortest choosing,
Destruction with destruction to destroy?"

She ended here, or vehement despair
Broke off the rest; so much of death her thoughts
Had entertained as dyed her cheeks with pale.

But Adam, with such counsel nothing swayed,
To better hopes his more attentive mind
Labouring had raised, and thus to Eve replied:

"Eve, thy contempt of life and pleasure seems
To argue in thee something more sublime

And excellent than what thy mind contemns;
But self-destruction therefore sought refutes
That excellence thought in thee, and implies,
Not thy contempt, but anguish and regret
For loss of life and pleasure overloved.

Or, if thou covet death, as utmost end
Of misery, so thinking to evade
The penalty pronounced, doubt not but God
Hath wiselier armed his vengeful ire than so
To be forestalled; much more I fear lest death

So snatched will not exempt us from the pain
We are by doom to pay; rather such acts
Of contumacy will provoke the Highest
To make death in us live. Then let us seek
Some safer resolution, which methinks
I have in view, calling to mind with heed
Part of our sentence, that 'Thy seed shall bruise
The serpent's head.' Piteous amends! unless
Be meant whom I conjecture, our grand foe,
Satan, who in the serpent hath contrived
Against us this deceit; to crush his head
Would be revenge indeed; which will be lost
By death brought on ourselves, or childless days
Resolved, as thou proposest; so our foe
Shall scape his punishment ordained, and we,
Instead, shall double ours upon our heads.
No more be mentioned then of violence
Against ourselves, and wilful barrenness,
That cuts us off from hope, and savours only
Rancour and pride, impatience and despite,
Reluctance against God and his just yoke
Laid on our necks. Remember with what mild
And gracious temper he both heard and judged,
Without wrath or reviling; we expected
Immediate dissolution, which we thought
Was meant by death that day; when, lo! to thee
Pains only in child-bearing were foretold,
And bringing forth, soon recompensed with joy,
Fruit of thy womb; on me the curse aslope
Glanced on the ground; with labour I must earn
My bread; what harm? Idleness had been worse;
My labour will sustain me. And, lest cold
Or heat should injure us, his timely care
Hath, unbesought, provided, and his hands
Clothed us unworthy, pitying while he judged;
How much more, if we pray him, will his ear
Be open, and his heart to pity incline,
And teach us further by what means to shun
The inclement seasons, rain, ice, hail, and snow,
Which now the sky, with various face, begins
To show us in this mountain, while the winds
Blow moist and keen, shattering the graceful locks
Of these fair spreading trees; which bids us seek
Some better shroud, some better warmth, to cherish
Our limbs benumbed, ere this diurnal star

Leave cold the night, how we his gathered beams
Reflected may with matter sere foment,
Or, by collision of two bodies, grind
The air attrite to fire, as late the clouds
Justling, or pushed with winds, rude in their shock,

Tine the slant lightning, whose thwart flame driven
don'red
Kindles the gummy bark of fir or pine,
And sends a comfortable heat from far,
Which might supply the sun. Such fire to use,
And what may else be remedy or cure

To evils which our own misdeeds have wrought,
He will instruct us praying, and of grace
Beseecing him, so as we need not fear
To pass commodiously this life, sustained
By him with many comforts, till we end

In dust, our final rest and native home.
What better can we do, than, to the place
Repairing where he judged us, prostrate fall
Before him reverent, and there confess
Humbly our faults, and pardon beg, with tears

Watering the ground, and with our sighs the air
Frequenting, sent from hearts contrite, in sign
Of sorrow unfeigned and humiliation meek?
Undoubtedly he will relent, and turn
From his displeasure, in whose look serene,

When angry most he seemed and most severe,
What else but favour, grace, and mercy shone?"
So spake our father penitent; nor Eve
Felt less remorse. They, forthwith to the place
Repairing where he judged them, prostrate fell
Before him reverent, and both confessed
Humbly their faults, and pardon begged, with tears
Watering the ground, and with their sighs the air
Frequenting, sent from hearts contrite, in sign
Of sorrow unfeigned and humiliation meek.

THE END OF THE TENTH BOOK.
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; Michael's coming down. Adam shows to Eve certain ominous signs; he discerns Michael's approach; goes out to meet him; the Angel denounces their departure. Eve's lamentation. Adam pleads, but submits; the Angel leads him up to a high hill; sets before him in vision what shall happen till the Flood.
HUS they, in lowliest plight, repentant stood
Praying; for from the mercy-seat above
Prevenient grace descending had removed
The stony from their hearts, and made new flesh

Regenerate grow instead, that sighs now breathed
Unutterable, which the Spirit of prayer
Inspired, and winged for Heaven with speedier flight
Than loudest oratory; yet their port
Not of mean suitors, nor important less

Seemed their petition than when the ancient pair
In fables old, less ancient yet than these,
Deucalion and chaste Pyrrha, to restore
The race of mankind drowned, before the shrine
Of Themis stood devout. To Heaven their prayers

Flew up, nor missed the way, by envious winds
Blown vagabond or frustrate; in they passed
Dimensionless through heavenly doors; then, clad
With incense, where the golden altar fumed,
By their great Intercessor, came in sight

Before the Father's throne; them the glad Son
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, mixed
With incense, I thy Priest before thee bring;
Fruits of more pleasing savour, from thy seed
Sown with contrition in his heart, than those
Which, his own hand manuring, all the trees
Of Paradise could have produced, ere fallen

From innocence. Now therefore bend thine ear
To supplication; hear his sighs, though mute;
Unskilful with what words to pray, let me
Interpret for him, me his Advocate
And propitiation; all his works on me,

Good or not good, ingraft; my merit those
Shall perfect, and for these my death shall pay.
Accept me, and in me from these receive
The smell of peace towards mankind; let him live
Before thee, reconciled, at least his days

Numbered, though sad, till death, his doom (which I
To mitigate thus plead, not to reverse,)
To better life shall yield him, where with me
All my redeemed may dwell in joy and bliss,
Made one with me as I with thee am one."

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
The law I gave to Nature him forbids;

Those pure immortal elements, that know
No gross, no unharmonious mixture foul,
Eject him tainted now, and purge him off,
As a distemper, gross, to air as gross,
And mortal food, as may dispose him best

For dissolution, wrought by sin, that first
Distempered all things, and of incorrupt
Corrupted. I, at first, with two fair gifts
Created him endowed—with happiness
And immortality; that fondly lost,

This other served but to eternize woe,
Till I provided death; so death becomes
His final remedy, and, after life
Tried in sharp tribulation, and refined
By faith and faithful works, to second life,

Waked in the renovation of the just,
Resigns him up with heaven and earth renewed.
But let us call to synod all the Blest
Through Heaven's wide bounds; from them I will not hide

My judgments, how with mankind I proceed,

As how with peccant Angels late they saw,
And in their state, though firm, stood more confirmed."

He ended, and the Son gave signal high
To the bright minister that watched; he blew
His trumpet, heard in Oreb since perhaps

When God descended, and perhaps once more
To sound at general doom. The angelic blast
Filled all the regions; from their blissful bowers
Of amaranthine shade, fountain or spring,
By the waters of life, where'er they sat

In fellowships of joy, the Sons of Light
Hasted, resorting to the summons high,
And took their seats, till, from his throne supreme,
The Almighty thus pronounced his sovran will:

"O sons, like one of us man is become

To know both good and evil, since his taste
Of that defended fruit; but let him boast
His knowledge of good lost and evil got;
Happier, had it sufficed him to have known
Good by itself, and evil not at all.

He sorrows now, repents, and prays contrite,
My motions in him; longer than they move,
His heart I know how variable and vain,
Self-left. Lest therefore his now bolder hand
Reach also of the Tree of Life, and eat,
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 soil.
Michael, this my behest have thou in charge;
Take to thee from among the Cherubim
Thy choice of flaming warriors, lest the Fiend,
Or in behalf of man, or to invade
Vacant possession, some new trouble raise;
Haste thee, and from the Paradise of God
Without remorse drive out the sinful pair,
From hallowed ground the unholy, and denounce
To them, and to their progeny, from thence
Perpetual banishment. Yet, lest they faint
At the sad sentence rigorously urged,
For I behold them softened, and with tears
Bewailing their excess, all terror hide.
If patiently thy bidding they obey,
Dismiss them not disconsolate; reveal
To Adam what shall come in future days,
As I shall thee enlighten; intermix
My covenant in the Woman's seed renewed.
So send them forth, though sorrowing, yet in peace;
And on the east side of the garden place,
Where entrance up from Eden easiest climbs,
Cherubic watch, and of a sword the flame
Wide-waving, all approach far off to fright,
And guard all passage to the Tree of Life;
Lest Paradise a receptacle prove
To spirits foul, and all my trees their prey,
With whose stolen fruit Man once more to delude."
He ceased; and the archangelic Power prepared
For swift descent; with him the cohort bright
Of watchful Cherubim; four faces each
Had, like a double Janus; all their shape
Spangled with eyes more numerous than those
Of Argus, and more wakeful than to drowse,
Charmed with Arcadian pipe, the pastoral reed
Of Hermes, or his opiate rod. Meanwhile,
To resalute the world with sacred light,
Leucothea waked, and with fresh dews embalmed
The earth, when Adam and first matron Eve
Had ended now their orisons, and found
Strength added from above, new hope to spring
Out of despair, joy, but with fear yet linked;
Which thus to Eve his welcome words renewed:
"Eve, easily may faith admit that all
The good which we enjoy from Heaven descends;
But that from us aught should ascend to Heaven
So prevalent as to concern the mind
Of God high-blest, or to incline his will,
Hard to believe may seem; yet this will prayer,
Or one short sigh of human breath, upborne
Even to the seat of God. For, since I sought
By prayer the offended Deity to appease,
Kneed and before him humbled all my heart,
Methought I saw him placable and mild,
Bending his ear; persuasion in me grew
That I was heard with favour; peace returned
Home to my breast, and to my memory
His promise that thy seed shall bruise our foe;
Which, then not minded in dismay, yet now
Assures me that the bitterness of death
Is past, and we shall live. Whence hail to thee,
Eve rightly called, 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 demeanour meek :
   "Ill-worthy I such title should belong
   To me transgressor, who, for thee ordained
165 A help, became thy snare; to me reproach
   Rather belongs, distrust and all dispraise.
   But infinite in pardon was my Judge,
   That I, who first brought death on all, am graced
   The source of life; next favourable thou,
170 Who highly thus to entitle me vouchsafest,
   Far other name deserving. But the field
   To labour calls us, now with sweat imposed,
   Though after sleepless night; for see! the Morn,
   All unconcerned with our unrest, begins
175 Her rosy progress smiling. Let us forth,
   I never from thy side henceforth to stray,
   Where'er our day's work lies, though now enjoined
   Laborious, till day droop; while here we dwell,
   What can be toilsome in these pleasant walks?
180 Here let us live, though in fallen state, content."
   So spake, so wished, much humbled Eve; but Fate
   Subscribed not. Nature first gave signs, impressed
   On bird, beast, air, air suddenly eclipsed,
   After short blush of Morn; nigh in her sight
185 The bird of Jove, stooped from his aery tour,
   Two birds of gayest plume before him drove;
   Down from a hill the beast that reigns in woods,
   First hunter then, pursued a gentle brace,
   Goodliest of all the forest, hart and hind;
190 Direct to the eastern gate was bent their flight.
   Adam observed, and, with his eye the chase
   Pursuing, not unmoved to Eve thus spake:
   "O Eve, some further change awaits us nigh,
   Which Heaven by these mute signs in nature shows
Forerunners of his purpose, or to warn
Us, haply too secure of our discharge
From penalty because from death released
Some days; how long, and what till then our life,
Who knows? or more than this, that we are dust,
And thither must return, and be no more?
Why else this double object in our sight,
Of flight pursued in the air and o'er the ground
One way the self-same hour? why in the east
Darkness ere day's mid-course, and morning-light
More orient in yon western cloud, that draws
O'er the blue firmament a radiant white,
And slow descends, with something heavenly fraught?"
He err'd not; for by this the heavenly bands
Down from a sky of jasper lighted now
In Paradise, and on a hill made halt;
A glorious apparition, had not doubt
And carnal fear that day dimmed Adam's eye.
Not that more glorious, when the Angels met
Jacob in Mahanaîm, where he saw
The field pavilioned with his guardians bright;
Nor that which on the flaming mount appeared
In Dothan, covered with a camp of fire,
Against the Syrian king, who to surprise
One man, assassin-like, had levied war,
War unproclaimed. The princely Hierarch
In their bright stand there left his Powers to seize
Possession of the garden; he alone,
To find where Adam sheltered, took his way,
Not unperceived of Adam, who to Eve,
While the great visitant approached, thus spake:
"Eve, now expect great tidings, which perhaps
Of us will soon determine, or impose
New laws to be observed; for I descry,
From yonder blazing cloud that veils the hill,
230 One of the heavenly host, and, by his gait,
    None of the meanest—some great Potentate,
Or of the Thrones above, such majesty
    Invests him coming; yet not terrible,
    That I should fear, nor sociably mild,
235 As Raphaël, that I should much confide;
    But solemn and sublime; whom, not to offend,
    With reverence I must meet, and thou retire."
    He ended; and the Archangel soon drew nigh,
    Not in his shape celestial, but as man
240 Clad to meet man. Over his lucid arms
    A military vest of purple flowed,
Livelier than Melibœan, or the grain
    Of Sarra, worn by kings and heroes old
    In time of truce; Iris had dipt the woof.
245 His starry helm unbuckled showed him prime
    In manhood where youth ended; by his side,
As in a glistening zodiac, hung the sword,
    Satan’s dire dread, and in his hand the spear.
    Adam bowed low; he, kingly, from his state
250 Inclined not, but his coming thus declared:
    “Adam! Heaven’s high behest no preface needs;
Sufficient that thy prayers are heard, and Death,
    Then due by sentence when thou didst transgress,
    Defeated of his seizure many days,
255 Given thee of grace, wherein thou may’st repent,
And one bad act with many deeds well done
    May’st cover. Well may then thy Lord, appeased,
Redeem thee quite from Death’s rapacious claim;
    But longer in this Paradise to dwell
260 Permits not; to remove thee I am come,
And send thee from the garden forth, to till
    The ground whence thou wast taken, fitter soil.”
    He added not; for Adam, at the news
Heart-struck, with chilling gripe of sorrow stood,
265 That all his senses bound; Eve, who unseen
   Yet all had heard, with audible lament
   Discovered soon the place of her retire:
       "O unexpected stroke, worse than of death!
   Must I thus leave thee, Paradise? thus leave
270 Thee, native soil, these happy walks and shades,
   Fit haunt of Gods? where I had hope to spend,
   Quiet, though sad, the respite of that day
   That must be mortal to us both. O flowers,
   That never will in other climate grow,
275 My early visitation, and my last
   At even, which I bred up with tender hand
   From the first opening bud, and gave ye names,
   Who now shall rear ye to the sun, or rank
   Your tribes, and water from the ambrosial fount?
280 Thee lastly, nuptial bower, by me adorned
   With what to sight or smell was sweet, from thee
   How shall I part, and whither wander down
   Into a lower world, to this obscure
   And wild? how shall we breathe in other air
285 Less pure, accustomed to immortal fruits?"
   Whom thus the Angel interrupted mild:
       "Lament not, Eve, but patiently resign
   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 soil."
   Adam, by this from the cold sudden damp
   Recovering, and his scattered spirits returned,
295 To Michael thus his humble words addressed:
       "Celestial! whether among the Thrones, or named
   Of them the highest, for such of shape may seem
   Prince above Princes, gently hast thou told
   Thy message, which might else in telling wound,
And in performing end us. What besides
Of sorrow, and dejection, and despair,
Our frailty can sustain, thy tidings bring;
Departure from this happy place, our sweet
Recess, and only consolation left

Familiar to our eyes! all places else
In hospitable appear, 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, I would not cease

To weary him with my assiduous cries;
But prayer against his absolute decree
No more avails than breath against the wind,
Blown stifling back on him that breathes it forth;
Therefore to his great bidding I submit.

This most afflicts me, that, departing hence,
As from his face I shall be hid, deprived
His blessed countenance; here I could frequent,
With worship, place by place where he vouchsafed
Presence Divine, and to my sons relate,—

"On this mount he appeared; under this tree
Stood visible; among these pines his voice
I heard; here with him at this fountain talked."
So many grateful altars I would rear
Of grassy turf, and pile up every stone

Of lustre from the brook, in memory
Or monument to ages, and thereon
Offer sweet-smelling gums, and fruits, and flowers.
In yonder nether world where shall I seek
His bright appearances, or footstep trace?

For though I fled him angry, yet, recalled
To life prolonged and promised race, I now
Gladly behold though but his utmost skirts
Of glory, and far off his steps adore."

To whom thus Michaël with regard benign:
ELEVENTH.] Michael tells Adam of the Future. 309

335 "Adam! thou know'st Heaven his, and all the earth,
    Not this rock only; his omnipresence fills
Land, sea, and air, and every kind that lives,
Fomented by his virtual power and warmed.
All the earth he gave thee to possess and rule,

340 No despicable gift; surmise not then
His presence to these narrow bounds confined
Of Paradise or Eden. This had been
Perhaps thy capital seat, from whence had spread
All generations, and had hither come

345 From all ends of the Earth, to celebrate
    And reverence thee, their great progenitor.
But this pre-eminence thou hast lost, brought down
To dwell on even ground now with thy sons.
Yet doubt not but in valley and in plain,

350 God is, as here, and will be found alike
    Present, and of his presence many a sign
Still following thee, still compassing thee round
With goodness and paternal love, his face
Express, and of his steps the track divine.

355 Which that thou may'st believe, and be confirmed
Ere thou from hence depart, know I am sent
To show thee what shall come in future days
To thee and to thy offspring; good with bad
Expect to hear, supernal grace contending

360 With sinfulness of men; thereby to learn
    True patience, and to temper joy with fear
And pious sorrow, equally inured
By moderation either state to bear,
Prosperous or adverse; so shalt thou lead

365 Safest thy life, and best prepared endure
Thy mortal passage when it comes. Ascend
This hill; let Eve (for I have drenched her eyes)
Here sleep below, while thou to foresight wakest;
As once thou slept'st, while she to life was formed."
To whom thus Adam gratefully replied:
"Ascend; I follow thee, safe guide, the path
Thou lead'st me, and to the hand of Heaven submit,
However chastening; to the evil turn
My obvious breast, arming to overcome

By suffering, and earn 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 clearest ken,

Stretched out to the amallest 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 show him all Earth's kingdoms and their glory.

His eye might there command wherever stood
City of old or modern fame, the seat
Of mightiest empire, from the destined walls
Of Cambalu, seat of Cathaian Can,
And Samarchand by Oxus, Temir's throne,

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 sat, or since
In Hispahan; or where the Russian Ksar

In Mosco; or the Sultan in Bizance,
Turchestan-born; nor could his eye not ken
The empire of Negus to his utmost port
Ercoco, and the less maritime kings,
Mombaza, and Quiloa, and Melind,

And Sofala, thought Ophir, to the realm
Of Congo, and Angola farthest 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 Montezume,
   And Cusco in Peru, the richer seat
   Of Atabalipa, and yet unspoiled

410 Guiana, whose great city Geryon's sons
   Call El Dorado. But to nobler sights
   Michael from Adam's eyes the film removed,
   Which that false fruit that promised clearer sight
   Had bred; then purged with euphrasy and rue

415 The visual nerve, for he had much to see,
   And from the well of life three drops instilled.
   So deep the power of these ingredients pierced,
   Even to the inmost seat of mental sight,
   That Adam, now enforced to close his eyes,

420 Sunk down, and all his spirits became entranced;
   But him the gentle Angel by the hand
   Soon raised, and his attention thus recalled:
   "Adam, now ope thine eyes, and first behold
   The effects, which thy original crime hath wrought

425 In some to spring from thee, who never touched
   The excepted tree, nor with the Snake conspired;
   Nor sinned thy sin, yet from that sin derive
   Corruption to bring forth more violent deeds."
    His eyes he opened, and beheld a field,

430 Part arable and tilth, whereon were sheaves
   New-reaped, the other part sheep-walks and folds;
   In the midst an altar as the landmark stood,
   Rustic, of grassy sord; thither anon
   A sweaty reaper from his tillage brought

435 First fruits, the green ear and the yellow sheaf,
   Unculled, as came to hand; a shepherd next,
   More meek, came with the firstlings of his flock,
   Choicest and best; then, sacrificing, laid
   The inwards and their fat, with incense strewed,
440 On the cleft wood, and all due rites performed.
    His offering soon propitious fire from Heaven
    Consumed with nimble glance and grateful steam;
    The other's not, for his was not sincere;
    Whereat he inly raged, and, as they talked,
445 Smote him into the midriff with a stone
    That beat out life; he fell, and, deadly pale,
    Groaned out his soul with gushing blood effused.
    Much at that sight was Adam in his heart
    Dismayed, and thus in haste to the Angel cried:
450 "O Teacher, some great mischief hath befallen
    To that meek man, who well had sacrificed;
    Is piety thus and pure devotion paid?"
    To whom Michaël thus, he also moved, replied:
    "These two are brethren, Adam, and to come
455 Out of thy loins. The unjust the just hath slain,
    For envy that his brother's offering found
    From Heaven acceptance; but the bloody fact
    Will be avenged, and the other's faith, approved,
    Lose no reward, though here thou see him die,
460 Rolling 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
    I must return to native dust? O sight
    Of terror, foul and ugly to behold!
465 Horrid to think, how horrible to feel!"
    To whom thus Michaël: "Death thou hast seen
    In his first shape on man; but many shapes
    Of Death, and many are the ways that lead
    To his grim cave, all dismal; yet to sense
470 More terrible at the entrance than within.
    Some, as thou saw'st, by violent stroke shall die;
    By fire, flood, famine, by intemperance more
    In meats and drinks, which on the earth shall bring
    Diseases dire, of which a monstrous crew
Before thee shall appear, that thou may'st know
What misery the inabstinence of Eve
Shall bring on men." Immediately a place
Before his eyes appeared, sad, noisome, dark;
A lazar-house it seemed, wherein were laid

Numbers of all diseased, all maladies
Of ghastly spasm, or racking torture, qualms
Of heart-sick agony, all feverous kinds,
Convulsions, epilepsies, fierce catarrhs,
Intestine stone, and ulcer, colic pangs,

Demonic phrenzy, moping melancholy,
And moon-struck madness, pining atrophy,
Marasmus, and wide-wasting pestilence,
Dropsies, and asthmas, and joint-racking rheums.
Dire was the tossing, deep the groans; Despair

Tended the sick busiest from couch to couch;
And over them triumphant Death his dart
Shook, but delayed to strike, though oft invoked
With vows as their chief good and final hope.
Sight so deform what heart of rock could long

Dry-eyed behold? Adam could not, but wept,
Though not of woman born; compassion quelled
His best of man, and gave him up to tears
A space, till firmer thoughts restrained excess,
And, scarce recovering words, his plaint renewed:

"O miserable mankind, to what fall
Degraded, to what wretched state reserved!
Better end here unborn. Why is life given
To be thus wrested from us? rather, why
Obtruded on us thus? who, if we knew

What we receive, would either not accept
Life offered, or soon beg to lay it down,
Glad to be so dismissed in peace. Can thus
The image of God in man, created once
So goodly and erect, though faulty since,
To such unsightly sufferings be debased
Under inhuman pains? Why should not man,
Retaining still divine similitude
In part, from such deformities be free,
And, for his Maker's image sake, exempt?"

"Their Maker's image," answered Michael, "then
Forsook them, when themselves they vilified
To serve ungoverned Appetite, and took
His image whom they served—a brutish vice,
Inductive mainly to the sin of Eve.

Therefore so abject is their punishment,
Disfiguring not God's likeness, but their own;
Or, if his likeness, by themselves defaced,
While they pervert pure Nature's healthful rules
To loathsome sickness; worthily, since they
God's 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 dust?"

"There is," said Michael, "if thou well observe
The rule of 'Not too much,' by temperance taught,
In what thou eat'st and drink'st, seeking from thence
Due nourishment, not glutinous delight,
Till many years over thy head return.

So may'st thou live, till, like ripe fruit, thou drop
Into thy mother's lap, or be with ease
Gathered, not harshly plucked, for death mature;
This is old age; but then thou must outlive
Thy youth, thy strength, thy beauty, which will change

To withered, weak, and gray; thy senses then,
Obtuse, all taste of pleasure must forgo
To what thou hast; and, for the air of youth,
Hopeful and cheerful, in thy blood will reign
A melancholy damp of cold and dry,
To weigh thy spirits down, and last consume
The balm of life.” To whom our ancestor:
“Henceforth I fly not death, nor would prolong
Life much, bent rather how I may be quit,
Fairest and easiest, of this cumbersome charge,

Which I must keep till my appointed day
Of rendering up, and patiently attend
My dissolution.” Michael replied:
“Nor love thy life, nor hate; but what thou livest
Live well; how long, or short, permit to Heaven.

And now prepare thee for another sight.”
He looked, and saw a spacious plain, whereon
Were tents of various hue; by some were herds
Of cattle grazing; others, whence the sound
Of instruments that made melodious chime

Was heard, of harp and organ; and who moved
Their stops and chords was seen; his volant touch
Instinct through all proportions, low and high,
Fled, and pursued transverse the resonant fugue.
In other part stood one who, at the forge
Labouring, two massy clods of iron and brass
Had melted, (whether found where casual fire
Had wasted woods, on mountain or in vale,
Down to the veins of earth, thence gliding hot
To some cave’s mouth, or whether washed by stream
From underground); the liquid ore he drained
Into fit moulds prepared; from which he formed
First his own tools; then, what might else be wrought
Fusil or graven in metal. After these,
But on the hither side, a different sort

From the high neighbouring hills, which was their seat,
Down to the plain descended; by their guise
Just men they seemed, and all their study bent
To worship God aright, and know his works
Not hid; nor those things last which might preserve
Freedom and peace to men. They on the plain
Long had not walked, when from the tents behold
A bevy of fair women, richly gay
In gems and wanton dress; to the harp they sung
Soft amorous ditties, and in dance came on;

The men, though grave, eyed them, and let their eyes
Rove without rein, till, in the amorous net
Fast caught, they liked, and each his liking chose;
And now of love they treat, till the evening star,
Love's harbinger, appeared; then, all in heat,

They light the nuptial torch, and bid invoke
Hymen, then first to marriage rites invoked;
With feast and music all the tents resound.
Such happy interview, and fair event
Of love and youth not lost, songs, garlands, flowers,

And charming symphonies, attached the heart
Of Adam, soon inclined to admit delight,
The bent of nature; which he thus expressed:
"True opener of mine eyes, prime Angel blest!
Much better seems this vision, and more hope

Of peaceful days portends, than those two past;
Those were of hate and death, or pain much worse;
Here Nature seems fulfilled in all her ends."

To whom thus Michael: "Judge not what is best
By pleasure, though to Nature seeming meet,

Created, as thou art, to nobler end
Holy and pure, conformity divine.
Those tents thou saw'st so pleasant were the tents
Of wickedness, wherein shall dwell his race
Who slew his brother; studious they appear

Of arts that polish life, inventors rare;
Unmindful of their Maker, though his Spirit
Taught them; but they his gifts acknowledged none.
Yet they a beauteous offspring shall beget;
For that fair female troop thou saw'st, that seemed
Of goddesses, so blithe, so smooth, so gay,
Yet empty of all good wherein consists
Woman’s domestic honour and chief praise,
Bred only and completed to the taste
Of lustful appetite, to sing, to dance,

To dress, and troll the tongue, and roll the eye;
To these that sober race of men, whose lives
Religious titled them the sons of God,
Shall yield up all their virtue, all their fame,
Ignobly, to the trains and to the smiles.

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 weep.”

To whom thus Adam, of short joy bereft:
“O pity and shame, that they, who to live well
Entered so fair, should turn aside to tread
Paths indirect, or in the midway faint!
But still I see the tenor of man’s woe
Holds on the same—from woman to begin.”

“From man’s effeminate slackness it begins,”

Said the Angel, “who should better hold his place
By wisdom, and superior gifts received.
But now prepare thee for another scene.”

He looked, and saw wide territory spread
Before him—towns, and rural works between,

Cities of men with lofty gates and towers,
Concourse in arms, fierce faces threatening war,
Giants of mighty bone and bold emprise;
Part wield their arms, part curb the foaming steed,
Single or in array of battle ranged

Both horse and foot, nor idly mustering stood.
One way a band select from forage drives
A herd of beeves, fair oxen and fair kine,
From a fat meadow-ground, or fleecy flock,
Ewes and their bleating lambs, over the plain,
Their booty; scarce with life the shepherds fly,
But call in aid, which makes a bloody fray;
With cruel tournament the squadrons join;
Where cattle pastured late, now scattered lies
With carcasses and arms the ensanguined field

Deserted. Others to a city strong
Lay siege, encamped, by battery, scale, and mine,
Assaulting; others from the wall defend
With dart and javelin, stones and sulphurous fire;
On each hand slaughter and gigantic deeds.

In other part the sceptred heralds call
To council in the city-gates; anon
Gray-headed men and grave, with warriors mixed,
Assemble, and harangues are heard; but soon
In factious opposition, till at last

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
Exploded, and had seized with violent hands,

Had not a cloud descending snatched 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

Lamenting turned full sad: "Oh, what are these?
Death's ministers, not men! who thus deal death
Inhumanly to men, and multiply
Ten thousand-fold the sin of him who slew
His brother; for of whom such massacre

Make they but of their brethren, men of men?
But who was that just man, whom had not Heaven
Rescued, had in his righteousness been lost?"

To whom thus Michael: "These are the product
Of those ill-mated marriages thou saw'st;
685 Where good with bad were matched, who of themselves
    Abhor to join, and, by imprudence mixed,
    Produce prodigious births of body or mind.
    Such were these Giants, men of high renown;
    For in those days might only shall be admired,
690 And valour and heroic virtue called;
    To overcome in battle, and subdue
    Nations, and bring home spoils with infinite
    Man-slaughter, shall be held the highest pitch
    Of human glory, and for glory done
695 Of triumph, to be styled great conquerors,
    Patrons of mankind, gods, and sons of gods,
    Destroyers rightlier called, and plagues of men.
    Thus fame shall be achieved, renown on earth,
    And what most merits fame in silence hid.
700 But he, the seventh from thee, whom thou beheld'st
    The only righteous in a world perverse,
    And therefore hated, therefore so beset
    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 balmy cloud with winged steeds,
    Did, as thou saw'st, receive, to walk with God
    High in salvation and the climes of bliss,
    Exempt from death, to show thee what reward
710 Awaits the good, the rest what punishment;
    Which now direct thine eyes and soon behold.”
    He looked, and saw the face of things quite changed;
    The brazen throat of war had ceased to roar;
    All now was turned to jollity and game,
715 To luxury and riot, feast and dance,
    Marrying or prostituting, as befell,
    Rape or adultery, where passing fair
    Allured them; thence from cups to civil broils.
    At length a reverend sire among them came,
And of their doings great dislike declared,
And testified against their ways; he oft
Frequented their assemblies, whereso met,
Triumphs or festivals, and to them preached
Conversion and repentance, as to souls

In prison, under judgments imminent;
But all in vain. Which when he saw, he ceased
Contending, and removed his tents far off;
Then, from the mountain hewing timber tall,
Began to build a vessel of huge bulk,

Measured by cubit, length, and breadth, and height,
Smeared round with pitch, and in the side a door
Contrived, and of provisions laid in large
For man and beast; when, lo, a wonder strange!
Of every beast, and bird, and insect small

Came sevens and pairs, and entered in, as taught,
Their order; last the sire and his three sons,
With their four wives; and God made fast the door.
Meanwhile the south-wind rose, and, with black wings
Wide hovering, all the clouds together drove

From under heaven; the hills, to their supply,
Vapour, and exhalation dusk and moist,
Sent up amain; and now the thickened sky
Like a dark ceiling stood; down rushed the rain
Impetuous, and continued till the earth

No more was seen; the floating vessel swum
Uplifted, and secure with beaked prow
Rode tilting o'er the waves; all dwellings else
Flood overwhelmed, and them with all their pomp
Deep under water rolled; sea covered sea,

Sea without shore; and in their palaces,
Where luxury late reigned, sea-monsters whelped
And stabled; of mankind, so numerous late,
All left in one small bottom swum embarked.

How didst thou grieve, then, Adam, to behold
755 The end of all thy offspring, end so sad,
Depopulation! Thee another flood,
Of tears and sorrow a flood thee also drowned,
And sunk thee as thy sons; till, gently reared
By the Angel, on thy feet thou stood'st at last,

760 Though comfortless, as when a father mourns
His children all in view destroyed at once;
And scarce to the Angel utteredst thus thy plaint:
"O visions ill foreseen! Better had I
Lived ignorant of future! so had borne

765 My part of evil only, each day's lot
Enough to bear; those now, that were dispensed
The burden of many ages, on me light
At once, by my foreknowledge gaining birth
Abortive, to torment me, ere their being,

770 With thought that they must be. Let no man seek
Henceforth to be foretold, what shall befall
Him or his children; evil he may be sure,
Which neither his foreknowing can prevent,
And he the future evil shall no less

775 In apprehension than in substance feel
Grievous to bear. But that care now is past;
Man is not whom to warn; those few escaped
Famine and anguish will at last consume,
Wandering that watery desert. I had hope,

780 When violence was ceased and war on earth,
All would have then gone well, peace would have
crowned
With length of happy days the race of man;
But I was far deceived, for now I see
Peace to corrupt no less than war to waste.

785 How comes it thus? unfold, celestial Guide,
And whether here the race of man will end."
To whom thus Michael: "Those, whom last thou
saw'st
In triumph and luxurious wealth, are they
First seen in acts of prowess eminent
And great exploits, but of true virtue void;
Who, having spilt much blood, and done much waste,
Subduing nations, and achieved thereby
Fame in the world, high titles, and rich prey,
Shall change their course to pleasure, ease, and sloth,
Surfeit, and lust, till wantonness and pride
Raise, out of friendship, hostile deeds in peace.
The conquered also, and enslaved by war,
Shall, with their freedom lost, all virtue lose,
And fear of God, from whom their piety feigned
In sharp contest of battle found no aid
Against invaders; therefore, cooled in zeal,
Thenceforth shall practise how to live secure,
Worldly or dissolute, on what their lords
Shall leave them to enjoy; for the earth shall bear
More than enough, that temperance may be tried.
So all shall turn degenerate, all depraved,
Justice and temperance, truth and faith forgot;
One man except, the only son of light
In a dark age, against example good,
Against allurement, custom, and a world
Offended; fearless of reproach and scorn,
Or violence, he of their wicked ways
Shall them admonish, and before them set
The paths of righteousness, how much more safe
And full of peace, denouncing wrath to come
On their impenitence, and shall return
Of them derided, but of God observed
The one just man alive; by his command
Shall build a wondrous ark, as thou beheld'st,
To save himself and household from amidst
A world devote to universal wrack.
No sooner he, with them of man and beast
Select for life, shall in the ark be lodged
And sheltered round, but all the cataracts

825 Of Heaven, set open, on the earth shall pour
Rain 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 moved
Out of his place, pushed by the horned flood,
With all his verdure spoiled, and trees adrift,
Down the great river to the opening gulf,
And there take root, an island salt and bare,

835 The haunt of seals, and orcs, and sea-mews' clang;
To teach thee that God attributes to place
No sanctity, if none be thither brought
By men who there frequent or therein dwell.
And now, what further shall ensue, behold."

840 He looked, and saw the ark hull on the flood,
Which now abated, for the clouds were fled,
Driven by a keen north-wind, that, blowing dry;
Wrinkled the face of deluge, as decayed;
And the clear sun on his wide watery glass

845 Gazed hot, and of the fresh wave largely drew,
As after thirst; which made their flowing shrink
From standing lake to tripping ebb, that stole
With soft foot towards the deep, who now had stop't
His sluices, as the heaven his windows shut.

850 The ark no more now floats, but seems on ground,
Fast on the top of some high mountain fixed.
And now the tops of hills as rocks appear;
With clamour thence the rapid currents drive
Towards the retreating sea their furious tide.

855 Forthwith from out the ark a raven flies,
And, after him, the surer messenger,
A dove, sent forth once and again to spy
Green tree or ground whereon his foot may light;
The second time returning, in his bill
860 An olive-leaf he brings, pacific sign.
    Anon dry ground appears, and from his ark
    The ancient sire descends, with all his train;
    Then, with uplifted hands and eyes devout,
    Grateful to Heaven, over his head beholds
865 A dewy cloud, and in the cloud a bow
    Conspicuous with three listed colours gay,
    Betokening peace from God, and covenant new.
    Whereat the heart of Adam, erst so sad,
    Greatly rejoiced, and thus his joy broke forth:
870 "O thou, who future things canst represent
    As present, heavenly Instructor, I revive
    At this last sight, assured that man shall live,
    With all the creatures, and their seed preserve.
    Far less I now lament for one whole world
875 Of wicked sons destroyed, than I rejoice
    For one man found so perfect and so just,
    That God vouchsafes to raise another world
    From him, and all his anger to forget.
    But say, what mean those coloured streaks in Heaven,
880 Distended as the brow of God appeased?
    Or serve they, as a flowery verge, to bind
    The fluid skirts of that same watery cloud,
    Lest it again dissolve and shower the earth?"
    To whom the Archangel: "Dextrously thou aim'st;
885 So willingly doth God remit his ire,
    Though late repenting him of man depraved;
    Grieved at his heart, when looking down he saw
    The whole earth filled with violence, and all flesh
    Corrupting each their way; yet, those removed,
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
With man therein or beast; but, when he brings
Over the earth a cloud, will therein set
His triple-coloured bow, whereon to look
And call to mind his covenant; day and night,
Seed-time and harvest, heat and hoary frost,
Shall hold their course, till fire purge all things new,
Both heaven and earth, wherein the just shall dwell.”

THE END OF THE ELEVENTH BOOK.
BOOK XII.
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, 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 composed 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 their stations to guard the place.
BOOK XII.

S one who in his journey baits at noon,
Though bent on speed, so here the Archangel paused
Betwixt the world destroyed and world restored,
If Adam aught perhaps might interpose;

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 perceive
Thy mortal sight to fail; objects divine

Must need's impair and weary human sense.
Henceforth what is to come I will relate;
Thou therefore give due audience, and attend.

"This second source of men, while yet but few,
And while the dread of judgment past remains

Fresh in their minds, fearing the Deity,
With some regard to what is just and right
Shall lead their lives, and multiply apace,
Labouring the soil, and reaping plenteous crop,
Corn, wine, and oil; and, from the herd or flock

Oft sacrificing bullock, lamb, or kid,
With large wine-offerings poured, and sacred feast,
Shall spend their days in joy unblamed, and dwell
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 equality, fraternal state,
Will arrogate dominion undeserved
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 war, and hostile snare, such as refuse
Subjection to his empire tyrannous;
A mighty hunter thence he shall be styled
Before the Lord, as in despite of Heaven,

35 Or from Heaven claiming second sovranity,
And from rebellion shall derive his name,
Though of rebellion others he accuse.
He with a crew, whom like ambition joins
With him or under him to tyrannize,

40 Marching from Eden towards the west, shall find
The plain, wherein a black bituminous gurge
Boils out from under ground, the mouth of Hell.
Of brick, and of that stuff, they cast to build
A city and tower whose top may reach to Heaven,

45 And get themselves a name, lest, far dispersed
In foreign lands, their memory be lost,
Regardless whether good or evil fame.
But God, who oft descends to visit men
Unseen, and through their habitations walks

50 To mark their doings, them beholding soon,
Comes down to see their city, ere the tower
Obstruct Heaven towers, and in derision sets
Upon their tongues a various spirit, to rase
Quite out their 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 mocked they storm; great laughter was in Heaven

60 And looking down, to see the hubbub strange
And hear the din; thus was the building left
Ridiculous, and the work 'Confusion' named."

Whereeto thus Adam, fatherly displeased:
"O execrable son! so to aspire

65 Above his brethren, to himself assuming
Authority usurped, from God not given;
He gave us only 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
Stays not on man; to God his tower intends
Siege and defiance. Wretched man! what food

75 Will he convey up thither, to sustain
Himself and his rash army, where thin air
Above the clouds will pine his entrails gross,
And famish him of breath, if not of bread?"

To whom thus Michael: "Justly thou abhor'st

80 That son, who on the quiet state of men
Such trouble brought, affecting to subdue
Rational liberty; yet know withal,
Since thy original lapse, true liberty
Is lost, which always with right reason dwells

85 Twinned, and from her hath no dividual being.
Reason in man obscured, or not obeyed,
Immediately inordinate desires
And upstart passions catch the government
From reason, and to servitude reduce

90 Man, till then free. Therefore, since he permits
Within himself unworthy powers to reign
Over free reason, God, in judgment just,
Subjects him from without to violent lords,
Who oft as undeservedly enthral
95 His outward freedom. Tyranny must be,
Though to the tyrant thereby no excuse.
Yet sometimes nations will decline so low
From virtue, which is reason, that no wrong,
But justice and some fatal curse annexed,
100 Deprives them of their outward liberty,
Their inward lost; witness the irreverent son
Of him who built the ark, who, for the shame
Done to his father, heard this heavy curse,
'Servant of servants,' on his vicious 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 their own polluted ways,
And one peculiar nation to select
From all the rest, of whom to be invoked,
A nation from one faithful man to spring;
Him, on this side Euphrates yet residing,
115 Bred up in idol-worship—Oh, that men
(Canst thou believe?) should be so stupid grown,
While yet the patriarch lived who scaped the Flood,
As to for sake the living God, and fall
To worship their own work in wood and stone
120 For gods!—yet him God the Most High vouchsafes
To call by vision, from his father's house,
His kindred, and false gods, into a land
Which he will show him, and from him will raise
A mighty nation, and upon him shower
125 His benediction so, that in his seed
All nations shall be blest. He straight obeys,
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 soil,

130 Ur of Chaldaæ, passing now the ford
To Haran, after him a cumbrous train
Of herds and flocks, and numerous servitude;
Not wandering poor, but trusting all his wealth
With God, who called him, in a land unknown.

135 Canaan he now attains; I see his tents
Pitched about Sechem, and the neighbouring plain
Of Moreh; there, by promise, he receives
Gift to his progeny of all that land,
From Hamath northward to the Desert south.

140 (Things by their names I call, though yet unnamed),
From Hermon east to the great western sea;
Mount Hermon, yonder sea, each place behold
In prospect, as I point them; on the shore,
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 Serpent’s head; whereof to thee anon
Plainlier shall be revealed. This patriarch blest,
Whom ‘faithful Abraham’ due time shall call,
A son, and of his son a grandchild, leaves,
Like him in faith, in wisdom, and renown.

155 The grandchild, with twelve sons increased, departs
From Canaan, to a land hereafter called
Egypt, divided by the river Nile;
See where it flows, disgorging at seven mouths
Into the sea. To sojourn in that land

160 He comes, invited by a younger son
In time of dearth, a son whose worthy deeds
Raise him to be the second in that realm
Of Pharaoh. There he dies, and leaves his race
Growing into a nation, and now grown

165 Suspected to a sequent king, who seeks
To stop their overgrowth, as inmate guests
Too numerous; whence of guests he makes them slaves
In hospitably, and kills their infant males;
Till, by two brethren (those two brethren call

170 Moses and Aaron) sent from God to claim
His people from enthralment, they return
With glory and spoil back to their promised land.
But first the lawless tyrant, who denies
To know their God, or message to regard,

175 Must be compelled by signs and judgments dire;
To blood unshed the rivers must be turned;
Frogs, lice, and flies must all his palace fill
With loathed intrusion, and fill all the land;
His cattle must of rot and murrain die;

180 Botches and blains must all his flesh emboss,
And all his people; thunder mixed with hail,
Hail mixed with fire, must rend the Egyptian sky,
And wheel on the earth, devouring where it rolls;
What it devours not, herb, or fruit, or grain,

185 A darksome 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 days;
Last, with one midnight stroke, all the first-born

190 Of Egypt must lie dead. Thus with ten wounds
The river-dragon tamed at length submits
To let his sojourners depart, and oft
Humbles his stubborn heart, but still as ice
More hardened after thaw; till, in his rage

195 Pursuing whom he late dismissed, the sea
Swallows him with his host, but them lets pass,
As on dry land, between two crystal walls,
Awed by the rod of Moses so to stand
Divided till his rescued gain their shore;

200 Such wondrous power God to his saint will lend,
Though present in his Angel, who shall go
Before them in a cloud, and pillar of fire.
By day a cloud, by night a pillar of fire;
To guide them in their journey, and remove

205 Behind them, while the obdurate king pursues;
All night he will pursue, but his approach
Darkness defends between till morning watch;
Then, through the fiery pillar and the cloud
God looking forth will trouble all his host,

210 And craze their chariot-wheels; when, by command,
Moses once more his potent rod extends
Over the sea; the sea his rod obeys;
On their embattled ranks the waves return,
And overwhelm their war. The race elect

215 Safe towards Canaan from the shore advance
Through the wild Desert, not the readiest way,
Lest, entering on the Canaanite alarmed,
War terrify them inexpert, and fear
Return them back to Egypt, choosing rather

220 Inglorious life with servitude; for life
To noble and ignoble is more sweet
Untrained in arms, where rashness leads not on.
This also shall they gain by their delay
In the wide wilderness,—there they shall found

225 Their government, and their great Senate choose
Through the twelve tribes, to rule by laws ordained.
God, from the Mount of Sinai, whose grey top
Shall tremble, he descending, will himself
In thunder, lightning, and loud trumpet's sound,

230 Ordain them laws; part, such as appertain
To civil justice, part, religious rites
Of sacrifice, informing them, by types
And shadows, of that destined Seed to bruise
The Serpent, by what means he shall achieve
235 Mankind's deliverance. But the voice of God
To mortal ear is dreadful; they beseech
That Moses might report to them his will,
And terror cease; he grants what they besought,
Instructed that to God is no access
240 Without Mediator, whose high office now
Moses in figure bears, to introduce
One greater, of whose day he shall foretell?
And all the prophets in their age the times
Of great Messiah shall sing. Thus laws and rites
245 Established, such delight hath God in men
Obedient to his will, that he vouchsafes
Among them to set up his tabernacle—
The Holy One with mortal men to dwell.
By his prescript a sanctuary is framed
250 Of cedar, overlaid with gold; therein
An ark, and in the ark his testimony,
The records of his covenant; over these
A mercy-seat of gold, between the wings
Of two bright Cherubim; before him burn
255 Seven lamps, as in a zodiac representing
The heavenly fires. Over the tent a cloud
Shall rest by day, a fiery gleam by night,
Save when they journey; and at length they come,
Conducted by his Angel, to the land
260 Promised to Abraham and his seed. The rest
Were long to tell;—how many battles fought;
How many kings destroyed, and kingdoms won;
Or how the sun shall in mid-heaven stand still
A day entire, and night's due course adjourn,
265 Man's voice commanding, 'Sun, in Gibeon stand,
And thou, Moon, in the vale of Aialon,
Till Israel overcome! so call the third
From Abraham, son of Isaac, and from him
His whole descent, who thus shall Canaan win."

Here Adam interposed: "O sent from Heaven,
Enlightener of my darkness, gracious things
Thou hast revealed, those chiefly, which concern
Just Abraham and his seed. Now first I find
Mine eyes true opening, and my heart much eased,
Erewhile perplexed with thoughts what would become
Of me and all mankind; but now I see
His day, in whom all nations shall be blest,
Favour unmerited by me, who sought
Forbidden knowledge by forbidden means.

This yet I apprehend not, why to those,
Among whom God will deign to dwell on Earth,
So many and so various laws are given;
So many laws argue so many sins
Among them; how can God with such reside?"

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
Their natural pravity, by stirring up
Sin against law to fight; that when they see
Law can discover sin, but not remove,
Save by those shadowy 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,
To them by faith imputed, they may find
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.

So law appears imperfect, and but given
With purpose to resign them, in full time,
Up to a better covenant, disciplined
From shadowy types to truth, from flesh to spirit,
From imposition of strict laws to free

305 Acceptance of large grace, from servile fear
To filial, works of law to works of faith.
And therefore shall not Moses, though of God
Highly beloved, 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 adversary Serpent, and bring back
Through the world's wilderness long wandered man
Safe to eternal Paradise of rest.

315 Meanwhile they, in their earthly Canaan placed,
Long time shall dwell and prosper, but when sins
National interrupt their 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 piety renowned
And puissant deeds, a promise shall receive
Irrevocable, that his regal throne
For ever shall endure; the like shall sing

325 All prophecy,—that of the royal stock
Of David (so I name this king) shall rise
A Son, the Woman's Seed to thee foretold,
Foretold to Abraham, as in whom shall trust
All nations, and to kings foretold, of kings

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 famed,
The clouded ark of God, till then in tents
Wandering, shall in a glorious temple enshrine.

335 Such follow him as shall be registered
Part good, part bad; of bad the longer scroll;
Whose foul idolatries and other faults,
Heaped to the popular sum, will so incense
God, as to leave them, and expose their land,

Their city, his temple, and his holy ark,
With all his sacred things, a scorn and prey
To that proud city, whose high walls thou saw'st
Left in confusion, Babylon thence called.
There in captivity he lets them dwell

The space of seventy years; then brings them back,
Remembering mercy, and his covenant sworn
To David, established as the days of Heaven.
Returned from Babylon by leave of kings
Their lords, whom God disposed, the House of God

They first re- edify, 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

Endeavour peace; their strife pollution brings
Upon the temple itself; at last, they seize
The sceptre, and regard not David's sons;
Then lose it to a stranger, that the true
Anointed King Messiah might be born

Barred of his right; yet at his birth a star,
Unseen before in heaven, proclaims him come,
And guides the eastern sages, who inquire
His place, to offer incense, myrrh, and gold;
His place of birth a solemn Angel tells

To simple shepherds, keeping watch by night;
They gladly thither haste, and by a choir
Of squadroned Angels hear his carol sung.
A Virgin is his Mother, but his Sire
The Power of the Most High; he shall ascend

The throne hereditary, and bound his reign
With earth's wide bounds, his glory with the Heavens."
He ceased, discerning Adam with such joy
Surcharged, as had, like grief, been dewed in tears,
Without the vent of words; which these he breathed:

"O prophet of glad tidings, finisher
Of utmost hope! now clear I understand
(What oft my steadiest thoughts have searched in vain),

Why our great Expectation should be called
The Seed of Woman. Virgin Mother, hail!

High in the love of Heaven, yet from my loins
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 bruise
Expect with mortal pain; say where and when

Their fight, what stroke shall bruise the Victor's heel."

To whom thus Michael: "Dream not of their fight,
As of a duel, or the local wounds
Of head or heel. Not therefore joins the Son
Manhood to Godhead, with more strength to foil

The enemy; nor so is overcome
Satan, whose fall from Heaven, a deadlier bruise,
Disabled not to give thee thy death's wound;
Which He, who comes thy Saviour, shall recure,
Not by destroying Satan, but his works

In thee and in thy seed. Nor can this be,
But by fulfilling that which thou didst want,
Obedience to the law of God, imposed
On penalty of death, and suffering death,
The penalty to thy transgression due,

And due to theirs which out of thine will grow;
So only can high justice rest appaid.
The law of God exact he shall fulfil
Both by obedience and by love, though love
Alone fulfil the law; thy punishment

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

To save them, not their own, though legal, works.
For this he shall live hated, be blasphemed,
Seized on by force, judged, and to death condemned—
A shameful and accursed, nailed to the cross
By his own nation, slain for bringing life;

But to the cross he nails thy enemies,
The law that is against thee, and the sins
Of all mankind with him there crucified,
Never to hurt them more who rightly trust
In this his satisfaction. So he dies,

But soon revives; Death over him no power
Shall long usurp; ere the third dawning light
Return, the stars of morn shall see him rise
Out of his grave, fresh as the dawning light,
Thy ransom paid, which man from death redeems,

His death for man—as many as offered life
Neglect not, and the benefit embrace
By faith not void of works. This godlike act
Annuls thy doom, the death thou shouldst have died,
In sin for ever lost from life; this act

Shall bruise the head of Satan, crush his strength,
Defeating Sin and Death, his two main arms,
And fix far deeper in his head their stings
Than temporal death shall bruise the Victor's heel,
Or theirs whom he redeems, a death like sleep—

A gentle wafting to immortal life.
Nor after resurrection shall he stay
Longer on earth, than certain times to appear
To his disciples, men who in his life
Still followed him; to them shall leave in charge
440 To teach all nations what of him they learned
And his salvation, them who shall believe
Baptizing in the profluent stream—the sign
Of washing them from guilt of sin to life
Pure, and in mind prepared, if so befall,
445 For death like that which the Redeemer died.
All nations they shall teach; for, from that day,
Not only to the sons of Abraham’s loins
Salvation shall be preached, but to the sons
Of Abraham’s faith, wherever through the world;
450 So in his seed all nations shall be blest.
Then to the Heaven of Heavens he shall ascend
With victory, triumphing through the air
Over his foes and thine; there shall surprise
The Serpent, Prince of air, and drag in chains
455 Through all his realm, and there confounded leave;
Then enter into glory, and resume
His seat at God’s right hand, exalted high
Above all names in Heaven; and thence shall come,
When this world’s dissolution shall be ripe,
460 With glory and power to judge both quick and dead—
To judge the unfaithful dead, but to reward
His faithful, and receive them into bliss,
Whether in Heaven or earth; for then the earth
Shall all be Paradise, far happier place
465 Than this of Eden, and far happier days!”
So spake the Archangel Michaël; then paused,
As at the world’s great period; and our sire,
Replete with joy and wonder, thus replied:
“O Goodness infinite, Goodness immense!
470 That all this good of evil shall produce,
And evil turn to good; more wonderful
Than 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 me done and occasioned, or rejoice
Much more, that much more good thereof shall spring,
To God more glory, more good-will to men
From God, and over wrath grace shall abound.
But say, if our Deliverer up to Heaven

480 Must reascend, what will betide the few
His faithful, left among the unfaithful herd,
The enemies of truth. Who then shall guide
His people, who defend? Will they not deal
Worse with his followers than with him they dealt?"

485 "Be sure they will," said the Angel; "but from
Heaven
He 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 their hearts shall write,

490 To guide them in all truth, and also arm
With spiritual armour, able to resist
Satan's assaults, and quench his fiery darts,
What man can do against them, not afraid,
Though to the death, against such cruelties

495 With inward consolations recompensed,
And oft supported so as shall amaze
Their proudest persecutors. For the Spirit,
Poured first on his Apostles, whom he sends
To evangelize the nations, then on all

500 Baptized, shall them with wondrous gifts endue
To speak all tongues, and do all miracles,
As did their Lord before them. Thus they win
Great numbers of each nation to receive
With joy the tidings brought from Heaven; at length,
Their ministry performed, and race well run,
Their doctrine and their story written left,
They die; but in their room, as they forewarn,
Wolves shall succeed for teachers—grievous wolves,
Who all the sacred mysteries of Heaven

To their own vile advantages shall turn
Of lucre and ambition, and the truth
With superstitions and traditions taint,
Left only in those written records pure,
Though not but by the Spirit understood.

Then shall they seek to avail themselves of names,
Places, and titles, and with these to join
Secular power, though feigning still to act
By spiritual; to themselves appropriating
The Spirit of God, promised alike and given

To all believers; and, from that prétence,
Spiritual laws by carnal power shall force
On every conscience, laws which none shall find
Left them enrolled, or what the Spirit within
Shall on the heart engrave. What will they then,

But force the Spirit of Grace itself, and bind
His consort Liberty? what but unbuild
His living temples, built by faith to stand,
Their own faith, not another’s? for on earth
Who against faith and conscience can be heard

Infallible? Yet many will presume;
Whence heavy persecution shall arise
On all, who in the worship persevere
Of Spirit and Truth; the rest (far greater part)
Will deem in outward rites and specious forms

Religion satisfied; Truth shall retire
Bestuck with slanderous darts, and works of faith
Rarely be found. So shall the world go on,
To good malignant, to bad men benign,
Under her own weight groaning, till the day
Appear of respiration to the just,
And vengeance to the wicked, at return
Of him so lately promised to thy aid,
The Woman's Seed, obscurely then foretold,
Now amplier known thy Saviour and thy Lord;

Last, in the clouds, from Heaven to be revealed
In glory of the Father, to dissolve
Satan, with his perverted world; then raise
From the conflagrant mass, purged and refined,
New Heavens, new earth, ages of endless date,

Founded in righteousness and peace and love,
To bring forth fruits, joy and eternal bliss!"

He ended, and thus Adam last replied:
"How soon hath thy prediction, Seer blest,
Measured this transient world, the race of time,
Till time stand fixed! Beyond is all abyss—
Eternity, whose end no eye can reach.
Greatly instructed I shall hence depart,
Greatly in peace of thought, and have my fill
Of knowledge, what this vessel can contain;

Beyond which was my folly to aspire.
Henceforth I learn that to obey is best,
And love with fear the only God, to walk
As in his presence, ever to observe
His providence, and on him sole depend,

Merciful over all his works, with good
Still overcoming evil, and by small
Accomplishing great things—by things deemed weak
Subverting worldly strong, and worldly wise
By simply meek; that suffering for truth's sake

Is fortitude to highest victory,
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 the Angel last replied:
"This having learned, thou hast attained the sum
Of wisdom; hope no higher, though all the stars
Thou knew'lt by name, and all the ethereal Powers,
All secrets of the deep, all Nature's works,
Or works of God in Heaven, air, earth, or sea,

And all the riches of the world enjoyedst,
And all the rule, one empire; only add
Deeds to thy knowledge answerable; add faith,
Add virtue, patience, temperance; add love,
By name to come called charity, the soul

Of all the rest; then wilt thou not be loth
To leave this Paradise, but shalt possess
A Paradise within thee, happier far.
Let us descend now therefore from this top
Of speculation; for the hour precise

Exacts our parting hence; and, see! the guards,
By me encamped on yonder hill, expect
Their motion, at whose front a flaming sword,
In signal of remove, waves fiercely round.
We may no longer stay; go, waken Eve;

Her also I with gentle dreams have calmed,
Portending good, and all her spirits composed
To meek submission; thou, at season fit,
Let her with thee partake what thou hast heard;
Chiefly what may concern her faith to know,

The great deliverance by her seed to come
(For by the Woman's Seed) on all mankind;
That ye may live, which will be many days,
Both in one faith unanimous, though sad
(With cause) for evils past, yet much more cheered

With meditation on the happy end."

He ended; and they both descend the hill;
Descended, Adam to the bower where Eve
Lay sleeping ran before, but found her waked;
And thus with words not sad she him received:
"Whence thou return'st, and whither went'st, I know;
For God is also in sleep, and dreams advise,
Which he hath sent propitious, some great good
Presaging, since with sorrow and heart's distress
Wearied I fell asleep. But now lead on;

In me is no delay; with thee to go,
Is to stay here; without thee here to stay,
Is to go hence unwilling; thou to me
Art all things under Heaven, all places thou,
Who for my wilful crime art banished hence.

This further consolation yet secure
I carry hence; though all by me is lost,
Such favour I unworthy am vouchsafed,
By me the promised Seed shall all restore."

So spake our mother Eve, and Adam heard

Well pleased, but answered not; for now, too nigh
The Archangel stood, and from the other hill
To their fixed station, all in bright array,
The Cherubim descended; on the ground
Gliding meteorous, as evening mist

Risen from a river o'er the marish glides,
And gathers ground fast at the labourer's heel
Homeward returning. High in front advanced,
The brandished sword of God before them blazed,
Fierce as a comet, which with torrid heat,

And vapour as the Libyan air adust,
Began to parch that temperate clime; whereat
In either hand the hastening Angel caught
Our lingering parents, and to the eastern gate
Led them direct, and down the cliff as fast

To the subjected plain; then disappeared.
They, looking back, all the eastern side beheld
Of Paradise, so late their happy seat,
Waved over by that flaming brand; the gate
With dreadful faces thronged and fiery arms.
645 Some natural tears they dropped, but wiped them soon;
The world was all before them, where to choose
Their place of rest, and Providence their guide.
They, hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow,
Through Eden took their solitary way.
PARADISE REGAINED:

A POEM IN FOUR BOOKS.
BOOK I.
THE ARGUMENT.*

The subject proposed. Invocation of the Holy Spirit. John baptising at the river Jordan. Jesus coming there, is baptized; and is attested by the descent of the Holy Ghost, and by a voice from Heaven, to be the Son of God. Satan, who is present, flies up into the regions of the air; where, summoning his infernal council, he acquaints them with his apprehensions that Jesus is that seed of the woman destined to destroy all their power, and points out to them the necessity of bringing the matter to proof, and of attempting to counteract and defeat the person from whom they have so much to dread. This office he undertakes, and sets out on his enterprise. In the meantime, God, in the assembly of holy angels, declares that he has given up his Son to be tempted by Satan; but foretells that the Tempter shall be completely defeated by him; upon which the Angels sing a hymn of triumph. Jesus is led up by the Spirit into the wilderness, while he is meditating on the commencement of his great office of Saviour of mankind. He narrates, in a soliloquy, what divine and philanthropic impulses he had felt from his early youth, and how his mother, Mary, had acquainted him with the circumstances of his birth, and informed him that he was no less a person than the Son of God; to which he adds what his own reflections and inquiries had supplied, in confirmation of this great truth, and particularly dwells on the recent attestation of it at the river Jordan. Our Lord passes forty days, fasting, in the wilderness; where the wild beasts become harmless in his presence. Satan now appears under the form of an old peasant, and enters into discourse with our Lord. Jesus replies. Satan rejoins with a description of the difficulty of supporting life in the wilderness; and entreats Jesus, if he be really the Son of God, to manifest his divine power by changing some of the stones into bread. Jesus reproves him, and, at the same time, tells him that he knows who he is. Satan avows himself, and offers an artful apology. Our blessed Lord severely reprimands him, and confutes every part of his justification. Satan still endeavours to justify himself; and, professing his admiration of Jesus, and his regard for virtue, requests to be permitted at a future time to hear more of his conversation; but is answered, that this must be as he shall find permission from above. Satan then disappears, and the book closes with a short description of night coming on in the desert.

* The Arguments were written by Dunster, and first appeared in his edition of Paradise Regained, 1795.
PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK I.

WHO erewhile the happy Garden sung
By one man's disobedience lost, now sing
Recovered Paradise to all mankind,
By one man's firm obedience fully tried
5 Through all temptation, and the Tempter foiled
In all his wiles, defeated and repulsed,
And Eden raised in the waste Wilderness.
Thou Spirit, who led'st this glorious Eremite
Into the desert, his victorious field
10 Against the spiritual foe, and brought'st him thence
By proof the undoubted Son of God, inspire,
As thou art wont, my prompted song, else mute,
And bear through height or depth of Nature's bounds,
With prosperous wing full summed, to tell of deeds
15 Above heroic, though in secret done,
And unrecorded left through many an age;
Worthy to have not remained so long unsung.
Now had the great Proclaimer, with a voice
More awful than the sound of trumpet, cried
20 Repentance, and Heaven's kingdom nigh at hand
   To all baptized. To his great baptism flocked
   With awe the regions round, and with them came
   From Nazareth the Son of Joseph deemed
   To the flood Jordan—came as then obscure,
25 Unmarked, unknown. But him the Baptist soon
   Descried, divinely warned, and witness bore
   As to his worthier, and would have resigned
   To him his heavenly office. Nor was long
   His witness unconfirmed; on him baptized
30 Heaven opened, and in likeness of a dove
   The Spirit descended, while the Father's voice
   From Heaven pronounced him his beloved Son.
   That heard the Adversary, who, roving still
   About the world, at that assembly famed
35 Would not be last, and, with the voice divine
   Nigh thunder-struck, the exalted man to whom
   Such high attest was given a while surveyed
   With wonder; then, with envy fraught and rage,
   Flies to his place, nor rests, but in mid air
   To council summons all his mighty peers,
40 Within thick clouds and dark tenfold involved,
   A gloomy consistory; and then amidst,
   With looks aghast and sad, he thus bespoke:
   "O ancient Powers of Air and this wide World
45 (For much more willingly I mention Air,
   This our old conquest, than remember Hell,
   Our hated habitation), well ye know
   How many ages, as the years of men,
   This Universe we have possessed, and ruled,
50 In manner at our will the affairs of Earth,
   Since Adam and his facile consort Eve
   Lost Paradise, deceived by me, though since
   With dread attending when that fatal wound
   Shall be inflicted by the seed of Eve
Upon my head. Long the decrees of Heaven
Delay, for longest time to Him is short;
And now, too soon for us, the circling hours
This dreaded time have compassed, wherein we
Must bide the stroke of that long-threatened wound

(At least, if so we can, and by the head
Broken be not intended all our power
To be infringed, our freedom and our being
In this fair empire won of Earth and Air)—
For this ill news I bring: The Woman's Seed,

Destined to this, is late of woman born.
His birth to our just fear gave no small cause;
But his growth now to youth's full flower, displaying
All virtue, grace and wisdom to achieve
Things highest, greatest, multiplies my fear.

Before him a great Prophet, to proclaim
His coming, is sent harbinger, who all
Invites, and in the consecrated stream
Pretends to wash off sin, and fit them so
Purified to receive him pure, or rather

To do him honour as their King. All come,
And he himself among them was baptized—
Not thence to be more pure, but to receive
The testimony of Heaven, that who he is
Thenceforth the nations may not doubt. I saw

The Prophet do him reverence; on him, rising
Out of the water, Heaven above the clouds
Unfold her crystal doors; thence on his head
A perfect dove descend (whate'er it meant);
And out of Heaven the sovran voice I heard,

'This is my Son beloved,—in him am pleased.'
His mother, then, is mortal, but his Sire
He who obtains the monarchy of Heaven;
And what will He not do to advance his Son?
His first-begot we know, and sore have felt,
When his fierce thunder drove us to the Deep;
Who this is we must learn, for Man he seems
In all his lineaments, though in his face
The glimpses of his Father's glory shine.
Ye see our danger on the utmost edge
Of hazard, which admits no long debate,
But must with something sudden be opposed
(Not force, but well-couched fraud, well-woven snares),
Ere in the head of nations he appear,
Their king, their leader, and supreme on Earth.
I, when no other durst, sole undertook
The dismal expedition to find out
And ruin Adam, and the exploit performed
Successfully; a calmer voyage now
Will waft me; and the way found prosperous once
Induces best to hope of like success."
He ended, and his words impression left
Of much amazement to the infernal crew,
Distracted and surprised with deep dismay
At these sad tidings. But no time was then
For long indulgence to their fears or grief;
Unanamous they all commit the care
And management of this main enterprise
To him, their great Dictator, whose attempt
At first against mankind so well had thrived
In Adam's overthrow, and led their march
From Hell's deep-vaulted den to dwell in light,
Regents, and potentates, and kings, yea gods,
Of many a pleasant realm and province wide.
So to the coast of Jordan he directs
His easy steps, girded with snaky wiles,
Where he might likeliest find this new-declared,
This man of men, attested Son of God,
Temptation and all guile on him to try—
So to subvert whom he suspected raised
To end his reign on Earth so long enjoyed;
But, contrary, unweeting he fulfilled
The purposed counsel, pre-ordained and fixed,
Of the Most High, who, in full frequence bright
Of Angels, thus to Gabriel smiling spake:

"Gabriel, this day, by proof, thou shalt behold,
Thou and all Angels conversant on Earth
With man or men's affairs, how I begin
To verify that solemn message late,
On which I sent thee to the Virgin pure

In Galilee, that she should bear a son,
Great in renown, and called the Son of God.
Then told'st her, doubting how these things could be
To her a virgin, that on her should come
The Holy Ghost, and the power of the Highest

O'ershadow her. This Man, born and now upgrown,
To show him worthy of his birth divine
And high prediction, henceforth I expose
To Satan; let him tempt, and now assay
His utmost subtlety, because he boasts

And vaunts of his great cunning to the throng
Of his apostasy. He might have learnt
Less overweening, since he failed in Job,
Whose constant perseverance overcame
Whate'er his cruel malice could invent.

He now shall know I can produce a man,
Of female seed, far abler to resist
All his solicitations, and at length
All his vast force, and drive him back to Hell—
Winning by conquest what the first man lost

By fallacy surprised. But first I mean
To exercise him in the Wilderness;
There he shall first lay down the rudiments
Of his great warfare, ere I send him forth
To conquer Sin and Death, the two grand foes,
160 By humiliation and strong sufferance;
    His weakness shall o'ercome Satanic strength,
    And all the world, and mass of sinful flesh;
    That all the Angels and ethereal Powers—
    They now, and men hereafter—may discern
165 From what consummate virtue I have chose
    This perfect man, by merit called my Son,
    To earn salvation for the sons of men."
    So spake the Eternal Father, and all Heaven
    Admiring stood a space; then into hymns
170 Burst forth, and in celestial measures moved,
    Circling the throne and singing, while the hand
    Sung with the voice, and this the argument:
        "Victory and triumph to the Son of God,
    Now entering his great duel, not of arms,
175 But to vanquish by wisdom hellish wiles!
    The Father knows the Son; therefore secure
    Ventures his filial virtue, though untried,
    Against whate'er may tempt, whate'er seduce,
    Allure, or terrify, or undermine.
180 Be frustrate, all ye stratagems of Hell,
    And, devilish machinations, come to nought!"
    So they in Heaven their odes and vigils tuned.
    Meanwhile the Son of God, who yet some days
    Lodged in Bethabara, where John baptized,
185 Musing and much revolving in his breast
    How best the mighty work he might begin
    Of Saviour to mankind, and which way first
    Publish his godlike office now mature,
    One day forth walked alone, the Spirit leading
190 And his deep thoughts, the better to converse
    With solitude, till, far from track of men,
    Thought following thought, and step by step led on,
    He entered now the bordering Desert wild,
    And, with dark shades and rocks environed round,
195 His holy meditations thus pursued:
   "Oh what a multitude of thoughts at once
   Awakened in me swarm, while I consider
   What from within I feel myself, and hear
   What from without comes often to my ears,
200 Ill sorting with my present state compared!
   When I was yet a child, no childish play
   To me was pleasing; all my mind was set
   Serious to learn and know, and thence to do,
   What might be public good; myself I thought
205 Born to that end, born to promote all truth,
   All righteous things. Therefore, above my years,
   The Law of God I read, and found it sweet;
   Made it my whole delight, and in it grew
   To such perfection that, ere yet my age
210 Had measured twice six years, at our great Feast
   I went into the Temple, there to hear
   The teachers of our Law, and to propose
   What might improve my knowledge or their own,
   And was admired by all. Yet this not all
215 To which my spirit aspired. Victorious deeds
   Flamed in my heart, heroic acts—one while
   To rescue Israel from the Roman yoke;
   Then to subdue and quell, o'er all the earth,
   Brute violence and proud tyrannic power,
220 Till truth were freed, and equity restored;
   Yet held it more humane, more heavenly, first
   By winning words to conquer willing hearts,
   And make persuasion do the work of fear;
   At least to try, and teach the erring soul,
225 Not wilfully misdoing, but unware
   Misled; the stubborn only to subdue.
   These growing thoughts my mother soon perceiving,
   By words at times cast forth, inly rejoiced,
   And said to me apart, 'High are thy thoughts,
O Son! but nourish them, and let them soar
To what height sacred virtue and true worth
Can raise them, though above example high;
By matchless deeds express thy matchless Sire.
For know, thou art no son of mortal man;

Though men esteem thee low of parentage,
Thy Father is the Eternal King who rules
All Heaven and Earth, Angels and sons of men.
A messenger from God foretold thy birth
Conceived in me a virgin; he foretold

Thou shouldst be great, and sit on David's throne,
And of thy kingdom there should be no end.
At thy nativity a glorious choir
Of Angels, in the fields of Bethlehem, sung
To shepherds, watching at their folds by night,

And told them the Messiah now was born,
Where they might see him; and to thee they came,
Directed to the manger where thou lay'st;
For in the inn was left no better room.
A star, not seen before, in heaven appearing,

Guided the wise men thither from the East,
To honour thee with incense, myrrh, and gold;
By whose bright course led on they found the place,
Affirming it thy star, new-graven in heaven,
By whom they knew thee King of Israel born.

Just Simeon and prophetic Anna, warned
By vision, found thee in the Temple, and spake,
Before the altar and the vested priest,
Like things of thee to all that present stood.'
This having heard, straight I again revolved

The Law and Prophets, searching what was writ
Concerning the Messiah, to our scribes
Known partly, and soon found of whom they spake
I am—this chiefly, that my way must lie
Through many a hard assay, even to the death,
Ere I the promised kingdom can attain,
Or work redemption for mankind, whose sins'
Full weight must be transferred upon my head.
Yet, neither thus disheartened or dismayed,
The time prefixed I waited; when behold

The Baptist (of whose birth I oft had heard,
Not knew by sight) now come, who was to come
Before Messiah, and his way prepare!
I, as all others, to his baptism came,
Which I believed was from above; but he

Straight knew me, and with loudest voice proclaimed
Me him (for it was shown him so from Heaven)—
Me him whose harbinger he was; and first
Refused on me his baptism to confer,
As much his greater, and was hardly won.

But, as I rose out of the living stream,
Heaven opened her eternal doors, from whence
The Spirit descended on me like a dove;
And last, the sum of all, my Father's voice,
Audibly heard from Heaven, pronounced me his,

Me his beloved Son, in whom alone
He was well pleased; by which I knew the time
Now full, that I no more should live obscure,
But openly begin, as best becomes
The authority which I derived from Heaven.

And now by some strong motion I am led
Into this wilderness; to what intent
I learn not yet. Perhaps I need not know;
For what concerns my knowledge God reveals.”

So spake our Morning Star, then in his rise,

And, looking round, on every side beheld
A pathless desert, dusk with horrid shades.
The way he came not having marked, return
Was difficult, by human steps untrod;
And he still on was led, but with such thoughts
Accompanied of things past and to come
Lodged in his breast as well might recommend
Such solitude before choicest society.
   Full forty days he passed—whether on hill
Sometimes, anon in shady vale, each night
Under the covert of some ancient oak
Or cedar to defend him from the dew,
Or harboured in one cave, is not revealed;
Nor tasted human food, nor hunger felt,
Till those days ended; hungered then at last
Among wild beasts. They at his sight grew mild,
Nor sleeping him nor waking harmed; his walk
The fiery serpent fled and noxious worm;
The lion and fierce tiger glared aloof.
But now an aged man in rural weeds,
Following, as seemed, the quest of some stray ewe,
Or withered sticks to gather, which might serve
Against a winter’s day, when winds blow keen,
To warm him wet returned from field at eve,
He saw approach; who first with curious eye
Perused him, then with words thus uttered spake:
   “Sir, what ill chance hath brought thee to this place,
So far from path or road of men, who pass
In troop or caravan? for single none
Durst ever, who returned, and dropt not here
His carcass, pined with hunger and with drouth.
I ask the rather, and the more admire,
For that to me thou seem’st the man whom late
Our new baptizing Prophet at the ford
Of Jordan honoured so, and called thee Son
Of God. I saw and heard, for we sometimes
Who dwell this wild, constrained by want, come forth
To town or village nigh (nighest is far),
Where aught we hear, and curious are to hear,
What happens new; fame also finds us out.”
To whom the Son of God: "Who brought me hither
Will bring me hence; no other guide I seek."
"By miracle he may," replied the swain;
"What other way I see not; for we here
Live on tough roots and stubs, to thirst inured

More than the camel, and to drink go far—
Men to such misery and hardship born.
But, if thou be the Son of God, command
That out of these hard stones be made thee bread;
So shalt thou save thyself, and us relieve

With food, whereof we wretched seldom taste."

He ended, and the Son of God replied:
"Think'st thou such force in bread? Is it not written
(For I discern thee other than thou seem'st),
Man lives not by bread only, but each word

Proceeding from the mouth of God, who fed
Our fathers here with manna? In the Mount
Moses was forty days, nor eat nor drank;
And forty days Elijah without food
Wandered this barren waste; the same I now.

Why dost thou, then, suggest to me distrust,
Knowing who I am, as I know who thou art?"

Whom thus answered the Arch-Fiend, now undisguised:

"'Tis true, I am that Spirit unfortunate
Who, leagued with millions more in rash revolt,

Kept not my happy station, but was driven
With them from bliss to the bottomless Deep—
Yet to that hideous place not so confined
By rigour unconniving but that oft,
Leaving my dolorous prison, I enjoy

Large liberty to round this globe of earth,
Or range in the air; nor from the Heaven of Heavens
Hath he excluded my resort sometimes.
I came, among the Sons of God, when he
Gave up into my hands Uzzean Job,
370 To prove him, and illustrate his high worth;
And, when to all his Angels he proposed
To draw the proud king Ahab into fraud,
That he might fall in Ramoth, they demurring,
I undertook that office, and the tongues
375 Of all his flattering prophets glibbed with lies
To his destruction, as I had in charge;
For what he bids I do. Though I have lost
Much lustre of my native brightness, lost
To be beloved of God, I have not lost
380 To love, at least contemplate and admire,
What I see excellent in good, or fair,
Or virtuous; I should so have lost all sense.
What can be then less in me than desire
To see thee and approach thee, whom I know
385 Declared the Son of God, to hear attest
Thy wisdom, and behold thy godlike deeds?
Men generally think me such a foe
To all mankind. Why should I? they to me
Never did wrong or violence. By them
390 I lost not what I lost; rather by them
I gained what I have gained, and with them dwell
Copartner in these regions of the World,
If not disposer—lend them oft my aid,
Oft my advice by presages and signs,
395 And answers, oracles, portents, and dreams,
Whereby they may direct their future life.
Envy, they say, excites me, thus to gain
Companions of my misery and woe!
At first it may be; but, long since with woe
400 Nearer acquainted, now I feel by proof
That fellowship in pain divides not smart,
Nor lightens aught each man's peculiar load;
Small consolation, then, were Man adjoined.
This wounds me most (what can it less?) that Man,
405 Man fallen, shall be restored, I never more."
    To whom our Saviour sternly thus replied:
    "Deservedly thou grievest, composed of lies
    From the beginning, and in lies wilt end,
    Who boast'st release from Hell, and leave to come
410 Into the Heaven of Heavens. Thou comest, indeed,
    As a poor miserable captive thrall
    Comes to the place where he before had sat
    Among the prime in splendour, now deposed,
    Ejected, emptied, gazed, unpitied, shunned,
415 A spectacle of ruin, or of scorn,
    To all the host of Heaven. The happy place
    Imparts to thee no happiness, no joy—
    Rather inflames thy torment, representing
    Lost bliss, to thee no more communicable;
420 So never more in Hell than when in Heaven.
    But thou art serviceable to Heaven's King!
    Wilt thou impute to obedience what thy fear
    Extorts, or pleasure to do ill excites?
    What but thy malice moved thee to misdeem
425 Of righteous Job, then cruelly to afflict him
    With all inflictions? but his patience won.
    The other service was thy chosen task,
    To be a liar in four hundred mouths;
    For lying is thy sustenance, thy food.
430 Yet thou pretend'st to truth! all oracles
    By thee are given, and what confessed more true
    Among the nations? That hath been thy craft,
    By mixing somewhat true to vent more lies.
    But what have been thy answers? what but dark,
435 Ambiguous, and with double sense deluding,
    Which they who asked have seldom understood,
    And, not well understood, as good not known?
    Who ever, by consulting at thy shrine,
Returned the wiser, or the more instruct
440 To fly or follow what concerned him most,
And run not sooner to his fatal snare?
For God hath justly given the nations up
To thy delusions; justly, since they fell
Idolatrous. But, when his purpose is

Among them to declare his providence,
To thee not known, whence hast thou then thy truth,
But from him, or his Angels president
In every province, who, themselves disdainning
To approach thy temples, give thee in command

What, to the smallest tittle, thou shalt say
To thy adorers? Thou, with trembling fear,
Or like a fawning parasite, obey'st;
Then to thyself ascribest the truth foretold.
But this thy glory shall be soon retrenched.

No more shalt thou by oracling abuse
The Gentiles; henceforth oracles are ceased,
And thou no more with pomp and sacrifice
Shall be inquired at Delphos or elsewhere—
At least in vain, for they shall find thee mute.

God hath now sent his living Oracle
Into the world to teach his final will,
And sends his Spirit of Truth henceforth to dwell
In pious hearts, an inward oracle
To all truth requisite for men to know.”

So spake our Saviour; but the subtle Fiend,
Though inly stung with anger and disdain,
Dissembled, and this answer smooth returned:
“Sharply thou hast insisted on rebuke,
And urged me hard with doings which not will,

But misery, hath wrested from me. Where
Easily canst thou find one miserable,
And not enforced oft-times to part from truth,
If it may stand him more in stead to lie,
Say and unsay, feign, flatter, or abjure?

But thou art placed above me; thou art Lord;
From thee I can, and must, submiss, endure
Check or reproof, and glad to scape so quit.
Hard are the ways of truth, and rough to walk,
Smooth on the tongue discoursed, pleasing to the ear,

And tunable as sylvan pipe or song;
What wonder, then, if I delight to hear
Her dictates from thy mouth? most men admire
Virtue who follow not her lore. Permit me
To hear thee when I come (since no man comes),

And talk at least, though I despair to attain.
Thy Father, who is holy, wise, and pure,
Suffers the hypocrite or atheous priest
To tread his sacred courts, and minister
About his altar, handling holy things,

Praying or vowing, and vouchsafed his voice
To Balaam reprobate, a prophet yet
Inspired; disdain not such access to me."

To whom our Saviour, with unaltered brow:
"Thy coming hither, though I know thy scope,
I bid not, nor forbid. Do as thou find'st
Permission from above; thou canst not more."

He added not; and Satan, bowing low
His gray dissimulation, disappeared,
Into thin air diffused; for now began

Night with her sullen wing to double-shade
The desert; fowls in their clay nests were couched;
And now wild beasts came forth the woods to roam.

THE END OF THE FIRST BOOK.
BOOK II.
THE ARGUMENT.

The disciples of Jesus, uneasy at his long absence, reason amongst themselves concerning it. Mary also gives vent to her maternal anxiety; in the expression of which she recapitulates many circumstances respecting the birth and early life of her Son. Satan again meets his infernal council, reports the bad success of his first temptation of our blessed Lord, and calls upon them for counsel and assistance. Belial proposes the tempting of Jesus with women. Satan rebukes Belial for his dissoluteness, charging on him all the profligacy of that kind ascribed by the poets to the heathen gods, and rejects his proposal as in no respect likely to succeed. Satan then suggests other modes of temptation, particularly proposing to avail himself of the circumstance of our Lord's hungering; and, taking a band of chosen spirits with him, returns to resume his enterprise. Jesus hungered in the desert. Night comes on; the manner in which our Saviour passes the night is described. Morning advances. Satan again appears to Jesus, and, after expressing wonder that he should be so entirely neglected in the wilderness, where others had been miraculously fed, tempts him with a sumptuous banquet of the most luxurious kind. This he rejects, and the banquet vanishes. Satan, finding our Lord not to be assailed on the ground of appetite, tempts him again by offering him riches, as the means of acquiring power; this Jesus also rejects, producing many instances of great actions performed by persons under virtuous poverty, and specifying the danger of riches, and the cares and pains inseparable from power and greatness.
BOOK II.

Meanwhile the new-baptized, who yet remained
At Jordan with the Baptist, and had seen
Him whom they heard so late expressly called
Jesus Messiah, Son of God, declared,

And on that high authority had believed,
And with him talked, and with him lodged—I mean
Andrew and Simon, famous after known,
With others, though in Holy Writ not named—
Now missing him, their joy so lately found,

So lately found and so abruptly gone,
Began to doubt, and doubted many days,
And, as the days increased, increased their doubt.
Sometimes they thought he might be only shown,
And for a time caught up to God, as once

Moses was in the Mount and missing long,
And the great Thisbite, who on fiery wheels
Rode up to Heaven, yet once again to come.
Therefore, as those young prophets then with care
Sought lost Elijah, so in each place these

Nigh to Bethabara—in Jericho
The city of palms, Ænon, and Salem old,
Machærus, and each town or city walled
On this side the broad lake Genezaret,
Or in Peræa—but returned in vain.

25 Then on the bank of Jordan, by a creek,
Where winds with reeds and osiers whispering play,
Plain fishermen (no greater men them call),
Close in a cottage low together got,
Their unexpected loss and plaints outbreathed:

30 "Alas, from what high hope to what relapse
Unlooked for are we fallen! Our eyes beheld
Messiah certainly now come, so long
Expected of our fathers; we have heard
His words, his wisdom full of grace and truth.

35 'Now, now, for sure, deliverance is at hand;
The kingdom shall to Israel be restored;'—
Thus we rejoiced, but soon our joy is turned
Into perplexity and new amaze.
For whither is he gone? what accident

40 Hath rapt him from us? will he now retire
After appearance, and again prolong
Our expectation? God of Israel,
Send thy Messiah forth; the time is come.
Behold the kings of the earth, how they oppress

45 Thy Chosen, to what height their power unjust
They have exalted, and behind them cast
All fear of Thee; arise, and vindicate
Thy glory; free thy people from their yoke!
But let us wait; thus far He hath performed—

50 Sent his Anointed, and to us revealed him,
By his great Prophet pointed at and shown
In public, and with him we have conversed.
Let us be glad of this, and all our fears
Lay on his providence; He will not fail,

55 Nor will withdraw him now, nor will recall—
Mock us with his blest sight, then snatch him hence;
Soon we shall see our hope, our joy, return."

Thus they out of their plaints new hope resume
To find whom at the first they found unsought.

But to his mother Mary, when she saw
Others returned from baptism, not her Son,
Nor left at Jordan tidings of him none,
Within her breast though calm, her breast though pure,
Motherly cares and fears got head, and raised

Some troubled thoughts, which she in sighs thus clad:
"Oh, what avails me now that honour high,
To have conceived of God, or that salute,
'Hail, highly favoured, among women blest!'
While I to sorrows am no less advanced,

And fears as eminent above the lot
Of other women, by the birth I bore;
In such a season born, when scarce a shed
Could be obtained to shelter him or me
From the bleak air? A stable was our warmth,

A manger his; yet soon enforced to fly
Thence into Egypt, till the murderous king
Were dead, who sought his life and, missing, filled
With infant blood the streets of Bethlehem.
From Egypt home returned, in Nazareth

Hath been our dwelling many years; his life
Private, unactive, calm, contemplative,
Little suspicious to any king. But now,
Full grown to man, acknowledged, as I hear,
By John the Baptist, and in public shown,

Son owned from Heaven by his Father's voice,
I looked for some great change. To honour? no;
But trouble, as old Simeon plain foretold,
That to the fall and rising he should be
Of many in Israel, and to a sign

Spoken against—that through my very soul
A sword shall pierce. This is my favoured lot,
My exaltation to afflictions high!
Afflicted I may be, it seems, and blest!
I will not argue that, nor will repine.

But where delays he now? Some great intent
Conceals him. When twelve years he scarce had seen,
I lost him, but so found as well I saw
He could not lose himself, but went about
His Father's business. What he meant I mused—

Since understand; much more his absence now
Thus long to some great purpose he obscures.
But I to wait with patience am inured;
My heart hath been a storehouse long of things
And sayings laid up, portending strange events."

Thus Mary, pondering oft, and oft to mind
Recalling what remarkably had passed
Since first her salutation heard, with thoughts
Meekly composed awaited the fulfilling;
The while her Son, tracing the desert wild,

Sole, but with holiest meditations fed,
Into himself descended, and at once
All his great work to come before him set—
How to begin, how to accomplish best
His end of being on Earth, and mission high.

For Satan, with sly preface to return,
Had left him vacant, and with speed was gone
Up to the middle region of thick air,
Where all his Potentates in council sat.
There, without sign of boast, or sign of joy,

Solicitous and blank, he thus began:

"Princes, Heaven's ancient Sons, Ethereal
Thrones—
Demonian Spirits now, from the element
Each of his reign allotted, rightlier called,
Powers of Fire, Air, Water, and Earth beneath
(So may we hold our place and these mild seats
Without new trouble!)—such an enemy
Is risen to invade us, who no less
Threatens than our expulsion down to Hell.
I, as I undertook, and with the vote
Consenting in full frequency was empowered,
Have found him, viewed him, tasted him; but find
Far other labour to be undergone
Than when I dealt with Adam, first of men,
Though Adam by his wife's allurement fell,
However to this Man inferior far—
If he be Man by mother's side at least,
With more than human gifts from Heaven adorned,
Perfections absolute, graces divine,
And amplitude of mind to greatest deeds.
Therefore I am returned, lest confidence
Of my success with Eve in Paradise
Deceive ye to persuasion over-sure
Of like succeeding here. I summon all
Rather to be in readiness with hand
Or counsel to assist, lest I, who erst
Thought none my equal, now be overmatched."
So spake the old Serpent, doubting, and from all
With clamour was assured their utmost aid
At his command; when from amidst them rose
Belial, the dissolutest Spirit that fell,
The sensuallest, and, after Asmodai,
The fleshliest Incubus, and thus advised:
"Set women in his eye and in his walk,
Among daughters of men the fairest found.
Many are in each region passing fair
As the noon sky, more like to goddesses
Than mortal creatures, graceful and discreet,
Expert in amorous arts, enchanting tongues
Persuasive, virgin majesty with mild
And sweet allayed, yet terrible to approach,
Skilled to retire, and in retiring draw
Hearts after them tangled in amorous nets.
Such object hath the power to soften and tame
Severest temper, smooth the rugged' st brow,
Enerve, and with voluptuous hope dissolve,
Draw out with credulous desire, and lead
At will the manliest, resoluest breast,
As the magnetic hardest iron draws.
Women, when nothing else, beguiled the heart
Of wisest Solomon, and made him build,
And made him bow, to the gods of his wives.”
To whom quick answer Satan thus returned:
“Belial, in much uneven scale thou weigh'st
All others by thyself. Because of old
Thou thyself doat'st on womankind, admiring
Their shape, their colour, and attractive grace,
None are, thou think'st, but taken with such toys.
Before the Flood, thou, with thy lusty crew.
False titled Sons of God, roaming the earth,
Cast wanton eyes on the daughters of men,
And coupled with them, and begot a race.
Have we not seen, or by relation heard,
In courts and regal chambers how thou lurk'st,
In wood or grove, by mossy fountain-side,
In valley or green meadow, to waylay
Some beauty rare, Calisto, Clymene,
Daphne, or Semele, Antiopa,
Or Amymone, Syrinx, many more
Too long—then lay'st thy scapes on names adored,
Apollo, Neptune, Jupiter, or Pan,
Satyr, or Faun, or Silvan? But these haunts
Delight not all. Among the sons of men
How many have with a smile made small account
Of beauty and her lures, easily scorned
All her assaults, on worthier things intent!
Remember that Pellean conqueror,
A youth, how all the beauties of the East
He slightly viewed, and slightly overpassed;
How he surnamed of Africa dismissed,
In his prime youth, the fair Iberian maid.
For Solomon, he lived at ease, and, full
Of honour, wealth, high fare, aimed not beyond
Higher design than to enjoy his state;
Thence to the bait of women lay exposed.

But he whom we attempt is wiser far
Than Solomon, of more exalted mind,
Made and set wholly on the accomplishment
Of greatest things. What woman will you find,
Though of this age the wonder and the fame,

On whom his leisure will vouchsafe an eye
Of fond desire? Or should she, confident,
As sitting queen adored on Beauty’s throne,
Descend with all her winning charms begirt
To enamour, as the zone of Venus once

Wrought that effect on Jove (so fables tell),
How would one look from his majestic brow,
Seated as on the top of Virtue’s hill,
Discountenance her despised, and put to rout
All her array, her female pride deject,

Or turn to reverent awe! For Beauty stands
In the admiration only of weak minds
Led captive; cease to admire, and all her plumes
Fall flat, and shrink into a trivial toy,
At every sudden slighting quite abashed.

Therefore with manlier objects we must try
His constancy—with such as have more show
Of worth, of honour, glory, and popular praise
(Rocks whereon greatest men have oftest wrecked);
Or that which only seems to satisfy
Lawful desires of nature, not beyond.  
And now I know he hungers, where no food  
Is to be found, in the wide Wilderness;  
The rest commit to me; I shall let pass  
No advantage, and his strength as oft assay.”

He ceased, and heard their grant in loud acclaim;  
Then forthwith to him takes a chosen band  
Of Spirits likest to himself in guile,  
To be at hand and at his beck appear,  
If cause were to unfold some active scene  
Of various persons, each to know his part;  
Then to the desert takes with these his flight,  
Where still, from shade to shade, the Son of God,  
After forty days’ fasting, had remained,  
Now hungering first, and to himself thus said;  
“Where will this end? Four times ten days I have passed  
Wandering this woody maze, and human food  
Nor tasted, nor had appetite. That fast  
To virtue I impute not, or count part  
Of what I suffer here. If nature need not,  
Or God support nature without repast,  
Though needing, what praise is it to endure?  
But now I feel I hunger; which declares  
Nature hath need of what she asks. Yet God  
Can satisfy that need some other way,  
Though hunger still remain. So it remain  
Without this body’s wasting, I content me,  
And from the sting of famine fear no harm;  
Nor mind it, fed with better thoughts, that feed  
Me hungering more to do my Father’s will.”

It was the hour of night, when thus the Son  
Communed in silent walk, then laid him down  
Under the hospitable covert nigh  
Of trees thick interwoven. There he slept,
And dreamed, as appetite is wont to dream,
Of meats and drinks, nature's refreshment sweet.
Him thought he by the brook of Cherith stood,
And saw the ravens with their horny beaks
Food to Elijah bringing even and morn,
Though ravenous, taught to abstain from what they brought;
He saw the Prophet also, how he fled
Into the desert, and how there he slept
Under a juniper—then how, awakened,
He found his supper on the coals prepared,
And by the Angel was bid rise and eat,
And eat the second time after repose,
The strength whereof sufficed him forty days;
Sometimes that with Elijah he partook,
Or as a guest with Daniel at his pulse.
Thus wore out night; and now the herald lark
Left his ground-nest, high towering to descrie
The Morn's approach, and greet her with his song.
As lightly from his grassy couch up rose
Our Saviour, and found all was but a dream;
Fasting he went to sleep, and fasting waked.
Up to a hill anon his steps he reared,
From whose high top to ken the prospect round,
If cottage were in view, sheep-cote, or herd;
But cottage, herd, or sheep-cote, none he saw—
Only in a bottom saw a pleasant grove,
With chant of tuneful birds resounding loud.
Thither he bent his way, determined there
To rest at noon, and entered soon the shade
High-roofed, and walks beneath, and alleys brown,
That opened in the midst a woody scene;
Nature's own work it seemed (Nature taught Art),
And, to a superstitious eye, the haunt
Of wood-gods and wood-nymphs. He viewed it round;
When suddenly a man before him stood,  
Not rustic as before, but seemlier clad,  

300 As one in city or court or palace bred,  
And with fair speech these words to him addressed:  
“With granted leave officious I return,  
But much more wonder that the Son of God  
In this wild solitude so long should bide,  

305 Of all things destitute, and, well I know,  
Not without hunger. Others of some note,  
As story tells, have trod this wilderness;  
The fugitive bond-woman, with her son,  
Outcast Nebaioth, yet found he relief  
By a providing Angel; all the race  
Of Israel here had famished, had not God  
Rained from heaven manna; and that Prophet bold,  
Native of Thebez, wandering here, was fed  
Twice by a voice inviting him to eat.  

310 Of thee these forty days none hath regard,  
Forty and more deserted here indeed.”  
To whom thus Jesus: “What concludest thou hence?  
They all had need; I, as thou seest, have none.”  
“How hast thou hunger then?” Satan replied.  

320 “Tell me, if food were now before thee set,  
Wouldst thou not eat?” “Thereafter as I like  
The giver,” answered Jesus. “Why should that  
Cause thy refusal?” said the subtle Fiend.  
“Hast thou not right to all created things?  

325 Owe not all creatures, by just right, to thee  
Duty and service, nor to stay till bid,  
But tender all their power? Nor mention I  
Meats by the law unclean, or offered first  
To idols—those young Daniel could refuse;  

330 Nor proffered by an enemy—though who  
Would scruple that, with want oppressed? Behold,  
Nature ashamed, or, better to express,
Troubled, that thou shouldst hunger, hath purveyed
From all the elements her choicest store,

To treat thee as beseems, and as her Lord
With honour. Only deign to sit and eat.”

He spake no dream; for, as his words had end,
Our Saviour, lifting up his eyes, beheld
In ample space under the broadest shade,

A table richly spread in regal mode,
With dishes piled and meats of noblest sort
And savour—beasts of chase, or fowl of game,
In pastry built, or from the spit, or boiled,
Grisamber-steamed; all fish, from sea or shore,

Freshet or purling brook, of shell or fin,
And exquisitist name, for which was drained
Pontus, and Lucrine bay, and Afric coast.
Alas! how simple, to these cates compared,
Was that crude apple that diverted Eve!

And at a stately sideboard, by the wine,
That fragrant smell diffused, in order stood
Tall stripling youths rich-clad, of fairer hue
Than Ganymed or Hylas; distant more,
Under the trees now tripped, now solemn stood,

Nymphs of Diana’s train, and Naiades
With fruits and flowers from Amalthea’s horn,
And ladies of the Hesperides, that seemed
Fairer than feigned of old, or fabled since
Of faery damsels met in forest wide

By knights of Logres, or of Lyones,
Lancelot, or Pelleas, or Pellenore.
And all the while harmonious airs were heard
Of chiming strings or charming pipes; and winds
Of gentlest gale Arabian odours fanned

From their soft wings, and Flora’s earliest smells.
Such was the splendour; and the Tempter now
His invitation earnestly renewed:
“What doubts the Son of God to sit and eat?
These are not fruits forbidden; no interdict

370 Defends the touching of these viands pure;
Their taste no knowledge works, at least of evil,
But life preserves, destroys life's enemy,
Hunger, with sweet restorative delight.
All these are Spirits of air, and woods, and springs,

375 Thy gentle ministers, who come to pay
Thee homage, and acknowledge thee their Lord.
What doubt'st thou, Son of God? Sit down and eat.”

To whom thus Jesus temperately replied:
“Said'st thou not that to all things I had right?

380 And who withholdeth my power that right to use?
Shall I receive by gift what of my own,
When and where likes me best, I can command?
I can at will, doubt not, as soon as thou,
Command a table in this wilderness,

385 And call swift flights of Angels ministrant,
Arrayed in glory, on my cup to attend;
Why shouldst thou, then, obtrude this diligence
In vain, where no acceptance it can find?
And with my hunger what hast thou to do?

390 Thy pompous delicacies I contemn,
And count thy specious gifts no gifts, but guiles.”

To whom thus answered Satan, malecontent:
“That I have also power to give thou seest;
If of that power I bring thee voluntary

395 What I might have bestowed on whom I pleased,
And rather opportunely in this place
Chose to impart to thy apparent need,
Why shouldst thou not accept it? But I see
What I can do or offer is suspect.

400 Of these things others quickly will dispose,
Whose pains have earned the far-fet spoil.” With that
Both table and provision vanished quite,
With sound of harpies' wings and talons heard;
Only the importune Tempter still remained,
405 And with these words his temptation pursued:
"By hunger, that each other creature tames,
Thou art not to be harmed, therefore not moved;
Thy temperance, invincible besides,
For no allurement yields to appetite;

410 And all thy heart is set on high designs,
High actions. But wherewith to be achieved?
Great acts require great means of enterprise;
Thou art unknown, unfriended, low of birth,
A carpenter thy father known, thyself

415 Bred up in poverty and straits at home,
Lost in a desert here and hunger-bit.
Which way, or from what hope, dost thou aspire
To greatness? whence authority derivest?
What followers, what retinue canst thou gain,

420 Or at thy heels the dizzy multitude,
Longer than thou canst feed them on thy cost?
Money brings honour, friends, conquest, and realms.
What raised Antipater the Edomite,
And his son Herod placed on Judah's throne,

425 Thy throne, but gold, that got him puissant friends?
Therefore, if at great things thou wouldst arrive,
Get riches first, get wealth, and treasure heap,
Not difficult, if thou hearken to me.
Riches are mine, fortune is in my hand;

430 They whom I favour thrive in wealth amain,
While virtue, valour, wisdom, sit in want."

To whom thus Jesus patiently replied:
"Yet wealth without these three is impotent
To gain dominion, or to keep it gained;

435 Witness those ancient empires of the earth,
In height of all their flowing wealth dissolved;
But men endued with these have oft attained,
In lowest poverty, to highest deeds—
Gideon, and Jephtha, and the shepherd lad
Whose offspring on the throne of Judah sat
So many ages, and shall yet regain
That seat, and reign in Israel without end.
Among the Heathen (for throughout the world
To me is not unknown what hath been done
Worthy of memorial) canst thou not remember
Quintius, Fabricius, Curius, Regulus?
For I esteem those names of men so poor,
Who could do mighty things, and could contemn
Riches though offered from the hand of kings.

And what in me seems wanting but that I
May also in this poverty as soon
Accomplish what they did, perhaps and more?
Extol not riches, then, the toil of fools,
The wise man's cumbrance, if not snare; more apt
To slacken Virtue and abate her edge
Than prompt her to do aught may merit praise.
What if with like aversion I reject
Riches and realms! Yet not for that a crown,
Golden in show, is but a wreath of thorns,
Brings dangers, troubles, cares, and sleepless nights,
To him who wears the regal diadem,
When on his shoulders each man's burden lies;
For therein stands the office of a king,
His honour, virtue, merit, and chief praise,
That for the public all this weight he bears.
Yet he who reigns within himself, and rules
Passions, desires, and fears, is more a king,
Which every wise and virtuous man attains;
And who attains not ill aspires to rule
Cities of men, or headstrong multitudes,
Subject himself to anarchy within,
Or lawless passions in him, which he serves.
But to guide nations in the way of truth
By saving doctrine, and from error lead
To know, and, knowing, worship God aright,
Is yet more kingly. This attracts the soul,
Governs the inner man, the nobler part;
That other o'er the body only reigns,
And oft by force—which to a generous mind
So reigning can be no sincere delight.
Besides, to give a kingdom hath been thought
Greater and nobler done, and to lay down
Far more magnanimous than to assume.
Riches are needless, then, both for themselves,
And for thy reason why they should be sought—
To gain a sceptre, oftest better missed.”

THE END OF THE SECOND BOOK.
BOOK III.
THE ARGUMENT.

Satan endeavours to awaken in Jesus a passion for glory, by particularising various great actions performed by persons at an early period of life. Our Lord replies, by shewing the vanity of worldly fame, and contrasts it with the true glory of religious patience and virtuous wisdom. Satan justifies the love of glory from the example of God himself, who requires it from all his creatures. Jesus detects the fallacy of this argument, by shewing that, as goodness is the true ground on which glory is due to the great Creator, sinful man can have no right to it. Satan then urges our Lord respecting his claim to the throne of David; he tells him, that the kingdom of Judea, being at that time a province of Rome, cannot be got possession of without much personal exertion on his part, and presses him to lose no time in beginning to reign. Jesus refers him to the time allotted for this, as for all other things; and, after intimating somewhat respecting his own previous sufferings, asks Satan why he should be solicitous for the exaltation of one whose rising was destined to be his fall. Satan replies, that his own desperate state, by excluding all hope, leaves little room for fear; and that, as his own punishment was equally doomed, he is not interested in preventing the reign of one, from whose apparent benevolence he might rather hope for some interference in his favour. Satan, still supposing that the seeming reluctance of Jesus to be thus advanced, might arise from his being unacquainted with the world and its glories, conveys him to the summit of a high mountain, and from thence shows him most of the kingdoms of Asia, pointing out to his notice some extraordinary military preparations of the Parthians to resist the incursions of the Scythians. He then informs our Lord that he showed him this purposely that he might see how necessary military exertions are to retain the possession of kingdoms, as well as to subdue them at first; and advises him to consider how impossible it was to maintain Judea against two such powerful neighbours as the Romans and Parthians, and how necessary it would be to form an alliance with one or other of them. At the same time, he recommends and engages to secure to him that of the Parthians; and tells him that by this means his power will be defended from anything that Rome or Caesar might attempt against it; and that he will be able to extend his glory wide, and especially to accomplish what was particularly necessary to make the throne of Judea really the throne of David, the deliverance and restoration of the Ten Tribes, still in a state of captivity. Jesus, having briefly noticed the vanity of military efforts, and the weakness of the arm of flesh, says that, when the time comes for ascending his allotted throne, he shall not be slack; he remarks on Satan's extraordinary zeal for the deliverance of the Israelites, to whom he had always shown himself an enemy, and declares their servitude to be the consequence of their idolatry; but adds, that, at a future time, it may perhaps please God to recall them, and restore them to their liberty and native land.
BOOK III.

O spake the Son of God; and Satan stood
A while as mute, confounded what to say,
What to reply, confuted and convinced
Of his weak arguing and fallacious drift;
5 At length, collecting all his serpent wiles,
With soothing words renewed, him thus accosts:

"I see thou know'st what is of use to know,
What best to say canst say, to do canst do;
Thy actions to thy words accord; thy words
10 To thy large heart give utterance due; thy heart
Contains of good, wise, just, the perfect shape.
Should kings and nations from thy mouth consult,
Thy counsel would be as the oracle
Urim and Thummim, those oraculous gems
15 On Aaron's breast, or tongue of Seers old
Infallible; or, wert thou sought to deeds
That might require the array of war, thy skill
Of conduct would be such that all the world
Could not sustain thy prowess, or subsist
20 In battle, though against thy few in arms.
These godlike virtues wherefore dost thou hide?
Affecting private life, or more obscure
In savage wilderness, wherefore deprive
All Earth her wonder at thy acts, thyself

25 The fame and glory—glory, the reward
That sole excites to high attempts the flame
Of most erected spirits, most tempered pure
Ethereal, who all pleasures else despise,
All treasures and all gain esteem as dross,

30 And dignities and powers, all but the highest?
Thy years are ripe, and over-ripe. The son
Of Macedonian Philip had ere these
Won Asia, and the throne of Cyrus held
At his dispose; young Scipio had brought down

35 The Carthaginian pride; young Pompey quelled
The Pontic king, and in triumph had rode.
Yet years, and to ripe years judgment mature,
Quench not the thirst of glory, but augment.
Great Julius, whom now all the world admires,

40 The more he grew in years, the more inflamed
With glory, wept that he had lived so long
Inglorious. But thou yet art not too late."
To whom our Saviour calmly thus replied:
"Thou neither dost persuade me to seek wealth

45 For empire's sake, nor empire to affect
For glory's sake, by all thy argument.
For what is glory but the blaze of fame,
The people's praise, if always praise unmixed?
And what the people but a herd confused,

50 A miscellaneous rabble, who extol
Things vulgar, and, well weighed, scarce worth the praise?
They praise and they admire they know not what,
And know not whom, but as one leads the other;
And what delight to be by such extolled,

55 To live upon their tongues, and be their talk?
Of whom to be dispraised were no small praise—
His lot who dares be singularly good.
The intelligent among them and the wise
Are few, and glory scarce of few is raised.

60 This is true glory and renown—when God,
Looking on the Earth, with approbation marks
The just man, and divulges him through Heaven
To all his Angels, who with true applause
Recount his praises. Thus he did to Job,

65 When, to extend his fame through Heaven and Earth,
As thou to thy reproach may'st well remember,
He asked thee, 'Hast thou seen my servant Job?'
Famous he was in Heaven; on Earth less known,
Where glory is false glory, attributed

70 To things not glorious, men not worthy of fame.
They err who count it glorious to subdue
By conquest far and wide, to overrun
Large countries, and in field great battles win,
Great cities by assault. What do these worthies

75 But rob and spoil, burn, slaughter, and enslave
Peaceable nations, neighbouring or remote,
Made captive, yet deserving freedom more
Than those their conquerors, who leave behind
Nothing but ruin wheresoe'er they rove,

80 And all the flourishing works of peace destroy;
Then swell with pride, and must be titled Gods,
Great Benefactors of mankind, Deliverers,
Worshipped with temple, priest, and sacrifice?
One is the son of Jove, of Mars the other;

85 Till conqueror Death discover them scarce men,
Rolling in brutish vices, and deformed,
Violent or shameful death their due reward.
But, if there be in glory aught of good,
It may by means far different be attained,

90 Without ambition, war, or violence—
By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,
By patience, temperance. I mention still
Him whom thy wrongs, with saintly patience borne,
Made famous in a land and times obscure;
95 Who names not now with honour patient Job?
Poor Socrates, (who next more memorable?)
By what he taught, and suffered for so doing,
For truth's sake suffering death unjust, lives now
Equal in fame to proudest conquerors.
100 Yet, if for fame and glory aught be done,
Aught suffered—if young African for fame
His wasted country freed from Punic rage—
The deed becomes unpraised, the man at least,
And loses, though but verbal, his reward.
105 Shall I seek glory, then, as vain men seek,
Oft not deserved? I seek not mine, but His
Who sent me, and thereby witness whence I am."
   To whom the Tempter, murmuring, thus replied:
   "Think not so slight of glory, therein least
110 Resembling thy great Father. He seeks glory,
And for his glory all things made, all things
Orders and governs; nor content in Heaven,
By all his Angels glorified, requires
Glory from men, from all men, good or bad,
115 Wise or unwise, no difference, no exemption.
Above all sacrifice, or hallowed gift,
Glory he requires, and glory he receives,
Promiscuous from all nations, Jew, or Greek,
Or Barbarous, nor exception hath declared;
120 From us, his foes pronounced, glory he exacts."
   To whom our Saviour fervently replied:
   "And reason; since his Word all things produced,
Though chiefly not for glory as prime end,
But to show forth his goodness, and impart
125 His good communicable to every soul
Freely; of whom what could he less expect
Than glory and benediction—that is, thanks—
The slightest, easiest, readiest recompense
From them who could return him nothing else,

And, not returning that, would likeliest render
Contempt instead, dishonour, obloquy?
Hard recompense, unsuitable return
For so much good, so much beneficence!
But why should man seek glory, who of his own

Hath nothing, and to whom nothing belongs
But condemnation, ignominy, and shame—
Who, for so many benefits received,
Turned recreant to God, ingrate and false,
And of all true good himself despoiled;

Yet, sacrilegious, to himself would take
That which to God alone of right belongs?
Yet so much bounty is in God, such grace,
That who advance his glory, not their own,
Them he himself to glory will advance.”

So spake the Son of God; and here again
Satan had not to answer, but stood struck
With guilt of his own sin—for he himself,
Insatiable of glory, had lost all;
Yet of another plea bethought him soon:

“Of glory, as thou wilt,” said he, “so deem;
Worth or not worth the seeking, let it pass.
But to a Kingdom thou art born—ordained
To sit upon thy father David’s throne,
By mother’s side thy father, though thy right

Be now in powerful hands, that will not part
Easily from possession won with arms.
Judæa now and all the Promised Land,
Reduced a province under Roman yoke,
Obeys Tiberius, nor is always ruled

With temperate sway; oft have they violated
The Temple, oft the Law, with foul affronts,
Abominations rather, as did once
Antiochus. And think'st thou to regain
Thy right in sitting still, or thus retiring?

165 So did not Machabeus. He indeed
Retired unto the Desert, but with arms;
And o'er a mighty king so oft prevailed
That by strong hand his family obtained,
Though priests, the crown, and David's throne usurped,

170 With Modin and her suburbs once content.
If kingdom move thee not, let move thee zeal
And duty—zeal and duty are not slow,
But on Occasion's forelock watchful wait;
They themselves rather are occasion best—

175 Zeal of thy Father's house, duty to free
Thy country from her heathen servitude.
So shalt thou best fulfil, best verify,
The Prophets old, who sung thy endless reign—
The happier reign the sooner it begins.

180 Reign then; what canst thou better do the while?
To whom our Saviour answer thus returned:
“All things are best fulfilled in their due time;
And time there is for all things, Truth hath said.
If of my reign Prophetic Writ hath told

185 That it shall never end, so, when begin
The Father in his purpose hath decreed—
He in whose hand all times and seasons roll.
What if He hath decreed that I shall first
Be tried in humble state, and things adverse,

190 By tribulations, injuries, insults,
Contempts, and scorns, and snares, and violence,
Suffering, abstaining, quietly expecting
Without distrust or doubt, that He may know
What I can suffer, how obey? Who best

195 Can suffer best can do, best reign who first
Well hath obeyed—just trial ere I merit
My exaltation without change or end.
But what concerns it thee when I begin
My everlasting Kingdom? Why art thou
Solicitous? What moves thy inquisition?
Know'st thou not that my rising is thy fall,
And my promotion will be thy destruction?"

To whom the Tempter, inly racked, replied:
"Let that come when it comes. All hope is lost
Of my reception into grace; what worse?
For where no hope is left is left no fear.
If there be worse, the expectation more
Of worse torments me than the feeling can.
I would be at the worst; worst is my port,
My harbour, and my ultimate repose,
The end I would attain, my final good.
My error was my error, and my crime
My crime; whatever, for itself condemned,
And will alike be punished, whether thou

Reign or reign not—though to that gentle brow
Willingly I could fly, and hope thy reign,
From that placid aspect and meek regard,
Rather than aggravate my evil state,
Would stand between me and thy Father's ire

(Whose ire I dread more than the fire of Hell)
A shelter and a kind of shading cool
Interposition, as a summer's cloud.
If I, then, to the worst that can be haste,
Why move thy feet so slow to what is best?

Happiest, both to thyself and all the world,
That thou, who worthiest art, shouldst be their king!
Perhaps thou linger'st in deep thoughts detained
Of the enterprise so hazardous and high!
No wonder; for, though in thee be united

What of perfection can in Man be found,
Or human nature can receive, consider
Thy life hath yet been private, most part spent
At home, scarce viewed the Galilean towns,
And once a year Jerusalem few days'

235 Short sojourn; and what thence couldst thou observe?
The world thou hast not seen, much less her glory,
Empires, and monarchs, and their radiant courts—
Best school of best experience, quickest insight
In all things that to greatest actions lead.

240 The wisest, unexperienced, will be ever
Timorous, and loth, with novice modesty
(As he who, seeking asses, found a kingdom)
Irresolute, unhardy, unadventurous.
But I will bring thee where thou soon shalt quit

245 Those rudiments, and see before thine eyes
The monarchies of the Earth, their pomp and state—
Sufficient introduction to inform
Thee, of thyself so apt, in regal arts,
And regal mysteries; that thou may'st know

250 How best their opposition to withstand."

With that (such power was given him then), he took
The Son of God up to a mountain high.
It was a mountain at whose verdant feet
A spacious plain outstretched in circuit wide

255 Lay pleasant; from his side two rivers flowed,
The one winding, the other straight, and left between
Fair champaign, with less rivers interveined,
Then meeting joined their tribute to the sea.
Fertile of corn the glebe, of oil, and wine;

260 With herds the pasture thronged, with flocks the hills;
Huge cities and high towered, that well might seem
The seats of mightiest monarchs; and so large
The prospect was that here and there was room
For barren desert, fountainless and dry.

265 To this high mountain-top the Tempter brought
Our Saviour, and new train of words began:
"Well have we speeded, and o'er hill and dale,
Forest, and field, and flood, temples and towers,
Cut shorter many a league. Here thou behold'st

270 Assyria, and her empire's ancient bounds,
Araxes and the Caspian lake; thence on
As far as Indus east, Euphrates west,
And oft beyond; to south the Persian bay,
And, inaccessible, the Arabian drouth;

275 Here, Nineveh, of length within her wall
Several days' journey, built by Ninus old,
Of that first golden monarchy the seat,
And seat of Salmanassar, whose success
Israel in long captivity still mourns;

280 There Babylon, the wonder of all tongues,
As ancient, but rebuilt by him who twice
Judah and all thy father David's house
Led captive, and Jerusalem laid waste,
Till Cyrus set them free; Persepolis,

285 His city, there thou seest, and Bactra there;
Ecbatana her structure vast there shows,
And Hecatompylos her hundred gates;
There Susa by Choaspes, amber stream,
The drink of none but kings; of later fame,

290 Built by Emathian or by Parthian hands,
The great Seleucia, Nisibis, and there
Artaxata, Teredon, Ctesiphon,
Turning with easy eye, thou may'st behold.
All these the Parthian (now some ages past

295 By great Arsaces led, who founded first
That empire) under his dominion holds,
From the luxurious kings of Antioch won.
And just in time thou comest to have a view
Of his great power; for now the Parthian king

300 In Ctesiphon hath gathered all his host
Against the Scythian, whose incursions wild
Have wasted Sogdiana; to her aid
He marches now in haste. See, though from far,
His thousands, in what martial equipage
305 They issue forth, steel bows and shafts their arms,
Of equal dread in flight or in pursuit—
All horsemen, in which fight they most excel;
See how in warlike muster they appear,
In rhombs, and wedges, and half-moons, and wings."
310 He looked, and saw what numbers numberless
The city gates outpoured, light-armed troops
In coats of mail and military pride.
In mail their horses clad, yet fleet and strong,
Prancing their rider bore, the flower and choice
315 Of many provinces from bound to bound—
From Arachosia, from Candaor east,
And Margiana, to the Hyrcanian cliffs
Of Caucasus, and dark Iberian dales;
From Atropatia, and the neighbouring plains
320 Of Adiabene, Media, and the south
Of Susiana, to Balsara's haven.
He saw them in their forms of battle ranged,
How quick they wheeled, and flying behind them shot
Sharp sleet of arrowy showers against the face
325 Of their pursuers, and overcame by flight;
The field all iron cast a gleaming brown.
Nor wanted clouds of foot, nor, on each horn,
Cuirassiers all in steel for standing fight,
Chariots, or elephants indorsed with towers
330 Of archers; nor of labouring pioneers
A multitude, with spades and axes armed,
To lay hills plain, fell woods, or valleys fill,
Or where plain was raise hill, or overlay
With bridges rivers proud, as with a yoke;
335 Mules after these, camels and dromedaries,
And waggons fraught with utensils of war.
Such forces met not, nor so wide a camp,
When Agrican, with all his northern powers,
Besieged Albracca, as romances tell,

340 The city of Gallaphrone, from thence to win
The fairest of her sex, Angelica,
His daughter, sought by many prouest knights,
Both Paynim and the peers of Charlemain.
Such and so numerous was their chivalry;

345 At sight whereof the Fiend yet more presumed,
And to our Saviour thus his words renewed:
"That thou may'st know I seek not to engage
Thy virtue, and not every way secure
On no slight grounds thy safety, hear and mark

350 To what end I have brought thee hither, and show
All this fair sight. Thy kingdom, though foretold
By Prophet or by Angel, unless thou
Endeavour, as thy father David did,
Thou never shalt obtain; prediction still

355 In all things, and all men, supposes means;
Without means used, what it predicts revokes.
But say thou wert possessed of David's throne
By free consent of all, none opposite,
Samaritan or Jew; how couldst thou hope

360 Long to enjoy it quiet and secure
Between two such enclosing enemies,
Roman and Parthian? Therefore one of these
Thou must make sure thy own; the Parthian first,
By my advice, as nearer, and of late

365 Found able by invasion to annoy
Thy country, and captive lead away her kings,
Antigonus and old Hyrcanus, bound,
Maugre the Roman. It shall be my task
To render thee the Parthian at dispose,

370 Choose which thou wilt, by conquest or by league.
By him thou shalt regain, without him not,
That which alone can truly reinstall thee
In David's royal seat, his true successor—
Deliverance of thy brethren, those Ten Tribes

Whose offspring in his territory yet serve
In Habor, and among the Medes dispersed;
Ten sons of Jacob, two of Joseph, lost
Thus long from Israel, serving, as of old
Their fathers in the land of Egypt served,

This offer sets before thee to deliver.
These if from servitude thou shalt restore
To their inheritance, then, nor till then,
Thou on the throne of David in full glory,
From Egypt to Euphrates and beyond,

Shalt reign, and Rome or Cæsar not need fear."

To whom our Saviour answered thus, unmoved:
"Much ostentation vain of fleshy arm
And fragile arms, much instrument of war,
Long in preparing, soon to nothing brought,

Before mine eyes thou hast set, and in my ear
Vented much policy, and projects deep
Of enemies, of aids, battles, and leagues,
Plausible to the world, to me worth nought,
Means I must use, thou say'st; prediction else

Will unpredict, and fail me of the throne!
My time, I told thee (and that time for thee
Were better farthest off), is not yet come.
When that comes, think not thou to find me slack
On my part aught endeavouring, or to need

Thy politic maxims, or that cumbersome
Luggage of war there shown me—argument
Of human weakness rather than of strength.
My brethren, as thou call'st them, those Ten
Tribes,
I must deliver, if I mean to reign
Christ's Answer.

405 David's true heir, and his full sceptre sway
To just extent over all Israel's sons!
But whence to thee this zeal? Where was it then
For Israel, or for David, or his throne,
When thou stood'st up his tempter to the pride

410 Of numbering Israel—which cost the lives
Of threescore and ten thousand Israelites
By three days' pestilence? Such was thy zeal
To Israel then, the same that now to me.
As for those captive tribes, themselves were they

415 Who wrought their own captivity, fell off
From God to worship calves, the deities
Of Egypt, Baal next and Ashtaroth,
And all the idolatries of heathen round,
Besides their other worse than heathenish crimes;

420 Nor in the land of their captivity
Humbled themselves, or penitent besought
The God of their forefathers, but so died
Impenitent, and left a race behind
Like to themselves, distinguishable scarce

425 From Gentiles, but by circumcision vain,
And God with idols in their worship joined.
Should I of these the liberty regard,
Who, freed, as to their ancient patrimony,
Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreformed,

430 Headlong would follow, and to their gods perhaps
Of Bethel and of Dan? No; let them serve
Their enemies who serve idols with God.
Yet He at length, time to himself best known,
Remembering Abraham, by some wondrous call

435 May bring them back, repentant and sincere,
And at their passing cleave the Assyrian flood,
While to their native land with joy they haste,
As the Red Sea and Jordan once he cleft,
When to the Promised Land their fathers passed.

440 To his due time and providence I leave them."

So spake Israel's true King, and to the Fiend
Made answer meet, that made void all his wiles.
So fares it when with truth falsehood contends.
BOOK IV.
THE ARGUMENT.

Satan, persisting in the Temptation of our Lord, shows him Imperial Rome in its greatest splendour, and tells him that he might, with the greatest ease, expel Tiberius, restore the Romans to their liberty, and make himself master not only of the Roman empire, but, by so doing, of the whole world, and inclusively of the throne of David. Our Lord, in reply, expresses his contempt of grandeur and worldly power, and notices the luxury, vanity, and profusigacy of the Romans, declaring how little they merited to be restored to that liberty which they had lost by their misconduct. Satan, now desperate, to enhance the value of his proffered gifts, professes that the only terms on which he will bestow them, are our Saviour's falling down and worshipping him. Our Lord expresses a firm but temperate indignation at such a proposition, and rebukes the Tempter. Satan then assumes a new ground of temptation, and, proposing to Jesus the intellectual gratifications of wisdom and knowledge, points out to him the celebrated seat of ancient learning, Athens, its schools, and other various resorts of learned teachers and their disciples. Jesus replies, by showing the vanity and insufficiency of the boasted heathen philosophy. Satan, irritated at the failure of all his attempts, upbraids the indiscretion of our Saviour in rejecting his offers; and, having foretold the sufferings that our Lord was to undergo, carries him back into the wilderness, and leaves him there.

Night comes on; Satan raises a tremendous storm, and attempts farther to alarm Jesus with frightful dreams, and terrific threatening spectres. A calm, bright, beautiful morning succeeds to the horrors of the night. Satan again presents himself to our blessed Lord; and takes occasion, once more, to insult him with an account of the sufferings which he was certainly to undergo. This only draws from our Lord a brief rebuke. Satan, now at the height of his desperation, confesses that he had frequently watched Jesus from his birth, purposely to discover if he was the Messiah, and assiduously followed him, in hopes of gaining some advantage over him, which would most effectually prove that he was not really that Divine Person destined to be his "fatal enemy." In this he acknowledges that he has hitherto failed; but still determines to make one more trial. Accordingly he conveys him to the temple at Jerusalem; and, placing him on a pointed eminence, requires him to prove his divinity either by standing there, or casting himself down with safety. Our Lord reproves the Tempter, and manifests his own divinity by standing on this dangerous point. Satan, amused and terrified, instantly falls, and repairs to his infernal companions to relate the bad success of his enterprise. Angels convey our blessed Lord to a beautiful valley, and, while they minister to him a repast of celestial food, celebrate his victory in a triumphant hymn.
BOOK IV.

PERPLEXED and troubled at his bad success
The Tempter stood, nor had what to reply,
Discovered in his fraud, thrown from his hope
So oft, and the persuasive rhetoric

5 That sleeked his tongue, and won so much on Eve,
So little here, nay lost. But Eve was Eve;
This far his over-match, who, self-deceived
And rash, beforehand had no better weighed
The strength he was to cope with, or his own.

10 But as a man who had been matchless held
In cunning, over-reached where least he thought,
To salve his credit, and for very spite,
Still will be tempting him who foils him still,
And never cease, though to his shame the more;

15 Or as a swarm of flies in vintage-time,
About the wine-press where sweet must is poured,
Beat off, returns as oft with humming sound;
Or surging waves against a solid rock,
Though all to shivers dashed, the assault renew,

20 (Vain battery!) and in froth or bubbles end;
So Satan, whom repulse upon repulse
Met ever, and to shameful silence brought,
Yet gives not o'er, though desperate of success,
And his vain importunity pursues.

He brought our Saviour to the western side
Of that high mountain, whence he might behold
Another plain, long, but in breadth not wide,
Washed by the southern sea, and on the north
To equal length backed with a ridge of hills

That screened the fruits of the earth and seats of men
From cold Septentrion blasts; thence in the midst
Divided by a river, of whose banks
On each side an imperial city stood,
With towers and temples proudly elevate

On seven small hills, with palaces adorned,
Porches and theatres, baths, aqueducts,
Statues and trophies, and triumphal arcs,
Gardens and groves, presented to his eyes
Above the height of mountains interposed—

By what strange parallax, or optic skill
Of vision, multiplied through air, or glass
Of telescope, were curious to inquire.
And now the Tempter thus his silence broke:

"The city which thou seest no other deem

Than great and glorious Rome, Queen of the Earth,
So far renowned, and with the spoils enriched
Of nations. There the Capitol thou seest,
Above the rest lifting his stately head
On the Tarpeian rock, her citadel

Impregnable; and there Mount Palatine,
The imperial palace, compass huge, and high
The structure, skill of noblest architects,
With gilded battlements, conspicuous far,
Turrets, and terraces, and glittering spires.

Many a fair edifice besides, more like
Houses of gods—so well I have disposed
My aery microscope—thou may'st behold,
Outside and inside both, pillars and roofs
Carved work, the hand of famed artificers

60 In cedar, marble, ivory, or gold.
Thence to the gates cast round thine eye, and see
What conflux issuing forth, or entering in;
Prætors, proconsuls to their provinces
Hasting, or on return, in robes of state;

65 Lictors and rods, the ensigns of their power;
Legions and cohorts, turms of horse and wings;
Or embassies from regions far remote,
In various habits, on the Appian road,
Or on the Æmilian—some from farthest south,

70 Syene, and where the shadow both way falls,
Meroë, Nilotic isle, and, more to west,
The realm of Bocchus to the Blackmoor sea;
From the Asian kings (and Parthian among these),
From India and the Golden Chersonese,

75 And utmost Indian isle Taprobane,
Dusk faces with white silken turbants wreathed;
From Gallia, Gades, and the British west;
Germans, and Scythians, and Sarmatians north
Beyond Danubius to the Tauric pool.

80 All nations now to Rome obedience pay,
To Rome's great Emperor, whose wide domain,
In ample territory, wealth and power,
Civility of manners, arts and arms,
And long renown, thou justly may'st prefer

85 Before the Parthian. These two thrones except,
The rest are barbarous, and scarce worth the sight,
Shared among petty kings too far removed;
These having shown thee, I have shown thee all
The kingdoms of the world, and all their glory.

90 This Emperor hath no son, and now is old,
Old and lascivious, and from Rome retired
To Capreae, an island small but strong
On the Campanian shore, with purpose there
His horrid lusts in private to enjoy;
95 Committing to a wicked favourite
All public cares, and yet of him suspicious;
Hated of all, and hating. With what ease,
Endued with regal virtues as thou art,
Appearing, and beginning noble deeds,
100 Might'st thou expel this monster from his throne,
Now made a sty, and, in his place ascending,
A victor-people free from servile yoke!
And with my help thou may'st; to me the power
Is given, and by that right I give it thee.
105 Aim, therefore, at no less than all the world;
Aim at the highest; without the highest attained,
Will be for thee no sitting, or not long,
On David's throne, be prophesied what will."
To whom the Son of God, unmoved, replied:
110 "Nor doth this grandeur and majestic show
Of luxury, though called magnificence,
More than of arms before, allure mine eye,
Much less my mind; though thou shouldst add to tell
Their sumptuous gluttonies, and gorgeous feasts
115 On citron tables or Atlantic stone
(For I have also heard, perhaps have read),
Their wines of Setia, Cales, and Falerne,
Chios and Crete, and how they quaff in gold,
Crystal, and myrrhine cups, embossed with gems
120 And studs of pearl—to me shouldst tell, who thirst
And hunger still. Then embassies thou show'st
From nations far and nigh! What honour that,
But tedious waste of time, to sit and hear
So many hollow compliments and lies,
125 Outlandish flatteries? Then proceed'st to talk
Of the Emperor, how easily subdued,
How gloriously. I shall, thou say'st, expel
A brutish monster; what if I withal
Expel a Devil who first made him such?

130 Let his tormentor, Conscience, find him out;
For him I was not sent, nor yet to free
That people, victor once, now vile and base,
Deservedly made vassal—who, once just,
Frugal, and mild, and temperate, conquered well,

135 But govern ill the nations under yoke,
Peeling their provinces, exhausted all
By lust and rapine; first ambitious grown
Of triumph, that insulting vanity;
Then cruel, by their sports to blood inured

140 Of fighting beasts, and men to beasts exposed;
Luxurious by their wealth, and greedier still,
And from the daily scene effeminate.
What wise and valiant man would seek to free
These, thus degenerate, by themselves enslaved,

145 Or could of inward slaves make outward free?
Know, therefore, when my season comes to sit
On David's throne, it shall be like a tree
Spreading and overshadowing all the earth,
Or as a stone that shall to pieces dash

150 All monarchies besides throughout the world;
And of my kingdom there shall be no end.
Means there shall be to this; but what the means
Is not for thee to know, nor me to tell."

To whom the Tempter, impudent, replied:

155 "I see all offers made by me how slight
Thou valuest, because offered, and reject'st.
Nothing will please the difficult and nice,
Or nothing more than still to contradict.
On the other side know also thou that I

160 On what I offer set as high esteem,
Nor what I part with mean to give for nought.
All these, which in a moment thou behold’st,
The kingdoms of the world, to thee I give
(For, given to me, I give to whom I please),
165 No trifle; yet with this reserve, not else—
On this condition, if thou wilt fall down,
And worship me as thy superior lord
(Easily done), and hold them all of me;
For what can less so great a gift deserve?"
170 Whom thus our Saviour answered with disdain:
"I never liked thy talk, thy offers less;
Now both abhor, since thou hast dared to utter
The abominable terms, impious condition.
But I endure the time, till which expired
175 Thou hast permission on me. It is written,
The first of all commandments, ‘Thou shalt worship
The Lord thy God, and only Him shalt serve;’
And darest thou to the Son of God propound
To worship thee, accursed? now more accursed
180 For this attempt, bolder than that on Eve,
And more blasphemous; which expect to rue.
The kingdoms of the world to thee were given!
Permitted rather, and by thee usurped;
Other donation none thou canst produce.
185 If given, by whom but by the King of kings,
God over all supreme? If given to thee,
By thee how fairly is the Giver now
Repaid! But gratitude in thee is lost
Long since. Wert thou so void of fear or shame
190 As offer them to me, the Son of God—
To me my own, on such abhorred pact,
That I fall down and worship thee as God?
Get thee behind me! Plain thou now appear’st
That Evil One, Satan for ever damned."
195 To whom the Fiend, with fear abashed, replied:
"Be not so sore offended, Son of God—
Though Sons of God both Angels are and Men—
If I, to try whether in higher sort
Than these thou bear'st that title, have proposed

What both from Men and Angels I receive,
Tetrarchs of Fire, Air, Flood, and on the Earth
Nations besides from all the quartered winds—
God of this World invoked, and World beneath.
Who then thou art, whose coming is foretold

To me most fatal, me it most concerns.
The trial hath indamaged thee no way,
Rather more honour left and more esteem;
Me nought advantaged, missing what I aimed.
Therefore let pass, as they are transitory,

The kingdoms of this world; I shall no more
Advise thee; gain them as thou canst, or not.
And thou thyself seem'st otherwise inclined
Than to a worldly crown, addicted more
To contemplation and profound dispute;

As by that early action may be judged,
When, slipping from thy mother's eye, thou went'st
Alone into the Temple, there wast found
Among the gravest Rabbies, disputant
On points and questions fitting Moses' chair,

Teaching, not taught. The childhood shows the man,
As morning shows the day. Be famous, then,
By wisdom; as thy empire must extend,
So let extend thy mind o'er all the world
In knowledge; all things in it comprehend.

All knowledge is not couched in Moses' law,
The Pentateuch, or what the Prophets wrote;
The Gentiles also know, and write, and teach
To admiration, led by Nature's light;
And with the Gentiles much thou must converse,

Ruling them by persuasion, as thou mean'st.
Without their learning, how wilt thou with them,
Or they with thee, hold conversation meet?
How wilt thou reason with them, how refute
Their idolisms, traditions, paradoxes?

235 Error by his own arms is best evinced.
Look once more, ere we leave this specular mount,
Westward, much nearer by south-west; behold
Where on the Ægean shore a city stands,
Built nobly, pure the air and light the soil—

240 Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts
And eloquence, native to famous wits
Or hospitable, in her sweet recess,
City or suburban, studious walks and shades.
See there the olive-grove of Academe,

245 Plato's retirement, where the Attic bird
Trills her thick-warbled notes the summer long;
There flowery hill, Hymettus, with the sound
Of bees' industrious murmur, oft invites
To studious musing; there Ilissus rolls

250 His whispering stream. Within the walls then view
The schools of ancient sages—his who bred
Great Alexander to subdue the world,
Lyceum there; and painted Stoa next.
There thou shalt hear and learn the secret power

255 Of harmony, in tones and numbers hit
By voice or hand, and various-measured verse,
Æolian charms and Dorian lyric odes,
And his who gave them breath, but higher sung,
Blind Melesigones, thence Homer called,

260 Whose poem Phœbus challenged for his own.
Thence what the lofty grave Tragedians taught
In chorus or iambic, teachers best
Of moral prudence, with delight received
In brief sententious precepts, while they treat

265 Of fate, and chance, and change in human life,
High actions and high passions best describing.
Thence to the famous Orators repair,
Those ancient whose resistless eloquence
Wielded at will that fierce demeacracy,
270 Shook the Arsenal, and fulminated over Greece
To Macedon and Artaxerxes' throne.
To sage Philosophy next lend thine ear,
From Heaven descended to the low-roofed house
Of Socrates; see there his tenement,
275 Whom well inspired the oracle pronounced
Wisest of men; from whose mouth issued forth
Mellifluous streams, that watered all the schools
Of Academics old and new, with those
Surnamed Peripatetics, and the sect
280 Epicurean, and the Stoic severe.
These here revolve, or, as thou likest, at home,
Till time mature thee to a kingdom's weight;
These rules will render thee a king complete
Within thyself, much more with empire joined.”
285 To whom our Saviour sagely thus replied:
“Think not but that I know these things; or think
I know them not, not therefore am I short
Of knowing what I ought. He who receives
Light from above, from the Fountain of Light,
290 No other doctrine needs, though granted true;
But these are false, or little else but dreams,
Conjectures, fancies, built on nothing firm.
The first and wisest of them all professed
To know this only, that he nothing knew;
295 The next to fabling fell and smooth conceits;
A third sort doubted all things, though plain sense;
Others in virtue placed felicity,
But virtue joined with riches and long life;
In corporal pleasure he, and careless ease;
300 The Stoic last in philosophic pride,
By him called virtue, and his virtuous man,
Wise, perfect in himself, and all possessing,
Equal to God, oft shames not to prefer,
As fearing God nor man, contemning all

Wealth, pleasure, pain or torment, death and life—
Which, when he lists, he leaves, or boasts he can;
For all his tedious talk is but vain boast,
Or subtle shifts conviction to evade.
Alas! what can they teach, and not mislead,

Ignorant of themselves, of God much more,
And how the world began, and how man fell,
Degraded by himself, on grace depending?
Much of the soul they talk, but all awry;
And in themselves seek virtue; and to themselves

All glory arrogate, to God give none;
Rather accuse him under usual names,
Fortune and Fate, as one regardless quite
Of mortal things. Who, therefore, seeks in these
True wisdom finds her not, or, by delusion

Far worse, her false resemblance only meets,
An empty cloud. However, many books,
Wise men have said, are wearisome; who reads
Incessantly, and to his reading brings not
A spirit and judgment equal or superior,

(And what he brings what needs he elsewhere seek?)
Uncertain and unsettled still remains,
Deep-versed in books and shallow in himself,
Crude or intoxicate, collecting toys
And trifles for choice matters, worth a sponge,

As children gathering pebbles on the shore.
Or, if I would delight my private hours
With music or with poem, where so soon
As in our native language can I find
That solace? All our Law and story strowed

With hymns, our Psalms with artful terms inscribed,
Our Hebrew songs and harps, in Babylon
That pleased so well our victor's ear, declare
That rather Greece from us these arts derived—
Ill imitated while they loudest sing
The vices of their deities, and their own,
In fable, hymn, or song, so personating
Their gods ridiculous, and themselves past shame.
Remove their swelling epithets, thick laid
As varnish on a harlot's cheek; the rest,
Thin sown with aught of profit or delight,
Will far be found unworthy to compare
With Sion's songs, to all true tastes excelling,
Where God is praised aright and godlike men,
The Holiest of Holies and his Saints
(Such are from God inspired, not such from thee);
Unless where moral virtue is expressed
By light of Nature, not in all quite lost.
Their orators thou then extoll'st as those
The top of eloquence—statists indeed,
And lovers of their country, as may seem;
But herein to our Prophets far beneath,
As men divinely taught, and better teaching
The solid rules of civil government,
In their majestic, unaffected style,
Than all the oratory of Greece and Rome.
In them is plainest taught, and easiest learnt,
What makes a nation happy, and keeps it so,
What ruins kingdoms, and lays cities flat;
These only, with our Law, best form a king."
So spake the Son of God; but Satan, now
Quite at a loss (for all his darts were spent),
Thus to our Saviour, with stern brow, replied:
"Since neither wealth nor honour, arms or arts,
Kingdom nor empire, pleases thee, nor aught
By me proposed in life contemplative
Or active, tended on by glory or fame,
What dost thou in this world? The wilderness
For thee is fittest place; I found thee there,
And thither will return thee. Yet remember

What I foretell thee; soon thou shalt have cause
To wish thou never hadst rejected, thus
Nicely or cautiously, my offered aid,
Which would have set thee in short time with ease
On David's throne, or throne of all the world,

Now at full age, fulness of time, thy season,
When prophecies of thee are best fulfilled.
Now, contrary—if I read aught in heaven,
Or heaven write aught of fate—by what the stars
Voluminous, or single characters

In their conjunction met, give me to spell,
Sorrows and labours, opposition, hate,
Attends thee; scorns, reproaches, injuries,
Violence and stripes, and lastly cruel death.
A kingdom they portend thee, but what kingdom,

Real or allegoric, I discern not;
Nor when; eternal sure—as without end,
Without beginning; for no date prefixed
Directs me in the starry rubric set."

So saying, he took (for still he knew his power

Not yet expired), and to the wilderness
Brought back the Son of God, and left him there,
Feigning to disappear. Darkness now rose,
As daylight sunk, and brought in louring Night,
Her shadowy offspring, unsubstantial both,

Privation mere of light and absent day.
Our Saviour, meek and with untroubled mind
After his aery jaunt, though hurried sore,
Hungry and cold, betook him to his rest,
Wherever, under some concourse of shades,

Whose branching arms thick intertwined might shield
From dews and damps of night his sheltered head;
But, sheltered, slept in vain; for at his head
The Tempter watched, and soon with ugly dreams
Disturbed his sleep. And either tropic now

410 Gan thunder, and both ends of heaven; the clouds
From many a horrid rift abortive poured
Fierce rain with lightning mixed, water with fire
In ruin reconciled; nor slept the winds
Within their stony caves, but rushed abroad

415 From the four hinges of the world, and fell
On the vexed wilderness, whose tallest pines,
Though rooted deep as high, and sturdiest oaks,
Bowed their stiff necks, loaden with stormy blasts,
Or torn up sheer. Ill wast thou shrouded then,

420 O patient Son of God, yet only stood'st
Unshaken! Nor yet staid the terror there:
Infernal ghosts and hellish furies round
Environed thee; some howled, some yelled, some
shrieked,

Some bent at thee their fiery darts, while thou

425 Sat'st unappalled in calm and sinless peace.
Thus passed the night so foul, till Morning fair
Came forth with pilgrim steps, in amice gray,
Who with her radiant finger stilled the roar
Of thunder, chased the clouds, and laid the winds,

430 And grisly spectres, which the Fiend had raised
To tempt the Son of God with terrors dire.
And now the sun with more effectual beams
Had cheered the face of earth, and dried the wet
From drooping plant, or drooping tree; the birds,

435 Who all things now behold more fresh and green,
After a night of storm so ruinous,
Cleared up their choicest notes in bush and spray,
To gratulate the sweet return of morn.
Nor yet, amidst this joy and brightest morn,

440 Was absent, after all his mischief done,
The Prince of Darkness; glad would also seem
Of this fair change, and to our Saviour came;
Yet with no new device (they all were spent),
Rather by this his last affront resolved,

Desperate of better course, to vent his rage
And mad despite to be so oft repelled.
Him walking on a sunny hill he found,
Backed on the north and west by a thick wood;
Out of the wood he starts in wonted shape,

And in a careless mood thus to him said:
   "Fair morning yet betides thee, Son of God,
   After a dismal night. I heard the wrack,
   As earth and sky would mingle; but myself
   Was distant; and these flaws, though mortals fear them,

As dangerous to the pillared frame of Heaven,
Or to the Earth's dark basis underneath,
Are to the main as inconsiderable
And harmless, if not wholesome, as a sneeze
To man's less universe, and soon are gone.

Yet, as being ofttimes noxious where they light
On man, beast, plant, wasteful and turbulent,
Like turbulencies in the affairs of men,
Over whose head they roar, and seem to point,
They oft fore-signify and threaten ill.

This tempest at this desert most was bent;
Of men at thee, for only thou here dwell'st.
Did I not tell thee, if thou didst reject
The perfect season offered with my aid
To win thy destined seat, but wilt prolong

All to the push of fate, pursue thy way
Of gaining David's throne no man knows when
(For both the when and how is nowhere told),
Thou shalt be what thou art ordained, no doubt;
For Angels have proclaimed it, but concealing

The time and means? Each act is rightliest done
Not when it must, but when it may be best.
If thou observe not this, be sure to find
What I foretold thee—many a hard assay
Of dangers, and adversities, and pains,

Ere thou of Israel's sceptre get fast hold;
Whereof this ominous night that closed thee round,
So many terrors, voices, prodigies,
May warn thee, as a sure foregoing sign."

So talked he, while the Son of God went on,

And staid not, but in brief him answered thus:
"Me worse than wet thou find'st not; other harm
Those terrors which thou speak'st of did me none.
I never feared they could, though noising loud
And threatening nigh; what they can do as signs

Betokening or ill-boding I contemn
As false portents, not sent from God, but thee;
Who, knowing I shall reign past thy preventing,
Obtrudest thy offered aid, that I, accepting,
At least might seem to hold all power of thee,

Ambitious Spirit! and wouldst be thought my God
And storm'st, refused, thinking to terrify
Me to thy will! Desist, thou art discerned,
And toil'st in vain, nor me in vain molest."

To whom the Fiend, now swoln with rage, replied:
"Then hear, O Son of David, virgin-born!
For Son of God to me is yet in doubt.
Of the Messiah I have heard foretold
By all the Prophets; of thy birth, at length
Announced by Gabriel, with the first I knew,

And of the angelic song in Bethlehem field,
On thy birth-night, that sung thee Saviour born.
From that time seldom have I ceased to eye
Thy infancy, thy childhood, and thy youth,
Thy manhood last, though yet in private bred;

Till, at the ford of Jordan, whither all
Flocked to the Baptist, I among the rest,
Though not to be baptized, by voice from Heaven
Heard thee pronounced the Son of God beloved.
Thenceforth I thought thee worth my nearer view

And narrower scrutiny, that I might learn
In what degree or meaning thou art called
The 'Son of God,' which bears no single sense.
The Son of God I also am, or was;
And, if I was, I am; relation stands;

All men are Sons of God; yet thee I thought
In some respect far higher so declared.
Therefore I watched thy foosteps from that hour,
And followed thee still on to this waste wild,
Where, by all best conjectures, I collect

Thou art to be my fatal enemy.
Good reason, then, if I beforehand seek
To understand my adversary, who
And what he is; his wisdom, power, intent;
By parle or composition, truce or league,

To win him, or win from him what I can.
And opportunity I here have had
To try thee, sift thee, and confess have found thee
Proof against all temptation, as a rock
Of adamant, and as a centre, firm

To the utmost of mere man both wise and good,
Not more; for honours, riches, kingdoms, glory,
Have been before contemned, and may again.
Therefore, to know what more thou art than man,
Worth naming Son of God by voice from Heaven,

Another method I must now begin."
So saying, he caught him up, and, without wing
Of hippogriff bore through the air sublime,
Over the wilderness and o'er the plain,
Till underneath them fair Jerusalem,

The Holy City, lifted high her towers,
And higher yet the glorious Temple reared  
Her pile, far off appearing like a mount  
Of alabaster, topt with golden spires;  
There, on the highest pinnacle, he set

550 The Son of God, and added thus in scorn:
   "There stand, if thou wilt stand; to stand upright  
Will ask thee skill. I to thy Father's house  
Have brought thee, and highest placed; highest is best.  
Now show thy progeny; if not to stand,

555 Cast thyself down. Safely, if Son of God;  
For it is written, 'He will give command  
Concerning thee to his Angels; in their hands  
They shall uplift thee, lest at any time  
Thou chance to dash thy foot against a stone.'"

560 To whom thus Jesus: "Also it is written,  
'Tempt not the Lord thy God.'" He said, and stood;  
But Satan, smitten with amazement, fell.  
As when Earth's son, Antæus (to compare  
Small things with greatest), in Irassa strove

565 With Jove's Alcides, and, oft foiled, still rose,  
Receiving from his mother Earth new strength,  
Fresh from his fall, and fiercer grapple joined,  
Throttled at length in the air expired and fell;  
So, after many a foil, the Tempter proud,

570 Renewing fresh assaults, amidst his pride  
Fell whence he stood to see his victor fall;  
And, as that Theban monster that proposed  
Her riddle, and him who solved it not devoured,  
That once found out and solved, for grief and spite

575 Cast herself headlong from the Ismenian steep;  
So, struck with dread and anguish, fell the Fiend,  
And to his crew, that sat consulting, brought  
Joyless triumphals of his hoped success,  
Ruin, and desperation, and dismay,

580 Who durst so proudly tempt the Son of God.
So Satan fell; and straight a fiery globe
Of Angels on full sail of wing flew nigh,
Who on their plumy vans received him soft
From his uneasy station, and upbore,

As on a floating couch, through the blithe air;
Then, in a flowery valley, set him down
On a green bank, and set before him spread
A table of celestial food, divine
Ambrosial fruits fetched from the Tree of Life,

And from the Fount of Life ambrosial drink,
That soon refreshed him wearied, and repaired
What hunger, if aught hunger, had impaired,
Or thirst; and, as he fed, Angelic choirs
Sung heavenly anthems of his victory

Over temptation and the Tempter proud:
"True Image of the Father, whether throned
In the bosom of bliss, and light of light
Conceiving, or, remote from Heaven, enshrined
In fleshly tabernacle and human form,

Wandering the wilderness—whatever place,
Habit, or state, or motion, still expressing
The Son of God, with Godlike force endued
Against the attempter of thy Father's throne
And thief of Paradise! Him long of old

Thou didst debel, and down from Heaven cast
With all his army; now thou hast avenged
Supplanted Adam, and, by vanquishing
Temptation, hast regained lost Paradise,
And frustrated the conquest fraudulent.

He never more henceforth will dare set foot
In Paradise to tempt; his snares are broke.
For, though that seat of earthly bliss be failed,
A fairer Paradise is founded now
For Adam and his chosen sons, whom thou,

A Saviour, art come down to reinstall;
Where they shall dwell secure, when time shall be,
Of tempter and temptation without fear.
But thou, Infernal Serpent! shalt not long
Rule in the clouds. Like an autumnal star,

620 Or lightning, thou shalt fall from Heaven, trod down
Under his feet. For proof, ere this thou feel'st
Thy wound (yet not thy last and deadliest wound)
By this repulse received, and hold'st in Hell
No triumph; in all her gates Abaddon rues

625 Thy bold attempt. Hereafter learn with awe
To dread the Son of God. He, all unarmed,
Shall chase thee, with the terror of his voice,
From thy demoniac holds, possession foul,
Thee and thy legions; yelling they shall fly,

630 And beg to hide them in a herd of swine,
Lest he command them down into the Deep,
Bound, and to torment sent before their time.
Hail, Son of the Most High, heir of both Worlds,
Queller of Satan! On thy glorious work

635 Now enter, and begin to save Mankind."

Thus they the Son of God, our Saviour meek,
Sung victor, and, from heavenly feast refreshed,
Brought on his way with joy. He, unobserved,
Home to his mother's house private returned.
NOTES TO PARADISE LOST.

BOOK I.

1. As in the opening of the Iliad, the Odyssey, and the Æneid, so here the subject of the poem is stated in the very first words. In Homer and Milton the invocation includes the proposition (or subject), but in Virgil they form separate sentences. Addison observes: "His invocation to a work, which turns in a great measure upon the creation of the world, is very properly made to the Muse who inspired Moses in those Books from whence our author drew his subject, and to the Holy Spirit who is therein represented as operating after a particular manner in the first production of Nature. The whole exordium rises very happily into noble language and sentiment, as I think the transition to the fable is very beautiful and natural."

The order is, "Heavenly Muse, that on the secret top," &c. (lines 6-10), "sing of Man's first disobedience," &c.

2. Forbidden tree. So called because God, after he had placed the man in the garden of Eden, commanded him, "saying, 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." —Genesis, ii. 16, 17. In vii. 46, it is called the 'interdicted tree;' see also ix. 904.

Mortal. Causing death; more commonly used in the sense of subject to death, human; see iii. 214.


One greater Man. See Rom. v. 19; 1 Cor. xv. 21, 22.

7. Of Oreb, or of Sinai. Oreb and Sinai were two peaks of the same range of mountains; what is called Sinai in *Exodus* is spoken of as Oreb in *Deuteronomy,* and cf. *Exodus,* iii. i, and *Acts,* vii. 30.


10. Chaos. Empty space. Chaos is personified by Hesiod as the first state of existence.

*Sion Hill.* One of the heights on which Jerusalem was built. Sion, or Zion, is called the 'holy hill' (*Psalm* ii. 6), the 'city of David' (*Kings,* viii. 1), the 'city of the great King' (*Psalm* xlvi. 2).

11. *Siloa's brook.* A pool or tank near the temple of Jerusalem—*Nehemiah,* iii. 15; *Isaiah,* viii. 6; *St John,* ix. 7, and see iii. 30.

12. Fast by. Close to; the primary meaning of fast is fixed, firm, close; and from the idea of closeness probably comes its meaning 'quick.' Cf. the similar expression 'hard by;' hard being what is compressed, close.

The oracle of God. The temple at Jerusalem; the 'most holy place' of the temple is called the 'oracle' in *Kings,* vi. 16.

Oracle strictly means the answer of a god, from Lat. orare, to speak; Milton uses it in this sense in *Paradise Lost,* x. 182, applying it to the prophecy in *Genesis,* iii. 15; and see *Paradise Regained,* i. 460, 463.

I thence invoke thy aid. He began by invoking the Divine Spirit that inspired Moses; here he asks for the aid of the same Spirit by whose inspiration David and the prophets of Israel sang.

14. Middle. Middling, ordinary. Middle is the mid dat, deal, or part; what lies equally distant from extremes.

15. To soar above the Aonian mount. To treat of a nobler theme and in loftier strains than any poet of Greece (or Rome) had sung.

The Aonian mount. Mount Helicon in Boeotia, sacred to Apollo and the Muses. Aonius was the ancient and poetical name for Boeotian, and the Muses were sometimes called Aonides.

Pursues. In the literal and classical sense of follows up, describes.

16. Rhyme. Verse as opposed to prose; similarly in Comus (line 44) we have 'tale or song' used as 'prose or rhyme' here. Rhyme is from the A.S. rim, a word of Teutonic origin. The modern spelling is from the idea that rhyme comes from ῥυθμός, rhythm; in this place Milton spells it rhime, distinguishing it from the rime he speaks of in his prefatory Note on the Verse, which he uses to denote "the jingling sound of like endings." Rhyme occurs only once again in his poems, and there, as here, in the sense of verse in general, whether blank or rhyming.

Who would not sing for Lycidas? He knew Himself to sing, and build the lofty rhyme.—Lycidas, 10.

17. That dost prefer, &c. 1 Corinthians, iii. 16, 17; 2 Corinthians, vi. 16; Ephesians, ii. 21, 22.

21. Dove-like sat'st brooding. Brooded is the literal meaning of the Hebrew word translated moved in Genesis, i. 2, "The Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." The Spirit is said to have descended 'like a dove,' Matthew, iii. 16; and, as a further reason for the use of the epithet dove-like, Todd observes that the Talmudists illustrate 'brooded,' Quemadmodum columba incumbit pullis suis—as a dove sits on its young. See vii. 235.

24. Argument. Subject. Argue means (a) to prove, make evident, convict; (b) to oppose, resist; (c) to dispute, debate. And argument, (a') proof; (b') reasoning, discussion; (c') subject-matter, a statement of the subject.

(a') Not to know me argues yourselves unknown.—iv. 830.

(b') I argue not
Against Heaven's hand or will.—Sonnet, xxii.

(c') Of good, and evil, much they argued then,
Of happiness, and final misery.—ii. 562.

(a') The devil's stirring up of such spirits of sedition is an evident argument that the light is come forth.—Latimer, Sermon on Good Friday, 1549.

(b') Thou neither dost persuade me to seek wealth
For empire's sake, nor empire to effect
For glory's sake, by all thy argument.
—Paradise Regained, iii. 44.

(c') Not sedulous by nature to indite
Wars, hitherto the only argument
Heroic deemed. . . .

Me of these
Nor skilled nor studious, higher argument
Remains.—Paradise Lost, ix. 28, 42.

And see ix. 84, and note.
26. Pope borrows this line in his Essay on Man:—

    Laugh where we must, be candid where we can,
    And vindicate the ways of God to man.—Ep. i. 15.

*To men* is to be taken with *ways of God*, and not with *justify.*


*Heaven.* Der. A.S., *heafian*, to raise, because it is raised or *heaved* on high; and so applied to the regions raised, *heaved*, or *heaven*, above us. Verstegan (ob. 1635) has the following (quoted in Richardson’s *Dictionary*):—

The name of *heaven*, albeit it was of our ancestors written *heafen*, yet carried it like sense or signification as now it doth, being as much as to say as *heaven*, or *heaved* up, to wit, the place that is elevated.—*Restitution of Decayed Intelligence*, c. 7.

28. *Hell.* The word *hell* is derived from A.S. *hulan*, to cover; a concealed place, the place of departed spirits, as in the *Apostles’ Creed*, “He descended into *hell;*” and, “Thou wilt not leave my soul in *hell;*” *Acts*, ii. 27. Cf. *heal*, to make or become better, as when a wound is *healed* or covered; *hale*, sound; *healthy*, free from sickness; *hail*, to salute, to wish good *health*; *whole*, entire (the *w* does not belong to the root); so, too, *wholesome*; and *heller*, a South of England word for a thatcher, one who roofs or *covers* a house; and *helm* or *helmet*, a covering for the head. The Hebrew word *sheol*, a cavern, and the Greek *hades*, invisible, thus correspond with the English *hell*, concealed.

29. *Grand.* In the same sense as in grandfather.

32. *For.* On account of. ‘To transgress his will on account of one restraint, though in all other respects lords of the world.’ Keightley has a note of interrogation after *will*, and takes *for* as meaning ‘but for.’ *Besides.* In all else. *World* is said to be derived from *wer*, a man, and *old*, age or time.


40. *To have equalled the Most High.* See *Isaiah*, xiv. 12-14.

43. *Impious war and battle proud.* These expressions occur in Virgil, *Æneid*, vi. 613, and viii. 118.

45. *Headlong.* Head foremost. *Darkling*, in the dark, is the only adverb now ending in *ling.* See note on iii. 39.

46. *Ruin and combustion.* Dyce has pointed out that this phrase occurs in an order of the two Houses of Parliament of 1642 (Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, iii. 46, ed. 1826.)

Adamantine, that cannot be broken, everlasting; Gr. ἀδαμαντός, un conquerable. Milton has also the adj. adamantine, Samson Agonistes, 134. Diamond is from the same root.

49. Defy to arms. Challenge to combat. Defy (Low Lat. diffidare) was the technical word for to break allegiance with.

50. Nine times, &c. For a period of time as long as nine days and nights are to us. This was before the creation of the world or of day and night, so it would be an anachronism to say 'for nine days and nights,' as Hesiod does in describing the fall of the Giants, Theog., 722. See vi. 871.

55. Pain. Lat. pæna, punishment; pain is punishment, and retains its literal meaning in the expression 'under pain of.'


57. Witnessed. Expressed, bore witness to, exhibited. Mr Browne (Clarendon Press Edition) says witness is 'used always in this sense in Shakespeare and in Milton,' whereas almost the next place it occurs (iii. 700), it has the ordinary meaning of 'see,' 'behold.'

Dismay. The root is may; and so dismay is without might, and dismayed, deprived of power.

59. Ken. See, view. Can, con, ken, cunning, are all from the same root, A.S., cennan, to perceive. Ken occurs occasionally in poetry both as a noun and verb, and is a common word in Scotland in the sense of 'see,' 'understand.'

As far as angels ken. Ken may be either a noun or a verb here.

60. Situation. This is the only place in which this word occurs in Milton's poems.

61. Dungeon is properly of Celtic origin, from ḏūn, a fort, whence O. Fr., donjon. The primary meaning of ḏūn is strong, and as a noun it means a citadel; in the Zeuss MSS. it is explained arx, castrum; in Welsh it appears as din; A.S., tūn; English town: see Joyce's Irish Names of Places, iii. 1.

63. No light. 'Issued' or 'came' is understood. Keightley quotes from Walker's History of Independency (ed. 1648), "Their burning zeal without knowledge is like hell-fire without light."

Darkness visible. These words as a quotation are always used to mean, and generally explained here as, 'darkness that can be seen;' but visible seems rather to mean 'that can be seen through,' and darkness visible, darkness through which the sights of woe were discovered. See Dr Wm. Smith's Note on the adjectival ending in -ble in the Student's English Language, 3d ed., p. 98.

Chaucer has the same idea:
The cause why that Job calleth hell the land of darkness—dark, for he that is in hell hath defaute of light natural; for certes the dark light that shall come out of the fire that ever shall burn, shall turn them all to pain that be in hell, for it showeth them the horrible devils that torment them.— The Parson’s Tale.

66. Hope never comes. One of the inscriptions that Dante saw on the gate of Hell was—

All hope abandon, ye who enter here.—Hell, iii. 9.

68. Urges. Presses upon, besets.
69. Unconsumed. Inconsumable.
72. Utter. Extreme: utter is another form of outer, and ut the old English for out. In Matthew, xxii. 13, the outer (ἐξωρεποῦ) of King James’s Bible is utter in Elizabeth’s. See also iii. 16; v. 614; and Spenser—

To the bridge’s utter gate I came.—Faerie Queene, iv. 10.

74. As from the centre, &c. Three times as far as it is from the centre of the earth to the pole of the universe. Newton has observed that Homer places Hell as far beneath the deepest pit of earth as the Heaven is above the earth, Iliad, iii. 16; Virgil makes it twice as far distant, Æneid, vi. 578; and Milton three times as far.
81. Beelzebub. The God of Flies: he was worshipped at Ekron in Palestine—2 Kings, i. 2; and, in Matthew, xii. 24, is called the Prince of the Devils.
82. Thence. For this reason. Satan is the Hebrew for an enemy, an adversary.

The two chief names for the Evil Spirit are the Devil (always with the article) and Satan (without the article). ‘Devil’ is found under various forms in all the European languages, and comes from a Greek word meaning an accuser. In the Scriptures the following titles are applied to the Devil: Abaddon; Apollyon, i.e., a destroyer; Angel of the bottomless pit (Rev. ix. 11); Accuser of the brethren; Belial; Adversary; the Beast; Beelzebub; the Prince of the Devils; the Deceiver; the Great Dragon; God of this world; Father of lies; Prince of the power of the air; Satan; the old Serpent; the Tempter; and the Wicked One.
105. What though, &c. All editions except Keightley’s have a note of interrogation after lost; but no question is asked: ‘what though’ is equivalent to ‘although.’
The field. The field of battle, and hence the battle itself; so again in ii. 768.

107. Study. Desire, zeal; Lat. studium; so in xi. 577.

109. And what is else, &c. There was a note of interrogation after this line until Newton’s edition of 1749. The construction according to the present reading is, And whatever else is not to be overcome is not lost. Professor Masson restores the note of interrogation, and observes on Newton’s reading: “The meaning thus given to the last clause is languid compared with any of those meanings it will bear if the original punctuation is preserved. ‘All is not lost,’ Satan then says; ‘the unconquerable will, &c., and courage never to submit or yield; and what else is there that is not to be overcome?’ or, ‘and what is there that else (i.e., without the forementioned qualities) is not to be overcome?’ or, ‘and in what else does not to be overcome (i.e., invincibility) consist?’”

114. That were low. That is in apposition with the first part of the sentence,—‘to bow and sue for grace,’ &c.

115. Ignominy. To be read in scanning ‘ignomin.’


117. Empyreal substance. Heavenly nature of which the spirits consisted. In ii. 771, Heaven is called the Empyrian, from its fiery brightness and splendour; Gr. πυρ, fire. The angels are called Seraphim—i.e., ‘flaming fire,’ Psalm civ. 4; and see v. 460. Fail; cease to exist, perish.

120. With more successful hope. With hope of better success.


129. Embattled. Drawn up in battle array, or in battles—i.e., battalions; see vi. 216, note.

131. Perpetual. Keightley “doubts if it is anywhere else, in either language (English or Latin), used of persons;” he forgot ‘perpetual curate.’

133. Whether. Goes with put to proof.

136. Lost us Heaven. Lost governs two objectives, or rather us may be regarded as the ‘dative of disadvantage.’

144. Of force. Of necessity, per force. See iv. 813.

149. Thralls. Slaves; A.S. thral, from thirlean, to pierce, from the custom of boring the ear of a slave to the door-post: see Exodus, xxi. 6, and Psalm xl. 6. This custom was retained by our forefathers, and executed at the church door. Thrill, to pierce, is from the same root, and occurs in nostril; drill and thrill are the same, d and th being often interchangeable.

150. Business. Occupation, employment: from the Fr. besogne, work, and not from the adj. busy; the ness arising from analogy, or its being confounded with busyness, the state of
being busy, a word now obsolete, or merged in meaning with the modern business. Wicklif has—

I wole that ye be without bisynesse, for he that is without wife is bisi what things ben of the Lord.—1 Cor. vii. 32.

The word translated 'without bisynesse' is in Greek 'without anxiety,' or 'carefulness' as it is rendered in the Bible of 1611.

152. Errands. Errand has nothing to do with the Latin errare, to wander, from which come error, errant, &c., but is from the A.S. ærendian, to bring news; or from the root ar, to till,—ærend meaning simply work.

156. Whereto. Either 'to which,' or 'thereupon.'

167. If I fail not. If I am not mistaken, ni fallor.


Until the blustering storm is overblown.—Faerie Queene, I.

When those clouds of war, that menaced
A bloody deluge to the affrighted state,
Are by their breath dispersed and overblown.
—Massinger, The Picture, ii. 2.

Laid. Caused to settle. Allayed, as we should now say.

Cf. Paradise Regained, iv. 426.

176. His. Referring to the thunder; his being used for its.

178. Slip. Lose, let pass; occasionem omittere; cf. v. 453. Slip is not now used as a transitive in this and similar phrases, though common in writers of the seventeenth century:

Sir, I do slippe
No action of my life.—Ben Jonson, The Fox, iv. 1.

If there be any indisposition or averseness thereto [prayer], we should by serious consideration and industrious care labour to remove them; rousing our spirits, and kindling in our affections some fervency of desire toward spiritual things; otherwise we shall be apt to shun, or to slip the opportunities inviting to devotion.—Barrow, Sixth Sermon.

Nor must we slip, without remark, what happened in our winter march.—Fryer, Travels in Persia, v. 9.

Occasion. Opportunity; Lat. occasio. See Par. Reg. iii. 173, note.

Whether scorn, &c. Whether he has granted us this intermission because he despises us, or because he is satisfied with the punishment already inflicted.

183. Tend. Proceed; Lat. tendere.

185. Harbour. Dwell; lodge; A.S. herebergh, from O.E. here, an army (the root of harry, harass, Hereford), and beorgan, to protect. There rest, &c. Shakespeare has the same play upon the words in Richard II. :—
186. Afflicted. Lit. dashed to the ground, beaten.

Powers. Forces, troops; see Milton’s Psalm cxxxvi. 54.

191. If not. Otherwise. Bentley proposes ‘if none’ (reinforcement).

192. Thus Satan. ‘Spake’ is understood.

198. Titanian, or Earth-born. From Uranos (Heaven) and Gaia (Earth) the principal gods and giants are fabled by the Greeks to have sprung. Titanian, then, means Heaven-born deities—‘ Titan, Heaven’s first-born,’ i. 510—and Earth-born means the Giants, the word giant coming from γίγας, the earth.

That warred on Jove. Some editions inaccurately omit to place a comma after Titanian. That refers to Earth-born only.

199. Briarōs was a huge monster, the ‘centumgeminus Briareus’ of Virgil, Æneid, vi. 287, with a hundred hands and fifty heads. When the Titans ‘warred on Jove,’ Briareus fought against them, and when they were thrust into Tartarus he was placed as one of the guards over them.

Briarōs was a son of Uranos, and Typhon was a giant; so the former is selected as a representative of the Titanian monsters, and Typhon of the Earth-born. The legends about both, however, are confusing and various.

Typhon, or Typhoëus, was a hundred-headed giant, and, as related by Pindar, dwelt in a cave in Cilicia, the capital of which is Tarsus. Typhon is sometimes described as a fire-breathing giant, and sometimes as a fearful hurricane; hence typhon. See ii. 539-541.

The den ... held. That is, he lived in a den.

201. Leviathan. The creature described under this name in Job (chap. xli.) is supposed to refer to the crocodile, but Milton’s description applies only to the whale; see also vii. 412-415:

204. Night-soundered. Overwhelmed by night and darkness; a word of Milton’s coinage; it occurs also in Comus, 483.

205. As seamen tell. The story is told by Olaus Magnus, and in Hakluyt’s Voyages, i. 568: “It sometimes falleth out that mariners thinking these whales to be islands, and casting out anchors upon their backs, are often in danger of drowning.”

206. His scaly rind. Whales have no scales, but of the leviathan in Job it is said, ‘his scales are his pride.’

207. Under the lee. The lee side of a ship is the side sheltered from the wind; ‘under the lee’ means not exposed to the wind; ‘leeward,’ in the direction of the part toward which the wind blows.
208. Invests the sea. Clothes the sea ‘as with a mantle;’ cf. iii. 10. A similar metaphor is used of the moon, ‘who o’er the dark her silver mantle threw,’ iv. 609; and of Night ‘veiling the horizon,’ ix. 52.

223. Spires. Wreathed forms, coming gradually to a point.

227. That felt unusual weight. Spenser has the same idea in describing the Old Dragon:—

Then with his waving wings displayed wide
Himself up high he lifted from the ground,
And with strong flight did forcibly divide
The yielding air, which nigh too feeble found
Her fitting parts, and element unsound
To bear so great a weight.—Faerie Queene, iv. 11-16.

232. Pelorus. The north-eastern point of Sicily, near Mount Ætna; now Cape Faro.

233. Thundering Ætna. So in Virgil—

Horrificis juxta tonat Ætna ruinis.—Æneid, iii. 571.

234. Fuelled. Supplied with fuel; or, perhaps, made of fuel. Fr. feu, fire; Lat. focus.

235. Sublimed. Sublimated; a chemical term, meaning raised and projected upwards by heat. Solid substances are thus converted into vapour, and this when cool and solid again is a purer form of the original.

239. Scape’d or ‘scape’d, but incorrectly so, being an independent form of escape. Thus befall and fall, allay and lay, entreat and treat, admonish and monish.

The Stygian flood. The infernal lake; Styx (the Hateful) being the principal river of the lower world. See ii. 577.


248. Reason hath equalled, &c. In mental powers we were equal to him, but by the force he has used he has overcome us.

Reason. A monosyllable, or two short syllables.

254. The mind is its own place, &c. Cf. iv. 20-23, and—

Cælum, non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt.

—Horace, Epistles, I. xi. 27.

Its. In Anglo-Saxon the pronoun of the third person was thus declined in the singular:—

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The form of the masculine and neuter of the genitive was the same, and so it continued to be down till the end of the sixteenth century, when the form *its* first appeared.

Confusion naturally followed from *his* having to do duty for both genders, and various forms were substituted for *his* before *its* was finally recognised and adopted as the genitive of the pronoun *it*, almost a century after its first introduction. Thus we have, in the seventeenth century, *his, its, of the, of it, her, hers, their, hereof, thereof, of the same*, all used where we should now never think of employing any form but *its*.

How far that little candle throws *his* beams!
—*Merchant of Venice*, v. i.

It was the day, what time the powerful moon
Makes the poor Bancside creature wet *it*’ shoone,

As a beneficial gift conferred to man that hath need thereof is *of the* own proper nature commendable, so if the receiver of that liberal benignity show himself in mind inwardly oblivious and forgetful, &c. —Langley, *Abridgement of Polydore Virgil, Preface*, ed. 1572.

Behold another beast, ... and it raised up itself on one side, and it had three ribs in the mouth *of it* between the teeth of *it*.—*Daniel*, vii. 5.

In thee, the whole kingdom dresseth *it* self, and is ambitious to use thee as *her* glass.—Ben Jonson, *Cynthia’s Revels*, Dedication, 1599.

Right glad I am, that when music was lately shut out of our churches, on what default of *hers* I dare not to inquire, *it* hath since been harboured and welcomed in the halls, parlours, and chambers of the primest persons of this nation.—Fuller, *Worthies of England*, “Musicians.”

Let the earth bring forth soul living in her kind,
Cattle, and creeping things, and beast of the earth

The branches *hereof* [laurel] in all ages have been accounted honourable, inasmuch that King James, in some sort, waived his crown to wear the laurel in his new twenty-shilling pieces.—Fuller, *Worthies of England*, “Writers.”

*Malt*. This is barley with the property thereof much altered, having passed both water and fire, steeped and dried in a kiln. That the use *hereof* was known to the Greeks plainly appears by the proper word wherewith they express it, *bunl*.—Ib., “Bedfordshire.”

The Cathedral of Carlisle may pass for the emblem of the militant Church, black but comely, still bearing in the complexion *thereof* the remaining signs of *its* former burning.—Ib., “Cumberland.”

Surely there is some other cure for a ricketish body, than to kill it—viz., by opening obstructions, and deriving the nutriment to all parts of the same.—Ib., “Alms-houses.”
It is said that the earliest instance of the use of its is to be found in Florio's *World of Words*, A.D. 1598. It does not occur in the English Bible, in Hooker, nor in Bacon; but once or twice in Ben Jonson, and then with the apostrophe; the following quotations are from the folio edition of 1616:

He that has once the flower of the sunne,  
The perfect ruby which we call elixir,  
Not onely can doe that, but by it's vertue,  
Can confer honour, love, respect, long life,  
Give vvalue, safetie; yea, and victorie  
To whom he will.—*The Alchemist*, ii. 1.

Your knighthood it self shall come on it's knees, and it shall be rejected; it shall be sued for it's fees to execution, and not be redeemed. —*The Silent Woman*, ii. 5.

In Shakespeare its is found ten times in the First Folio, and the possessive it sixteen times; the modern editions, however, often give us its where the Folio has it. The following are the passages in which its occurs in his Plays:

Heaven grant us it's peace, but not the king of Hungary's!  
—*Measure for Measure*, i. 2.

How sometimes Nature will betray it's folly?  
*It's* tenderness? and make it selfe a Pastime  
To harder bosoms? Looking on the Lynes.  
Of my Boyes face, me thoughts I did requoyle  
Twentie three yeeres, and saw my self enbreach'd,  
In my greene Velvet Coat; my Dagger muzzel'd,  
Least it should bite it's Master, and so prove  
(As Ornaments oft do's) too dangerous.—*Winter's Tale*, i. 2.  

Be plainer with me, let me know my Trespas  
By it's owne visage.—Ib.  

It should heere be laide  
(Either for life, or death) upon the earth  
Of it's right Father.—Ib., iii. 3.  

My trust,  
Like a good parent, did beget of him  
A falsehood, in it's contrary, as great  
As my trust was.—*The Tempest*, i. 2.  

This music crept by me upon the waters,  
Allaying both their fury, and my passion,  
With it's sweet air.—Ib.  

As milde and gentle as the cradle babe,  
Dying with mother's dug between it's lips.—2 *Henry VI.*, iii. 3.  

Each following day  
Became the next day's master, till the last  
Made former wonders it's.—*Henry VIII.*, i. 1.
The use of *it* as a genitive has been mentioned above; it was in fact a common provincialism, being used as a possessive pronoun in the West-Midland dialect; and from a provincialism it found its way into the written language of Shakespeare's time, and occasionally occurs in the first half of the seventeenth century; and largely contributed to familiarize the eye as well as the ear to the use of *its*.

The following passages from Shakespeare have *it* for *its* in the original text of the First Folio:

_Ant._ It is shaped, sir, like itself; and it is as broad as it hath breadth; it is just so high as it is, and moves with *its* own organs; it lives by that which nourisheth it; and, the elements once out of it, it transmigrates.

_Lep._ Of what colour is it of?

_Ant._ Of *it* own colour too.

_Lep._ 'Tis a strange serpent.

_Ant._ 'Tis so. And the tears of *it* are wet.

——_Antony and Cleopatra_, ii. 7.

I fear your disposition;

That nature, which contems *it* origin,
Cannot be bordered certain in itself.—_Lear_, iv. 2.

Who is that they follow?

And with such maimed rites! This doth betoken,
The course they follow did with desperate hand
Foredo *it* own life.—_Hamlet_, v. 2.

The public body,—which doth seldom
Play the recant,—feeling in itself
A lack of Timon's aid, hath sense withal
Of *it* own fall.—_Timon of Athens_, v. 2.

It hath *it* original from much grief, from study and perturbation of the brain.—_2 Henry IV._, i. 2.

And all her husbandry doth lie on heaps,
Corrupting in *it* own fruititie.—_Henry V._, v. 2.

And yet I warrant it had upon *it* brow a bump as big as a young cockrel's stone.—_Romeo and Juliet_, i. 3.

The handmaids of all women, or more truly
Woman *it* pretty selfe.—_Cymbeline_, iii. 4.

That there thou leave it,
(Without more mercy) to *it* owne protection
And favour of the climate.—_Winter's Tale_, ii. 3.

The innocent milk in *it* most innocent mouth.—_Ib._, iii. 1.

Nature shall bring forth,

Of *it* owne kind, all soison, all abundace,
To feed my innocent people.—_The Tempest_, ii. 1.

Do, child; go to *it* grandame, child;
Give grandame kingdom, and *it* grandame will
Give it a plum, a cherry, and a fig.—_King John_, ii. 1.
Once methought
It lifted up it head, and did address
Itself to motion.—Hamlet, i. 2.

Fool. For you know, Nunuckle,
The Hedge-Sparrow fed the Cuckoo so long,
That it's [it has] had it head bit off by it young.
—King Lear, i. 4.

Its, as has been said, does not occur in Hooker, and I have
discovered but one instance of it for its in his works:—

That which is, of it own nature, either good or at least not evil, may
by some accident become scandalous at certain times.—Ecclesiastical
Polity, Book v., ed. 1617.

In Tonson’s translation of the New Testament, printed in
1597, the verse, Acts, xii. 10, runs, “The iron gate opened by it
owne accord.” In 1611 it is “of his own.”

In the Bible of 1611 the following verse is printed thus:—

That which groweth of it own accord of thy harvest thou shalt not
reap.—Leviticus, xxv. 5.

So it remained till emended by the printers; it is so in
Buck’s Cambridge edition of 1629, but in Field’s edition of
1653 ‘its own’ has crept in, and so it stands at present. Thus
the only instance of the word its in the English Bible is due to
the printer’s correction, or mistake probably.

As late as 1642, in Roger’s Naaman the Syrian, there are in-
stances of it as a genitive:—

The scope which mercy propounds to herself of the turning of
the soul to God, even the glory of it own self.—Quoted by Archbishop

This genitival it, however, survives still in a common enough
idiom: in such expressions as, “I have no doubt of it proving
a success,’ we may either use it or its, just as an uninflected
noun frequently precedes the verbal substantive in ing; we say,
‘He had not heard of his son being dead.’

It will even more strongly be taken for granted, in the way already
explained, that an affection’s conducting to the good of another must
even necessarily occasion it to conduce less to private good, if not to be
positively detrimental to it.—Bp. Butler, Sermons, “Upon the Love of
our Neighbour.”

So far as the interests of virtue depend upon the theory of it being
secured from open scorn, so far its very being in the world depends
upon its appearing to have no contrariety to private interest and self-
love.—1b.
We have now seen that *his* was the possessive of *it*, or *his* rather, as well as of *his*. That towards the end of Elizabeth's reign it was found that a sentence or idea was rendered ambiguous or obscured altogether by the writer having only one word to fall back upon for two distinct genders. How many ordinary English readers are there, as Archbishop Trench points out, who would not take the last *his* in the following verse as referring to 'the Ancient of Days' as well as the former, whereas the wheels belonged to the throne?

I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit, whose garment was white as snow, and the hair of his head like the pure wool; *his* throne was like the fiery flame, and *his* wheels as burning fire.—Daniel, vii. 9.

That to avoid such ambiguities, *her* has been tried.

"What shall we say to the following," says Bishop Lowth, a hundred years ago, "where *her* is applied in the same manner [as *his*], and seems to make a strange confusion of gender?"

He that pricketh the heart maketh *it* to shew *her* knowledge.

—Eccles. xxii. 15.

We shall say that if *his*, the regular possessive of *it*, had been used instead of *her*, there would have been a still stranger confusion, it being then doubtful whether the 'knowledge' was of 'him that pricketh,' or of the heart itself.

That *it* with and without the apostrophe was adopted for a while; that *its* appeared in or about the year 1598; that, notwithstanding its acceptance by Shakespeare and one or two of the dramatists of his time, it was reluctantly received, many other forms to escape the use of this new unrecognised one being found side by side with it. Then came in the reign of 'thereof,' long since happily exploded. I find that in the first volume of Nuttall's edition of Fuller's Worthies, *its* occurs less than forty times, while there are upwards of two hundred instances of *thereof* acting for it; and that in many cases his reception of *its* is due to the immediate presence of that unwieldy *thereof*. It is remarkable, however, that in his contemporary, Baxter—in the Saints' Everlasting Rest—*its* occurs frequently, there being no attempt to evade the use of it, and it even occurs in the title of the work; this is in the edition printed in 1652.

This brings us down to 1660; meantime, while almost discarded by the prose writers, it appears now and again in the poetry of the Stewart period. One watching its birth might have predicted that Milton would have given it currency. In his Christmas Ode, written so early as 1629, we find it in the following stanza:—
Nature, that heard such sound,
Beneath the hollow round
Of Cynthia’s seat, the airy region thrilling,
Now was almost won
To think her part was done,
And that her reign had here its last fulfilling.

—from The Morning of Christ’s Nativity, x.

Again, eight years after, in the dedication with which his friend Lawes ushers in the Mask of Comus, we find its in the first line, though in Comus itself it nowhere occurs:—

This poem, which received its first occasion of birth from yourself and others of your noble family, and much honour from your own person in the performance, now returns again to make a final dedication of itself to you.

And yet in his great epic, published thirty years later, not merely does it occur only twice, but he systematically avoids the use of it, by personifying his substantives, or employing his or her in a neuter sense:—

The mind is its own place, and in itself
Can make a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven.—i. 254.

No falsehood can endure
Touch of celestial temper, but returns
Of force to its own likeness.—iv. 811.

These and the passage in the Ode On the Nativity are the only places where its occurs in Milton’s poetry.

The late Professor Craik asserts that Milton “nowhere uses his in a neuter sense.” There are, however, one or two passages where there can hardly be said to be a personification, and where, at all events, a writer of the present day would have employed its. There is no personification here:—

Sure something holy lodges in that breast,
And with these raptures moves the vocal air
To testify his hidden residence.—Comus, 246.

Between thee and the woman I will put
Enmity, and between thine and her seed;
Her seed shall bruise thy head, thou bruise his heel.

—Paradise Lost, x. 179.

This latter might pass unnoticed, but that in Genesis (iii. 15) the seed is neuter, and his used in a neuter sense.

The following, in which her stands for its, is curious:—

Hell itself will pass away,
And leave her dolorous mansions to the peering day.

—from The Morning of Christ’s Nativity, xiv.
The best explanation of Milton's rejection of the new form is that it was new. His was an age of change,—political, social, literary changes; he had his misgivings lest there might be something "adverse in the climate or fate of this age;" he feared, in fact, he had come "an age too late," as his contemporary, Waller, complains:

- Who can hope his lines should long
  Last in a daily-changing tongue?

The publication of Paradise Lost is an important date in the history of the English language and literature, but even then its was not a recognised form. But in the last quarter of the seventeenth century it began to be generally adopted; and by the writers of Anne's reign it is treated as the only correct grammatical form of the neuter possessive.

It must not be thought that itself is its self; we meet it long before the introduction of its, and frequently in books of a later date that ignore its altogether. It is to be noted that it was formerly printed as two separate words, it self, as in the quotation from Ben Jonson's Silent Woman, just as throughout that edition my self, thy self, her self are uniformly printed as distinct words, while him self and them selves form, each of them, a single word, or a compound one connected by a hyphen. Dr Latham, then, is hardly correct when he writes, "Itself is also ambiguous. The s may represent the -s in its, as well as the s-in self." And again, "It is doubtful whether it originated in it self or its self." Clearly not in the latter, but, as we have seen, in the genitival it.

There are two further points worthy of notice in the curious history of this little word.

The present inflection, however natural it may sound to us now, is altogether irregular. The t in hit was the sign of the neuter gender, and was regularly changed into -s, the sign of the possessive, the hi-t becoming hi-s; in the new form, however, we have the sign of the possessive following the sign of the neuter gender.

Again, its adoption has wrought a complete change in the construction of our sentences, and even in the style of the English language. Not only did it not exist for the writers of the sixteenth century, but nowhere hardly does the want of such a form suggest itself; in fact there are few passages where we could now introduce it, if we tried, without altering the entire construction of the sentence.

257. All but less. This is explained to mean, altogether (what I should be), except that I am less than he is. If this be correct, there should be a comma after all, which no edition has. The
ordinary meaning of all but is nearly, almost. Albeit, although, has been proposed for all but.

259. Hath not built here for his envy. The place he has built here is not such as he would envy us the possession of.

261. Secure. Having no care or fear of danger. The word now means actually safe; but formerly, when one did not apprehend any danger, however imminent it might be, he was said to be secure. It will be easily seen from the derivation of the word (sine cura) how its two almost contradictory meanings have arisen. A man who is without care, or careless, is likely to fall into danger, while one who is without care, all being rendered sure, is secure from it. Milton frequently uses the word in its early sense; see iv. 186; vi. 130. Cf. also:

You all know, security
Is mortal’s chiefest enemy.—Macbeth, iii. 5.

Man may securely sin, but safely never.—B. Jonson, Epode.

On she went,
Secure of shame because secure of sight.—Cinyras and Myrrha, 177.

Some suspect his officers’ trust was undermined (or over-monied rather); whilst others are confident they were betrayed by none save their own security.—Fuller, Worthies, “Lancashire.”

263. Better to reign in Hell, &c. Todd quotes:

Thus fell this Prince of Darkness, once a bright
And glorious star. . .
To be in Heaven the second he disdains;
So now the first in Hell and flames he reigns.

—P. Fletcher, Locustis, ed. 1627, p. 37.

Now forasmuch as I was once an Angel of light, it was the will of Wisdom to confine me to darkness, and to create me Prince thereof; that so I who could not obey in Heaven must command in Hell. And, believe me, Sir, I had rather control within my dark diocese, than to rehabit calum empyreum, and there live in subjection, under check.

—Stafford, Niobe, or his Age of Tears.

266. Astonished. Thunderstruck, confounded; Lat. attonitus. See it thus used and explained, line 12 of the Argument.

Oblivious pool. Called afterwards the ‘forgetful lake’ (ii. 74). Oblivious, causing forgetfulness; a transferred epithet, applied to the ‘fiery deluge’ in which they lay ‘confounded’ and ‘be-numbed.’

281. Erewhile. Aforetime, lately, not long ago; A.S. ær, before, and while, time.

282. Such a pernicious height. Adverbial phrase to fallen.

Pernicious. Ruinous, destructive; Lat. pernecare, to kill utterly.
285. *Ethereal temper.* Ethereal composition, 'celestial temper' (iv. 812); adjectival phrase to *shield.*


287. *Like the moon, whose orb, &c.* Like the magnified appearance of the moon seen through a telescope.

288. *The Tuscan artist.* Galileo, a famous astronomer and mathematician. He was born in 1564, at Florence, in Tuscany. So rapidly did he acquire proficiency in mathematics, that, at the age of twenty-four, he was appointed professor of that science at Pisa. One of his earliest discoveries was the isochronism of the vibrations of a simple pendulum, which is said to have dawned upon him when observing the swinging of the lamp in the Cathedral of Pisa. He soon turned his attention to astronomy, and to the investigation of the Ptolemaic and Copernican systems. He became convinced of the fallacy of the Ptolemaic theory — that the earth is a fixed and motionless body, round which the planets revolve,— and accepted that of Copernicus—that the sun is the centre of the universe, that the other heavenly bodies rotate round it, and that the earth moves on its axis. In 1609 Galileo reached the height of his fame by the construction of his telescope, with which he discovered the four satellites of Jupiter, the phases of Venus, the starry nature of the Milky Way, the hills and valleys in the moon, and the spots in the solar disc, from the motion of which he inferred the rotation of the earth. These discoveries convinced him of the truth of the Copernican system, and led to his being prosecuted on a charge of heresy before the Inquisition in 1615, and again in 1630, on the publication of his *Dialogues on the Ptolemaic and Copernican Systems.* On both occasions he was compelled to abjure his belief in the Copernican system. On the last instance, after having gone through the required abjuration of his belief that the earth moves on its axis, he is said to have stamped his foot on the ground, and said in a low tone, "It moves for all that." He died in January 1646.

Milton had made his acquaintance during his travels in Italy; he refers to him by name, and alludes to his astronomical observations in v. 262; and in his *Areopagitica—*

There [in Florence] it was that I found and visited the famous Galileo, grown old, a prisoner to the Inquisition, for thinking in astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licensers thought.

The committee appointed by the Inquisition to examine into Galileo's heretical opinions, decided that the 'diurnal motion of the earth was absurd,' and suspended the works of Copernicus in refutation of the Ptolemaic system. Up to as recent a period as 1828 the names of Galileo, Copernicus, and Toscalini
still appeared in the Index Expurgatorius, or List of Books prohibited by the Church of Rome; this edition, however, omitted the usual imprecation against those who professed their belief in the motion of the earth. 'The earth, nevertheless, kept 'moving for all that;' and in the Index of Gregory XIV. (1831-1847) the names of Galileo and Copernicus are quietly omitted.

289. Fiesole. Now Fiesole, the ancient Faesulæ, a town on a hill three miles to the north-east of Florence, and overlooking Val d'Arno, or 'the valley of the Arno.'

292. His spear . . . he walked with. For a staff he used his spear, compared with which the loftiest Norway pine, cut down to make the mast of some great ship, would be like a mere rod. Homer (Odyssey, ix. 322) compares Polyphemus's staff to the mast of a ship, and he is represented by Virgil as supporting his steps with the trunk of a pine-tree.

Truncam manum pinus regit, et vestigia firmat.—Æneid, iii. 659.

294. Ammiral. A large ship, the chief vessel in a fleet; obsolete in this sense.

The London, our admiral, lay expecting the whole East Indian fleet there, which were ten in number; to whom his Majesty, Charles II., was pleased to grant letters of mart.—Fryer, Account of India and Persia, i. 1.

Ammiral is from the Arabic, Amir-ell-Mumeneem, Prince of believers; and in the Spanish title of Admiral of Castile means merely a commander. Fuller writes:—

Ammiral or Admiral. Much difference there is about the original of this word, whilst most probable is their opinion who make it of Eastern extraction, borrowed by the Christians from the Saracens. These derive it from Amir, a prince, and alias, belonging to the sea, in the Greek language; such mixture being precededent in other words. Besides, seeing the Sultan's dominions, in the time of the holy war, extended from Sinus Arabius to the north-eastern part of the Midland sea, where a barbarous kind of Greek was spoke by many, Amiral, thus compounded, was significantly comprehensive of his jurisdiction. Admiral is but a depraving of Amiral in vulgar mouths; however, it will never be beaten out of the heads of the common sort, that seeing the sea is a scene of wonders, something of wonderment hath incorporated itself in this word, and that it hath a glimpse, cast, or eye of admiration therein.—Worthies of England, vi.

296. Marble. Soil, ground; properly a kind of rich earth used for manure.


299. Nathless. Na (not) the less, nevertheless.
303. Vallombrosa. A valley in Etruria, the ancient name of Tuscany: it lies about eighteen miles from Florence, and is thickly wooded. Lat. vallis, a valley, and umbra, a shade. Milton was in Florence in August and September 1638.

305. Orion. A constellation which sets in November, and was supposed to be the precursor of stormy weather (‘nimbusus Orion,’ Æneid, i. 535). It is represented by the figure of an armed man.

306. The Red Sea. The Red Sea was called in Hebrew Yam-Saof, the sea of sedge, from the quantity of sea-weed in it.

The Hebrews, who had best reason to remember it, do call it Zuph, or the Weedy Sea, because it was full of sedge, or they found it so in their passage.—Sir T. Browne, Vulgar Errors, “Of the Red Sea.”

307. Busiris. He applies the name of Busiris to that Pharaoh of Egypt who was drowned with his army in the Red Sea, when pursuing the children of Israel, Exodus, xiv. 23-31. Busiris was a fabulous king of Egypt who sacrificed to Jupiter all strangers who visited Egypt, but was himself slain by Hercules.

Memphian. Egyptian; Memphis being a large city of Egypt, on the left bank of the Nile.

Chivalry. ‘Horsemen,’ cavalry; Fr. cheval, a horse. Milton uses it again in this sense, Paradise Regained, iii. 344.

308. Perfidious. Because Pharaoh followed the Israelites after having allowed them to depart.

309. The sojourners of Goshen. Goshen was the province in which the Israelites dwelt during their captivity in Egypt—Genesis, xlv. 10.

320. Virtue. Strength, valour; from vir, a man, virtus, manliness; it formerly denoted power, efficacy, physical power, as well as moral excellence. See Comus, 621, and

Thou shalt love the Lord thy God of all thin heart, and of all thi soul, and of all thi mynde, and of all thy virt, or mighte.—Wyclif, Mark, xii. 30.

He went up into heaven, and angels, and powers, and virtues, are made subject to him.—Ib., Sermon on John, vi. 51.

This meaning still survives in virtual, virtually, and in the expression, ‘in virtue of.’

328. With linked thunderbolts. The fate of Ajax Oileus, Æneid, i. 44, 45.

331. Abashed. Ashamed; from abaisit, past part. of abase.

332. Men went to watch on duty. In all editions, except Keightley’s and Masson’s, the comma is after duty; in these it is after watch. It makes equally good sense to take on duty with
'watch' or with 'sleeping:' but the pause appears to sound best after duty.

335. Nor did they not perceive. A Latinism for 'they perceived.'

337. To their General's voice they soon obeyed. 'Obey to' occurs in Chaucer, Spenser, and the Bible:

Lo, now the heavens obey to me alone.—Faerie Queene, xi. 25.

To whom ye yield yourselves servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey.—Romans, vi. 16.


340. Coast. Land, region; formerly applied to any district or boundary, and not merely the sea-shore; thus—i. 464, ii. 564.

341. Warping. Moving in a curved line; a nautical term.

343. Darkened all the land. "They covered the face of the whole earth, so that the land was darkened," Exodus, x. 15.

345. Cope. Roof, canopy; Lat. caput, the head.

353. Rhene. The Rhine; Lat. Rhenus. Danaw, the Danube, Ger. Donau. Rhene and Danaw is the spelling of the seventeenth century.

Her barbarous sons. The Goths, Huns, and Vandals that overran the Roman empire.


360. Erst. Formerly; erst is er-est, the superlative of ere, A.S. ær, before.

361. Of their names in heavenly records, &c. "Thou hast put out their name for ever and ever; their memorial is perished with them," Psalm ix. 5, 6.


370. See Romans, i. 23.

372. Religions. Religious rites and ceremonies; a classic use of religiones. This is the only place in his Poems that Milton uses it in the plural.

Pomp. Grandeur, show; Gr. πομπή, a procession, in which sense Milton uses it in viii. 61.

376. Their names. With the catalogue of deities here, compare those named in the Nativity Ode, xxii.-xxv.

384. Their altars by his altar. "In their setting of their threshold by my threshold, and their posts by my posts, they have even defiled my holy name by their abominations," Ezekiel, xliii. 8.


387. Between the cherubim. Exod. xxv. 22; 2 Kings, xix. 15.
388. Within his sanctuary, &c. 2 Kings, xxi. 4, 5; Ezekiel, vii. 20.
391. Affront. Face, come opposite; this is the primary sense:—
That he, as 'twere by accident, may here
Affront Ophelia.—Hamlet, iii. 1.

392. Moloch, Molech, or Milcom, was the name of the "abomination of the children of Ammon," 1 Kings, xi. 7; 2 Kings, xxiii. 13. The word, like Baal, means king; his 'grim idol' was of brass, having the head of a calf, and his arms extended to receive his victims. The Ammonites offered up human sacrifices, causing "their sons and their daughters to pass through the fire unto Moloch," Jeremiah, xxxii. 35. In Sandy's Travels, a book popular in Milton's time, there is a description of the worship of Moloch.

397. Rabba, Rabbah, or Rabbath, was the chief city of the Ammonites, and the seat of the worship of Moloch. It is called the City of Waters in 2 Samuel, xii. 27, and was situated in a valley watered by the Jabbok, about fifty miles north-east of Jerusalem.

398. Argoth and Basan, or Bashan, were countries on the east of the Jordan, subject to the Ammonites; their modern names are Trachonites and Peræa.

399. Arnon. The southern boundary of the Ammonites; it flowed westward into the Dead Sea.

400. Audacious. Because so near the temple of the true God.

403. Opprobrious hill. "Solomon built a high place for Chemosh, the abomination of Moab, in the hill that is before Jerusalem, and for Moloch the abomination of the children of Ammon," 1 Kings, xi. 7; hence it is called the opprobrious hill, and 'hill of scandal' (line 416), and again the 'offensive mountain' (443). His grove. Moloch's grove.

404. The valley of Hinnom. "They have built the high places of Tophet, which is in the valley of the son of Hinnom," Jeremiah, vii. 31. Gehenna, or the Valley of Hinnom, was just under the walls of the city of Sion. During the celebration of the rites and the offering of the human sacrifices to Moloch, drums and timbrels were beaten to drown the cries of the victims; it was thence called Tophet, from toph, a drum. In order to put a stop to the idolatry, the place was 'defiled' by Josiah; and so Gehenna, from the perpetual fire kept up there to consume the refuse of the city thrown into it, became a "type of Hell," and is in the Syriac language used to express the place of punishment in the future state.
406. Chemos. Sc. 'came.' Chemos or Chemosh, the god of the Moabites: some suppose him to have been the same as Bacchus, some the Sun, some Adonis, and others Thammuz. Milton follows Jerome, who considers Chemos to be another name for Baal-peor (Numbers, xxv.), and the same as Priapus.

407. Aroer was a city on the river Arnon, the northern boundary of the Moabites; Numbers, xxi. 13; Deut. ii. 36. Nebo, a city on the east, 1 Chron. v. 8. Abarim, called also Nebo, and Pisgah (Deut. xxxii. 29), was a range of mountains on the south of Moab. Hesebon or Heshbon, and Horonaim, were cities of the Moabites taken from them by Seon, or 'Sihon, king of the Amorites,' Numbers, xxi. 26. Sibmah or Shibmah, and Eleal or Elealeh, were also in the land of Moab. "O vine of Sibmah, I will weep for thee"—Jeremiah, xlviii. 31-34.

411. The Asphaltic pool. The Dead Sea, the site of Sodom and Gomorrah, so called from the asphalt or bitumen cast up from the bottom. In Scripture it is called the Salt Sea, and the Sea of the Plain—Joshua, iii. 16.


415. Orgies. Rites; Gr. Ὑμνα, the rites of Bacchus. Enlarged. Extended.

417. Hard by. Close to. The seat of the worship of Chemos, the god of lust, was brought close to that of Moloch, the 'horrid king,' who delighted in human sacrifices.

418. Good Josiah, &c. 2 Kings, xxxiii.

419. The bordering flood. In Genesis, xv. 18, the land promised to Abraham was to extend to the Euphrates.

420. Old Euphrates. Old, because mentioned by that name in the books of Moses—Genesis, ii. 14, xv. 18; Deuteronomy, xi. 24.

The brook that parts, &c. According to Newton the brook Besor.

422. Baalim and Ashtaroth. Gods and goddesses of Syria and Palestine; under these names the sun and moon and the 'host of heaven' were worshipped. The Israelites fell into idolatry to them early in their history—Judges, ii. 13, x. 6.

Those referring to the former, these to the latter.

423. Spirits, when they please, &c. The whole of this passage is probably founded on Burton's Chapter on the Nature of Devils:

Psellus, a great observer of the nature of devils, holds they are corporeal, and have aerial bodies. . . . Bodine goes further yet, and will have that they can assume other aerial bodies, all manner of shapes at their pleasures, appear in what likeness they will themselves, that they are most swift in motion, and can pass many miles in an instant.

—Anatomy of Melancholy, i. 2.
Pope imitates Milton's lines in the Rape of the Lock:—

For spirits, freed from mortal laws, with ease
Assume what sexes and what shapes they please.—i. 70.

429. Dilated. Baxter (Saints' Rest, ii. 3), speaking of devils possessing men's bodies, quotes Tertullian: Deæones sua hæc corpora contrahunt et dilatat ut volunt. Satan was 'dilated' when he stood "like Teneriff or Atlas, his stature reaching the sky," iv. 986.

433. Living Strength. God is called the 'strength of Israel,' 1 Samuel, xv. 29. Unfrequented. Qualifying altar.

435. Bestial gods. Exodus, xxxii.; 2 Kings, xviii. 4. Their heads as low, &c. This is the punctuation of Milton's editions. The Globe (Prof. Masson) places a comma after heads, thus making it the subject of sunk instead of bowed.


438. Astoreth. The moon was worshipped under this name by the Phœnicians, 1 Kings, xi. 5; she is called the 'queen of heaven,' Jeremiah, xliv. 25.

442. Unsung may agree either with songs or Astarte.


446. Thammuz. Thammuz was a Syrian deity, the same as Adonis. The story is that Thammuz was slain by a wild boar in Lebanon, from which mountain the Adonis descends; the feast in his honour was held in the Hebrew month Thammuz or July, when the river becomes a purple colour from the red earth washed down by the rains, but the Syrian women, supposing it to be discoloured with the blood of Thammuz, bewailed his fate with loud lamentations.

449. Amorous ditties. The same expression is used again similarly in xi. 584.

451. Supposed. The sentence is incomplete, and on a Latin construction. Adonis ran purple to the sea with blood of Thammuz, as was supposed, or (which was) supposed (to be), with blood of Thammuz.

453. Sion's daughters. The women of Jerusalem.


458. Who mourned in earnest. There was good reason for the worshippers of Dagon mourning for the image of their god, and this is contrasted with the groundless grief of the Syrian damsels for Thammuz. The captive ark, &c. See 1 Samuel, v.

460. Grunsel. The grundsel or groundsill, the 'threshold.'

Agonistes, 13, and follows the theory that the name Dagon is from dag, a fish; and that his idol was in the upper part a man, and in the lower a fish. The marginal reading for 'the stump of Dagon' (1 Samuel, v. 4) is the 'fishy part.'

464. Azotos or Ashdod, Gath, Ascalon or Askelon, Accaron or Ekron, and Gaza, were the five chief towns in Palestine where Dagon was worshipped—1 Samuel, vi. 17.

It was at Gaza that Samson pulled down the temple of Dagon upon the Philistines—Judges, xvi. In Genesis, x. 19, Gaza is mentioned as the southernmost point of Canaan, hence 'frontier bound.'


468. Fair Damascus. Damascus was the queen of cities for beauty; Ariosto enlarges on it, Orlando Furioso, xvii.

471. A leper. Naaman, who, on his leprosy being cured, vowed to Elisha that he would "henceforth offer neither burnt-offering nor sacrifice unto other gods, but unto the Lord," 2 Kings, v. 17.

A king. Ahaz, king of Judah, who caused an altar to be built at Jerusalem similar to one he saw at Damascus—2 Kings, xvi. 10-15; and "he sacrificed unto the gods of Damascus," 2 Chronicles, xxviii. 23.

472. His conqueror. Ahaz took possession of Damascus after the king of Assyria had conquered it for him.

473. Disparage. Lat. dispar, unequal; the primary use of disparage is to join unequally in marriage.

477. Crew. The word crew occurs twenty-one times in Milton's poems, and is always (with one exception, L'Allegro, 38) applied to evil beings or things, 'horrid,' 'damned,' 'cursed,' 'monstrous,' and is his favourite word when speaking of the evil Spirits. Like most words meaning number it is now restricted in meaning, and refers only to a boat's or ship's company. It is from the same root as crowd.

478. Osiris, Isis, Orus. Egyptian deities. Orus was the son of Osiris and Isis, the sun and moon; the former was venerated under the forms of the sacred bulls, Apis and Mnevis.

479. Abused. Imposed upon, deceived.

The whole ear in Denmark
Is by a forged process of my death
Rankly abused.—Hamlet, i. 4.

481. Wandering gods disguised in brutish forms. The Egyptian worship of bulls, dogs, &c., is derived from the fabulous tradition that when the Giants invaded heaven, the gods in fright fled into Egypt disguised under the forms of
animals; their transformations are described in Ovid, Metam. v. 319.


484. The calf in Oreb. Exodus, xxxii. The rebel king. Jeroboam, who was made king when the Israelites rebelled against Rehoboam—1 Kings, xii. He doubled the sin of the golden calf, by making "two calves of gold, and he set one in Bethel, and the other put he in Dan."


488. Equalled with one stroke, &c. Exodus, xii. 12, 29, 30.

490. Belial was not worshipped as a deity, but was the personification of sinful lust; lewd licentious persons are called 'children of Belial,' 1 Samuel, ii. 12; Judges, xix. 22. The word means wickedness, and in the New Testament (2 Corinthians, vi. 15) it is used as synonymous with Satan.

493. Who more oft than he? Who (is) more often (to be found) than he?

498. Luxurious. Licentious; luxury and luxurious in our older writers referred to the sinful lusts of the flesh:

Let not the royal bed of Denmark be
A couch for luxury and damned incest.—Hamlet, i. 5.

502. Flown with insolence, &c. Flown is overflown, filled to overflowing: cf. Comus, 178; and—

These, welmed in wine, swelled up with meats and weakened
With hourly whoredoms, never left the side
Of Catiline.—Ben Jonson, Catiline, v.

503. Witness. 'Bear witness;' imperative mood, third person, with streets and night as subject; or 'see,' second person, with streets and night as object. Sodom. Genesis, xix.


505. Exposed a matron. In the first edition it was less accurately—

When hospitable doors
Yielded their matrons, to prevent worse rape.

507. The rest were long to tell. Were, would be; the same expression occurs in x. 469, xii. 260.

508. Javan's issue. The Ionians, the descendants of Javan, the fourth son of Japheth and grandson of Noah (Genesis, x. 2). Javan is supposed to have settled in Asia Minor, about Ionia.

Todd, Major, and Edmonston have a semicolon after issue; in the early editions, and in Newton's and Keightley's, there is a comma after gods, and none after issue, which is thus to be
taken with held, and not with the first clause. The latter is the preferable reading; but Keightley is wrong in saying "the punctuation in Todd is manifestly incorrect, for it makes the gods the issue of Javan;" while it would only say, 'the Ionian gods of the Ionians.' Some modern editions get over the difficulty, or rather leave it as it stands, by placing a comma after both gods and issue.

513. Like measure found. Zeus or Jove dethroned his father Cronos (Saturn).

515. Ida. Jupiter is said to have been born on Mount Ida, in Crete.

516. Olympus. A range of mountains between Macedonia and Thessaly, the abode of Jupiter and the gods.

517. The Delphian cliff. Mount Parnassus, in Phocis, on which was the town of Delphi with the famous temple and oracle of Apollo.

518. Dodona. In Epirus, where was an oracle of Jupiter, the most ancient in Greece.

519. Doric land. Greece; the Dorians were one of the principal tribes of Greece, and eventually conquered Peloponnesus.

520. The Hesperian fields. Italy, called Hesperia, the Western land, by the Greeks; similarly, Spain was the Hesperia of the Latin poets.

521. The Celtic. The Celtic (fields), Gaul and other countries inhabited by Celts. Roamed. Used transitively; so again, ix, 82; and in like manner, wander, iv. 234. The utmost isles. The British Isles and Iceland (Ultima Thule).

527. Like doubtful hue. Similar dejected looks with some glimpse of joy obscurely expressed.

528. Recollecting. Re-collecting, in its literal sense of gathering again,

529. Semblance . . . not substance. So in Spenser—

Full lively is the semblaunt, though the substance dead.

—Faerie Queene, II. ix. 2.

530. Fainting courage. In the first edition it is fainted.

531. Straight. Immediately; A.S. stræcan, to stretch out.

534. Azazel is the marginal reading for 'scape-goat' in Leviticus, xvi. 8. This is where Milton got the name, and he follows the theory that Azazel, the 'scape-goat,' was an evil demon which dwelt in deserts, and was to be appeased by victims.

537. Like a meteor. Gray imitates this line:—

Loose his beard and hoary hair
Streamed like a meteor to the troubled air.—The Bard.

538. Emblazed. Emblazoned; a term in heraldry.
543. Reign. Kingdom; used in this sense in old writers; see Par. Reg., ii. 123, and the quotation from Chaucer under orient.

546. Orient. Bright, shining; from the Lat. oriens. Its primary meaning is rising:—

Moon, that now meet'st the orient sun, now fliest.—v. 175.
Now when fair Morn orient in Heaven appeared,
Up rose the victor Angels.—vi. 524.

And hence 'eastern,' 'the East:'—

So doughty was hire husband and eke she,
That they conquered many regnes grete
In the orient, with many a faire citee.


And so applied to what is dazzling or bright, like light, or the rays of the sun, 'a radiant white,' xi. 204.

548. Serris. Locked, compact; Fr. serrer, to bind; Lat. consistus. Bacon uses the verb serr, to join closely.

550. The Dorian mood. The Dorian measure was a grave and majestic style of music. The other moods or measures among the Greeks were the Phrygian, which was mirthful and gay, and the Lydian (L’Allegro, 136), soft and lulling:—

If we think to regulate printing, thereby to regulate manners, we must regulate all recreations and pastimes, all that is delightful to man. No music must be heard, no song be set or sung, but what is grave and Doric.—Areopagitica.

551. Recorders. Flutes, pipes. Richardson (Dictionary) quotes:—

The flute and the single pipe or recorder were the invention of Pan, the son of Mercurie.—Holland, Plinie, vii. 56.

Come, some music, come, the recorders.—Hamlet, iii. 2.

554. Breathed. Inspired; the subject is as, line 551. Cf. vi. 65.
561. Charmed. Soothed, beguiled; the primary meaning of charm is a song, Lat. carmen, a song; and in the Dorset dialect charm is used in the sense of noise, hubbub.

Whilst favorable times did us afford
Free liberty to chant our charms at will.

—Spenser, Tears of the Muses, 243.

The shepherd's boy (best known by that name)
Sate, as his custome was, upon a day,
Charming his oaten pipe unto his peers.

—Colin Clout's Come Home Again, 1.
And as the owl by chattering charms
Is wondered at by other birds,
So they came wondering at my harms,
And yield me no relief but words.
— *The Soldier's Repentance*, in the Roxburgh Ballads.

Then, from words or verses of supposed secret power being used in incantations, *charm* comes to mean magic influence, bewitchment, ii. 663.

And lastly, to influence very powerfully, to *fascinate, enchant*, delight greatly, ii. 556, 566.

The words *spell, enchant*, and their derivatives, have undergone the same changes; a *spell, A.S. spellian*, to tell, is a charm, and *spell-bound* means enchanted; *enchant* is from the Lat. *cantare*, to sing; and *fascinate* means (1) to bewitch, (2) to enrapture, delight.

563. *Horrid*. Rough; Lat. *horridus*; so in ii. 710; and *horrent*, ii. 513.

572. *His* for 'its,' referring to *heart*.

573. *Since created man*. Since the creation of man; a Latin idiom ('post hominem creatum'). Cf. 'after summons read,' 598; 'after Heaven seen,' iii. 552: 'after his charge received,' v. 248; 'after Eve seduced,' x. 332. This idiom was not uncommon in prose writers. Ascham has, "After salutation and duty done, I asked," &c., *Schoolmaster*, ed. 1743, p. 37.

574. *Met such embodied force, &c.* No body of men has ever assembled which could be reckoned of greater importance, compared with these, than the Pygmies.

575. *That small infantry*. The Pygmies, a fabulous race of dwarfs. Homer speaks of their dwelling on the shores of the ocean, and being attacked every spring by cranes. Pliny speaks of them as dwelling 'circum fontem Ganges, extrema in parte montium,' and so Milton (line 780) refers to them as the 'Pygmean race beyond the Indian mount.' *Pygmē* is a measure thirteen and a half inches long.

577. *Phlegra*. In Macedonia, where the Titans or giants fought with the gods.

578. *Thebes*. In Bœotia; the allusion is to the celebrated expedition of the Seven against Thebes, in which Adrastus, king of Argos, and five others, joined Polynices to regain for him the kingdom of Thebes from his brother Eteocles.

579. *Ilion*. Troy. Both in the Trojan war (1184 B.C.) and at Thebes the gods took part with the heroes.


581. *Begirt*. For a similar use, cf.—

Girt with many a baron bold.—*Gray's Bard*. 

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Armoric. Armorica was the ancient name of Brittany, the north-west coast of France.

583. Jousted. Engaged in tilt or tournament. Skinner derives joust, or just, from Lat. justa, as applied to funeral rites, because gladiatorial combats were exhibited at them.

Aspramont. Asprement, a town in the Netherlands.

Montalban. Montalban, in the south of France.

584. Trebisond. Anciently Trapezus, in Asia Minor.

585. Whom Biserta sent. The Saracen conquerors of Spain. Biserta is the ancient Utica, in Africa.

586. Charlemain. Charlemagne, king of France; in 778 he attacked the Saracens of Spain, but his army was intercepted and cut to pieces in the pass of Roncesvalles; he himself was not slain, but was crowned emperor in 800, and died in 814. Milton follows the Spanish historians in saying that he fell at Fontarabbia; and Dante—

So terrible a blast
Orlando blew not, when that dismal rout
O'erthrew the host of Charlemain, and quenched
His saintly warfare.—*Hell*, xxxi. 13.


Thus far these. Were is understood.


You know the use of riches, and dare give now
From that bright heap, to me, your poor observer,
Or to your dwarf.—*Ben Jonson, The Fox*, i. 1.

'Tis true, beside,
That I am fain to spin mine own poor raiment
Out of my mere observance.—*Ib.*, iii. 2.


598. Half the nations. Referring to the extent on the earth's surface from which an eclipse is visible.

601. Intrenched. Furrowed, cut; Fr. *trencher*, to cut.

Safe in a ditch he bides,
With twenty *trenched* gashes on his head.—*Macbeth*, iii. 4.

603. Considerate. Deliberating, meditative.

605. Remorse. Feelings of compunction or regret, the biting pains of the mind or conscience for any act; from Lat. re, again, and mordere, to bite. In old writers remorse and remorseful mean pity and compassionate, as—

Valiant, wise, remorseful, well-accomplished.—*Two Gentlemen*, iv 3.

Remorseless, treacherous, kindless villain.—*Hamlet*, ii. 2.
And remorse is used in the sense of sorrow, pity, Book v. 566.
It is worthy of note that the A.S. for remorse, agenbyte, exactly corresponds with the Latin derivative. One of the Arundel MSS. in the British Museum, the date of which is 1340, is called the Agenbyte of Inwytt—i.e., The Remorse of Conscience.

Passion. Compassion, sympathy, fellow-feeling.

609. Amerced. Deprived of, made to forfeit. By the ancient law, punishments were remitted by the payment of a fine, called merci; hence to grant mercy was to grant that the fine should be received as ransom for the life forfeited to the law; thus mercy came to mean pity, benevolence, kindness. To amerce was to fine—Lat. merces, reward :—

I'll amerce you with so strong a fine,
That you shall all repent the loss of mine.

—Romeo and Juliet, iii. 1.

613. Scathed. Damaged, injured; A.S. scathe, hurt; scathing is the A.S. for lightning, 'heaven's fire.'

619. Thrice he essayed, &c. Borrowed from Ovid :—

Ter conata loqui, ter flctibus ora rigavit.—Metam. xi. 419.

632. Puissant. Powerful; a French word, common in Elizabethan writers.

633. Emptied Heaven. See ii. 692; v. 710; and vi. 156.

647. No less. Not less than we have; just as we have been mistaken as regards his might, so he will learn that we are not yet overcome.


668. Clashed on their sounding shields. A custom among the Romans before attacking the enemy. The following passage, written about thirty years after the publication of Paradise Lost, is interesting as bearing on the question of the early popularity of the poem :—

The Romans made one addition to this custom [of a general shout], at the same time clashing their arms with great violence, to improve the strength and terror of the noise; this they called concussio armorum. Our famous Milton has given a noble description of it as used by the Rebel Angels after their Leader's speech for the renewing of the war.—Kennett, Antiquities of Rome, ii. 4.

669. Hurling defiance. So in Shakespeare :—

Defiance, traitors, hurl we in your teeth.—Julius Casar, v. 1.

671. Belched. Belch is used by Spenser (Faerie Queene, i. 11) and Dryden (Ovid, Metamorphoses, xv.) of the flames and sulphureous fire 'vomited' by Ætna.
674. **The work of sulphur.** Metals were supposed to be compounded of mercury and sulphur. So in Ben Jonson:—

> It is of the one part,  
> A humid exhalation, which we call  
> *Materia liquida*, or the unctuous water;  
> On the other part a certain crass and viscous  
> Portion of earth; both which concomporate  
> Do make the elementary matter of gold;  
> Which is not yet *propria materia*,  
> But common to all metals and stones.  
> For, where it is forsaken of that moisture,  
> And hath more dryness, it becomes a stone;  
> Where it retains more of the humid fatness,  
> It turns to sulphur, or to quicksilver,  
> Who are the parents of all other metals.—*Alchemist*, ii. 3.

675. **Brigad.** So spelt by Milton, and accented on the first syllable. Perhaps from Ger. *brecken*, to break; a body of troops detached or broken off from the main body.


678. **Mammon.** A Syriac word meaning *riches*, personified here as the god of riches.

679. **Least erected Spirit.** See *Paradise Regained*, iii. 27.

682. **The riches of Heaven’s pavement.** “The street of the city was pure gold,” *Revelation*, xxi. 21.

685. **Suggestion.** Instigation; generally used in a bad sense by early writers; cf. iii. 129.

686. **The centre.** By *centre* Milton means the earth itself, and not merely the centre of the earth, as most commentators take it. *Centre* in old writers is applied to the earth as centre of the universe:—

> The heavens themselves, the planets and this *centre*,  
> Observe degree, priority, and place.—*Troilus & Cressida*, i. 32.

**Impious.** In the sense of undutiful, unnatural, because directed against their ‘mother earth.’

687. **Rifted the bowels.** So in Ovid:—

> Itum est in *viscera terra*,  
> Quasque recondiderat, Styisque ad moverat umbris,  
> Effodiuntur opes, irritamenta malorum.—*Metam.*, i. 138.

688. **Better hid.** From Horace:—

> Aurum irreperum et sic *melius situm*  
> *Quum terra celat.*—*Odes*, III. iii. 50.

690. **Admire.** Wonder: Lat. *admiror*, to wonder at. It occurs again in this sense in ii. 677, and *admiration*, iii. 271.
694. Babel. Babylon; the walls of Babylon and the pyramids of Egypt were two of the seven wonders of the world.

696. Strength and art. Depend on of understood; monuments of fame and of strength and of art. Newton takes strength and art as subjects with monuments of are outdone.

697. In an hour. Understand 'these perform.'

699. Hands innumerable. According to Diodorus Siculus and Pliny there were 360,000 men employed for nearly twenty years on one of the pyramids.

703. Founded. Melted; Lat. fundo, to pour. This is the reading of the first edition; in the subsequent editions till Bentley's it was found out; see vi. 518.

704. Bullion. Ore, uncoined gold or silver; bullion dross is the dross of the metal.

714. Doric pillars. Pillars of the Doric order of architecture. There were three orders of Grecian architecture, the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian, of which the Doric is the most ancient.

715. Architrave. The architrave is the principal beam (Gr. ἀρχιτραβίον, Lat. trabs), which rests on the column. The frieze (Fr. frise) is the part between the architrave and the cornice, generally embossed with the figures of animals and other ornaments of sculpture. The cornice (Gr. κορώνη, summit, crown) the uppermost and most prominent part of the entablature, that which crowns an order.

Nor did there want. Nor was there absent. Cornice and frieze are the subjects of want.

717. Fretted. Carved, ornamented by being 'graven,' so in Shakespeare:—

This most excellent canopy the air,—
This majestical roof fretted with golden fire.—Hamlet, ii. 2.

Not Babylon, &c. Bentley fairly enough objects that he had already (line 694) challenged Babylon and Memphis; and further, that Alcaïro, the name of the modern capital of Egypt, is inappropriate in conjunction with Belus and Serapis.

718. Alcaïro, or Grand Cairo, the capital of Egypt, called by its founder Al Kahirah, the City of Victory.

720. Belus. The son of Nimrod, second king of Babylon, and the first man worshipped as a god; the Bel of the Chaldaens, and Baal of the Phoenicians. Serapis. An Egyptian deity. Milton accentuates it on the first syllable, but the correct pronunciation is Serapis.

722. The pile stood fixed, &c. The building stood fixed (as to) her stately height; a Greek construction.

727. Pendent. Agreeing with 'many a row.' Subtle. Artful; Lat. subtilis, finely spun.

728. Cressets. "An open lamp," says Halliwell, "suspended on pivots in a kind of fork, and carried upon a pole; formerly much used in nocturnal processions. The light was a wreathed rope, smeared with pitch or rosin, stuck on a pin in the centre of a bowl." Minshew derives it from the Dutch keerse, a candle; but Skinner, from croissette, a little cross, because the sign of the cross was usually placed upon beacons. It is properly a beacon-light:

Full many a torch and cresset glared.
—Lay of the Last Minstrel, iii. 26.


Asphaltus. Asphalt, a solid, bituminous, inflammable substance, like pitch: large quantities are cast up from the Dead Sea or 'Asphaltic pool.'

736. Gave to rule. A Latinism; 'mulcere dedit fluctus,' Æneid, i. 65.

738. His name. Himself. Cf. 'the name of Demogorgon,' ii. 964.

739. Ausonian land. Italy; the name Ausonia, a country on the west coast (now Campania), was often poetically used for the whole.

740. Mulciber. One of the names of Vulcan, the god of fire; lit. the Founder; Lat. mulcere, to melt.

How he fell, &c. In Homer, Iliad, i. 590. Newton observes, "It is worth observing how Milton lengthens out the time of Vulcan's fall. He not only says with Homer, that it was all day long, but we are led through the parts of the day, 'from morn to noon, from noon to evening,' and this 'a summer's day.' There is a similar passage in the Odyssey where Ulysses describes his sleeping twenty-four hours together, and to make the time seem the longer, divides it into several parts, and points them out distinctly to us—Odyssey, vii. 288."

742. Sheer. Completely; entirely; der. A.S. sciran, to cut; the word clean is sometimes used adverbially in the same sense.

My keepers knit the knot
That Youth did laugh to scorn,
Of me that clean shall be forgot,
As I had not been born.—Lord Vaux, The Aged Lover.

746. Lemnos was sacred to Hephaestus, or Vulcan, and his workshop is sometimes said to be in it. Ægean. Milton has altered the accent from the second to the first syllable.
750. Engines. Perhaps used in the sense of craft, wiles—a common meaning in old writers; and so, too, engineers:—

All wicked and base intentions shall be stripped of the veils that now enfold them; all shrewd contrivers and engineers of mischief, and practisers of unjust and malicious guile, shall be exposed to shame.—Barrow, Fifth Sermon, ed. 1678.

756. Pandemonium. The palace of all the devils; Gr. παντεμονίον, and δαυδόμον.

761. Access. Approach, place of entrance; the accent is on the second syllable. The gates and porches. Nominatives in apposition with access. In Todd and Masson there is a semi-colon after thronged, making gates and porches nominatives with hall to swarmed.

763. A covered field. The lists, or enclosed ground for tilt and tournament.

764. Wont. Used to, were accustomed to. A.S. wunian, to live, to dwell:—

A shipman was there wonned far by west.
—Canterbury Tales, Prologue, 390.

Out of the ground up rose,
As from his lair, the wild beast, where he wont
In forest wild.—Paradise Lost, vii. 456.

Wonning frequently occurs in old writers, meaning dwelling-place, habitation:—

His wonning was full fair upon a heath,
With green trees yshadowed was his place.
—Canterbury Tales, Prologue, 608.

Soldan. An old form of Sultan, which comes from an Arabic word meaning mighty; it was first borne by Mahmud the Gaznevide, and passed into Greek in the form Σουλτάνος, and in Latin soudanos.

765. Panim. Pagan; in old writers written παῖεν, παyen, παynim, panim; Lat. paganus, a villager.

Whereas religion did first take place in cities, and in that respect was a cause why the name of Pagans, which properly signifies country people, came to be used in common speech for the same that infidels and unbelievers were, it followed, &c.—Hooker, Ecclesiastical Polity, i. 80.

766. Career. Tilt; lit. go at full speed.

767. The air brushed with the hiss, &c. Cf. —

The air
Floats as they pass, fanned with unnumbered plumes.—vii. 432.

Αλήθη θ' ἄλαφαῖς
Περπυρύων μιαῖς ὑποσριξις.
—Æschylus, Prometheus Vinctus, 125.
768. As bees, &c. For the simile of the bees, cf. *Iliad*, ii. 87; *Æneid*, i. 430, vi. 707; *Georgics*, iv. 21.
769. Taurus. The sun is in Taurus from the 19th April to the 20th May.
774. Expatriate. Move about, roam; properly *ex*-spatiate. To be taken with ‘on the plank;’ but Keightley considers that it has ‘affairs’ as object, with ‘on’ understood.
780. That Pygméan race. See note on line 575.
781. The Indian mount. The Imaus or Himalayas; see note on iii. 431.
783. Belated. Out late at night; Shakespeare has *lated*:
Now spurs the *lated* traveller space
To gain the timely inn.—*Macbeth*, iii. 3.

*Sees, or dreams he sees.* From Virgil:
Aut videt, aut vidisse putat.—*Æneid*, vi. 454.

784. Overhead the moon . . . they, on their mirth and dance.
785. Arbitress. Witness; it was popularly believed that witches and fairies had great power over the moon. See ii. 663-666.
797. Frequent. In large numbers; the literal translation of the Lat. *frequens* as applied to an assembly; he uses *frequence* in the same way:
Consenting in *full frequence*.—*Paradise Regained*, ii. 130.

798. Consult. Deliberation; in x. 456, he calls them the ‘great consulting peers.’

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**BOOK II.**

2. The wealth of Ormus and of Ind. He refers in particular to pearls; Ormus, an island in the Persian Gulf, was formerly the mart for the traffic of the Portuguese with India, and was also the depot for the pearl-fishery in the Persian Gulf. Fryer, who travelled through Persia in 1676, writes:

The best pearls are found in the Persian Gulf, between the islands Ormus and Bryan, and were heretofore brought into the island Ormus, while the Portugals were lords there, whence the distich:

If all the world were but one ring,
Ormus should the union bring.

—*Account of East India and Persia*, v. 10.
Heylin gives us the Latin of the couplet:

Si terrarum orbis, quaque patet, annulus esset,
Illius Ormusium gemma decusque foret.

—Microcosmos, p. 635.

3. Gorgeous East. Shakespeare has the same epithet:

Like a rude and savage man of Ind
At the first opening of the gorgeous East.

—Love’s Labour Lost, iii. 4.

4. Showers on her kings, &c. In allusion to the Eastern custom of sprinkling gold-dust on the head of the king at his coronation. There is a similar expression in Shakespeare:

I’ll set thee in a shower of gold, and hail
Rich pearls upon thee.—Antony and Cleopatra, ii. 5.

Barbaric qualifies pearl and gold; so in Virgil:

Barbarico postes auro spoliisque superbi.—Æneid, ii. 504; viii. 685.

Barbarous originally meant simply ‘foreign,’ being applied by the Greeks to all nations except themselves; then, ‘uncivilised,’ ‘savage.’

5. Merit. His deserts as chief of the evil angels; merit literally means a share, Lat. mereri, Gr. μῆρος, a part.

9. Success. The event; success formerly meant simply the issue or result, good or bad. So in line 123.

He never answered me, but, pale and quaking, went straight away;
And straight my heart misgave me some evil success.—Sidney, Arcadia.

Like to this is another fond observation, presaging some sad success to this town, because ru, ru, which in English is woe, woe, is twice in the Cornish name thereof. But let the men of Truro but practise the first syllable in the name of their town, and they may be safe and secure from any danger in the name of the second.—Fuller, Worthies of Cornwall.

Well thou comest

Before thy fellows, ambitious to win
From me some plume, that thy success may show
Destruction to the rest.—Paradise Lost, vi. 159.

11. Powers and Dominions. See Colossians, i. 16.

12. For. Because; to be taken in connection with the preceding statement; ‘I call you Deities of Heaven, for . . . I give not Heaven for lost.’

Hold. Hold back, retain.

15. Virtues. I have printed it with a capital, as it is one of the titles applied to the heavenly Powers; see line 311; v. 601 and 772, and the quotation from Wyclif’s Sermon in the note on virtue, i. 320.
17. Trust themselves, &c. Have such confidence in themselves as not to fear.
18. Me. The position of me makes it emphatic; and it is the object of did create and established.
19. Choice is the subject of did create understood.
20. In counsel. Counsel, I believe to be the correct as well as the better reading; it is that of Newton, Todd, and Keightley. Tonson, Masson, Edmondston, Brydges, Teeg, Routledge, &c., have council. 'In counsel or in fight' means 'in deliberation or in fighting;' 'in council,' &c., means 'in the assembly or in battle.'
24. The happier state, &c. In heaven inferior dignities might envy the higher powers whose state rendered them happier or more fortunate.
32. Sure. Still used as an adverb in poetry; it was common in the prose of the seventeenth century.
33. None. Put elliptically for 'there is none.'
35. This advantage. Viz., that there is no cause for envy, strife, or faction.
41. Guile. Guile is from the A.S. wiglian, to bewitch; hence wile, and from ge-wiglian, beguile, guile, gull, to impose upon, and guilt; in like manner wicked is from wiccian, to bewitch.
50. Recked not. Cared not at all, made no account of; from A.S. reccan, to esteem, take into account, whence reckon and reckless.

Thereafter. Newton explains thereafter as accordingly, in accordance with the feelings of one who recked not of God.
51. Sentence. Vote; Lat. sententia.

At domus interior gemitu miseroque tumultu
Miscetur.—Æneid, ii. 486.

Strange fire. There may be an allusion to Leviticus, x. 1.
72. Upright wing. Upward flight.
73. Such. Understand, 'to whom the way seems difficult,' &c.
Sleepy drench. Stupefying draught; drink, drunk, drown, and drench, are all from the same root, A.S. drencan.
76. Descent and fall. Physical not moral fall, as Masson points out; if the 'way is steep to scale;' the descent would be adverse.
79. Insulting. Trampling on; Lat. saltare, to leap.
81-85. As at 70-72, Moloch states an objection that might occur to some of them, in order to reply to it.
89. Exercise. Torment, harass; the Lat. exercere primarily means to enclose for the purpose of training (hence exercitus), to confine, discipline, annoy.
90. The vassals of his anger. Cf. i. 148-152, and ii. 252.
91. Inexorably. Inexorably is the reading of the first edition; in the second, and in some modern editions, it is inexorable, agreeing with 'scourge.'

The torturing hour. This expression occurs in Shakespeare:—

Is there no play,
To ease the anguish of a torturing hour?

And Gray borrows from Milton:—

Daughter of Jove, relentless Power!
Thou Tamer of the human breast,
Whose iron scourge and torturing hour
The bad affright, afflict the rest.—Ode to Adversity.

94. What doubt we? What is used like the Lat. quid? for what? why?

97. Essential. Essence, being; adj. for noun.
Happier far. Understand, (which would be) happier far.
100. We are at worst, &c. In the worst position in which we can be without being utterly destroyed.
101. On this side nothing. On this side of nothing, not reduced to annihilation.

104. Fatal. 'Upheld by fate,' i. 133.
Humane. Courteous, polished; Milton uses this adjective twice elsewhere in his Poems in this sense. Human and humane are now desynonymised, but to the middle of the eighteenth century, the word in both senses (of 'belonging to mankind,' and 'mild,') was written with an e at the end.
112. His tongue dropped manna. Manna tasted 'like wafers made with honey,' Exodus, xvi. 31; the expression means, he was very smooth-tongued.

Each, for some base interest of his own,
With flattery's manna'd lips assails the throne.
—Julius Mickle, Lusiad, ix.

Shakespeare has the expression, but not in the sense it has here:—

Fair ladies, you drop manna in the way
Of starved people.—Merchant of Venice, v. 1.

113. Could make the worse appear the better reason. Word for word, as Bentley observes, from the known profession of the ancient Sophists, τὸν λόγον ἢ τῷ κρείττῳ πολείν. The expression occurs in Plato's Apology of Socrates.

114. Dash. Confound, thwart; obsolete in this sense.
God beholdeth violent men setting out in their unjust attempts, he letteth them proceed on in a full career, until they reach the edge of their design, then instantly he checketh, putteth in a spook, he stoppeth, he tumbleth them down, or turneth them backward. Thus was Amon's plot dashed, when he had procured a royal decree.—Barrow, Sermon, Nov. 5, 1673.

124. Fact of arms. 'Feats of arms,' ii. 537; Fr. fait d'armes. Formerly fact was used in the sense of act or deed:

The right hand of William Flower, before he went to the stake, was cut off by order of the judges for his barbarous fact.—Fuller, Worthies of Cambridgeshire.

127. Scope. 'The end or mark at which one aimeth.'—Bayley's Dict., 1747.

138. Would on his throne sit unpolluted. In reply to Moloch's threat that the Almighty would see 'his throne itself mixed with Tartarean sulphur.'

139. Mould. Substance, nature; mould properly means soft earth; it is used again in this sense, line 355.

141. Her mischief. What polluted her.

146. Who would lose, &c. Compare the following lines from Shakespeare and Gray:

Ay, but to die, and go we know not where;
To lie in cold obstruction and to rot;
This sensible warm motion to become
A kneaded clod.—Measure for Measure, iii. i.
For who to dumb forgetfulness a prey,
This pleasing, anxious being e'er resigned—
Left the warm precincts of the cheerful day,
Nor cast one longing, lingering look behind?—Elegy.

150. Womb. A.S. wamb. Used here for any large receptacle; as in i. 673, and in Comus:

Mysterious dame,
That ne'er art called, but when the dragon womb
Of Stygian darkness spets her thickest gloom.—130.

152. Let this be good. Grant that our being utterly destroyed might possibly be the best thing that could happen to us.

156. Belike. Likely, forsooth; used ironically. It is still an Irish provincialism in this sense; Professor Masson hardly gives the force of it by 'as it were.'

Impotence. In the sense of impotentia, want of self-restraint; and so 'through impotence' is equivalent to through violence.

159. Wherefore cease we, &c. Here he answers that part of Moloch's speech where he maintained they were 'at worst.'

170. The breath that kindled, &c. Isaiah, xxx. 33.
173. Intermitted. That has ceased for a while.
174. Red right hand. The expression is from Horace:

Jam satis terris nivis atque dirae
Grandinis misit Pater, et, rubente
Dextra, sacras jaculatus arces
Terruit urbem. — Odes, i. 2.

175. Her stores. Hell’s stores.
176. Cataracts. Torrents: Gr. καταράκτης, a waterfall; only once elsewhere in Milton’s Poems, xi. 824.
180. Hurled. Understand ‘away.’
184. Converse. Dwell with; Lat. conversor, to keep company with. Conversation formerly meant manner of life, habits:

Having your conversation (ἀναρρηφανία) honest—1 Peter, ii. 12.

185. Unresisted, unpitied, unreproved. This practice of introducing three or more adjectives each beginning with a negative was formerly common in poetry:

Uncourted, unrespected, unbayed.—Daniel, Civil War, ii. 52.
Unkind, unmanly, and unprincely Ammon.
—Peele, David and Bathsheba.
Unenvied, unmolested, unconfined.—Deserted Village, 248.

and in Paradise Lost, iii. 231, 373; v. 899; Paradise Regained, iii. 243, 429; Samson Agonistes, 417, 1422.
186. Of hopeless end. Which have no hope of end.
188. What can force? What is force able to do?
190. He from Heaven’s height... sees and derides. Psalm ii. 4.
203. Fall. Fall out, befall, happen.
213. What is punished. The punishment already inflicted.
220. Light. Either an adj., in the sense of mild, endurable; or a noun,—the darkness will become light.
221. Besides what hope. In addition to the hope which, &c.
224. For happy, &c. Our present lot, if we compare it with a state of happiness, is but a wretched one; looking at it as unfortunate and ill, it is not as bad as it might be,—not worst.
227. Ignoble ease. Virgil’s phrase:

Illo Virgilium me tempore dulcis alebat
Parthenope, studiis florentem ignobilis oii. — Georgics, iv. 563.

233. Chaos judge the strife. The strife between Fate and Chance; not, as some suppose, between God and the fallen Angels.
241. Strict. Strict and strait are from the same root, Lat. strictus; but straight is from A.S. stræcan, to stretch.
God hath so fashioned man that he hath given him a body standing strict up, and a countenance to look upward into heaven.—Cranmer, Catechism of 1548.

244. Breathes. Emits the smell of; see iv. 265.
245. Ambrosial. Ambrosia was the fabled food of the gods, and the adjective is applied in Milton to anything very fragrant, or immortal. Der. Gr. d, not, and bporos, mortal.
249. Let us not then pursue, &c. 'Let us not seek after this state of vassalage, which we could not procure by force, and which, even if conceded to us, would be distasteful although in Heaven itself.'
250. By force impossible. That cannot be gained by force; adjectival phrase to state.
264. Thick clouds, &c. Psalms xviii. 11; xcvii. 2.
275. Our elements. The same substance as we are composed of.
278. The sensible. The sensibility, sense; cf. the use of sensibly, Samson Agonistes, 913.
281. With regard to. 'With regard to' is the more correct form in modern English.
282. What we are and where. The second and subsequent editions had were, until Tickell (1720) restored where.
284. Such murmur, &c. The murmurs with which the gods applauded Juno's speech (Æneid, x. 96) are compared to the rising wind; but hers was a stirring speech, Mammon's lulled the assembly.
288. O'erwatched. Too long watching and awake, and therefore tired; overwatched occurs in Samson Agonistes, 405.
294. Michael. The archangel mentioned in the Revelation (xii. 7-9) as fighting against Satan and his angels, and casting them out of heaven.
299. Than whom. Than is a prep., and this use of the objective of the relative is established by use. See the note on Sonnet xvii. 2.
302. A pillar of state. Shakespeare has the same expression:—
    Brave peers of England, pillars of the state.—2 Henry VI., i. 1.
    Give them leave to fly, that will not stay,
    And call them pillars that will stand to us.—3 Henry VI., ii. 3.

Front. Forehead, brow; Lat. frons; see the Passion, 18.
303. Public care. Care on behalf of the public weal.
305. Majestic though in ruin. Qualifying face, or 'him' out of his.
306. Atlantean shoulders. In allusion to the story of Atlas, one of the Titans, who is said to have been condemned by
Jupiter to bear heaven on his shoulders; another account is that he was a great astronomer, and so is metaphorically said to have borne heaven on his shoulders.

309. Summer’s noon-tide air. The stillness of mid-day in summer.

324. In height or depth. In Heaven or Hell. First and last. Everlastingly, for ever.

327. Iron sceptre. Psalm ii. 9; Revelation, ii. 27.


330. Determined us. Decided our fate; see xi. 227.

331. Terms of peace yet none. No terms of peace; none as an adjective comes after the substantive; cf. ‘other creature none,’ iv. 703, 704.

332. Vouchsafed. To vouchsafe is to vouch or guarantee the safety of, then to concede, and, as referring to the act of a superior, to condescend to grant. Vouch, from Lat. vocare, first means to invoke, and then to grant.

333. But custody. Except custody; this use of but contrasts more strongly the punishment with the peace which was not to be given; and so again, lines 335, 336, ‘what peace . . . but hostility?’ Richardson quotes a similar use of nisi:—

¡ El liberorum, nisi divitie, nihil erat.—Plautus, Menachmi, Prol. 97.

336. To our power. As far as we can, to our utmost.

337. Reluctance. Opposition; lit. struggling against; reluctant is used in its etymological sense again in vi. 58, ‘reluctant flames.’


346. Fame. Rumour, report.

352. An oath, &c. In allusion, says Newton, to Jupiter’s oath in Virgil, Æneid, ix. 104; and Virgil followed Homer, Iliad, i. 528. All three poets mention the shaking of Heaven, only Milton attributes the effect to the oath, which the others ascribe to the nod of Jupiter.

362. To their defence. To be defended by them.

367. Puny. It may mean either weak, less in power (line 350) than we; or, as Newton suggests, born since, created long after us. Formerly spelt puisny, from the Fr. puisne, born after; hence the secondary meaning, weak, small. Drive. Drive out.

375. Original. In the first edition it is originals, and in Tickell’s (1720), fair instead of frail.

376. Advise. Deliberate, consider; Fr. aviser.

379. First devised by Satan. See i. 650.

382. Malice. Generally an abstract noun, and without the
article; it is now the name of a specific vice, but it formerly meant merely mischief, evil:

It suffiseth to the day his own malice.—Wicklif, Matthew, vi. 34.

387. States. Chiefs; as in the phrase ‘states of the realm,’ ‘les états.’

396. Chance. Either a verb or an adverb; the same construction occurs in line 492.

406. Palpable obscure. Darkness that may be felt; Lat. palpare, to touch: the same expression occurs in xii. 188, and the connection shows its origin. The Latin Vulgate has ‘tam dense ut palpari queant,’ which in the English version is translated ‘darkness which may be felt,’ Exodus, x. 21.

Obscure and abrupt (409) are adjectives used as nouns.

407. Uncouth. Unknown, strange. Couth is the past part. of the verb conni, to know; thus uncouth originally meant simply unknown; it soon acquired the secondary meaning of strange, unusual; and lastly rough, boorish, awkward. Thus Paradise Lost, x. 475, and—

Welaway the while I was so fond,
To leave the good that I had in hand,
In hope of better that was uncouth;
So lost the dog the flesh in his mouth.

—Spenser, Shepherd’s Calendar, September, 58.

It is desforme spectaculum, an uncouth sight, to behold such handy craftsmen blended with eminencies in ingenious professions; such a motley colour is no good wearing.—Fuller, Worthies, “Memorable Persons.”

The primary meaning of can is to know:—

I leerne song, I can but small grammere.

—Chaucer, The Prioresses Tale, 13,466.

Now certes I wol don my diligence
To conni it all, or Christenmasse be went.—Ib., 13,469.

His fellow taught him homeward privily
Fro day to day, till he coude it by rote.—Ib., 13,475.

All be it so, that of your pride and high presumption and folie, and of your negligence and unconning, ye have misborne you.—Ib., Tale of Melibius.

Can, con, ken, cunning, are all from the same root. Could was originally coude, the t not belonging to the root, but having crept in from analogy with ‘would’ and ‘should.’

409. Arrive. Lit. to reach the bank or shore; Fr. arriver, Lat. adirepire. The noun arrive occurs in Chaucer in the sense of a disembarkation.

In the great sea
At many a noble arrive had he be.—Canterbury Tales, Prologue.
Arrive the happy isle. Milton uses arrive once or twice in his prose works without a preposition, and Shakespeare:—

Ere we could arrive the point proposed,  
Cesar cried, Help me, Cassius, or I sink.—Julius Caesar, i. 2.  
Those powers that the queen  
Hath raised in Gallia have arrived our coast.—3 Henry VI., v. 3.

410. The happy isle. Newton says, 'the earth, hanging in the sea of air,' and quotes Cicero's, 'Quasi magnam quandam insulam quam nos orbem terræ vocamus,' De Natura Deorum, ii. 66.

Professor Masson, however, considers this, though generally adopted, a wrong interpretation. "The angels," he says, "know nothing as yet of the earth or the nature of its environment; they know only vaguely of some kind of starry world then about to be created, and probably at that moment newly created in the central parts of infinite space, where Chaos adjoins Heaven. It is this world, which they cannot figure exactly, but which they can fancy as an azure sphere or round, insulated between Heaven and Chaos, that is the 'happy isle.' To any voyager arriving in it after toiling upward through Chaos, it would indeed be an island or insulated world."

412. Sentries. Sentries, the usual form, is a corruption of sentinel, Fr. sentinelle, Lat. sentire. Wedgwood derives it from Fr. sente, a path, sentelle, a little path. Stations. Posts, guards.

417. Expectation held his look suspense. Watching for a reply, he kept his look suspended over the assembly.

429. Unmoved. "Unmoved with any of those dangers which deterred others," according to Newton. "Rather, I think," says Professor Masson, "unsolicited, of his own accord." This appears to me a very far-fetched and unnatural interpretation. I take it to be immotus, 'without rising from his seat;' Satan 'sat exalted on his throne' when opening the debate, but all the other speakers 'stood up' or rose; Satan now addresses them 'unmoved,' and when he had finished 'the monarch rose.'

431. Demur. Hesitation, delay; Lat. demoror.

432. Long is the way, &c. He had Virgil in mind, Æneid, vi. 128. And so too the 'fire ninefold' reminds us of the Styx flowing nine times round hell, and the 'huge gate of solid adamant, which even the gods could not break open.' Ib., 439, 552. For ninefold, see also line 645.

434. This huge convex of fire. This great fiery vault, called 'the fiery concave,' line 635.

438. If any pass. If any person pass them.

439. Unessential. Without those accidents which make up the essence of being, substance, form, &c.; see lines 892-894.
Similarly in Paradise Regained, iv. 399, darkness and night are called unsubstantial.

441. Abortive. 'Rendering abortive, like forgetful in line 74,' says the Clarendon Press editor, after Major; but it is rather abortivus, 'unfinished.'

442. Whatever. Any at all, whatever it may be.

443. Remains. Awaits; see vi. 38.


The prefix be is generally used to give emphasis, or sometimes an idea of contempt, to the principal verb. Many such verbs are modern imitations of verbs commencing with the syllable be, which is the present form of the old A.S. inflexion ge. This prefix ge was one of the distinguishing peculiarities of the Saxon period, before the changes brought about by the Norman Conquest; it afterwards appeared in the form of y, commonly enough in Chaucer, but rarely after Spenser, except in archaic poetry and in a few words retained for the oddity of the sound or requirements of the metre, as yclad, yclept, &c. Milton has ychained, yclept, and ypointing; see the note on Ode on the Nativity, 155.

The form ge, however, exists under the disguise of be; the verb become, to suit, to fit, is the original English gecueman, compounded of ge, and quene, to please, from which the word whim comes; again, the word behold (under obligations) is no way connected with behold (to see), but is the modernised form of gehealden, past part. of healden, to hold. Queme occurs in Spenser (Shepherd's Calendar):—

Such merimake holy saints doth queme,
But we here sitten as drownde in dreme.—May, 15.

448. Moment. Importance; Lat. momentum, quod movet.

452. Refusing. If I should refuse.

453. Alike. Equally; hazard and honour are alike due to him who reigns. It would scarcely be worth while noting the meaning, were it not that Keightley wrongly explains alike, 'equally with others.'

457. Intend. Give attention to, consider; formerly used for 'attend to:'—

Romulus after his death (as they report or feign) sent a present to the Romans, that above all they should intend arms.—Bacon, Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms.

Whether with solace tripping on the trees,
He sees the citizens of forest sport;
Or, 'midst the withered oak, beholds the bees
Intend their labour with a kind consort.

—Lodge, A Solitary Life.
467. Prevented. Anticipated; Lat. pra, before, and venire, to come; hence the now obsolete sense of anticipate, come before, help:—

Let thy grace, O Lord, always prevent and follow us.—Common Prayer.

468. From. By.
471. In opinion. In the eyes of the rest, in public opinion.
472. Cheap. The primary meaning of cheap is a market (A.S. cefpan, to bargain); it still survives in that sense in Eastcheap, Cheapside, Chepstow, chapman. When goods were plenty and sold at a low rate, the market was said to be good cheap, better cheap, or best cheap, as the case might be; now the epithet is dropped, and cheap compared as an adjective:—

The best is always best cheap.—Burton, Anatomy of Melancholy, i. 2.

Soon now grown greater, Chippenham, in Saxon Cyppanham, of note at this day for the market there kept, whereof it took the name, for cyppan, in the Saxon tongue, is as much as to say to buy, and cyppan, a buyer, like as with us cheapen, and chapman, and among the Germans coppman.—Camden, Britannia, ed. 1637, p. 243.

473. Hazard huge. Huge is rarely used by writers of the present day, and is seldom applied to an abstract noun; but it was very common in the seventeenth century, and is quite a favourite of Milton’s.

483. Lest bad men, &c. According to Bishop Pearce the reader is “to supply some such expression as this, This remark (of the devils not losing all their virtue) I make, lest bad men should boast, &c.”

484. Specious. Fair, good. Like plausible, officious, and many other words, specious was formerly used only in a good sense:

We are commanded (Romans, xiii. 13) to walk ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ, decently, or speciously, which implies a regard to men’s opinion; to have our conversation honest, καλὸς, that is, fair or comely, and plausible.—Barrow, Sermon, 1 Samuel, ii. 30.

490. The element. The sky. The elements, according to the old theory, were fire, air, water, and earth; but when ‘the element’ was spoken of, it refers, as here, to the sky, the air:—

The element itself, till seven years heat,
Shall not behold her face at ample view.

—Twelfth Night, i. 1.

491. Scowls. Drives scowlingly.
492. If chance, &c. Either, ‘If the radiant sun chance to extend,’ or ‘If by chance the radiant sun extend;’ see line 396, note.
With farewell sweet. Disraeli, Curiosities of Literature, says this beautiful farewell is borrowed from an obscure poet, quoted by Poole in his English Parnassus, ed. 1657:—

To Thetis' watery bowers the sun doth hie,
Bidding farewell unto the gloomy sky.

Another parallel is the following in Sylvester's Du Bartas:—

For once a day each country under Heaven
Thou biddest good morrow, and thou biddest good even.
—First Week, Tenth Day.

and cf. Shakespeare, 3 Henry VI., ii. 1.

495. Hill and valley rings. The use of the verb in the singular, with each of the subjects as nominative, is more emphatic. Thus i. 139, 'the mind and spirit remains invincible;' and 'quod vult manus et meus,' Hor.

497. Men only disagree, &c. Compare the following:—

Quid est homini inimicissimum? Alter homo.—Seneca.

The greatest enemy to man is man, who, by the devil's instigation, is still ready to do mischief—his own executioner, a devil to himself and others. We are all brethren in Christ, or at least should be members of one body, servants of one Lord; and yet no fiend can so torment, insult over, tyrannise, vex, as one man doth another. Homo homini lupus, homo homini demon.—Burton, Anatomy of Melancholy, i. 1.

501. Levy wars. Johnson, in his Dictionary, takes exception to this expression, saying, "This sense, though Milton's, seems improper." He is followed in this view by Major and Hunter, none of them knowing that it was the technical phrase of the day, and is still a legal term. In the 'Act of the Commons of England for erecting of a High Court of Justice for the trying and judging of Charles Stuart, King of England,' he is charged with having "levied and maintained a cruel war in the land against the Parliament and Kingdom;" and the same phrase is the one adopted in his indictment and sentence. See Clarendon's History, vol. viii. pp. 92 and 115, ed. 1717. It is the technical expression in the Statute of Treason of Edward III.; see Hallam, Constitutional History, chap. xv. 'Levy war' occurs again in xi. 219; and Barrow has:—

These were the misdemeanours of those in the late times, who, instead of praying for their sovereign, did asperse him with foul imputations, did accuse his proceedings, did raise tumults, and levy war against him, pretending by rude force to reduce him unto his duty.—Sermon, 29th May 1676.

504. Enew. The plural of enough; now obsolete.
506. Dissolved. Sc. itself; neut.

508. Paramount. Chief, supreme lord; always an adj. now.

512. A globe. The Lat. globus was applied to a compact body of troops. Cf. Paradise Regained, iv. 581.

513. Horrent. Horrens means bristling, standing erect, and then horrid; as applied to arms and spears it includes both meanings—horrentia Martis arma, Æneid, i.; horrentibus hastis, Æneid, x. 178. Horrid, from the same root, has precisely the same meaning; see i. 563.

514. Bid cry. Bid is generally followed by the infinitive without the preposition to; but instead of this archaic construction we should now use the infinitive of the passive voice. The following is another instance of the former syntax:—

All the congregation bade stone them with stones.—Numbers, xiv. 10.

515. Trumpets'. In the original editions it is printed without the apostrophe. I have made it plural, as the context would indicate.

517. Alchymy. Trumpet, the instrument called after the material of which it is made. Alchymy was a mixed metal, chiefly composed of brass: the word is obsolete in this sense, being now applied to the pretended art of changing other metals into gold, from Gr. ἀλχίσμα, to pour.

518. By herald's voice explained. That is, the purport of the signal was explained by a herald.

521. Thence. Either 'from that time,' 'from that place,' or 'from that cause.'

More at ease their minds. Either nominative absolute, 'their minds being more at ease;' or minds, Greek accusative, 'more at ease as to their minds.'

523. Several. Separate; der. old Fr. seurrer, Lat. separare.

525. Leads him perplexed, where he may likeliest find, &c. Observe the punctuation; some editions have no comma after perplexed, construing it with where he may find; but this clause should be taken with pursues his way.

526. Entertain. Make to pass agreeably; entertain (Lat. inter, and tenere, to hold), to take in or receive (a) as a guest, (b) as a servant, (c) as a thought into one's mind. The second of these meanings, though obsolete in modern English, is a common Anglo-Indianism, but it was once so used in classic English:—

You, sir, I entertain for one of my hundred; only I don't like the fashion of your garments.—King Lear, iii. 6.

He [William Noy] was for many years the stoutest champion for the subject's liberty, until king Charles entertained him to be his attorney.

—Fuller, Worthies, "Cornwall."
528. Part on the plain, &c. These warlike diversions (says Newton) of the fallen angels during the absence of Satan seem to be copied from the military exercises of the Myrmidons during the absence of their chief from the war—Homer, \textit{Iliad}, ii. 774. The author had an eye, too, to the diversions and entertainments of the departed heroes in Virgil’s \textit{Elysium—Æneid}, vi. 642.

Sublime. Aloft; agreeing with \textit{part} understood. Cf. iii. 72; vi. 771.

530. \textit{The Olympian Games}. The Olympian or Olympic Games were celebrated at Olympia, on the banks of the Alpheus, in the territory of Elis in Greece, in honour of the Olympian Jove. The origin of the festival is lost in the mythical ages. It was revived 776 B.C.; and the Greeks afterwards dated from this year as the First Olympiad, when they began to use the contest to mark a chronological era. The games were kept up until abolished by the Emperor Theodosius, 394 A.D. There was an interval of four years, called an Olympiad, between each celebration. At first the games only lasted for one day, and consisted merely of foot-races, but they afterwards occupied five days, and included horse-races and chariot-races, and various trials of strength at boxing, wrestling, jumping, and the like. The only prize was a crown of wild olive; but to secure this was the ambition of the noblest and wealthiest of the Greeks, the victor’s name being proclaimed among the assembled multitudes, and his statue erected in the sacred grove at Olympia. The \textit{Pythian} games were of similar character; they were instituted in 585 B.C., in honour of Apollo, and celebrated every third Olympic year, near Delphi.

531. \textit{Shun the goal with rapid wheels}. These words are a translation of an allusion in Horace to the Olympic contest:—

\begin{quote}
Sunt quos curriculo pulverem Olympicum
Collegisse juvat, \textit{metaque servidus}
\textit{Evitata rotis}, palmaque nobilis
Terrarum dominos evehit ad deos.—\textit{Odes}, I. i.
\end{quote}

533. War appears, &c. Such were the portents with which Calphurnia warned Cæsar:—

\begin{quote}
Fierce fiery warriors fight upon the clouds,
In ranks and squadrons in right form of war.
—\textit{Julius Cæsar}, ii. 2.
\end{quote}

536. \textit{Prick forth}. Ride forward; \textit{prick} literally means to spur or urge on, and is commonly used for ride in old poets:—

\begin{quote}
Of \textit{pricking} and of hunting fur the hare
Was all his lust, for no cost would he spare.
—\textit{Canterbury Tales, Prologue}, 189.
Couch their spears. Fix them in the rest, a part of the armour in which the spear was rested preparatory to an attack.

538. Heaven. He is still talking of the heaven visible to us, the 'troubled sky,' and, not content with making armies of the clouds, sees individual horsemen couching their spears.

The welkin. The sky; now obsolete. A.S. wealcan, to roll, used formerly as a verb or participle:—

When ruddy Phoebus gan to welke in west.
—Faerie Queene, i. 1.

Come, sir page,
Look on me with your welkin eye.—Winter's Tale, i. 2.

As a substantive it denoted the sky, the visible heavens:—

The grass now gins to be refreshed,
The swallow peeps out of her nest,
And cloudy welkin cleareth.
—Shepherd's Calendar, March.

Burns. Glows, is in a commotion.

539. Typhon. Gigantic, like that of Typhon; see i. 199, note. Fell. Fierce, cruel.

541. Uproar. Not, as might be supposed, a compound of up and roar, but from the Teut. aufruhr.

542. Alcides. Hercules, called Alcides from his grandfather Alceus. Hercules was the most celebrated of all the heroes of antiquity. He is said to have performed twelve wonderful labours, such as the Fight with the Nemean Lion, Capture of the Arcadian Stag, Cleansing of the Stables of Augeas, &c. On one occasion he marched against Æchalia, killed Eurytus the king, carried off his daughter Iole prisoner, and returned 'crowned with conquest.' Intending to sacrifice to Jupiter, on his landing at Eubœa, he sent his friend Lichas home for a white garment he was to wear during the celebration of the rites. His wife Deianira, jealous lest Iole might win the affections of her husband, steeped the robe in poison; when Hercules 'felt the envenomed robe' he seized Lichas and threw him from the top of Mount Æta, in Thessaly, into the sea; he tried to tear off the garment, but it stuck to his flesh, and with it he tore away whole pieces from his body, and, maddened with pain, tore up pine-trees by the roots. Deianira, on hearing what had happened, hanged herself. Hercules having ascended Mount Æta, placed himself on a pile of wood, which he ordered to be set on fire; while the pile was burning, a cloud came down and carried him up to Olympus, where he was honoured with immortality, and afterwards worshipped throughout Greece.

551. Free Virtue should enthrall. Bentleley quotes from
Euripides the famous distich which Brutus used when he killed himself:—

"Ω τρήμων ἄρετθ, λύγος ἀπ' ἄνωθ', ἡγάθος ἀνατε, ὡς τρήμων ἄρετθ: ὡς τρήμων ἄρετθ: οὐ δ' ἄρ' ἀποθέλεσαι βιβ.

552. Partial. Favouring themselves.
554. Took with ravishment. Cf. Virgil, Georgics, iv. 481; and Comus, 244, 245; 256, 257.
556. Eloquence the soul. Todd quotes from Sylvester's Du Bartas:

The soul-charm image of sweet eloquence.—Ed. 1621, p. 263.

568. Th' obdured. Past part. of the obsolete verb obdure. I have followed the first edition, but in the fifth (1692) it is th' obdurate; also in Tonson's and Tickell's (1720). Obdured occurs again, vi. 785, and obdurate five lines below it. Keightley wrongly accents obdured.
577. Styx. Gr. στῦξις, to hate.
578. Acheron. Gr. ἁχῶς, sorrow, hence the epithet sad.
579. Cocytus. Gr. κοκυτω, to lament; the streams of the Cocytus washed the shores of Hell, and prevented the imprisoned spirits returning to the Earth, hence the loud lamentation heard on the rufeful stream.
580. Phlegethon. Gr. φλεγέθω, to burn.
581. Torrent. Torrid, burning; Lat. torrere, to burn. A stream is called a torrent from its flowing rapidly, like the movement of flames; perhaps both the ideas of flowing rapidly and scorching are intended in the expression torrent fire.
589. Dire hail. The 'dire grandinis' of Horace, Odes, I. ii. i. 590. Ruin seems, &c. 'Appears to be the ruin of some ancient building.'
591. All else. In some modern reprints—Bohn, Major—it is 'or else,' Keightley and Masson trace the misprint to Todd's fourth edition (it is in his fifth too), but I find it in Newton's ninth edition (1790), but correctly given in his fourth (1757).
592. Serbonian bog. The lake or marsh of Serbonis, between Mount Casius, now Cape Kareroon, and Damietta in Egypt. Hills of loose sand surrounded the lake, and the sand being frequently carried into the water by the wind so thickened the lake as to make it a marsh or bog.
593. Damiata. Now Damietta, a town near the Mediterranean, on one of the mouths of the Nile.
595. Frere. Frosty, with frost; and adv. Newton quotes:—

When the cold north wind bloweth, it devoureth the mountains, and burneth the wilderness, and consumeth the grass as fire.—Ecclus. xliii. 20, 21.
Cold. Coldness; a noun.

596. Harpy-footed. Having the feet or claws of harpies. The harpies are described by Virgil as obscene birds, inhabiting the Strophades in the Ionian Sea, having the heads of maidens, with long claws, and with faces ever pale with hunger—Æneid, iii. 217.

597. Revolutions. Seasons, fixed periods. Æneid, vi. 745-748.

598. Feel by turns, &c. In the middle ages it was common to describe the pains of Hell as consisting of extreme cold as well as heat.

And the delighted spirit
To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
In thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice.
—Measure for Measure, iii. 1.

600. Starve. Destroy, cause to perish with cold. Starve now means to suffer from extreme cold or hunger, but formerly meant to kill or perish by any death; der. A.S. steorfan, to die, to kill.

With torment, and with shameful death each one,
This provost doth these Jews for to sterue,
That of this morder wiste.—Chaucer, The Prioresses Tale.

Peter Levins in his Rhyming Dictionary (1570) translates starve by interire, to perish.

603. Hurried, in this and the four other places in which it occurs in Milton, is not used merely in its present sense of ‘moved quickly,’ but always denotes a being borne preternaturally; see The Passion, 50, note, and Feltham, Resolves, xxvii.

609. So near the brink. The brink being so near; nom. abs.

611. Medusa. The Gorgons were three frightful maidens, named Steno, Euryale, and Medusa. Instead of hair their heads were covered with hissing serpents, they had wings, brazen claws, and enormous teeth. Medusa’s head became so frightful that every one who looked at it was changed into stone; she was slain by Perseus, who cut off her head and carried it to Minerva, and the goddess placed it in the centre of her shield.

613. Wight. Being; only used now in poetry or burlesque writing. It literally means a sensitive creature. A.S. wiht, from witan, to perceive. Whit is a thing, aught (formerly written ought), a whit.

614. Tantalus. A king of Lydia, who, having divulged the secrets intrusted to him by Jupiter, was punished by being afflicted with a raging thirst, and at the same time placed in a lake, the waters of which receded from him as soon as he
attempted to taste them; bunches of fruit were hung over his head, which in like manner receded from his grasp. The punishment of Tantalus was proverbial, and from his name comes the verb 'tantalise.'

615. Forlorn. Utterly lost. For in composition, fordo, forgo, forlore, &c., means forth, entirely; lorn is an old part. of lose, s and r being interchangeable; it is sometimes found without the prefix for, and sometimes in composition as lovelorn.

The expression 'forlorn hope' is applied to a body of troops appointed to lead the attack, enter a breach, or perform any other hazardous undertaking, in which few if any are likely to escape; sometimes they were called 'the forlorn' alone:

He caused the foot to be drawn up in the best order they could; placed a forlorn of musketeers in the little enclosures, winging them with the few horse and dragoons he had.—Fuller, Worthies, Cornwall.

They [the Enniskillen horse] offered with spirit to make always the forlorn of the army.—Quoted in Scott's note to Prologue to Don Sebastian, Dryden's Works, vii. 303.

617. First. For the first time.
620. Alp. Here used for any high mountain; as also in Samson Agonistes, 628.
625. Prodigious. Ominous, portentous.
628. Hydras. The hydra was a huge monster which ravaged Lerna in the Peloponnesus. One of the labours imposed on Hercules was to destroy the serpent. It had nine heads, and the middle one was immortal: in place of every head struck off by Hercules two new ones arose, but with the assistance of Iolaus he burned away the heads, and buried the ninth under a rock.

Chimæras. The chimæra was a fire-breathing monster, having the head of a lion, the body of a goat, and a dragon's tail; it caused much havoc in Lycia, but was at length killed by Bellerophon.

630. With thoughts inflamed. The order is, Inflamed with thoughts of highest design.
633. Scours. Passes swiftly over; A.S. scyran, to shear, to shave; scur and skir are other forms of scour:—

Send out more horses, skir the country round,
Hang those that talk of fear.—Macbeth, v. 3.

Mount ye, spur ye, skirr the plain,
That the fugitive may flee in vain.—Siege of Corinth, xxi.

635. Touring. The common reading is towering, all other editors rejecting (without notice) the reading of the first edition.
Touring occurs nowhere else in Milton, and tour only in xi. 185, where see the note.

637. Hangs in the clouds. Appears to touch the clouds where they and the horizon seem to meet. 

Equinoctial winds. The trade-winds, which blow from east to west at the time of the equinoxes, from 21st March to 23rd September.

638. Close sailing. The vessels of the fleet sailing closely together, and thus forming only one object to the eye.

639. Ternate and Tidore. Two of the Moluccas or Spice Islands.

640. They referring to the ships of the fleet, which as a noun of multitude has a singular verb, hangs, 637.

The trading flood. The part of the ocean where the trade-winds blow.

641. The wide Ethiopian. The Indian Ocean; so called from Ethiopia, the ancient name of the countries south of Egypt on the east coast of Africa. The Cape. The Cape of Good Hope.

642. The pole. The south pole, as the fleet sails in a southerly direction from Bengal to the Cape.

645. Thrice threefold the gates. Gates is the nom. to appear.

647. Impaled. Walled in, enclosed.


Before the gates, &c. The allegory that follows is based on the words of St James: “When lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin; and sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death,” James, i. 15.

Milton has also incorporated much in it from Spenser’s personification of Error (Faerie Queene, I. i. 14, 15); and the description of Hamartia in Fletcher’s Purple Island, xii. 97.

649. Either. Each. A formidable Shape. From Virgil:—

Cernis, custodia qualis
Vestibulo sedeat? facies quæ limina servet?
Quinquaginta atriis immanis hiatabus Hydra
Sævior intus habet sedem.—Æneid, vi. 574.

654. A cry. A pack or troop, so called from their crying or barking together.

A cry more tuneable
Was never holloaed to nor cheered with horn.

—Midsummer Night’s Dream, v. 1.

Your common cry of curs whose breath I hate.

—Coriolanus, iii. 1.

The jackal’s troop in gathered cry,
Bayed from afar complainingly.—Siege of Corinth, xxxiii.
655. Cerberan mouths. Cerberus was the dog that guarded the entrance to the infernal regions, at the spot where the shades of the departed were landed by the ferryman Charon; he is represented as having three heads, a serpent’s tail, and serpents round his neck.

656. List. Please, choose; A.S. listan; lust, which formerly meant simply desire, is from the same root.

658. Kennel there. The metaphor may have been taken from Shakespeare:—

From forth the kennel of thy womb hath crept
A hell-hound that doth hunt us all to death.

—Richard III., iv. 4.

Kennel is from Fr. chenil, a dog-house, Lat. canis, a dog; it also means ‘a pack or cry of hounds; and a fox is said to kennel when he lies close to his hole.’—Bailey’s Dictionary.

659. Abhorred. To be abhorred, dreadful.

660. Scylla. Scylla and Charybdis were two rocks between Italy and Sicily. A monster named Scylla dwelt in a cave in the one nearest Italy. The sorceress Circe is said to have poisoned the sea where Scylla used to bathe, which caused her lower limbs to be turned into dogs; after her metamorphosis she threw herself into the sea, and was changed into the rock which afterwards bore her name.

The sea that parts, &c. The Straits of Messina. Calabria, the peninsula in the south-east of Italy. Trinacria, the ancient name of Sicily, from its triangular shape.

665. Lapland witches. Lapland was said to be famous for witches.

The labouring moon. The moon in eclipse; the Latin for an eclipse of the moon is labores lunae. It was an ancient superstition that eclipses of the moon were caused by the charms and incantations of witches; see i. 785, and note.

666. The other Shape, &c. Compare Spenser’s description of Death:—

After all came Life; and lastly Death;
Death with most grim and grisly visage seen,
Yet is he nought but parting of the breath,
Ne aught to see, but like a shade to ween,
Unbodied, unsouled, unheard, unseen.

—Faerie Queene, VII. vii. 46.

669. That shadow seemed. Death is called the ‘meagre Shadow,’ and the ‘grim Feature,’ x. 264, 279.


Death, the sovereign’s sovereign.—Don Juan, x. 23.
677. Admired. Wondered; see i. 690.
678. God and his Son except, &c. Milton has a similar construction in one of his prose works:

No place in Heaven or Earth, except Hell, where charity may not enter.—Doctrine of Divorce, Preface.

685. That be assured. Be certain of that.
686. Taste. Sc. 'the fruits of.'
688. Goblin. Phantom, demon; Ger. kobold, Gr. κόβαλος; see L'Allegro, 105, note.
692. Drew after him, &c. The words are taken from Revelation, xii. 4; the line occurs again, v. 710.
693. Conjured. Banded in conspiracy; Lat. conjurare, to swear together.
698. To enrage thee more. 'I add this in order that I may enrage thee more.'
700. False. He falsely included himself among the Spirits of Heaven.
701. A whip of scorpions. A scourge, so called from the stinging effect of the lash; used metaphorically for any severe punishment.

My father hath chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions.—1 Kings, xii. 11.

When once again I've quelled the pride
Of Venice, and her hated race
Have felt the arm they would debase
Scourge with a whip of scorpions.—Siege of Corinth, xxi.

708. Like a comet. The 'sword of God' is compared to a comet in xii. 632-634.
709. Ophiuchus. A constellation in the northern hemisphere; it consists of about seventy stars, and extends over forty degrees in length. Ophiuchus means literally the Serpent-holder: it is represented by a man holding a serpent in his hand, and is also called Serpentarius and Anguitenens.
710. Horrid hair. The tail of the comet streaming like hair; hence the derivation, Gr. κομή, hair.
711. Shakes pestilence and war. Comets and other appearances in the heavens were regarded as prophetic of war, plagues, and other disasters; so of the beard of Hudibras:

This hairy meteor did denote
The fall of sceptres and of crowns.—Hudibras, i. 247.
He sung how grisly comets hang in air,
Why sword and plagues attend their fatal hair,
God's beacons for the world, drawn up so far,
To publish ills, and raise all earth to war.

—Cowley, Davideis, iii.
See also Faerie Queene, III. i. 16; Du Bartas, Second Day, First Week; and Pope’s Homer, xix. 412.

715. Heaven’s artillery. The expression occurs in Shakespeare and Ben Jonson:

Have I not heard great ordnance in the field,
And heaven’s artillery thunder in the skies?

—Taming of the Shrew, i. 2.

Through the air was rolled
The lengthened shower, as when the artillery
Of heaven is discharged along the sky.

—Panegyre, 19th March 1603.

716. The Caspian was noted for storms and tempests; see Horace, Odes, II. ix. 2.

717. A space. For a short time.

720. So matched. So equally matched.

722. So great a foe. Jesus Christ, who will ‘one day destroy them both;’ for ‘the last enemy that shall be destroyed is Death,’ i Corinthians, xv. 26; and He will destroy ‘him that had the power of death, that is, the Devil,’ Hebrews, ii. 14; Revelation, xx. 14.

723. Had been achieved. Would have been achieved.

727. Intends. Aims at; in the Latin sense of intendere.

730. And knowst for whom. Some editions have an interrogation after this clause, as well as after head, but in Milton’s there is a semicolon after whom. The meaning is, What fury possesses thee to bend thy dart against thy father? and thou knowest against whom it is. There is a similar construction in v. 674.

739. Spares to tell thee, &c. Forbears for a little to let you see by my act what I intend.


755. On the left side opening. When the left side (of his head) opened.

758. Out of thy head, &c. Sin is represented as issuing from the head of Satan, as Minerva is said to have sprung forth from the head of Jupiter, uttering a war-cry and clad in complete armour.

761. Familiar grown, I pleased. Cf. Pope’s lines:

Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
As, to be hated, needs but to be seen;
Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace.

—Essay on Man, ii. 217.
765. Such joy, &c. He still follows the myth of Minerva's birth, Vulcan having attempted to ravish her.

772. Pitch. Height, elevation; 'precipice of Heaven,' i. 173.

789. Back resounded Death. The repetition of the word Death is highly poetical and artistic. There is a similar instance in Virgil, Georgics, iv. 525-528; and in Shelley (Prometheus Unbound):

The tongueless caverns of the craggy hills
Cried Misery! Then the hollow Heaven replied
Misery; and the Ocean's purple waves,
Climbing the land, howled to the lashing winds,
And the pale nations heard it, Misery.

795-802. These yelling monsters, that, &c. These, says Keightley, are the mental torments that are the consequences of sin, and they are rendered more grievous by the idea of death.

801. Conscious terrors. Terrors of which I am conscious.

802. Rest or intermission, &c. "The wicked are like the troubled sea, when it cannot rest. There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked," Isaiah, lvii. 20, 21.

804. Grim Death. Massinger applies the same epithet, grim, to Death in the Roman Actor, iii. 1.

813. Tempered heavenly. Of heavenly make or mould; his shield was of 'ethereal temper,' i. 285.


825. Pretences. To pretend formerly meant to advance a claim whether true or false, and not as now necessarily the latter; so with pretence, which here means 'claims,' and again in vi. 421.

The law he observeth is worthily called the perfect law of liberty; the Lord he serveth pretendeth only to command free men and friends.
—Barrow, Sermon on 1 Tim. iv. 8.

829. Unfounded. Bottomless; Lat. fundus, the bottom, foundation; common in old writers applied to the sea.

831. By concurring signs, ... created. Shown to be created by signs that coincide with the prediction.

833. Purlieu. Outskirts, borders; purlieu originally meant land on the borders of a forest, which, having been illegally added to the forest, was afterwards rendered exempt from the forest laws; or simply 'free from trees.' Fr. pur, pure or free, and lieu, place. Another derivation is pour aller, perambulatio, a walking round, the process by which the purlieus were made.

842. The buxom air. Pliant, yielding; der. A.S. bocsum,
easily bended, Ger. beugsam, pliable, obedient. By buxom, we now mean lively, gay, sprightly; but in old writers it meant yielding, obedient.

Abraham as a true servant fulfilled the Lord’s commandment, and for his buxomness and truth, God sware unto Abraham that he would multiply his seed.—Fox, Acts and Monuments; the Ploughman’s Complaint, bk. iv.

In v. 270, Milton applies the same epithet to the air; and Keightley quotes as a parallel ‘cedentem aëra’—Horace, Satires, ii. 2, 13.

849. Bespake. See note on Ode on the Nativity, 76.

855. Living might. The third edition, 1678, has ‘living wight,’ which Bentley considers to be the correct reading, as ‘living might’ would not except God himself, and ‘living wight’ occurs at line 613.

856. His commands above. The commands of him ‘who reigns above.’

859. Office. Duty, service; lit. what one is bound to do.

Man hath invented laws to defend and preserve good men, and to punish and keep evil persons in office and good order.—Langley, Polydore Virgil, ii. 1.

860. Inhabitant of Heaven. Agreeing with me.


874. Portcullis. A hanging gate, made so as to be let down suddenly; Fr. porte, a gate, and coulisse, a groove.

883. Erebus. A place of darkness above Hades; Erebus was the son of Chaos, and married to Night.

891–916. It would be difficult, says Professor Masson, to quote a passage from any poet so rich in purposely accumulated perplexities, learned and poetical, or in which such care is taken, and so successfully, to compel the mind to a rackingly intense conception of sheer inconceivability.

891. The hoary deep. The deep is called ‘hoary,’ Job, xli. 32; here used in the sense of ‘ancient.’

898. Four champions. In allusion to the theory of the four elements, or first principles in nature.

Frigida pugnabant calidis, humentia siccis,
Mollia cum duris, sine pondere habentia pondus.
—Ovid, Metamorphoses, i. 19.

900. Embryon. This is one of the words that Addison says Milton coined (Spectator, 285); but it occurs in Ben Jonson’s Poetaster, Sylvester’s Du Bartas (ed. 1613, p. 9), and other poets prior to Milton.
901. Each his. This appears to be an instance of the use of his to represent the possessive case, and to stand for each's.

904. Barca or Cyrene. Cyrene and Barca were the two principal cities of Cyrenaica in Africa: the surrounding country consisted chiefly of sandy deserts. Todd quotes from Heylin:

This country is all over covered with a light sand, which the winds remove continually up and down, turning valleys into hills, and hills into valleys.—Microcosmus, ed. 1627, p. 749.

The modern name of Barca is Merjej, and Cyrene is now Cairoan.

905. Levied literally means raised, Lat. levo. Poise their lighter wings. Give weight to the wings of the winds. Poise, inf. on levied.

906. Lighter. To light; used like the Latin comparative. To whom these most adhere, &c. To whomsoever (of the four champions) these atoms adhere most, he rules for a while.

908. By decision. By his judgment or sentence.

911. The womb of Nature, &c. So in Shakespeare:

The earth that Nature's mother is her tomb.—Romeo and Juliet, ii. 3.

Thyer quotes from Lucretius:

Omniparens, eadem rerum commune sepulchrum.—v. 260.

917. Into this wild Abyss. These words are repeated, after the long parenthesis, from 910.

918. Stood . . . and looked. For standing looked, so in v. 369, 'To sit and taste,' for 'sitting to taste.'

919. No narrow frith. The gulf he had to cross was far from being a narrow one.

921. To compare great things with small. Taken from Virgil:

Parvis componere magna.—Eclogue, i. 24.

Milton has the phrase twice again, x. 306, and Paradise Regained, iv. 563.


927. Sail-broad vans. Dante also describes Satan as having wings, and he compares them to sails:

Under each [face] shot forth
Two mighty wings, enormous, as became
A bird so vast. Sails never such I saw
Outstretched on the wide sea.—Hai, xxxiv.

Van (the verb as well as the noun) is another form or spelling
of fan. Both occur in Milton in the sense of 'wings,' v. 269; Par. Reg. iv 583.

930. Cloudy chair. Car or chariot formed of clouds. Car, cart, chair, and chariot are all from the same root, A.S. cyran, to turn. Chair was formerly used for chariot.

933. Plumb. Straight and quickly as lead would fall. Fr. plomb, Lat. plumbum, lead.

937. Instinct. Animated, impregnated with; the opposite of extinct; see vi. 752.

938. That fury stayed, &c. That fury having ceased, being quenched in a boggy Syrtis, which was neither water nor firm land.

939. Syrtis. There were two guls, each called Syrtis, on the north coast of Africa, proverbially dangerous from their sandbanks and quicksands. Here Syrtis is used for any quicksand, as 'Alp' is for any high mountain, line 620.

940. Nigh foundered. Almost sunk; Lat. fundus, the bottom. In the original there is a colon after land.

941. The crude consistence. The unfinished mixture, the 'boggy Syrtis.' Half on foot, half flying. Partly walking and partly flying. Spenser describes the movements of the old dragon in similar words:

The dreadful Beast drew nigh to hand,
Half flying and half footing in his haste.

—Faerie Queene, I. xi. 8.

942. Behoves him. Behoves is properly a so-called impersonal, and 'oar and sail' are in apposition with the inceptive it or there; the construction is similar in—

Nor these to hold wants her fit vessels.—v. 348.

Both oar and sail. Every means, all appliances.

943. A gryphon. The gryphons or griffins were fabulous creatures, the upper part of their body being like an eagle, and the lower like a lion.

945. The Arimaspian. The Arimaspi were a people in the north of Scythia; they are represented as one-eyed and having their hair adorned with gold. Herodotus (iii. 16) speaks of frequent battles between the Arimaspians and the Gryphons for the possession of gold-mines which were guarded by the latter.

Steal. Stealing, theft; Comus, 503.

948. Or steep. Bentley's emendation, o'er steep, is very natural, and an improvement on the text.

951. Hubbub. The following passage, in which the origin of the word is given, is worth preserving:
This manner of outcry here mentioned to be usual in Gallia was the same which remaineth in use at this present in Wales; although not so frequent as in former times. For the custom is there, as often as any robbery happeneth to be committed, or any man to be slain, or what other outrage or not is done, the next at hand do go to some eminent place where they may be best heard, and there they may make an outcry or howling, which they call a hoobow, signifying the fact to the next inhabitants, who tell it as passionately and deliver it further, and so from hand to hand it quickly spreadeth over all the country.—Edmond’s Observations on Caesar’s Commentaries, ed. 1655.

957. Of whom. Equivalent to ‘and of him.’

960. Dark pavilion. The simile is borrowed from Scripture:—

He made darkness his secret place; his pavilion round about him dark waters.—Psalm xviii. 11.

962. Sable-vested Night. Eurlpides describes Night as μελάμπειος, black-robed.

964. Orcus and Ades. Latin and Greek names of Pluto, the god of the infernal regions. Orcus is the Greek for an oath, and under that name the deity punished perjury. Ades or Hades means the ‘invisible.’

The dreaded name of Demogorgon. ‘The name of Demogorgon’ means Demogorgon himself. Demogorgon was a terrible deity, the mention of his name even being sufficient to cause frightful disasters; his name was made use of in invocations. Spenser describes him as the ‘Prince of Darkness,’ and presiding over Chaos.

Great Gorgon, Prince of darkness and dead night;
At which Cocytus quakes, and Styx is put to flight.

—Faerie Queene, I. i. 37.

Down in the bottom of the deep abyss,
Where Demogorgon in dull darkness pent,
Far from the view of gods and heaven’s bliss,
The hideous chaos keeps.—Ib. IV. ii. 47.

By Hell’s blue flame!
By the Stygian lake!
And by Demogorgon’s name,
At which ghosts quake!
Hear and appear!—Dryden, Song in OEdipus.

972. Secrets. Secret places, according to Newton.
977. Confine with. Border on, are on the confines of.
981. Directed. If my course is directed.
983. Reduce. In the literal sense of ‘bring back;’ so in vi. 777, and commonly in the seventeenth century:—
You know how Elias his prayers did open and shut the heavens,—how the same holy prophet's prayer did reduce a departed soul.—Isaac Barrow, *Sermon, May 29, 1676.*

989. *Incomposed.* Discomposed, confused.
993. *I saw and heard.* See vi. 871-874.
994. *The frighted Deep.* Todd remarks that this description may have been borrowed from Ezekiel's prefiguration of Assyria's fall:

I made the nations to shake at the sound of his fall, when I cast him down to hell with them that descend into the pit.—*Ezekiel, xxxi. 16.*

1000. *So.* In this way, thus; namely, 'by keeping residence here, and doing all I can.'

1001. *Our intestine broils.* This is the reading of Milton's editions and of all down to Bp. Pearce's (1732), who altered *our to your.* "the creation of *Hell and the new world* being the effect not of any broils in the realm of Chaos, but of the broils in Heaven between God and Satan, the good angels and the bad, called *intestine war and broils* in vi. 259, 277." Newton, Todd, Prendeville, and Kightley follow Pearce and adopt *your.*

At first sight *your* would seem the true reading; but a little inspection will show that *our*, even if it had not the advantage of being Milton's, is the best. To charge the encroachments on Satan is scarcely in keeping with the tone of the speech; though the creation of Hell and the new world encroached on the domain of Chaos, and was due to the broils in Heaven, yet if the sceptre of old Night were not weakened by their intestine broils, the Powers of the place might have defended it; and (lastly) they were *all embroiled* with Tumult, Confusion, and Discord.

1005. *Linked in a golden chain.* The allusion is to Homer's idea of Jupiter's golden chain, by which he could draw up the gods, the earth, and the sea, but they could not draw him down. Some interpret the golden chain to refer to the sun. Ben Jonson applies the simile to marriage:

Such was the golden chain let down from heaven;
And not those links more even
Than these.—*Masques,* ed. 1616, p. 919.

1011. *His sea should find a shore.* That there should be a termination to his journey, and he should land at last.

1017. *Argo.* The *Argo* was a ship built for the expedition sent out from Iolcus, in Thessaly, to get possession of the golden fleece kept at Æa or Colchis. The *Argo* is said to have
been the first long ship ever seen in Greece: the sailors were known as the "Argonauts;" the leader was Jason; and the events are supposed to have occurred about 1263 B.C.

1018. Bosphorus. The Strait between the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmora, now called the Straits of Constantinople. Bosphorus is so called because Io crossed it in the form of a heifer, or because cattle can swim across. Der. Gr. βοῦς, an ox, and παπος, a channel; thus corresponding with the English word Oxford.

The justling rocks were two small rocky islands at the entrance of the Black Sea, called the Symplegades—i.e., striking, or (as Milton translates it) 'justling,' together, because they appeared to meet and recede according as a ship varied in its course.

1019. Ulysses, called Odysseus by the Greeks, was one of the principal heroes of the Trojan war: his travels on his return home from it are related in Homer's Odyssey. He sailed with much difficulty between Scylla and Charybdis, several of his companions being carried off by the former.

The larboard is the left side of a ship. The passage means, Ulysses keeping to the left avoided Charybdis.

1020. The other whirlpool. Bentley objects to Scylla being described as a whirlpool; but Virgil speaks of it as drawing ships against the rocks (Æneid, iii. 425).

1023. But he once past, soon after. The construction is, But, he having accomplished his journey over it, shortly afterwards, when the fall of man took place, a great change was brought about.

1028. A bridge of wondrous length. The bridge is described in x. 299-305.

1039. Her outmost works. Nature's outmost works or fortifications.

1043. Holds the port is a classic phrase; Æneid, i. 399, and

Fortiter occupa portum.—Horace, Odes, I. xiv. 2.

1048. Undetermined square or round. Its extent was so great that Satan could not determine whether it was square or round.

1052. This pendent world. Not the earth merely, but the new-created universe.
BOOK III.

1. Offspring of Heaven first-born. Genesis, i. 3.
2. Of the Eternal, &c. ‘May I (without blame for so doing) call thee the co-eternal beam of the Eternal God?’ Since, &c. And then he assigns reasons for calling Light the co-eternal of the Eternal.
3. In unapproachable light. 1 Timothy, vi. 16; 1 John, i. 5.
4. Hearest thou rather, &c. Wouldst thou rather be addressed as the pure ethereal stream whose source is unknown? This use of hear is a Latinism; audire being to hear one’s self called, to be spoken of:—

Matutine pater, seu Jane libentius audis.—Horace, Sat., II. vi. 20.

Spenser also employs the idiom:—

If Old Aveugle’s sons so evil hear.—Faerie Queene, I. v. 23.

And Milton in Areopagita:—

What more national corruption, for which England hears ill abroad, than household gluttony?

8. Before the Sun, &c. See vii. 243-249.
9. Wert. This is not, as Bp. Louth and others have supposed, a grammatical error for wast, but is the past tense indicative of the obsolete A.S. verb, weorhtan, to be: the second pers. sing. imperfect of which is wurde.

Thou therefore that wast nothing before thou Wert, &c.—Thou which wast not Wert made—Give me a reason, if thou canst, how thou Wert created.

—Heywood, Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels, 1635, p. 383; quoted in the Student’s English Language, p. 214.

10. As with a mantle, didst invest. The metaphor of ‘as with a mantle’ is contained in invest; cf. i. 208.
14. Long detained, &c. He refers to the subject of the First and Second Books.
16. Utter and middle darkness. Utter is outer; and ‘utter darkness’ is Hell (i. 72)—in v. 614 it also clearly refers to Hell; ‘middle darkness,’ the gulf between Heaven and Hell. This is Newton’s, and I think the correct explanation of these terms, though Professor Masson takes the ‘obscure sojourn’ to be Chaos, and ‘utter and middle darkness’ “the two stages of
Chaos—the nethermost, before the court and throne of Chaos were reached, and the upper.” But Milton, or the poem, is not ‘long detained’ in Chaos, the gates of Hell being opened only at line 879 of Book ii.

17. With other notes, &c. In a different strain, and differently inspired, than Orpheus, who had also sung of Chaos and darkness, in his Hymn to Night. For an account of Orpheus, see note on L’Allegro, 145.

20. Up to re-ascent, though hard and rare. Difficult, and but seldom accomplished. From the Sibyl’s answer to Æneas:—

Revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras,
Hoc opus, hic labor est.—Æneid, vi. 128.

25. Drop serene. Gutta serena, which he translates literally, was the name formerly given to a disease of the eye now called amaurosis; and so called because there is “an appearance of a clear speck (serene drop) causing a dimness or total loss of sight.”—Bailey’s Dictionary.

26. Suffusion. Suffusio was the term formerly applied to the dimness which ends in cataract of the eye; another name for it was the ‘pin and web.’ Yet not the more cease I. I do not cease on this account.

29. Smit with the love, &c. Newton quotes:—

Me vero primum dulces ante omnia Musæ,
Quarum sacra fero, ingenti perculsus amore,
Accipiant.—Virgil, Georgics, ii. 475.

Chief thee, Sion, &c. He means that, great as was his love for the study of the ancient poets, his chief delight was in the songs of Sion—that is, in the Holy Scriptures.

30. The flowery brooks. Kedron and Siloa; see i. 11. The epithet ‘flowery’ was supplied by his own imagination, so true to nature and reality. It is amusing to read Keightley’s remark that “they” (flowery brooks) “are rarely to be found in the hot, arid regions of the East.”

32. Nor sometimes forget. And often remember; a Latinism.

33. Those other two. As he names four, ‘those other too’ has been proposed; but this is, as Newton observes, ‘botch.’ Though he mentions four, he chiefly resembles and desires to resemble two, Thamyris and Homer, each of whom he distinguishes by the epithet ‘blind;’ moreover, the latter two were not poets but prophets, and ‘minor’ ones.

34. So were I, &c. Would that I were equally famous.

35. Thamyris. An ancient poet, born in Thrace; Homer mentions him in the Iliad, ii. 595. He wrote a poem on the war of the Titans with the gods, another giving an account of
the world; and is said by Pliny to have invented the Doric measure. So great was his skill in music that he challenged the Muses, who deprived him of his sight, after defeating him in the contest: according to Plato, his soul passed into a night-ingle.

Maonides. Homer; so called either from his father's name, which is said to have been Mæon, or from Mæonia, the Homeric name for Lydia, one of the disputed birthplaces of the poet; whence he is called 'Mæonides vates,' and 'Mæonius senex.'

36. The blind seer Tiresias of Thebes is a conspicuous figure in the Grecian mythology; in his day took place the expedition of the "Seven against Thebes," and the war of the Epigoni, both prior to the siege of Troy.

Phineus, king of Salmydessus in Thrace, was another celebrated soothsayer; he was deprived of his sight by the gods, and is said to have been slain by Hercules. In his Defensio Secunda Milton refers to the 'Augur Tiresias' and Phineus together, as well as other illustrious blind men, when replying to the taunts of his adversaries on account of his blindness.

38. The wakeful bird. The nightingale.

39. Darkling. In the dark. In Milton's day it was not a common word, but has been revived of late. It occurs in Shakespeare—

Out went the candle and we were left darkling.—Lear, i. 4.

Keightley wrongly considers it the "part. of an obsolete verb, darkle, the same as dark, to be in the dark." It is an adverb in ling; the termination long or ling (A.S.) denotes belonging—hence the diminutive ling. Headlong was formerly headling, and darkling darklong:—

Behold the whole herd of swine was carried with violence hedyling into the sea, and perished in the water.—Bible, 1551, Matthew, viii. 32.

Such as for poverty be not able to go to that charges, are in the night darklong, without all pomp or ceremonies, buried in a dunghill.—Hackluyt, Voyage II., ii. 86.

41. Not to me returns, &c. With the allusions to his blindness here and at lines 23-26, compare Sonnets xix. and xxii.

47. For. Instead of.

48. Presented, &c. To Pearce and Newton the syntax of this sentence was "very much embarrassed," and they would read, 'All Nature's works,' &c., placing a semicolon after blank; "otherwise," says Newton, "it is not easy to see what the conjunction and copulates wisdom to." Todd thought the diffi-
culty was cleared up by taking wisdom as the genitive case, 'a
blank of Nature's works, and of wisdom.' But Milton was not
presented with a 'blank of wisdom.' The construction is, 'But
cloud surrounds me (cut off from the cheerful ways of men, and
presented with a blank of nature's works), and wisdom being
quite shut out at one entrance.' Wisdom. Nom. abs.
49. Expunged. Expunge is not etymologically connected
with sponge, though similar in meaning; expunge is from the
Lat. expungere, and that from punctum, the point—sc., of the
stylus or pen with which the Romans wrote. Rase, to erase;
Lat. radere, to scrape with the top of the stylus, which was
formed for erasing.
61. From his sight. From beholding him.
63. The radiant image, &c. See Hebrews, i. 3.
71. On this side Night. On the side nearest to Heaven. On
this side is a prepositional phrase governing Night.
72. Sublime. Above, on high; vi. 771; agreeing with Satan.
74. This world. Not our earth, but the universe.
76. Uncertain which, &c. Hard to say whether in water or
air; uncertain agrees with land, and is used like undetermined,
ii. 1048.
In ocean is to be taken with embosomed.
84. Interrupt. Professor Masson says: "Past participle pas-
sive (interruptus), 'thrown ruggedly between.' I take it as
one of Milton's adjective-nouns, the 'vast abrupt' of ii. 409.
97. He had of me. He received from me.
103. Not free. If they had not been created free.
105. Needs. Of necessity; an adverb, originally the gen. of
need; so too whereas, once, else, are really genitives.
108. Reason also is choice. By the use of reason we can dis-
criminate and choose. The same expression occurs in Areopa-
gitica:—
Many there be that complain of Divine Providence for suffering Adam
to transgress. Foolish tongues! When God gave him reason he gave
him freedom to choose, for reason is but choosing.
111. As. A pronoun, having 'so were created' for antecedent.
117. If I foreknew. Though I foreknew: no uncertainty is
implied in the 'if.'
121. Immutable and foreseen. So foreseen as to be rendered im-
mutable.
123. What they judge, &c. In what they judge, &c.
129. The first sort. The fallen angels. Suggestion, see i.
685, note.
138. Compare. A noun; an old form. Cf. i. 588; vi. 705;
ix. 228.
139. In him all his Father shone. See Hebrews, i. 3. Todd quotes:—

Full of his Father shines his glorious face.

—Fletcher, Purple Island, xii. 81.

143. Which uttering. Showing forth or expressing this compassion and love.

147. The innumerable sound of hymns. Transferred epithet for the sound of innumerable hymns.

153. His own folly. The sentence breaks off imperfect here. That be from thee far. Genesis, xviii. 25.

164. For him. On his account.

165. So. If such were the case.

170. My word, &c. Revelation, xix. 13; 1 Corinthians, i. 24.

173. Man shall not quite be lost. All mankind shall not be lost.

175. Renew his lapsid powers. A legal expression; or perhaps simply 'restore his fallen faculties.'

186. Betimes. In good time; before it is too late. Betimes is by time—i.e., early.

The more betimes they rose by the said cabal, the sooner was the beet pot put on.—Sir T. Urquhart, Gargantua, iii. 15.

189. What may suffice. Adverbial phrase to clear. Soften stony hearts. See this fulfilled in the case of Adam and Eve in xi. 2-5.

192. Endeavoured. Endeavour was formerly used as an active verb; now it is only used in a neuter sense.

196. Light after light, &c. They shall obtain one degree of light after another, if they use it well. The idea may have been borrowed from Proverbs:—

The path of the just is as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day.—iv. 18.

208. Sacred and devote. Doomed and destined; sacer and devotus being thus used in Latin authors.

Intestabilis et sacer esto.—Horace.

Devota morti pectora.—Ibid., Odes, IV. xiv. 18.

214. Mortal. Here we have mortal meaning 'liable to death,' and in the next line, 'causing death.'

215. Just the unjust to save? Which of you will be just to save the unjust? The clause does not bear close inspection; the angels were just or righteous; and their righteousness would not save man. It is simply an expression which is stated of Christ, quoted as it stands in the Scriptures: He became
mortal to redeem man, and "hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust," 1 Peter, iii. 18.

217. The heavenly choir stood mute. The idea is taken from Revelation, viii. 1: "There was silence in Heaven."

Newton observes that as there was silence in Hell, when it was proposed who should be sent on the dangerous expedition to destroy mankind, there is likewise silence in Heaven, when it is asked who would be willing to pay the price of their redemption. Satan alone was fit to undertake the one, as the Son of God the other. But though the silence is the same in both places, the difference of the expression is remarkable. In Hell it is said 'all sat mute' (ii. 420), as there the infernal peers were sitting in council; but here it is said they 'stood mute,' as the good angels were standing round the throne of God.

219. Intercessor none. "He saw that there was no man, and wondered that there was no intercessor," Isaiah, lix. 16.

225. In whom the fulness dwells, &c. "In Him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily," Colossians, ii. 9.

231. Unprevented. Unprecluded, no act of man coming before it; so in xi. 3, it is called 'prevention grace.'

Prevent literally means to 'come before,' which might be either to anticipate or to hinder. The former meaning is now obsolete, though common in the seventeenth century: thus in the Bible of 1611 David speaks of his prayer preventing God's mercy.

Unto Thee have I cried, O Lord; and in the morning shall my prayer prevent Thee.—Psalm lxxxviii. 13.

Are we to forsake any true opinion because idolaters have maintained it, or to shun any requisite action only because we have, in the practice thereof, been prevented by idolaters?—Hooker, Ecclesiastical Polity, v. 12.

233. Once dead. So soon as he is dead.
236. Me then; me. Compare x. 935, 936, and

Me, me, adsum qui feci, in me convertite ferrum.—Æneid, ix. 427.

246. All that of me can die. A noun clause in apposition with I.

247. Thou wilt not leave, &c. Ps. xvi. 10, and Acts, ii. 27.

255. Hell captive. Psalm lxviii. 18; Colossians, ii. 15.

Maugre. In spite of, against the will of; Fr. malgré; Ital. malgrado—i.e., male gratum.

255. In thy presence joy entire. Ps. xvi. 11; Is. xxxv. 10.

268. Above which only shone, &c. His love to man was surpassed only by His filial obedience.

277. Nor Man the least. The least dear. 'Though last not
least' is a well-known expression. Perhaps the earliest instance of it is in Spenser, who applies it to Shakespeare, under the name of Aetion:

   And there, though last not least is Aetion;
   A gentler shepherd may no where be found;
   Whose muse, full of high thought's invention,
   Doth like himself heroically sound.
   —Colin Clout's Come Home Again, 444.

It occurs also in Shakespeare, Lear, i. 1; Julius Caesar, iii. 1.

278. That. So that; so dear that I spare thee.

281. Whom thou only canst redeem, &c. Join to thy nature also that of those whom thou art alone able to redeem.

291. Renounce their own both righteous, &c. Claim no merit for their righteous deeds, and forsake their evil ways.—Isaiah, lxiv. 9.

299. Giving to death. Giving himself to death. "The man Christ Jesus gave Himself a ransom for all," 1 Tim. ii. 6. Or, in 'heavenly love' we might see the love of the Father and of the Son; the former 'gave His only begotten Son,' and the Son died to redeem mankind.

325-335. 1 Corinthians, xv. 51; 1 Thessalonians, iv. 16; 2 Peter, ii. 12, 13; Revelation, xx. 11.

340. Shall need. Shall be needed.

341. God shall be all in all. 1 Corinthians, xv. 28.

344. All the multitude of angels . . . uttering joy. The whole clause is in the nominative absolute, and uttering agrees with multitude.

348. Jubilee. Rejoicing; properly a time of rejoicing. It is a Hebrew word meaning liberty.

Hosannas. Songs of praise; hosanna is a contracted form of a Hebrew expression meaning 'Save, I beseech thee.'


351. Down they cast their crowns. See Revelation, iv. 10.

352. Amarant. A purple flower which is said to be unfading. Gr. ἀμαράντος, unfading. The allusion is to 1 Peter, i. 4, v. 4.

353. A flower which once in Paradise, &c. See in the Faerie Queene:

   Eternal God, in his almighty power,
   To make example of his heavenly grace,
   In Paradise whilom did place this flower,
   Whence he it fetched out of her native place.
   —III. v. 52.
500 Notes to Paradise Lost.

Sad Amaranthus made a flower but late, . . .
To whom sweet poets' verse hath given endless date.
—III. vi. 45.

357. Shading the fount of life. See xi. 78, 79.
360. With these. With these flowers. Pearce refers these to
crowns.
362. Now in loose garlands, &c. The bright pavement, that
shone like a sea of jasper, smiled impurpled with celestial roses
now thrown off in thick, loose garlands.
363. A sea of jasper. Jasper is a precious stone of a bright
green colour: cf. xi. 209.
367. Quivers. Quiver is from the Fr. couvrir, to cover.
372. Newton points out the resemblance this address bears
to the hymn to Hercules, Æneid, viii. 293.
380. Dark with excessive bright, &c. So dazzling as to
render them dark: cf. v. 599.
382. Veil their eyes. Isaiah, vi. 2.
383. Song. The form is varied from the sung of 373. For
another instance see vii. 182, 192.
387. Whom else, &c. Whom no creature can otherwise be
hold except through the Son.—John, i. 18.
403-409. No sooner . . . he . . . offered himself. We must
understand but or than before He (406), according to the punc-
tuation of the text, which is that of the original editions. If,
however, a comma is inserted after but (405), no word need be
supplied; and in that case the much more to pity inclined' of
line 405 will refer to Son, and inclined agree with He; but this
would not be a repetition of line 402, as seems intended.
431. Imaïs. Imaïs was the ancient name of a part of the
great chain of mountains in Central Asia, or used indefinitely
for the modern Himalayas; or more accurately the Hindu
Koosh, or a north-western spur of the Himalayas. Imaïs was
used indefinitely to refer to the far east. "From Calpe [Gib-
raltar] to Imaïs" occurs in Sylvester's Du Bartas, ed. 1612, p.
106. It is mentioned by Megasthenes in his Indica:—

"Ὅροι δὲ τῆς 'Ἰδών γῆς πρὸς μὲν βορέων ἄνεμον ὅ ταύρος τὸ δρός.
Καλεῖται δὲ οὗ ταῦρος ἐτὶ ἐν τῇ γῇ ταῦτῃ. ἀλλ' ἐρχεῖται μὲν ὁ ταῦρος
ἀπὸ ταλάσσης τῆς κατὰ Παμφύλους τε καὶ Λυκήν καὶ Κλίμακας. Παρατείνει
τε ἐτοὶ τῆς πρὸς ἐν ταλάσσων, τέμνων τὰν άσίην πᾶσαν. ἄλλη δὲ ἀλλο
καλέται τὸ δρός, τῇ μὲν Παραταμάδος, τῇ δὲ Ἰμώδος. ἄλλη δὲ Ἰμών
κληίτεσα.—Fragm. iii., ed. Schwanbeck.

"Απὸ δὲ τῆς 'Αραμίτης μέχρι τῆς δαχὺς ταλάσσης, ἀπερ οἱ ἐνίχωνι κατὰ
μέρος Παρατάμίδιαν τε καὶ Ἰμώδον καὶ Ἰμάου καὶ ἀλλὰ ὀμαλάζουσι. Μαχα-
κέδων ὁ Κακάκασον (Hindu Kush).—Ibid., iv.
432. *Snowy ridge.* Milton may either have used *snowy* as a natural epithet for a high mountain; or on the authority of Pliny:—

Gentes, quas memorare non pigeat, a montibus Emodis, quorum promontorium *Imaüs* vocatur, incolarum lingua *nivosum* significante.—vi. 21.

But *nivosus* is not a correct translation of the Sanskrit *hima*, as there is no word for 'snow' in Sanskrit. *Imaüs* is from the Sanskrit *himavant*, cold; *hima* primarily means winter (Lat. *hiems*); hence also *Himalaya*, the place of cold.

434. *Yeanling.* Young; A.S. *eanian*, to bring forth. Weanling occurs in *Lycidas*, 46; and Shakespeare has *eanting*, *Merchant of Venice*, 1. 3.

436. *Hydaspes* is the Greek name for the modern Jhelum.

438. *Sericana*, or Serica, was the name given to a region in the east of Asia, corresponding with the north-west of China.

*Chineses.* A China-man in the geographies and books of travel of the seventeenth century is called a Chinese, hence the plural Chinese; in Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World* a China-man is a *Chinese*. Now the word is only a collective noun, the people of China, or an adjective, belonging to China.


Agreeable unto the observation of modern writers, the country is so plain and level that they have carts and coaches driven with sails, as ordinarily as drawn with horses in these parts.—Heylin, *Cosmography*, p. 867.

442. *Creature.* Created things; *creature* formerly not being confined to living things.


456. *Unkindly.* Contrary to their kind or nature. See iv. 668, note.

459. *As some have dreamed.* Ariosto (*Orlando Furioso*, xxxiv. 70) speaks of things lost on the earth as preserved in the moon. Pope alludes to the idea in the *Rape of the Lock*:

> Some thought it mounted to the lunar sphere,  
> Since all things lost on earth are treasured there.  
> There heroes' wits are kept in ponderous vases,  
> And beaus in snuff-boxes and tweezer cases, &c.—v. 113-122.

463. *Sons and daughters.* The allusion is to *Genesis*, vi. 2-4; the 'sons of God'—*i.e.*, the worshippers of the true God—took wives from among the 'daughters of men,' or idolaters.

467. *Sennaar.* *Gen*. xi. 2. In the Vulgate, Shinar is called *Senaar*.
469. He. In apposition with single.

To be deemed a god. Empedocles, a philosopher of Agrigentum in Sicily; he was a pupil of Pythagoras, and flourished about 450 B.C. In order that it might be supposed that he was a god, and had left the earth miraculously, he threw himself into Ætna; but the manner of his death was discovered from one of his sandals being found, thrown up from the burning mountain.

470. Fondly. Foolishly. Peter Levins, in his Manipulus Vocabulorum, ed. 1570, translates fond, stolidus, foolish; and in Chaucer's work, is a fool. Fond, with its derivatives, has lost this primary meaning, only retaining that of loving very much. Dote, which has gone through a similar process, retains both meanings,—to be foolish, and to love excessively or foolishly.

473. Cleobrotus. Cleobrotus was a philosopher of Amastrcia in Epirus: after reading the Phaedon of Plato on the immortality of the soul, and its happiness in the next world, he leaped into the sea so as to enjoy the bliss of Elysium at once. Newton quotes:

Εγώς, ἱλιό, χαίρε, Κλεομβρότος ὅς μελαγιάς,
'Ηλατ' ἄφι υπηλω τέχνος εἰς θέαν,
'Αλεταν οὖν ἔνθαν θανάτον, καθώ, ἀλά Πλάτωνος
'Ἐν τῷ περὶ φυσής γράμμα ἀναλεβαίνεις.

—Callimachus, Epistle 29.

Many more too long. Many more (came single, whom it would take) too long (to describe). The same expression occurs in Paradise Regained, ii. 188.

475. White, Black, and Grey. The Carmelite, Dominican, and Franciscan friars; so called from the colour of the habits of their respective orders. Trumpery. Rubbish. Fr. tromper, to cheat.

The Carmelite order is named after Mount Carmel; the tradition being that Elisha founded an order there. Ferrar the Canonist says it is regarded by some as the most ancient order, and began about 1160.—Bibl. Prompt., viii. 38.

The Dominican order was founded by St Dominic in 1206; and the Franciscan by St Francis d'Assisi in 1208.

477. In Golgotha, &c. He alludes to pilgrimages to the empty sepulchre of our Saviour at Jerusalem. Golgotha was the place of execution outside Jerusalem, and in Hebrew means the Place of a Skull.

478. Who, to be sure of Paradise, &c. Referring to the belief that to be buried in a Dominican or Franciscan habit was a safe passport to heaven. Bowle quotes:
So grew in the minds of the silly simple souls this wicked opinion of these monstrous-marked friars, that to wear their weed, or to go clothed in that colour, was good against the quartan ague, and other diseases; and (that worse is) that, to be buried in that habit, was the very right way to go to Heaven.—Passive in a Traunce, ed. 1584, fol. 15.

479. Weeds. Weed is clothing, either of the field or the body; but it is obsolete in the latter sense, except in the phrase 'widow's weeds.'

Dominic. Dominic de Guzman was born at Calatorra, in Old Castile, in 1170: besides being the founder of the order which bears his name, he took a leading part in the Albigensian crusade, and was appointed Inquisitor-General of the Inquisition. He died in 1221, and shortly after was canonised by Gregory IX.

480. Franciscan. St Francis was born at Assisi, in Umbria, in 1182; he died in 1226.

481. The planets seven. In this and the following lines Milton speaks according to the Ptolemaic system. The 'planets seven' are our solar system; the 'fixed' is the sphere of the fixed stars; beyond it was the 'crystalline sphere,' to which the Ptolemaic theory attributed a libration or balancing of the trepidation or irregularities in the movements of the stars. 'That first moved' is the primum mobile, the sphere which set the others in motion; and next to it was the empyrean heaven, the abode of God and the angels.

483. The trepidation talked. The trepidation so much spoken of.

484. Saint Peter, &c. Milton does not say that St Peter stands at heaven's gate; but that to these souls he seems to be waiting to receive them; the passage being in ridicule of the doctrine of the Roman Church that St Peter and those who claim to be his successors are in a peculiar or exclusive manner intrusted with 'the power of the keys.'


492. Indulgences. An indulgence, according to the doctrine of the Roman Church, is the remission of penance, or of a portion of the punishment of purgatory. At the time of the Crusades, indulgences were given as a reward for zeal, or to induce men to join the Crusading army. The earliest grant of a 'plenary indulgence' was made at the Council of Clermont by Urban II. in 1095. The sale of indulgences and pardons in the beginning of the sixteenth century led to the Reformation in Germany.

Bulls. A document or edict issued by the Pope is called a bull: originally it was the round seal attached to the mandate
that was called the *bull,a* or *bull,* afterwards the document itself was so named. *Bulletin, bullet, bullion,* and *ball,* are from the same root.


495. *A Limbo.* The souls of the patriarchs and other good men who died before the birth of Christ were supposed to be detained until His second coming in a place on the border of hell called *Limbus Patrum,* *limbus* is the Latin for the border of a garment. In Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso* (Book xxxiv.) there is a similar account of this limbo.

497. *Now unpeopled.* Now, when Satan arrived there.

501. *Travelled steps.* Travelled, weary; *travail,* labour.

502. *Ascending.* Agreeing with *structure.*

504. *Degrees.* Steps; *degrees* (Lat. *de* and *gradus*) is used literally.

509. *By model.* By goes with *inimitable.*


513. In the early editions there was a comma after Luz: this was corrected by Newton. The clause ‘in the field of Luz’ is to be taken with *dreaming.*

516. *Stair.* A stair is a number or ‘flight’ of steps; A.S. *stager,* from *stigan,* to ascend.

*Mysteriously was meant.* Had an allegorical meaning.

521. *Wafted by Angels.* In this line he alludes to the ‘translation’ of Lazarus, *Luke,* xvi. 22; and in the next to Elijah’s being taken up to heaven, 2 *Kings,* ii. 11. Milton refers again to the ‘fiery chariot’ by which Elijah was ‘rapt’ or caught up, *Paradise Regained,* ii. 16.

530. *Though that were large.* That, the passage ‘over the Promised Land’.

534. *His eye.* *Eye,* nom. to *passed* understood. Pearce thinks a verse to be wanting to describe what ‘his eye’ did. Todd and Bentley suggest that *eye* may be used in the same sense as in lines 650 and 660, and the passage read as follows:—

On high behests his Angels to and fro
Passed frequent, *as his eyes,* with choice regard, &c.

535. *Paneas.* Paneas was a city near the source of the Jordan, originally Dan; and so ‘from Paneas to Beersaba’ is another form of the proverbial expression, ‘from Dan unto Beersheba’—that is, from north to south of the Holy Land.

541. *Scaled.* Ascended like a ladder; Lat. *scala,* a ladder.

544. *Gone.* Having gone.

551. We must supply at the end of the sentence, to complete the sense, “he looks down with wonder.”

552. *Though after Heaven seen.* Although accustomed to
the splendour of heaven, the sight of all this world filled Satan with wonder. After Heaven seen. A Latin idiom, like “since created man,” i. 573; see note.

557. From eastern point of Libra, &c. From east to west. Libra is exactly opposite to Aries, the Ram, or ‘fleecy star,’ and is said to bear Andromeda, because that constellation is situated over Aries.

559. Andromeda. The fable is, that in consequence of her mother having boasted that Andromeda’s beauty exceeded that of the Nereids, Poseidon sent a sea-monster to lay waste the territory of her father, Cepheus. In obedience to an oracle, Cepheus delivered Andromeda to the monster, but she was rescued by Perseus, and became his wife. Andromeda was afterwards placed among the stars. See Il Penseroso, 19, note.

565. That shone stars distant. That in the distance appeared to be stars. Stars, nom. after the neuter verb shone.

568. Those Hesperian gardens. The Hesperides, daughters of Atlas and Hesperis, were the guardians of the golden apples which were given by Gé (Earth) to Juno, on her marriage with Jupiter. The gardens in which the golden fruit grew were supposed to be in a group of islands on the west coast of Africa, probably the Cape de Verde Islands. See iv. 250, viii. 632, and Paradise Regained, ii. 357-359.

569. Fortunate fields. The description is borrowed from Virgil:—

Devenere locos Ætatos, et amena vireta
Fortunatorum nemorum, sedesque beatas.

—Æneid, vi. 638.

571. Above them all. More than they all.

574. But up or down, &c. But it is hard to tell whether in his course towards the sun he went north or south, towards the centre or from it; or by longitude, east or west.

576. Longitude. Length east or west: the portion of the world known to the ancients from east to west was greater than what they knew from north to south, and so was called longitude, and from north to south latitude or breadth, as in line 560, ‘from pole to pole he views in breadth.’ Modern geography has reversed the distinction.

580. Numbers. Measures, keeping time with the music of the spheres.

585. Though unseen. Qualifies penetration.

588. A spot. The Fiend himself. The spots in the sun were discovered by Galileo, ‘through his glazed optic tube,’ in 1611.

593. Informed. Impregnated, animated.

597. To the twelve, &c. He mentions four of the twelve
stones that adorned Aaron's breastplate, and includes the rest by the expression 'to the twelve.'—Exodus, xxviii. 15-20.

600. That stone, &c. Either the philosopher's stone or one like it. The philosopher's stone was the name given to an imaginary stone, which was supposed to have the power of converting other metals to gold. Here below. In this world.


603. Hermes. Mercury or quicksilver.

Sol gold is, and Luna silver we threpe,
Mars iron, Mercurie quicksilver we clepe;
Saturnus lead, and Jupiter is tin,
And Venus copper.—Canterbury Tales, 16,294.

604. Old Proteus. Proteus was the old man of the sea who tended the flocks of Neptune: he was able to turn himself into various shapes and forms, but when bound fast would return to his proper shape. By this simile Milton refers to the different experiments of the alchemists in search of the philosopher's stone.


606. Regions here. Here, in the sun.

607. Elixir. The elixir vitae, another of the quests of the alchemists: it was a liquid which was supposed to prolong life.

608. Potable gold. Aurum potabile; liquid gold—'to be drunk.'

609. The arch-chemic sun. Compare iv. 673, and Shakespeare:

To solemnise this day, the glorious sun
Stays in his course, and plays the alchemist;
Turning, with splendour of his precious eye,
The meagre cloudy earth to glittering gold.

—King John, iii. 1.

611. Here in the dark. In the earth.

613. New to gaze. Gaze, a noun; 'new to sight,' iv. 287.

618. Whence no way round, &c. From whence no shadow can fall from an opaque body anywhere round about it. No way round. Adverbial phrase to fall.


627. Fledge. Feathered: it properly means, able to fly, and so feathered.

633. Our beginning woe. The beginning of our woe.

634. Casts. Plans, deliberates; common in this sense in Spenser.

637. Not of the prime. Newton considers this to mean 'not of the prime order and dignity.' Warne regards it as 'youthful.'

643. Succinct. Girded up, so as to be 'fit for speed;' cf. the Scriptural expression, 'Gird up your loins.'
644. Decent. Graceful, becoming; Lat. decens. See II Pen- seroso, 36, note.
647. Admonished by his ear. That is, he heard the move- ments of Satan before he saw him. Straight was known. Was immediately recognised as.
648. Uriel in Hebrew means 'light of God; ' he is therefore represented as 'regent of the sun,' 690. His name does not occur in the Scriptures, but he is spoken of in the Apocrypha, 2 Esdras, x. 28.
650. Are his eyes. "Those seven; they are the eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro through the whole earth," Zecha- riah, iv. 10.
654. Those seven Spirits, &c. The Jews believed that there were seven angels who were the captains or chiefs of the heav- enly host. The first three were Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael, and after them Uriel.
Both seven and Spirits are monosyllables in scanning this line.
656. The first art wont, &c. Art the chief of those who are accustomed to carry his will. Authentic, authoritative.
664. Delight and favour. The object of his delight and favour.
670. But all these shining orbs, &c. But has all these shining orbs to inhabit at his choice. Dwell was formerly used without a prep. as a transitive verb; so in Paradise Regained, i. 331.
682. For. Because; what follows explains why he was unperceived.
686. Though Wisdom wake, &c. Though a wise man may be on his guard, he will often allow his own goodness of nature to take the place of suspicion, his own uprightness preventing him from suspecting evil in others.
703. To be all had in remembrance. Psalm cxi. 4 (old version).
710. Heard his voice. See Psalm xxxiii. 6-9.
712. At his second bidding. God first created the heaven and the earth, and His 'second bidding' was, 'Let there be light.' —Genesis, i. 1-5.
715. Cumbrous elements. Cumbrous, or heavy, as compared with the quintessence of pure fire.
716. Ethereal quintessence. According to an ancient theory, besides the four elements, there was a fifth essence or ethereal quintessence out of which the stars were formed. See vii. 243-245.
719. And how they move. And thou seest how they move.
721. The rest. The remainder of the quintessence which had not turned to stars.
725. *Which else.* And otherwise night would invade the side of the earth next us as it does the other hemisphere. The antecedent of *which* is *hither side.*


731. *Hence.* From the sun, in which they were standing.

736. *Bowing low, as, &c.* So in v. 360.

742. *Niphates.* A range of mountains in Armenia bordering on Mesopotamia; in iv. 126, it is called the ‘Assyrian mount.’ Niphates means ‘snowy range;’ the modern name is Nimroud Taugh.

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**BOOK IV.**

1. *Oh for that warning voice, &c.* Apostrophes of this kind are common in poetry. Thus—

Oh for a muse of fire, that would ascend
The brightest heaven of invention!—*Henry V.*, *Chorus.*

Oh for a falconer's voice,
To lure this tassel-gentle back again!

—*Romeo and Juliet*, ii. 2.

*He who saw the Apocalypse.* St John, to whom a revelation was made of what was to happen afterwards, and at the end of the world. This he records in his book of the *Revelation*, or the *Apocalypse.*

*Apocalypse* is derived from two Greek words, *apo*, from, and *kalyptein*, to cover—an uncovering; and so literally corresponds with the word *Revelation*, from Lat. *re*, back, and *velare*, to veil, cover; so an unveiling, disclosing.

2. *Cry.* Inf. depending on *heard.*

3. *The Dragon.* “The great dragon,” says St John, “was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world,” *Rev*. xii. 9.

*Put to second rout.* A second time put to rout and driven forth; the first time being when he was driven out of heaven with the rebel angels before the creation of the world.


5. *Woe to the inhabitants on earth!* These were the words of the ‘voice’ which St John heard—*Rev*. xii. 10. The clause may be taken as the object of the verb *cry.*
6. While time was. While there was time; before it was too late.

Warned the coming. The prep. 'of,' usually found after this verb, is poetically omitted here; so before, iii. 185. Sometimes, however, Milton retains the prep., vii. 73.

Warn is from the O.E. warnian, whence come wary, ware, aware, beware, unawares, &c.

Warn used formerly to mean to summon; thus in Shakespeare:

Who is it hath warned us to the walls?—*King John*, ii. 1.

8. Haply. By chance. Hap is derived from A.S. haban, to have or hold, and thus means something had; just as luck, A.S. lacan, to catch, means something caught, a good catch. A happy person is one to whom good chance falls, who is lucky; hapless, the reverse; happily, haply, used without reference to good or bad fortune; perhaps, by chance; so, too, for tuna, fortune, is from for, chance. According to some, hap, happen, &c., are from the Keltic hab, luck.

The passage may be paraphrased thus: Oh that that voice (which St John heard crying, "Woe to the inhabitants of the earth," when he saw the great dragon, a second time defeated, falling from heaven, about to wreak his wrath on mankind) had been heard by our first parents, so that they might have had warning in time of the coming of their insidious enemy, and, by attending to it, perhaps have escaped his fatal temptation.

10. The tempter ere the accuser. These are two of the titles of Satan; he was the tempter (I Thess. iii. 5) before the accuser of mankind. The 'voice' said, "The accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accused them before our God day and night."

Ere. Before. A.S. ær, formerly applied to the morning; cf. early: ær is the root of the termination er, or, our, which denotes the prime person, the agent; or in the expression or er, or ever, is the same word; ere is used in composition, ere-while ere-long, ere-now; erst, formerly, is the superlative of ere.

11. Wreak. Avenge. In the original and some modern editions it is spelled wreck. Der. A.S. wrecan; rack, an instrument of torture, wrack, and wreck, to shatter, or something shattered, wreck, to inflict, and wretch, one wrecked or distressed, are all different forms of the same word. To wreak his loss. To take vengeance on man on account of his having himself lost heaven.

13. Not rejoicing in his speed. Although when far off from the place to which he was to bring ruin he was bold and fear-
less, yet as he approached it he did not rejoice in his swift course, for horror and doubt distracted him.

*Speed* means here simply haste, quickness; it also occurs as a verb, as in the description of his flight in Book iii. 736-740. It is used to denote both quickness and good success; as the old proverb shows—The more haste the less speed. The facetious Fuller winds up his notice of John Speed by saying:—

Thus we take our leaves of Father Speed, truly answering his name, in both the acceptions thereof, for celerity and success. — *Worthies of England*, "Cheshire."

14. *Nor with cause to boast.* The object of his coming down to the earth was one that he could not boast of or glory in.

15. *Dire*, dreadful; from A.S. *derian*, to hurt; according to Horne Tooke, from the same root comes *dear*, beloved, valuable; *dearth* is the third pers. sing. of the verb, and means that which *dereth*, makes dear, or causes hurt,—hence *dearth*, famine; hence *dear* is highly prized, precious. Against this derivation, however, we find that *deore*, from *deoran* or *dyran*, to love, was the Old English for beloved, and *deores* for lovers. Shakespeare applies the word *dear* to any strong emotion of the mind causing either love or the very reverse; as—

> Golden quoifs, and stomachers,  
> For my lads to give their dears.—*Winter's Tale*, iv. 3.

> Would I had met my dearest foe in heaven  
> Or ever I had seen that day.—*Hamlet*, i. 2.

17. *Like a devilish engine, &c.* Mitford quotes as a parallel passage the couplet from Shakespeare:—

> For 'tis the sport to have the engineer  
> Hoist with his own petar.—*Hamlet*, iii. 4.

*Recoils.* Reverts, starts back on; used formerly to be written *recule*; der. Fr. *reculer*, to go backwards.

20. *The hell within him.* So in Shakespeare:—

> Within me is a hell.—*King John*, v. 7.

*Within him Hell he brings.* Cf. Sir Thomas Browne:—

> Every devil is a hell unto himself.—*Religio Medici*.

21. *Nor from Hell, &c.* The same idea occurs in Satan's soliloquy in the First Book, 251-255.

24. *Memory*, applied here to the present and future, is used in its Latin sense of reflection.

25. Prendeville and Kightley read:—

> Of what he was, what is, and what must be,—  
> Worse.
30. In his meridian tower. At noon, when the sun is highest. The metaphor of a tower is borrowed, says Richardson, from Virgil:

Igneus æthereas jam sol penetrat in arcas.—Culex, v. 41.

35. Hide their diminished heads. A well-known quotation. Pope imitates this line:

Ye little stars! hide your diminished rays.—Moral Essays, iii. 282.

45. Upbraided. Reproofed; so in the Scriptures:

God giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not.—James, i. 5.

Der. A.S. brægan, to tear away, make a sudden motion; hence bray, to make a loud noise, upbraid, accuse loudly.

46. What could be less, &c. Compare Paradise Regained, iii. 126-129.

49. Wrought. Brought about, caused, worked. The past part. of work was worked, workt, which, by substituting h for k, becomes worht, and by transposition, wroht, wroght, which is now used both as past tense and part. of work; cf. 'wright,' as in shipwright, wheelwright, cartwright.

See vi. 657; ix. 513, and in the Argument to this Book:

Satan, with resolution to work their fall.

50. Sdeined. This is the Italian form of disdain; it is used also by Spenser.

51. Quit. Discharge, pay off. Acquit, quit, and requite are all from the same root, Lat. quietare, to render quiet, through the Fr. acquitter.

Shakespeare uses quit in the sense of requite:

Is't not perfect conscience To quit him with this arm?—Hamlet, v. 2.

Latimer has acquit in the same sense of requiting or resenting:

There is a man hath done me wrong, taken away my living, or hurt me of my good name; the devil stirreth me against him, to acquit him, to do him another foul turn, to avenge myself of him.—Sermons on the Lord's Prayer: Ser. 7.

Quit occurs in the Bible in the sense of to clear, free from blame:

If one smite another with a stone, and he die not, but walk abroad, then shall he that smote be quit.—Exodus, xx. 18, 19.

And again, for repaid:

If an ox gore a man or a woman, that they die: then the ox shall be surely stoned; but the owner of the ox shall be quit.—Exodus, xx. 28.
So, too, in Fuller:—

Fishermen prefer rather their vessels lie and rot in their haven, than to undergo much pain and peril for that which would not at their return quit cost in any proportion.—*Worthies of England,* "Seamen."

53. *So burdensome, &c.* It being so burdensome still paying, and still to owe.

55. *A grateful mind, &c.* The very gratitude of one who has received a favour is an acknowledgment of the debt, and at the same time frees him from it.

To the same effect, and illustrative of this sentiment, is the following passage from a sermon preached by Isaac Barrow in 1661:—

It was not altogether unreasonable, though it went for a paradox, that dictate of the Stoics, that *Animus sufficit animo,* and that *Qui liberter accepit, beneficium reddidit,* that he who, with a willing and well-affected mind, receives a courtesy, hath fully discharged the duty of gratitude.—*Sermon on Eph. v.* 20.

Somewhat similar is the following from Rabelais:—

This is the nature of gratitude and true thankfulness. For time, which gnaws and diminisheth all things else, augments and increaseth benefits; because a noble action of liberality, done to a man of reason, doth grow continually by his generous thinking of it, and remembering it.—Sir T. Urquhart, *Gargantua,* i. 50.

59. *I had stood.* I would have stood or continued.

65. *To.* Against; to be taken with *armed.* From within or from without goes with *temptations.*

69. *Since, love or hate, &c.* Since, whether it is love or hate, eternal punishment is what it metes out to me. The old editions, followed by Newton and Todd, have a comma after *alike;* but the construction is the same.

70. *Deals.* Portions, imparts; der. A.S. *dalan,* to divide, distribute; hence *dole,* to *deal* out in small portions, and *dole,* a small quantity, and the termination *dle* in middle, the mid *deal* or part.

72. *Rues.* Laments, regrets, feels sorry for. The noun is *ruth,* sorrow, pity; the verb *rue* is a common provincialism, meaning to be sorry for; formerly it was also used for 'repent' without any idea of regret, as, "The Lord swore, and it shall not *rew.*"—Wiclif, *Hebrews,* vii. 21. Cf. also *rueful* and *ruthless.* There is also an herb called *rue,* and Shakespeare makes Ophelia play upon the word in *Hamlet,* iv. 5.

73. *Fly.* Escape from; here used actively.

75. *Myself am Hell.* See *note* on line 20.

78. *To.* In comparison with, compared to. So in *Comus,* 506 ; *Samson Agonistes,* 950 ; and—
War is no strife
To the dark house, and the detested wife.—*All’s Well*, ii. 3.
The harlot’s cheek, beautied with plastering art,
Is not more ugly to the thing that helps it,
Than is my deed to my most painted word.—*Hamlet*, iii. 1.
There is no music to a Christian’s knell;
How sweet the bells ring, now the nuns are dead,
That sound at other times like tinkers’ pans!

79. **Oh, then, at last relent!** Newton, Todd, Prendeville, and Professor Masson take this speech as addressed by Satan to himself. Keightley thinks that it and what follows is addressed to God.

*No place left for repentance.* The words of Scripture:

He found *no place of repentance*, though he sought it carefully with tears.—Hebrews, xiii. 17.

83. **Seduce.** To draw aside from the right path; Lat. *sed*, from, and *ducere*, to lead.

86. **Ay me!** This form occurs several times in Milton’s poems, *Comus*, 511; *Lycidas*, 56, 154; *Samson Agonistes*, 330; and *Paradise Lost*, x. 813. Most modern editions have substituted *Ah me!* but the form in the text is the correct one, and is so printed in the old dramatists.

87. **Dearly.** See note on *dire*, line 15. **Abide.** ‘Purchase dear’ (101), suffer the consequence of, rue, pay dearly for; der. A.S. *abie*, to suffer for; Skinner derives it immediately from *buy*, to pay for.

It is also written *aby*, as in Shakespeare:

Disparage not the faith thou dost not know,
Lest, to thy peril, thou *aby* it dear.

—*Midsummer Night’s Dream*, iii. 2.

Thou shalt ’by [al. *buy*] this dear.—*Ib.*

Let no man *abide* this deed
But we the doers.—*Julius Caesar*, iii. 1.

88. In Newton’s, Todd’s, and most modern editions, there is a comma after *groan*, in this line, and a full stop after *Hell* in the next. The punctuation in the text is that of the original editions.

93. **Say.** Supposing that, if it were possible that, I could repent.

96. **Recant.** Revoke, unsay; lit. sing again.

100. **Which.** And this—this act of recanting the vows made in pain—would only lead me to a greater fall.

102. Smart. Severe pain; formerly more common, meaning some sharp and severe hurt or pain.

105. All hope, &c. All hope being thus excluded, behold mankind created, a new source of delight for Him, in place of us now exiled and banished from His presence, and this world created for man's use. Delight and world are obj. on behold, and mankind is in apposition with delight.

108. Farewell hope. I bid good-bye to hope; farewell is in the imperative third pers. With this and the following lines compare the words of Satan when baffled in his temptation, Paradise Regained, iii. 204-211.

111. Divided empire, &c. The construction is: By means of thee (Evil) I now possess divided empire with the King of Heaven, He reigning in Heaven, I in Hell, and by thy means I shall reign superior to Him, perhaps, ruling more than half, if I succeed in conquering this new world, as man and it will soon discover.

More is the nom. in app. with I, nom. und. to will reign.

Newton remarks that "this passage has occasioned much perplexity and confusion:" in his and other editions there is a comma after thee only. Perhaps is to be taken with more than half.

114. Each passion, &c. Newton's note is: "Each passion, ire, envy, and despair dimmed his countenance, which was thrice changed with pale through the successive agitations of these three passions. For that paleness is the proper hue of envy and despair everybody knows, and we always reckon that sort of anger the most deadly and diabolical which is accompanied with a pale, livid countenance."

"It is rather doubtful if, as Newton says, it was these passions that turned him pale. It might be, as the punctuation seems to intimate, that the flush produced by each of them was succeeded by paleness."—(Keightley.)

"The meaning is not, as usually interpreted, that Satan's face grew pale three times—first with ire, then with envy, then with despair; but that a shadow or dim scowl of each of these passions in succession passed over his face, followed by paleness."—(Masson.)

115. Pale. Paleness, pallor. It occurs again as a noun, x. 1009.

Ire, envy, and despair are in app. with passion. In the Argument he is said to have fallen into 'many passions, fear, envy, and despair.'

116. His borrowed visage. In order to escape detection, on his way down to this world, Satan had disguised himself under the form of a Cherub, as we read in iii. 634-639.
Betrayed him counterfeit. Would have betrayed him as false, and feigning to be what he really was not.

117. If any eye beheld. If any eye should have beheld, if any person were to have seen him.

120. Smoothed. The nom. is he. Soon becoming aware that the changes that passed over and dimmed his face gave expression to the thoughts within, he calmed his disturbed feelings with the outward appearance of composure.

122. Show. Appearance, resemblance without the reality; so the adj. showy means having a gaudy exterior, plausible, ostentatious. So again at line 316; and in Shakespeare:—

Read on this book,
That show of such an exercise may colour
Your loneliness. We are oft to blame in this,—
'Tis too much proved,—that, with devotion's visage,
And pious action, we do sugar o'er
The devil himself.—Hamlet, iii. 1.

123. Deep malice, &c. The order is: He was the first that under saintly show practised falsehood to conceal deep malice couched with revenge. Couched. Laid, lying concealed with; agrees with malice.

125. Uriel. The 'glorious angel' whom Satan, in the form of a Cherub, had deceived, and from whom he had discovered the situation of Paradise by telling him that he was desirous of seeing man, and admiring the new creation of the Universal Maker. See iii. 621-742.

Whose eye pursued him, &c. After Satan and Uriel had ended their conversation, the former sped "down towards the coast of earth beneath." Uriel, however, does not lose sight of him, but follows him with his eye, and "saw him disfigured on the Assyrian mount."

126. The Assyrian mount. Niphates, in Armenia, and on the borders of Assyria, iii. 742. It is in Assyria that Milton places Eden.


129. Alone refers to Satan; the construction being, He marked the fierce gesture of him, then alone, as he supposed. A similar construction occurs in Book Ten:—

Thou hast achieved our liberty, confined.—368.

130. All. Entirely, altogether; an adv.

131. Fares. Goes, proceeds on his way; der. A.S. faran, to go; fare in farewell is the imperative; and we still say, 'How fares it?' i.e., 'How goes it?' The noun fare means the sum paid for going; the person conveyed; then treatment, provision, entertainment.
132. Eden, where man was first placed by God after the creation. Eden means delight, or pleasure. Paradise. The garden of Eden; der. Gr. παραδείσος, a park, a pleasure-ground.

133. Crowns. Tops, is on the summit of. Ezekiel speaks of Paradise as being on a hill—"Thou hast been in Eden the garden of God; . . . thou wast upon the holy mountain of God"
—xxviii. 13, 14.

134. Champaign head. Flat, level summit. This word is not often now used; it occurs as a noun in vi. 2. Lat. campus, a field.

135. Hairy. Rough with shrubs and underwood; the epithet is similar to "shaggy hill" (224).

136. Grotesque. Fantastic, oddly formed: der. Fr. grotesque. "Grotesques," says Cotgrave, "are pictures wherein (as please the painter) all kind of odd things are represented without any peculiar sense or meaning, but only to feed the eye."


139. Cedar, pine, fir, and palm, in apposition with shade.

141. Shade above shade. The first shade is nom. abs., shade being above shade. A woody theatre. The trees, as they rise in rows above one another, give the side of the hill the appearance of a theatre, with its benches raised in tiers. There is a very similar description in Sidney's Arcadia:—

About it (as if it had been to enclose a theatre) grew such sort of trees as either excellency of fruit, stateliness of growth, continual greenness, &c., have made at any time famous. They became a gallery aloft from tree to tree, almost round about.

Theatre. Nom. to up-grew, or 'is formed' und.; or, like scene (140), may be nom. in app. with height of loftiest shade.

142. Yet. Still; qualifying higher; 'far higher.'

143. Verdurous wall. The same as before spoken of as 'the enclosure green.'

144. Our general sire. Adam, the first man, the ancestor of the human race; so Eve is called 'our general mother' (line 492), and Adam again, 'our general ancestor' (line 659), the common ancestor of us all.

147. The same expression occurs again, viii. 307; ix. 577.

149. Enamelled. Variegated, spotted; connected with A.S. melian, to melt, to produce different colours by melting in the fire. Cf. Lycidas, 139.

153. Of pure now purer air. Pure air is succeeded by still purer. Of is here used in its original sense of 'from,' 'out of.'

158. Native perfumes. Natural scent. Odours arising from the trees and flowers around. Whisper whence they stole, &c. This reminds one of Shakespeare's familiar lines:
Oh, it came o'er my ear like the sweet south,
That breathes upon a bank of violets,
Stealing, and giving odour.—Twelfth Night, i. 1.

159. To them, to be taken with blow (161). Mr J. Hunter refers, as the origin of this passage, to the Israels of Sir Thomas Herbert, who visited the East in 1626. In his account of his voyage from Goa to Gambroon he says:—

Having coasted India and Arabia, where the sweetest spices and gums do grow, we found that the spirits issuing from their flowers so perfumed the air, when gently blowing towards passengers, as they have discovered whereabouts they were when no land was in sight.

162. Sabean. From Sabea, a country of Arabia Felix, or Araby the Blest. Spicy shore. He alludes to the fragrant odours that were wafted over the deep from the shores of Arabia, in Paradise Regained, ii. 363-365.

168. Asmodæus. There dwelt at Ecbatana, a city of Medea, Raguel, whose daughter Sara had been betrothed to seven husbands, but before the marriage, each had been slain by Asmodæus, an evil spirit. Tobit, a captive Jew, had, when purveyor to the king of Assyria, left a sum of money with a friend at Rages, which, on his becoming poor, he sent for by his son Tobias. As Tobias was looking for a guide for his journey, the angel Raphael appeared in the form of a man, and volunteered to go with him. By the advice of Raphael, after they came to Ecbatana, Tobias was betrothed to Sara, and in order to escape the fate of her former husbands, he burnt the heart and liver of a fish, the smoke of which, the angel had told him, would drive away a devil or evil spirit; so 'when the evil spirit had smelled [the fishy fume] he fled into the utmost parts of Egypt, and the angel bound him—and thus

Secured
His marriage with the seven-times wedded maid.'

171. Post. With all speed; with the haste of a post rider. Adv.
Fast bound. Securely chained.
174. So thick entwined. The order is: The undergrowth of shrubs and tangling bushes, so thickly entwined together, like an endless thicket, had perplexed all path of man or beast that passed that way.
177. That passed that way. That is, that would have passed that way.
181. At one slight bound, &c. Here and at line 171 we have the word bound used in three different senses—tied, a spring, a limit. In this line there is a pun on the word, and so too in the following from Shakespeare:—

I am too sore empirced with his shaft
To soar with his light feathers, and so bound
I cannot bound a pitch above dull woe.—Romeo and Juliet, i. 4.

183. Cf. Fairfax’s Tasso:—

Like as a wolf about the closed fold
Rangeth by night, his hoped prey to get,
Enraged with hunger and with malice old,
Which kind ’twixt him and harmless sleep hath set.—xix. 35.

188. The cash. The word cash is now applied to coin, but originally meant the cask or case in which it was kept.

Fr. Casse, a box, case, or chest; also a merchant’s cash or counter.—Cotgrave.

I would take them at that very instant nick of time when both those of the one and the other side should be weary and tired of making war, when they had voided and emptied their own cashes of all treasure and coin.—Sir T. Urquhart, Pantiaguel, ii. 41.

It is quite possible the word is used here by Milton in the sense of a money-box or chest.

192. Thief. Satan is called the “thief of Paradise,” Paradise Regained, iv. 604.

193. Into his Church. See John, x. 1-16; and Lycidas, 113-131.

Lewd. Wicked: the word lewd primarily meant unlearned, ignorant; then wicked; and lastly, its sole present meaning, obscene, wanton. Tooke derives it from lawed, the past part. of the A.S. lawan, to mislead.

This every lewd vicar and parson
Can say, how engendereth homicide.—Canterbury Tales.

196. A cormorant is a sea-bird, but Milton may have introduced it from Isaiah, xxxiv. 11, where it is placed in the ruins of Bozrah.

200. Prospect. A place from which to view or gain a prospect of what was to be seen.

204. Satan perverted the tree to worst abuse by sitting in it devising death, and to its meanest use, by using it to look about him.

211. From Auran eastward, &c. Auran, Haron, or Charran, a city of Mesopotamia, near the Euphrates. Selencia, the capital of Western Asia, situated on the Tigris, a little south of
where Bagdad now stands: it was built by Seleucus I., king of Syria, the successor of Alexander the Great. It is here called great, as there were several other cities of the same name, but this on the Tigris was the most important of them all, surpassing Babylon itself in wealth and splendour.

213. Long before. Long before the existence of Auran or Seleucia.


218. All. Entirely, exactly; an adv.

219. Blooming. Bearing blossoms, or producing in full bloom; here used actively. Ambrosial. See ii. 245, note.

224. Nor changed his course. It was not diverted from its course by the mountain, but passed underneath it. His for 'its.'

226. As his garden mould. God had placed the mountain there as the earth or mould of which his garden was composed.

227. Which, through veins, &c. The current, drawn up through the mountain, ascended in the form of a fountain, and thus watered the garden; then the different streams uniting, ran down the sides of the hill, and rejoined the waters of the parent river.

232. Darksome. The termination some is same, and denotes sameness, having some of the quality, or to a certain degree. Words of this formation were once more common, and those that still exist are, with a few exceptions, confined to poetry or only colloquial. Milton uses gamesome, vi. 620, and unlightsome, vii. 355.

233. Four main streams. See Genesis, ii. 10-14. Their names were Pison, Gihon, Hiddekel, and Euphrates.

234. Wandering. Wandering over; used actively.

235. Needs no account. No account is needed.

236. This is the pointing of the original editions. Some moderns read, 'If art could tell how, from,' &c.


Crisped. Curled, with ripples. Shakespeare too applies crisp to a river or brook:

You nymphs called Naiads, of the windering brooks,
Leave your crisp channels.—The Tempest, iv. 1.

Three times did they drink,
Upon agreement, of swift Severn's flood;
Who then, affrighted with their bloody looks,
Ran fearfully among the trembling reeds,
And hid his crisp head in the hollow bank.—i Henry IV., i. 3.
240. Nectar. Cognate obj. on ran, which is used like wept, line 248. Nectar was the drink of the gods.
242. Curious knots. Flower-beds nicely arranged and cut into ornamental shapes.

Curious is derived from the Lat. curiosus, and that from cura, care; it is used both in an active and a passive sense; (a) anxious to learn, desirous to know the why and wherefore, inquisitive; (b) strange, remarkable, what causes inquiry by any peculiarity or odd appearance; and the same double meaning is retained in the noun curiosity, (a) 'the care of knowing causes,' as Hobbes defines it, inquisitiveness; (b) something strange or uncommon, a rarity.

(a) Paradise Regained, i. 319.

(b) No more curious chapter in the history of language could be written than one which should trace the transgressions of its most primary laws.—Trench, English Past and Present, vi.

(a') Samson Agonistes, 782-786.

(b') At the end of the gallery stand two antique marble pillars, curiously wrought with the figures of the old Roman arms and instruments of war. After a full survey of the gallery, we were led into four or five chambers of curiosities that stand on the side of it.—Addison, Remarks on Italy, "Florence."

Curious has then two distinct meanings—inquisitive, and strange, odd; but in old writers we find it employed in several senses, now either obsolete, or merged in its modern one of strange. Thus it had the primary meaning of full of care, anxious; and incurious, the reverse, heedless, indifferent.

I marvel then why he is so curious to cause us to worship the saints that are asleep.—Firth.

I cannot see how such men can maintain them to be the bones of men, except the avouchers be as incurious of their credit as the traveller was, who, affirming that he saw bees as big as dogs and yet their hives of our ordinary size; and being demanded what shift they made to get in, 'Let them,' said he, 'look to that.'—Fuller, Worthies of England, "Essex."

Methinks the mother,  
As if she could renew her youth, in care,  
Nay curiosity, to appear lovely,  
Comes not behind her daughters.  
—Massinger, The City Madam, i. 1.

In a chapter on the History of New Words, D'Israeli remarks:

Montaigne created some bold expressions, many of which have not
survived him; his incuriosité, so opposite to curiosity, well describes that state of negligence where we will not learn that of which we are ignorant. With us the word incurious was described by Heylin, in 1656, as an unusual word; it has been appropriately adopted by our best writers, although we still want incuriosity. — Curiosities of Literature.

Richardson, however, supplies an instance of incuriosity:—

But his [Pilate's] incuriosity or indifference, when truth was offered to be laid before him as a private man, and by one who, he knew, had the repute of exercising every spiritual power necessary to enforce it, shows him in a light much less excusable.—Warburton, Works, vol. ix., Ser. i.

The ancients were so curious in the newness of their fish, that that seemed not new enough that was not put alive into the guest's hand.—Walton, Complete Angler, iii.

Or artistic, wrought by art; in which sense it is used by Milton in the passage before us. It will be observed that the idea of care runs through all the meanings of the word.

Boon. Liberal, bountiful.
245. Unpierced. Unpenetrated by the sun.
248. Odorous gums. So again, xi. 327.
249. Burnished. Of a bright brown colour; der. Fr. brunir, to make brown, to polish by giving a burned colour.

Hesperian fables true, &c. What is related of the gardens of the Hesperides is true only of this garden. See iii. 568, note.
255. Irriguous. Watered with streams and lakes.
256. Without thorn the rose. It was an opinion held by some of the Fathers that before the Fall the rose was thornless. Todd quotes:—

Before man's fall the rose was born;
St Ambrose says, without the thorn.—Herrick, Noble Numbers.

262. That to the fringed bank, &c. The banks of the lake are covered with shrubs and trees, and crowned with myrtle, and the reflection of the foliage is seen in the waters below.

264. The birds their choir apply. Attend to their songs, engage in song. This is an old use of the word apply; it is equivalent to the shorter form ply, be busied about. Thus in Ben Jonson:—

Elves, apply your gift again.—Ed. 1616, p. 873.

That is, go on with your round and dance; and—

Sweet birds thereto applied
Their dainty lays and dulcet melody.—Faerie Queene, III. i. 40.
He is the most diligent preacher in all the realm; he is ever at his plow; no lording nor loitering can hinder him; he is ever applying his business, you shall never find him idle I warrant you.—Latimer, Sermon of the Plow.

Mr Browne, the Clarendon Press editor, strangely mistakes the meaning; he says, "Apply, 'join to' the melody of the streams and the airs."

266. While universal Pan, &c. While all nature, joining in dance with the graceful Seasons, led on perpetual Spring.

268. That fair field, &c. Enna was a town in the centre of Sicily. The story is that Proserpine was gathering flowers in one of the fertile fields near Enna, and, when in the act of plucking a narcissus, the earth opened under her, and she was carried off by Dis or Pluto, the god of the infernal regions: her mother Ceres, not knowing how she had disappeared, wandered in search of her, until at last she was told by the Sun how she had been carried off.

271. Ceres. Dative case after cost. All that pain. So much pain and trouble.

272. That sweet grove of Daphne. Daphne was a beautiful spot situated on the banks of the Orontes, in Syria, about five miles south of Antioch. In it were a grove and a temple dedicated to Apollo, and in the grove was the Castalian spring spoken of here, which is not to be confounded with the more celebrated one of the same name on Mount Parnassus.

275. Strive. Be compared with, or vie with it in beauty. That Nyseian isle. The island of Nysa, in the river Triton, in Africa, in which Bacchus and his mother Amalthea were hid by Zeus or Jupiter.

276. Old Cham. Cham, or Ham, the son of Noah, and so called old. From him were descended the Egyptians and Lybians: by the Greeks he was called Ammon, and by the Romans, Jupiter or Jove.

278. Her florid son. Bacchus, or Dionysus from his being brought up at Nysa, is generally said to have been the son of Semele; but there were several legends of deities of this name, and Milton follows the story of Diodorus Siculus. He is called florid or ruddy from his being the god of wine.

280. Abassin kings. The kings of Abyssinia used to keep their children confined on the top of Mount Amara, and when a king died the rightful heir was brought from it to succeed.


The field on Enna, the grove of Daphne, the Nyseian isle, and Mount Amara, were all celebrated among the ancients for their beauty and loveliness, but none of them, Milton says, could vie with the Paradise of Eden.
Though this by some, &c. Although some imagine that Mount Amara was the actual site of the garden of Eden.

282. The Ethiop line. The equinoctial line.

284. A whole day's journey high. Todd quotes the following:

The hill of Amara is a daye's journey high; on the toppe whereof are thirty-four palaces, in which the younger sonnes of the emperour are continuallie inclosed, to avoid sedition. This mountain hath but one ascent up, which is impregnable fortified, and was destinate to this use anno 470, or thereabouts.—Heylin, Microcosmus, 1627.

285. This Assyrian garden. The garden of Eden in Mesopotamia, which was included in Assyria.

287. New to sight. So in Book iii. 613.

294. Severe. Their sanctitude or holiness was severe—that is, strict; but, although it was so, they stood in the relation of children to their Creator, and were free, their law being the law of liberty.

295. Whence. From truth, wisdom, and sanctitude. Or, according to Professor Masson, “to make the whence refer to filial freedom is more in accordance with Milton’s mode of thought; and the original pointing, a comma after pure and a semicolon after placed, seems to warrant this.”

299. She for God in him. Bentley proposes: ‘She for God and him.’ But at line 637, Eve says to Adam, ‘God is thy law, thou mine.’

301. Hyacinthine. The colour of the hyacinth, dark brown.

305. Tresses. Ringlets, locks of hair.

306. Dishevelled. Hanging loose; der. Fr. disheveler, from the Lat. capillus, the hair. Wanton literally means untrained, wan being a negative prefix, as in wanhope, despair; and ton is from the same root as tow and tug, to draw.


309. By him best received, &c. It was best received by him when yielded with gentle submission.


314. Honour dishonourable. The idea is taken from S. Paul: “Those members of the body, which we think to be less honourable, upon these we bestow more abundant honour,” 1 Corinthians, xii. 23.

315. How have ye troubled, &c. The use of ye has puzzled several commentators. Newton says, “Should we not read, Sin-bred, how have you troubled, &c.; for, what is he speaking to besides shame?” And Mr Browne (Clarendon Press) observes, “Ye,—i.e., false shame and honour.”

Shame only is addressed, for honour dishonourable is to be
Notes to Paradise Lost.

taken in apposition with dishonest shame, as the quotation from S. Paul shows. It was very common in old poetry to apply ye to a single person, and it may have been used here to convey the idea of contempt. Milton has ye as a singular in Comus, 438; and see note on 368, infra. The fact that you is equally a plural form appears to have escaped Newton, though he recognises that shame alone is addressed.

321. The loveliest pair that ever since, &c. That is, Lovelier than any pair that ever since were joined in love; Adam surpassing all his descendants, and Eve more fair than any woman since born.

325. A green. A grass plot.
327. They sat them down. Them is reciprocal, and sat used as the past tense of the active verb seat.
329. To recommend. To render pleasing or inviting; the primary meaning is to hand over or intrust to another; der. Lat. re, con, and manus, the hand.
331. To . . . they fell. They commenced (to eat); so again, v. 434. To ‘fall to’ would be considered a vulgar phrase now, though not so formerly; thus in Marlowe:—

I shall turn her into other weeds,
And make her dainty fingers fall to work.—Tamburlaine, iii. 3.

332. Compliant. Used in its literal sense, bending down.
337. Purpose. Conversation, discourse; and so viii. 337. It is another form of propose, which was also used in this sense, like the French a propos. Spenser frequently has purpose for conversation:—

Faire-seemly pleasances each to other makes,
With goodly purposes there as they sit.—Fuerie Queene, I. iii. 30.

‘To our purpose’ is a common expression in old writers for ‘to return to the subject.’

338. Wanted. Were absent; the subject is purpose and smiles. So before, i. 715; ii. 341; and cf. Cowper:—

Nor wanted aught within,
That royal residence might well befit.—The Task, v. 156.

341. Of all chase. Beasts of all chase; that is, all beasts that are chased, or hunted, in all kinds of ways.
344. Ounces. Leopardus uncia. Fr. once, It. lonza, Lat. lynx.
345. Them. Dat.; to make mirth for them, to amuse them.
347. Proboscis. The trunk of the elephant; der. Gr. bosco,
to feed.
348. Insinuating. Folding and unfolding itself.
Gordian twine. Intricate fold; in such intricate twistings and
folds as the ‘Gordian knot.’ See Vacation Exercise, 90,
note.
Twine. Twine is from twin, twain, two; just as twist is
twiced.
349. Braided train. His twisted tail.
350. Gave proof unheeded. These twistings and contortions
of the serpent gave proof of his sly insinuating nature, and of
the fatal deceit he was to practise on man, his movements being
typical of his fraud, unheeded, however, as unknown.
352. Bedward ruminating. Chewing the cud on their way
to bed.
354. The Ocean-isles. The islands in the western ocean.
Among the ancient poets the sun is represented as rising and
setting in the sea.
In the ascending scale of heaven. In the autumnal equinox
the sun is in the sixth sign of the zodiac, called Libra, or the
Balance: day and night are then equal, as if weighed in scales;
hence the metaphor here of the scale of heaven weighing night
and day, the one ascending as the other sank.
357. Failed speech. Speech that had failed him.
362. Little inferior. Psalm viii. 2.
363. Lively. Lifelike; lively was formerly used in the sense
of living:—
At what time God had made Adam and Eve, and set them in Para-
dise, he entreated them like a most loving and gentle father; for he
made them lords over all lively creatures, both beasts, fish, and fowl.
—Cranmer, Catechism of 1548.

That his dear father might interment have,
See, the young son entered a lively grave!

368. Deliver ye. In Anglo-Saxon the nominative plural of
the pronoun of the second person was ye (ge), and the objective
you, edw. In many old writers, however, ye is frequently found
as the objective.

Those you make friends,
And give your hearts to, when they once perceive
The least rub in your fortunes, fall away
Like water from ye, never found again
But where they mean to sink ye. All good people,
Pray for me! I must now forsake ye.—Henry VIII., ii. 1.
And sometimes nominative or objective singular.

Poins. 'Zounds, ye fat paunch, an ye call me coward, I'll stab thee.

Fal. O' horseback, ye cuckoo! but, afoot, he will not budge a foot.
P. Hen. Yes, Jack, upon instinct.
Fal. I grant ye upon instinct.—Ib.

Milton frequently has ye in the objective.

370. But for so happy, &c. For persons so happy you are badly protected to continue in that state long, and this heaven of yours is badly defended against the foe who has now entered.
381. Hell shall unfold. Isaiah, xiv. 9.
386. Thank him who puts me, &c. You may attribute it to him who has caused me to take revenge on you, who have done me no wrong, instead of on him who has injured me.
387. Who wrong me not. Todd and some others read wronged. For him. Instead of him.

Public reason just, &c. 'Public reason, namely, the honour gained thereby, and the empire which will be acquired by conquering this new world, compels me to perform what otherwise I should loathe to do.' There is a comma after enlarged in the early editions, but the sense is clearer without it. The Clarendon Press (second) edition has a full stop after enlarged, and reads compel; but, as the text is utterly untrustworthy, it is hard to say whether it is a misprint or intentional.

393. Necessity, the tyrant's plea. This is a famous quotation. Pitt no doubt borrowed from it his

Necessity is the law of tyrants, it is the creed of slaves.—Speech on the Indian Bill, Nov. 1783.

402. A lion now he stalks. Having assumed the form of a lion, he prowls about.
405. Straight. Immediately, quickly.
408. When Adam, &c. The construction is, When Adam thus moving speech turned him (Satan) anxious to hear what he was about to say. The passage is incorrectly punctuated in most editions. Dunster, who is followed by Todd and many others, regards Adam moving speech as the nominative absolute, and observes, "The ellipsis of the pronoun he before turned produces no inconsiderable obscurity." It is better, however, to take Adam moving speech as the subject of turned.
409. Moving. Commencing, beginning; a participle.
410. Turned him all ear. Changed him to be all ear; a common metaphorical phrase for 'very attentive.' See Comus, 560, note.
411. Sole partner, &c. Amid all these joys, thou, who art
my only partner, and alone art a part of myself.
417. At his hand. From him.
421. This easy charge. So again, line 432; and in v. 552.
439. Were . . . were. Even if it were tiresome, with you it
would be pleasant.
442. To no end. To no purpose, would have no reason for
being in the world.
447. Odds. Difference, inequality, advantage. Odds is
scarcely sufficiently dignified for poetry now; but occurs
several times in Milton,—vi. 319, 441; ix. 820; x. 374; Ar-
cades, 23.
451. On flowers. This is the reading of the first edition;
the second has of flowers, and is followed by some editors.
453. A murmuring sound, &c. The sound is poetically said
to issue, to spread into a plain, and to stand unmoved.
457. Laid me down. Me, myself; reciprocal.
460. Just opposite. Adverbial phrase to appeared.
461. A shape . . . appeared. This episode is an imitation of
the story of Narcissus, as related by Ovid. Narcissus was a
beautiful youth who was inaccessible to the passion of love: the
nymph Echo became enamoured of him, but finding her love
was not returned, she pined away with grief, till nothing was
left but her voice. To punish Narcissus, Nemesis caused him
to see his own image in the water, and to become so enamoured
of it that he in his turn died of grief, and was metamorphosed
into the flower called after him.
467. What thou seest, &c. Cf. Ovid:—
Quam cernis imaginis umbra est;
Nil habet ista sui; tecum venitque manetque;
Tecum discedet, si tu discedere possis.—Metam., iii. 457.
471. He. Nom. in app. with no shadow. I will bring thee
where no shadow, a real form, he whose image thou art, stays
thy coming.
Methought. In A.S. there were the verbs thencan, to think,
and thincan, to seem; it is from the latter the impersonal me-
thinks comes, it seems or appears to me,—me being the dative.
Him thought occurs in Par. Reg., ii. 266; and him seemed in
Spenser, Faerie Queene, IV. viii. 4.
Or that I further in this tale pace,
Methinketh it according to reason,
To tellen you all the condition
Of each of them.—Canterbury Tales, Prologue, 36.
Then is it wisdom as it thinketh me,
To make a virtue of necessitie.
—Ib., The Knight’s Tale, 3043.

The other impersonals in English are me seems and me listeth.

486. Individual. Inseparable, that cannot be divided; so, v. 610, and On Time, 12.
488. My other half. He calls her his dearer half in v. 95, and my other self, x. 128.

With that. Thereupon, at the same time.

492. Our general mother. The mother of us all.
493. Unreproved. Unblameable, not to be reproued: it occurs in the same sense in L’Allegro, 40; and—
The gentlewoman has been ever held
Of unreproved name.—Ben Jonson, The Fox, iv. 5.

496. Gold. Her golden tresses, line 305. Gold and yellow are from the same root, gealowe, another form of gealid, the past part. of A.S. gealan, to brighten.
500. Impregns. Impregnates.
503. For envy. With or through envy.

Leer. A louring look; der. A.S. kleor, the cheek.
504. Askance. Sidelong; the Gloss on the Shepherd’s Calendar explains it askew, asquint.

507. Eden. Their happiness, happier than Paradise itself.
509. Where neither, &c. The verb is is understood after where. Where there is neither joy nor love.

511. Pines. Causes pain; der. A.S. þinan, to pain; now always a neuter verb. Milton has it actively again—’pine his entrails,’ xii. 77.

513. It seems. To be taken with all is not theirs.
516. Suspicious. Knowledge being forbidden is what is suspicious, or likely to cause distrust. Suspicious is now always used in a bad sense; but just as we still use suspect for foresee, imagine, so suspicious formerly meant simply ‘to be supposed.’—

It is suspicious that in process of time we shall lose the mystery of ling-catching, and perchance the art of taking and handling some other kind of good and sound fish.—Fuller, Worthies, “Seamen.”

521. O fair foundation, &c. What a good opportunity this will afford me to cause their ruin!
528. Narrow. Close: narrow is another form of near. The same expression is used of Satan afterwards, ix. 83.
530. A chance but chance. There is a chance that fortune will lead me; or, more simply, Perhaps I may accidentally meet.
Milton indulges very often in the use of words with rhyming sounds:

Which tempted our attempt, and wrought our fall.—i. 642.
At one slight bound high overleaped all bound.—iv. 181.
Saw, undelighted all delight.—iv. 286.
Beseeching or besieging.—v. 869.
That brought into this world a world of woe.—ix. 11.
Fruitless to me, though fruit be here to excess.—ix. 648.
The world ere long a world of tears must weep.—xi. 627.
Famish him of breath, if not of bread.—xii. 78.

539. In utmost longitude. In the extreme west.
541. Aspect is always accented on the second syllable in Milton.
542. The eastern gate. Keightley includes this passage in his
‘Errors in Paradise Lost,’ regarding it as an “oversight of the poet’s, as the gate was on the east and the sun on the west of Paradise;” and Professor Masson is also of opinion that Milton “has possibly made a slip.”

As I differ from their conclusions, I give the notes of both in full.

“Here no critic seems ever to have asked himself the question how the sun who was sinking in the west could level his rays directly against the eastern gate of Paradise. It might be said, that it was against the inner side of the gate, and that the rays came over Paradise; but this is contrary to all analogy; for no one but Satan (sic) entered the garden except at the gate, and Uriel came on one of those beams. Besides, it is refuted by the following passage:

‘And Uriel to his charge
Returned on that bright beam, whose point now raised,
Bore him slope downwards, to the sun now fallen
Beneath the Azores.—iv. 589.’ ”

—(Keightley.)

“Mr Keightley was the first, we believe, to point out (‘Life of Milton,’ p. 431) that here Milton has possibly made a slip. The sun, setting in the west, could not level his rays direct against the eastern gate of Paradise (its only gate, as Milton has told us, line 178, and facing towards the present Persia), unless it were the inside of that gate. Milton may have meant this; but it is hardly likely, since in what follows he seems to be describing the gate from the outside.”—(Masson.)

The first remark that suggests itself is that the very transparency of the so-called ‘error,’ undetected by Milton, or for
nearly two hundred years by his critics, goes very strongly against the conclusion that it is a 'slip.' We are told that it was the evening rays in the same sentence that the gate is described as the eastern gate; and not only does Milton say that there was only one gate (line 178), but he never refers to it without speaking of it as the eastern gate. Besides the passages in this book, at the end of the Twelfth we are told—

In either hand the hastening Angel caught
Our lingering parents, and to the eastern gate
Led them direct, and down the cliff as fast
To the subjected plain; then disappeared.
They, looking back, all the eastern side beheld
Of Paradise.—xii. 637-642.

It was, then, the eastern gate, and it was the evening sun. But, say the critics, 'the setting sun could not level his rays direct against the eastern gate.' Certainly not, either inside or outside, if the gate were like an ordinary garden gate; but it was 'a rock piled up to the clouds,' and 'conspicuous far.' The gate, then, is put for the two 'rocky pillars, 'an 'entrance high,' above the garden, upon which the rays of both rising and setting sun must fall. The 'rock of alabaster' which formed the gate was to the rest of the garden what the tower of a church is to the body of the building; and we can easily understand how the setting sun would shine on the eastern tower; and how from the tower one would look slope downwards to the sinking sun, just as the descent of Uriel is described to have happened.

544. Alabaster. A sulphate of lime that forms a soft, transparent marble.

548. To climb. To be climbed.

549. Gabriel. The word Gabriel means the Man of God.

551. Exercised heroic games. The order is, The unarmed youth of heaven exercised heroic games.

553. Armoury. Arms, weapons, here used for armour; its usual meaning is a place where armour is kept.

Helms. A poetical word for helmets, and so helmed, vi. 840; der. A.S. helan, to cover.

556. Swift as a shooting star. Thus the Attendant Spirit in Comus, 80, 81; and the angel Michael:—

Or in the stillness of a moonshine ever
A falling star so glideth down from heaven.

—Fairfax, Tasso, ix. 62.

557. Thwarts. Crosses, darts or flashes across: so 'thwarting thunder,' Arcades, 51. Milton has thwart as an adj. in x. 1075, and an adv., x. 703.
567. God's latest image. In iii. 151, man is called God's youngest son.

*I described his way, bent all on speed.* Keightley says, “I described the way to him who was,” &c. *Described* appears to me to mean marked, traced out—*i.e.*, ‘I traced with my eye the way he took’; and to be used here in its literal, technical, geometrical sense, ‘describe a triangle,’ and in *Joshua*, xviii. 4, “They shall rise and go through the land, and describe it according to the inheritance of them.” Some editions have *descried*.

571. Passions. Some modern editors read *passion*; the plural is correct, see line 115.

590. Point now raised. When Uriel came to the garden, it was on a level beam or horizontal line from the sun; now the point of the line touching the sun had sunk with it, and so the other point was raised.

591. Slope. Obliquely, an adv.; used as an adj., line 261.

592. Whether the prime orb, &c. Whether the sun, with wonderfully swift motion, had rolled there in the space of a day, or the less rapid earth, by shorter flight to the east, had left the sun at the Azores. Milton here leaves the reader to choose which theory he pleases, the Ptolemaic or the Copernican,—whether the sun set by the revolution to the west of the Primum Mobile, or the earth itself revolved to the east.

599. Sober livery. So, too, Shakespeare:

Come, civil night,
Thou sober-suited matron, all in black.
—*Romeo and Juliet*, iii. 2.

*Livery.* Dress, clothing: *livery* is from the Fr. *livrer*, to deliver, or hand over; it is now only applied to the clothes *delivered* to servants to be worn as a uniform. Formerly it also meant the food given to servants, and an allowance of horse-meat, hence *livery*-stables; and again *livery* of seisin, a law term, the *delivery* of possession of land.

What *livery* is, we by common use in England know well enough—namely, that it is ‘allowance of horse-meat, as they commonly use the word in stabling, as to keep horses at *livery*; the which word, I guess, is derived of *livering*, or *delivering* forth their nightly food. So in great houses the *livery* is said to be served up for all night—that is, their evening’s allowance for drink. And *livery* is also called the upper weed which a serving-man weareth,—so called, as I suppose, for that it was *delivered* and taken from him at pleasure.—Spenser, *View of the State of Ireland*.

603. Descant. In musical language a *descant* means a variation of theme.

608. Apparent. Evident, manifest, undoubted. To this
meaning is now superadded that of seeming to be, and yet not being what the thing seems to be; so that apparent, which used only to mean real, indisputable, now more frequently means unreal; and this occasionally causes an ambiguity as to which meaning is intended. In the following passages it means clear, unmistakable:

Love was not in their looks, either to God
Or to each other, but apparent guilt.

—Paradise Lost, x. III.

In these apparent calamities (and marvel not that I say apparent calamities, for he that sees not a fire is begun, that shall burn more than we look for, unless God in his mercy quench it, is more than blind), let us not be discouraged.—John Knox, Sermon, Isaiah, xxvi. 13-16.

626. Yon. That there (in the distance); same as yonder; der. A.S. gond, part. of gongan, to go; a demonstrative pronoun. Cf. beyond, compounded of the imper. be and gond; so ‘beyond that place’ means ‘be passed that place,’ or be that place passed.

628. Manuring. Tending; manure is another form of manœuvre, from the French main, the hand, and œuvre, a work. Manure formerly meant to manage, to till or dress the ground in any way, to tend; but is now restricted to fertilising the ground with soil or manure, in which sense, however, it occurs so far back as Hall’s Satires (1599). It is used in its old sense again in Bk. xi. 28; by Shakespeare, Othello, i. 3; and—

So whilst a virgin doth untouched abide
All unmanured, she grows old with her pride.

—B. Jonson, Hymenaei.

636. Unargued. Undisputed, without being opposed; qualifying what thou biddest. Richardson does not notice this meaning.


640. Seasons. Divisions of the day.

642. Charm. Song; see note on i. 561.


661. Those. Newton altered those of the original editions to these, and has been followed by nearly all editors since.

668. Kindly. Of the same nature, kind, or sort, ix. 1050; and—

The kindly fruits of the earth.—Litany.

Kin is from cyn, a nation, from which also comes king; and kind is what is kinned or related. The adj. kind refers to such qualities as persons who are kinned should show to one another.

A little more than kin, and less than kind.—Hamlet, i. 2.

In kind a father, but not in kindliness.—Old Play.
669. Influence. 'Influence,' says Cotgrave, 'is a flowing in, an influential course of the planets, their virtue being infused into, or their course working on, inferior creatures.'

The supposed effects produced by the heavenly bodies on the lives of men and earthly things was formerly the sole allusion contained in this word. Paradise Lost, x. 662.

Some there are that do so greatly fear the conjunctions and influences of the heavenly planets and bodies above, that when they judge by their learning in astronomy, or hearsay of other men, that the signs in heaven do threaten common plagues or calamities, by and by they tremble for fear.—Cranmer, Catechism of 1548.

In all the places where the word occurs in Shakespeare, ten in number, the reference is astrological only.

Traces of this faith in the influence of the stars survive in 'disastrous,' 'ill-starred,' 'ascendancy,' and 'lord of the ascendant;' lunacy, too, is derived from luna, the moon.

670. Temper. To mix the component parts so as to produce the proper quality, to qualify, moderate.

673. The sun's more potent ray. In allusion to the belief in the chemical powers of the sun; see iii. 606-612, and note.

676. Want. Be without.

682. To. To be taken with singing.

688. Divide. Mark the different watches, which they did with songs instead of trumpets, as in the Roman camp.

693. I have placed a comma after shade; in the original editions there is no point.


698. All hues. Of may be understood before all hues.

699. Flourished. Variegated, flowery; from Lat. flos, a flower.

700. Mosaic. This word is a corruption of musivum or musaum, and must not be confounded with Mosaic, the adjective of Moses. Opus musivum is a graceful and ornamental work, the work of the Muses: the Gr. mousa and mousike were not restricted to music only, but included any art or elegant accomplishment over which the Muses presided. Richardson's Dictionary supplies:—

Mosaic is a kind of painting in small pebbles, cockles, and shells of sandy colours, and of late days likewise with pieces of glass, figured at pleasure,—an ornament, in truth, of much beauty and long life, but of most use in pavements and floorings.—Wotton, Elements of Architecture.
Where it is made of lesser stone, or rather morsels of them, assisted with small squares of thick glass, of which some are gilded or cemented in the stuc or plaster, it is called mosaic work, opus musicum. — Evelyn, Miscellaneous Writings, 1423.

Wrought mosaic. Formed a mosaic work of blossoms on the ground.


703. Emblem. A device or picture inlaid in stone, from the Greek emballein, to inlay. As emblems were painted parables intended to convey some moral truth, the word has its present meaning of a figure or type.

712. What day. On the day that.

714. Pandora. In the Greek mythology, in order to be revenged on Prometheus, who had stolen fire from heaven, the gods had a beautiful woman made by Vulcan, and each of them invested her with some gift by which she was to seduce and ruin mankind, hence she was called Pandora, or All-Gifted. Hermes brought her to Epimetheus, or After-thought, the son of Iapetus, who unwisely received her as his wife, forgetting the advice of his brother Prometheus, or Fore-thought, not to receive any gifts from the gods. Pandora induced Epimetheus to open a box she had brought with her from heaven, and out of it sprang all the evils that have since afflicted mankind.

715. And, oh! too like. Eve was like Pandora in her loveliness, and also in having ensnared mankind, and brought woe upon the world.

716. When, to the unwiser. The order is, Whom the gods, to be avenged on him who had stolen Jove's authentic fire, endowed with all their gifts, when she, brought by Hermes to the unwiser son of Japhet, ensnared mankind with her fair looks.

Unwiser. No comparison is intended; but the comparative is used as in Latin for 'not so wise as he ought to have been.'

717. Japhet. Iapetus: it would be better to print it Japhet, to avoid his being confounded with Japhet, the son of Noah.


729. And this delicious place. Obj. on madest.

735. Thy gift of sleep. "He giveth his beloved sleep," Psalm cxxvii. 2; and cf. Virgil, Aeneid, ii. 969.

739. Handed. Hand in hand; 689. Eased the putting off.

Being eased from the putting off.

741. Ween. Think, suppose; obsolete.

750-770. Hail, wedded love! "An ingenious friend," says Newton, "has informed me that this address to wedded love is borrowed from one of Tasso's Letters, lib. ii. p. 150." Todd "begs leave" to refer to Murtola's eulogy on matrimony in his
Creatione del Mondo, canto xv. Dunster thinks that the groundwork may be found in Sylvester's Du Bartas. Whatever resemblances there may be in the lines before us to the passages cited—and after all they are very slight—there can be little doubt that the groundwork is to be found in Ben Jonson:

The golden tree of marriage began
In Paradise, and bore the fruit of man;
On whose sweet branches angels sat, and sung,
And from whose firm root all society sprung.
Love (whose strong virtue wrapt heaven's soul in earth,
And made a woman glory in his birth)
In marriage opens his inflamed breast,
And, lest in him Nature should stifled rest,
His genial fire about the world he darts,
Which lips with lips combines, and hearts with hearts.
Marriage Love's object is, at whose bright eyes
He lights his torches, and calls them his skies.
For her he wings his shoulders, and doth fly
To her white bosom, as his sanctuary;
In which no lustful finger can profane him,
Nor any earth, with black eclipses, wane him.—Hymenae.

751. Property. Property; formerly propriety and property were synonymous, but now propriety refers to a moral quality.

Laughter is indeed the propriety of a man, but just enough to distinguish him from his elder brother with four legs.—Dryden, Parallel of Poetry and Painting.

752. Of. Among.
756. Charities. Endearments, affections; used in the Latin sense of the word.
769. Serenate. The Italian form of serenade, music played by a lover under the window of his mistress in the evening or night. Ital. sereno, cool, calm. Starved. Perishing with cold; ii. 600, note.
775. Know to know no more. Have wisdom to be satisfied with your present knowledge.
776. Her shadowy cone. The shadow cast by the earth is in the form of a cone, which, according as the sun sinks, ascends on the vault of heaven till it reaches its height at midnight. The shadow had not reached half-way up to its highest point—that is, it was half-way between sunset and midnight, or nine o'clock.
777. This vast sublunar vault. A portion of the heavens not reaching as far as the moon.
Vault is governed by measured, which is qualified by the adverbial phrase half-way.
782. Ussiel in Hebrew means Strength of God; Ithuriel, Discovery of God; and Zephon, Searcher of secrets.

Coast. March by the side of, keep near to. Formerly coast was applied to any boundary or district, and not merely to the sea-shore.

785. Half wheeling to the shield, half to the spear. Turning to the left hand and the right—that is, south and north: it is a classical expression, and occurs in both Livy and Xenophon.


792. Arrived. The nom. is the antecedent of who.

798. These to the bower direct. These went directly to the bower. These refers to Ithuriel and Zephon.

804. Or if. Assaying is understood.

812. Temper. Composition, mould, fashion, make; thus Satan's shield is described as

Ethereal temper, massy, large and round.—i. 285.


815. Laid fit for the tun. The sentence would be improved if all were omitted down to war; so far as the simile is concerned, it makes no difference what the powder is for.

819. See Paradise Regained, iv. 449.

821. Grisly. Horrid, dreadful; A.S. gristic, horrible. Grisly is another word altogether, and means grey, grey with age.


836. Or undiminished brightness, &c. Most commentators take exception to the passage, or explain it in an unsatisfactory manner.

"Dr Bentley judges rightly enough that the present reading is faulty; for if the words, thy shape the same, are in the ablative case put absolutely, it is necessary that undiminished should follow brightness; and accordingly the Doctor reads or brightness undiminished, which order of the words we must follow, unless it may be thought as small an alteration to read thus—

Think not, revolted Spirit, by shape the same
Or undiminished brightness to be known.

But the answer to both these interpretations is that his shape was not the same, and his brightness was diminished."—(Pearce.)

"Without any alteration may we not understand shape and brightness as in the accusative case after the verb think? Think not thy shape the same, or undiminished brightness to be known now, as it was formerly in heaven."—(Newton.)

"Thy brightness undiminished so as that thou shouldst be known."—(Keightley.)
"The construction is somewhat difficult, but the meaning seems to be, 'Think not thy shape the same, or thy brightness undiminished, so as to be known.'"—(Masson.)

This, however, is a very forced construction. I would read—

Or in diminished brightness to be known.

The changing of un to in makes it perfectly simple; and if not dictated by Milton, seems to suit the context better than the received or proposed readings. In reply to Satan's question, *Know ye not me?* Zephon accounts for his not knowing him at first, and says, 'Do not think that your form is the same, or that you will be known in diminished splendour, as when you stood upright in Heaven, for your glory departed from you when you lost your goodness, and you now resemble your sin and the foul place you inhabit;' and further on we are told that the devil

**Pined**

*His loss; but chiefly to find here observed*  
*His lustre visibly impaired.*—848.

846. *Abashed* is formed from *abaisit*, the past tense of *abase*.

885. *Employed.* Agreeing with *thee*, to be taken out of *thy*; the bold entrance of thee employed.


895. *To thee no reason,* &c. This, will not be regarded as a reason by you, who have had no experience of evil or suffering, and will answer that the will of him who confined us was sufficient reason.


904. *To judge of wise.* To judge of wisdom; who could discern what was wise.

906. *And now returns him.* The nom. to *returns* is *Satan*.

911. *However.* In whatever way he can; adv. to *fly*.

918. *All Hell.* All the inhabitants of hell.

927. *Thy fiercest.* Thy fiercest attack or onset.

931. *Argue thy inexperience,* &c. Prove how little you know what becomes a faithful leader,—what a faithful leader should do after many hard attempts and reverses, namely, not to hazard all his followers in unknown and dangerous ways which he had not explored himself.

945. *And practised distances to cringe.* With is to be supplied before *practised distances*; or the expression may be taken as a nom. abs. To hymn his throne with songs, and to cringe with practised distances. That is, to sing hymns around his throne, and pay homage, keeping at a respectful distance.

953. *Army of fiends,* &c. In the early editions this line is wrongly pointed off with a full stop as belonging to the previous
sentence; but after mentioning the rebel angels in 952, Gabriel apostrophises them from 953 to 956, and then resumes his address to Satan.


Take heed is a good read.—Old Proverb.
Himself the primrose path of dalliance treads,
And recks not his own read.—Hamlet, i. 3.

Avant! Begone! Der. Fr. avant, before: from the same root are vaunt, vant, vantage, advance.

965. I drag. The present instead of the future, for the sake of emphasis.

966. And seal thee, &c. Revelation, xx. 3.

971. Limitary Cherub! Limitary, guarding the limits. Cf. line 964.

974. Ride on thy wings. The allusion is to Psalm xviii. 10, and Ezekiel, xi. 22.

980. Ported. A military term, meaning borne across the breast slanting from right to left, with the points projecting beyond the left shoulder.


Methinks I hear the clerk
That knolls the careful knell;
And bids me leave my woeful work
Ere Nature me compel.—Lord Vaux, The Aged Lover.

The man groans, but Death hears him not; he looks ghastly, carefully, dejectedly; he sighs, he sweats, he trembles, Death matters nothing.—John Bunyan, The Barren Fig-tree.

984. Lest. To be taken with doubting. The comma generally found after stands is better omitted.

986. Dilated. Expanded and extended to his full size; see note, i. 429.


992. Cope. Arch, roof, top; der. Lat. caput, the head; hence cap, cape, cop, coping.

997. Hung forth, &c. This, as Addison remarks, Spectator, No. 321, is a refinement on Homer, who describes Jupiter, in the Twenty-second Iliad, as weighing the fates of Achilles and Hector; in like manner in Virgil, Æneid, xii. 725-728, the fates of Turnus and Æneas are weighed:

Love sets the beam; in either scale he lays
The champions’ fate, and each exactly weighs.
On this side, life and lucky chance ascends;
Loaded with death that other scale descends.

—Dryden, xii. 1053.
Yet seen, &c. Which are still seen between Astraea, or the Virgin, and the Scorpion. Milton identifies the scales with Libra, one of the twelve signs of the zodiac.

999. Wherein all things, &c. In which he first weighed all created things, the round world, counterpoised with air, and now ponders all events, the fate of nations and kingdoms.

1003. The sequel each, &c. He puts two weights in the scales, one to indicate the result of Satan's retreating; the other of his engaging in fight. Satan is not weighed against Gabriel, nor the result of a contest between them; Satan's conduct alone was weighed (1012); and, the consequences of a contest proving the lighter, he judged flight the better course.

Bentley's proposal to read signal instead of sequel is ingenious, but incorrect.

1014. Nor more. And said no more.

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BOOK V.

1. Rosy steps. The epithet 'rosy' is frequently applied to the morning in poetry; vi. 3, and—

   It is, methinks, a morning full of fate!
   It rises slowly as her sullen car
   Had all the weights of sleep and death hung at it!
   She is not rosy-fingered, but swollen black.
   —Ben Jonson, Catiline, 1.

5. Which. The antecedent of which is sleep. He was awakened only by the ripple of the waters, the fanning of the wind among the leaves, and the charm of earliest birds.
   Professor Masson, however, regards it as "more natural and more consistent with the subsequent image to take temperate vapours bland as the antecedent." I think just the reverse; the image of the 'fan' dispersing the vapours suits well enough, but not the 'shrill song' of birds, which would be a most natural awakener from sleep.

6. Fuming rills. Hume explains it, 'rills purling as if angry,' while Newton takes fuming in its literal sense, and refers to 'steaming lake' in line 186.

16. Mild as when Zephyrus, &c. As soft as the gentle west wind breathes upon the flowers.

22. Our tended plants. Tended is the reading of the original
editions. Newton, Todd, Prendeville, and the Clarendon Press
editor have tender, but do not tell us why.
25. Sweet. An adj. qualifying the noun liquid; if it were
sweets, liquid would be an adj.
30. For I this night, &c. For this night I have dreamed—if
it was a dream, and not some frightful vision—not of you, as I
generally do, nor of the labours of the past and coming day,
but of trouble and transgression.
The Clarendon Press edition makes nonsense of the passage
by omitting to place a comma after not, and retaining one after
wont, line 33; and Professor Masson misprints a semicolon
after design.
40. The night-warbling bird. The nightingale was a favour-
ite bird of Milton's; see Paradise Lost, iii. 38; iv. 602, 648,
771; vii. 435; viii. 518; II Penseroso, 61; Comus, 234; Sonnet I.;—
in all which it is feminine, but here it is masculine, as the words
are addressed to Eve. Nightingale, from night, and A.S. gelen,
to sing, means literally the night-singer, the 'night-war-
bring bird.'
56. Distilled ambrosia. Emitted a fragrant smell.
61. Or envy, or what reserve, &c. Is it envy that prohibits
you from being tasted, or what restraint is it that withholds
you?
66. Vouched. Confirmed, followed up by.
67. But he, &c. But he, overjoyed, spake thus.
79. Sometimes in the air. Be is understood. 'Be among the
gods; sometimes be in the air.'
89. Wondering at my flight. As I was wondering at my
change, I suddenly missed my guide, and thought I sank down
and fell asleep.
93. Her night. The events of the night. Sad, seriously.
102. Fancy. Here Milton regards Fancy as a higher faculty
than Imagination; and Addison, as he says himself, Spectator,
No. 411, used the words 'promiscuously.' They had not then
undergone the desynonymising process that has since assigned
to each its own domain. Each has now, however, a distinct
and definite acceptation, and they cannot well be used indiffer-
extently. To Wordsworth is due the credit of bringing about this.
"Before he wrote," says Archbishop Trench, "it was, I suppose,
obscurely felt by most that in 'imagination' there was more of
the earnest, in 'fancy' of the play, of the spirit; that the first
was a loftier faculty and gift than the second; yet for all this
the words were continually, and not without loss, confounded."
—Study of Words, Lect. VI. De Quincey writes: "Long be-
fore Mr Wordsworth had unveiled the great philosophic dis-
tinction between the power of fancy and imagination, the two
words had begun to diverge from each other, the first being used to express a faculty somewhat capricious and exempted from law, the other to express a faculty more self-determined."
—*Letters to a Young Man*, Letter V.

110. Oft in her absence, &c. In the absence of Reason, Fancy often imitates her.

The whole of this passage appears to be based on Burton's account of the Inward Senses, in his anatomy of the Soul.

The time of sleep, this faculty (phantasie) is free, and many times conceives strange, stupend, absurd shapes, as in sick men we commonly observe. His organ is the middle cell of the brain; his objects, all the species communicated to him by the common sense, by comparison of which he feigns infinite other unto himself.

Sleep is a rest or binding of the outward senses and of the common sense for the preservation of body and soul, as Scaliger defines it; for, when the common sense resteth, the outward senses rest also. The phantasie alone is free, and his commander reason; as appears by those imaginary dreams which are of divers kinds, natural, divine, demoniacal.—*Anatomy of Melancholy*, i. 1, 2, 7.

117. God. Angel, as in line 60.
118. So unapproved. Provided that it is unapproved of. Professor Masson considers it more natural to take so as meaning 'in this manner,' referring to Eve's dream. Todd wrongly reads unreproved.

123. Cheerful. The primary meaning of cheer was the face, the countenance:—

In swoot of thi cheer thou schalt eat thi breed, till thou turn ayen in to the erthe of which thou art taken.—Wickliff, *Genesis*, iii. 19.

Amid the theatre shrouded in a tent,
There came out men ghastful of their cheers.

All fancy-sick she is, and pale of cheer.
—*Midsummer Night's Dream*, iii. 2.

A moment changed that lady's cheer,
Gushed to her eye the unbidden tear.
—*Lay of Last Minstrel*, iv. 25.

Cheer soon came to be applied to the outward appearance generally, as betokened by the expression of the face—to whatever has the effect of gladdening the countenance,—good news, entertainment:—

With many a word of kindly cheer.
—*Lay of Last Minstrel*, iv. 35.

Many a friend to friend made known
Partook of social cheer.—*ib.* vi. 6.
127. Bosomed. Embosomed, treasured up and concealed in the bosom.

131. Either. Each (of the two).

134. As the gracious signs of sweet remorse. The tears that Eve let fall were the signs of her sorrow occasioned by the dream, and of her fear lest she might have offended.

137. From under shady arborous roof, &c. The order is, But first they lowly bowed adoring, as soon as they came forth from under the shady roof of the bower to the light of day and the sun just risen.

In the early editions a comma was inaccurately printed after roof; but the correct punctuation shows that from under is to be taken with were come forth in the next line.

147. Wanted they. They were not without various style or holy raptures. Want, now generally to be in need of, formerly meant simply to be without, not to have, like the Lat. carere, or deesse:—

So shalt thou be compelled to complain, and to cry out at last, with Phoroneus, the lawyer, How happy had I been, if I had wanted a wife! Si uxor deisset, nihil mihi ad summam felicitatem defuisset.—Anatomy of Melancholy, iii. 2, 6, 4.

150. Numerous. Melodious; numbers is verse or song.

Thoughts that voluntary move
Harmonious numbers.—iii. 37.
With cautious freedom if the numbers flow,
Not wildly high, nor pitifully low.

—Crabbe, The Library, 674.

153. Their hymn of praise (153-208) is a paraphrase of Psalm cxliviii. and the Song of the Three Children.

156. Unspeakable. That cannot be described. Christ is spoken of as God’s ‘unspeakable gift,’ 2 Cor. ix. 15.

159. Beyond thought. Greater than we can even think of or imagine. Power obj. on declare.

162. Day without night. See line 645, and Rev. xxi. 25.

163. The first and early editions have, as in the text, only a comma after Heaven; but in modern editions there is either a semicolon or a full stop. According to the original punctuation, the creatures on earth are invited to ‘join’ with those in heaven.

166. Fairest of Stars. Venus, which, if it is west of the sun, rises and sets before him, and is called Lucifer, or the Morning Star; and when it is east of the sun, rises and sets after him, and is called Hesperus (Vesper), or the Evening Star.

Professor Masson quotes Donne, who, in his Progress of the
Soul, in describing the passage of the disembodied soul through space, says:

Venus retards her not, to enquire how she
Can, being one star, Hesper and Vesper be.

175. Moon, that now meet' st, &c. The order is,—Moon, that
now meetest, now fiest the orient sun, together with the fixed
stars, resound his praise.
176. Fixed in their orb, &c. The fixed stars are fixed rela-
tively to each other, while their orb or sphere moves.
177. Five other wandering Fires. The planets besides Venus,
already mentioned, known in Milton's time, were Mercury,
Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. Either he forgot that he had al-
ready mentioned Venus, or includes her again. Adam does not
address the earth as one of the 'wandering fires;' he is, how-
ever, subsequently told that the earth is possibly a planet, viii.
128.

The word planet means a wanderer.
178. In mystic dance. The allusion is to the Pythagorean
doctrine of the music of the spheres. Compare the words of
Lorenzo, in what Hallam considers to be the most sublime
passage in Shakespeare:—

There's not the smallest orb which thou behold'st,
But in his motion like an angel sings,
Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubims.

—Merchant of Venice, v. i.

181. That in quaternion, &c. That run a perpetual circle of
fourfold change. It was formerly thought that there were but
four elements—fire, air, earth, and water, which were constantly
changing into one another, and that out of them all things that
exist were formed and nourished.
195. Warble . . . melodious murmurs. The same expressions
almost as in an ode of Randolph's:—

The thrush and blackbird lend their throats,
Warbling melodious notes.—To Anthony Stafford.

202. Witness. Bear witness, testimony (against me). See
i. 57.
206. If the night, &c. If the night has gathered or concealed
any evil thing, disperse it.
214. Pampered. Luxuriant; Lat. pampinus, a vine-leaf.
215. They led the vine, &c. The metaphor is in the first in-
stance taken from Horace, Epode ii. 9. Milton may have had
Jonson's lines in his mind too:
If, by fortune, she [the vine] be married well
To the elm her husband, many husbandmen
And many youths inhabit by her.—Hymenai.

216. Wed. The A.S. wed is a pledge, a surety.

When I was thrall, to make me free,
My Love from heaven to earth him led,
My love alone have wolde he,
Therefore he laid his life in wed.

—The Sweetness of Jesus, Lambeth MSS., 852.

221. Raphael, the sociable Spirit, &c. The story is told in the
Book of Tobit. See the note on iv. 168. Raphael means the
Health of God.

235. Happiness, &c. Happiness in the power of him left free
to will.

238. Too secure. Too confident, so heedless, off his guard.
See note on i. 261.

249. Ardours. Seraphim, flaming spirits.


257. From hence, &c. The construction is, There being no
cloud or star, not even the smallest, interposed to intercept his
view, he sees the earth, not unlike the other heavenly bodies,
and the garden of God crowned with cedars higher than the
highest hills.

Newton, Todd, and the Clarendon Press follow the original
edition in placing no comma after small, and all of them take
it as referring to the earth "much diminished by distance."
Keightley, though quoted by Mr Browne as his authority,
points as in the text.

261. The glass of Galileo. The telescope, on which Galileo
made such great improvements that he may be regarded as its
inventor. This is the second time for him to mention Galileo,
and the third reference to the 'optic glass' (i. 288, and iii. 590):
in Paradise Regained, iv. 42, he speaks of the telescope by that
name.

262. Less assured. Less certain of what it observes than the
angel. Assured agrees with glass.

265. Delos or Samos, &c. When Delos or Samos first ap-
ppears in view from among the Cyclades. The Cyclades. A
group of islands in the Ægean Sea, so called because they
encircle Delos—Gr. kuklos, a circle. Samos was not one of
the Cyclades, but Milton may have used Cyclades as a general
term for a group of islands.

266. A cloudy spot. The simile is, The earth appears like a
small spot to Raphael, just as the regions in the moon to one
observing it through a telescope, or like the speck on the horizon seen by a pilot on the look-out, when land first appears in sight.

Keightley and Professor Masson have a comma after hens, making it govern Delos, to which spot is thus put in apposition. I think it preferable to take Delos... appearing as nom. abs., and spot governed by hens.

271. To all the fowls he seems, &c. As Raphael approached the earth and came within sight of the birds, he appeared first like a phœnix.

272. A phœnix. The phœnix was a fabulous bird of Arabia; it is described as of the size of an eagle, with gold-coloured feathers on its neck, a white tail, and the rest of its body purple. Only one existed at the same time, hence it is here called 'that sole bird.' According to Herodotus, it lives for five hundred years, and at the end of that period builds a funeral pile of myrrh and precious herbs in which it burns itself, but from its ashes it revives in all the freshness of youth, and carries off its reliques to Egypt, where it enshrines them in the Temple of the Sun.

Gazed by all. On whom all the other birds gaze with wonderment.

274. Egyptian Thebes. He calls it Egyptian to distinguish it from Thebes in Boeotia. This Thebes was the capital of Upper Egypt; Herodotus places the Sun's temple in Heliopolis, in Lower Egypt.

276. To his proper shape returns. At a distance he seemed like a phœnix, but, when he reached the earth, his real form was apparent, 'a seraph winged.'

277. Six wings he wore, &c. See Isaiah, vi. 2.


280. Regal ornament. The colour of royal robes, imperial purple.

283. Dipped in heaven. Possessing the bright tints of the rainbow, and the dazzling hues of clouds variegated with the rays of the sun.

284. Feathered mail. A covering or coat of armour of feathers. In a coat of mail the plates of metal overlap one another, like the feathers of a bird.

Mail is derived from the Fr. maille, the mesh of a net.

285. Sky-tinctured grain. Of a purple colour, like that of the clouds. In old English the word skewe, sky, meant a cloud:—

And let a certeine winde go
That blewe so hidously and hie,
That it ne left not a skie
In all the welkin long and brode.

**Grain.** The purple colour produced by the coccus insect, from the ovaria of which several scarlet dyes were obtained. This coccus, from its resemblance to a berry or seed, was called in Latin *granum*, and such quantities of it were produced in Spain that, according to some, the territory of Granada was so called from the abundance of *granum* exported from it. Thus the word *grain* was applied by early English writers to a crimson or purple dye.

How the red roses flush up in her cheeks,
And the pure snow with goodly vermil stain,
Like crimson dyed in *grain*.—Spenser, *Epithalamion*, 226.

The habit of cardinals is all scarlet; whereof Theodore Beza tartly enough thus expresses himself:—

Crede me nec nullo saturantur murice vestes,
Divite nec coco pallia tincta mihi.
My clothes in purple liquor ne'er were stewed,
Nor garments, trust me, richly dyed in *grain*.

The word *grain* occurs four times in Milton in the sense of a colour or dye:—

(a) Come, pensive Nun, devout and pure,
    Sober, steadfast, and demure,
    All in a robe of darkest *grain*,
    Flowing with majestic train.—*Il Penseroso*, 31.

Here 'darkest *grain*’ means deep violet-tinted purple.

(b) It is for homely features to keep home,
    They had their name thence; coarse complexions
    And cheeks of sorry *grain* will serve to ply
    The sampler, and to tease the huswife's wool.
    What need a vermeil-tinctured lip for that,
    Love-darting eyes, or tresses like the morn?
 —*Comus*, 748.

Colour is again what is expressed by *grain*, and not the texture; the cheek of sorry or pale tint is contrasted with the lip tintcured with *vermilion*.

(c) In the passage before us all the imagery is lit up with the most gorgeous colours painted by the poet's imagination; each pair of wings was of a brilliant hue:—
The pair that clad
Each shoulder broad came mantling o'er his breast
With regal ornament; the middle pair
Girt like a starry zone his waist, and round
Skirted his loins and thighs with downy gold,
And colours dipped in heaven; the third his feet
Shadowed from either heel with feathered mail,
Sky-tinctured grain.

(d) And lastly in Paradise Lost, xi.:

The Archangel soon drew nigh,
Not in his shape celestial, but as man
Clad to meet man. Over his lucid arms
A military vest of purple flowed,
Livelier than Meliboea, or the grain
Of Sarra, worn by kings and heroes old
In times of truce; Iris had dipt the woof.—238.

The Archangel's robe was of a brighter purple than that of Meliboea or Tyre. Meliboea was a city on the coast of Thessaly celebrated for a shell-fish from which one of the finest dyes was procured. Sarra was another name for Tyre, long famous for its purple. Sar was the Phœnician name of the fish from the blood of which the dye was made.

Maia's son. Hermes, or Mercury, the herald and messenger of the gods. Maia was the daughter of Atlas, and one of the Pleiades.

297. Enormous bliss. Objective on pouring forth. In the original editions there is a semicolon after art; the comma was substituted in Fenton's edition of 1727. Newton makes sweet and wild qualify bliss: Are they not rather to be regarded as adjectives to Nature?

299. As in the door he sat, &c. What follows is based on the narrative in Genesis, xviii.

305. And not disrelish thirst, &c. Not to spoil the relish of sweet draughts from juicy fruit.

306. Between. Taken alternately with the food.

310. Seem. The subject is it or he understood.

311. Behest. Command, order. A.S. haitan, to name, to order; hence hight, behest, and hest. The latter occurs in Shakespeare:—

O my father,
I have broke your hest to say so!—The Tempest, iii. 1.

322. Store. Supply, quantity; store of was formerly commonly used for abundance of, much, or many. Cf. ix. 1078; store of ladies, L'Allegro, 121; and—
Surely it shows not want of breeding, but store of spirit, when a man will not be put out of his way for every swelling emptiness that meets him therein.—Fuller, *Worthies,* “Cambridgeshire.”

323. *All seasons,* &c. A small quantity is sufficient to lay by where abundance at all times hangs on the tree ready for gathering; except such fruits as become more firm and nourishing by being stored, or dry up unnecessary moisture.

326. *Brake.* By *brake* is meant bushes, such as produce gooseberries, blackberries, &c.

333. *What choice,* &c. To choose that choice which was most delicate, and that order which would be so arranged as not to mix tastes which would not come well together.

*Choice to choose.* Milton often uses the cognate obj. For the use of *choice* for ‘things chosen,’ cf. ‘pluck choice,’ line 327.

335. *Inelegant.* Adverbial to *mix.* *Kindliest.* Most natural.

337. *Bestirs.* The subject is *she* understood.

339. *Middle shore.* The countries of the Mediterranean Sea.


*The Punic coast.* The territory of Carthage.

*Where Alcinous reigned.* Alcinous was the king of the Phæaces who inhabited the island of Scheria in the Mediterranean; his gardens are celebrated by Homer in the *Odyssey.* This island, ‘where Alcinous reigned,’ was supposed by the ancients to be the same as Corcyra, the modern Corfu.

342. *Rined.* In the first three editions the lines stand—

Fruit of all kinds, in coat,
Rough, or smooth rin’d, or bearded husk, or shell.

*Rined,* or *rin’d,* is an adjectival participle formed by Milton from *rine,* another form of *rind,* just as ‘coated’ would come from ‘coat.’ If we retain the comma after *coat,* the construction will be, ‘Fruit of all kinds—in coat, whether rough or smooth rined coat;’ omitting the comma, ‘Fruit of all kinds, rough-coated or smooth-rined.’ In the former case, *rined* qualifies *coat,* and in the latter it qualifies *fruit,* which is more in accordance with usage. Newton’s reading is—‘in coat rough or smooth rin’d,’ but he has no note. Todd reads—‘in coat rough or smooth rin’d,’ without any note to tell us why he has made the change. Keightley has—‘in coat rough or smooth rin’d,’ and says, “We have here retained the orthography of the original editions (rin’d). It should properly be *rined,* as a verb to *rine* could not be formed from *rind.*” Spenser, however, whom the poet probably had in his mind, used the subst. *rine* (still used in some parts of England):—

But now the grey moss marred his *rine.*

—*Shepherd’s Calendar,* Feb. 111.
Editors in general give the subst. *rind." Mr Browne (*Clar- endon Press*) observes: "Keightley retains the *rind* of the original editions. It should be *rined*.* Spenser (*Shepherd's Calendar, Feb. 111*) uses *rine* (subst.) But as I can nowhere find *rine* as a verb, I have printed *rind* as a substantive, 'in rough coat or (in) smooth rind.' Cf. 'fruits of golden rind' ('Various Readings,' *Comus*, first speech)." If we can form *rined* from *rind,* surely *rine* will give us *rined,* and there is no verb to *rind* any more than to *rine.* But it is one great strength of the English language,—that property of making a verb of any word. There is no difficulty whatever in the use of *rined;* we have the noun *rine,* and it was as simple to say 'in coat rough, or smooth rined,' as to say, 'in coat rough, or smooth skinned,' and the alliteration of 'in rind rough or smooth skinned,' is avoided by the reading which is Milton's own.

345. *Inoffensive.* Not intoxicating.

**Must.** New wine; Lat. *mustum.* **Meaths.** Mead, a light, sweet wine.

347. *Tempers.* Produces by mixing the proper ingredients.

**Nor these, &c.** Nor does she want suitable vessels to hold them.

349. *Unfumed* may be taken either with *odours* or *shrub.* *Unfumed* *odours* means scents not produced by burning; *shrub unfumed,* a shrub having a natural scent, and not burnt to ex- hale an odour.


356. *Besmeared with gold.* Gaudily decked with gold lace and girt trappings.

357. *Sets them all agape.* Makes them open their mouths with astonishment. *Gape,* der. A.S. *ge-yppan,* to open.

361. *Other place none.* No other place.

365. *To want.* To be absent from.

371. *Virtue.* One of the degrees among the angels; see line 601, and the quotation from Wyclif, in *note* on *virtue,* i. 320.

372. *Therefore.* For the purpose of sitting and resting with you.

374. *Though Spirits.* As may invite even Spirits of Heaven.

377. *At will.* At my disposal.


381. *The fairest goddess,* &c. Venus. The allusion is to the contest in beauty between Venus, Minerva, and Juno; the 'Judgment of Paris,' who was appointed to act as judge, was in favour of Venus.

384. **Virtue-proof.** Proof by her virtue against temptation, strong in virtue.

385. **Altered her cheek.** Caused her to blush.

386. **The holy salutation, &c. Luke, i. 28.** In the first edition *Mary* is spelled *Marie*.

393. **Her.** For 'its'—viz., the table's.

394. **Autumn.** The fruits of Autumn. **Piled.** Past participle, agreeing with *autumn*, and governed by *had*.

**Though Spring, &c.** They had all the fruits we have in autumn; but it was spring-time too with them,—all one season.

405. **Man in part spiritual.** Man, who is partly a spiritual being.

406. **Of.** By; to be taken with *found*.

415. **Of elements, &c.** The grosser elements feed the purer; the earth feeds the sea. All this from 415 to 425, which is an expansion of what he has said before of the elements 'running perpetual circle,' is false philosophy and incorrect.

419. **Those spots.** The spots we see in the moon are caused by the inequalities in its surface, mountains and valleys, and not as explained here according to the philosophy of Milton's day.

426. **Sups with ocean.** According to the ancient poetic notion that the sun rose and set in the sea; thus in iv. 354, and Spenser (*Faerie Queene*)—

The sun that measures heaven all day long
At night doth bait his steeds the ocean waves among.—I. i. 32.

430. **Pearly grain.** Manna. *Exodus, xvi. 14, 31; Psalm cv. 40.*

433. **Nice.** Fastidious, scrupulous.

434. **Nor seemingly the Angel.** The Angel did not merely appear to eat, but in reality partook of the viands before him.

435. **The common gloss, &c.** The usual explanation of theological commentators, who interpret those passages, where angels are described in the Bible as eating, to mean that, as Josephus says, they 'only make a show of eating.'

**Gloss.** Exposition, interpretation. **Gloss** comes from the A.S. *gleasan*, which is connected with the Gr. *glossa*, the tongue. It means, as here, an explanation, a note:—

I have no text of it, as I suppose,
But I shall find it in a manner gloss.—*Canterbury Tales, 750a.*

Hence *glossary.* Then it comes to mean bright *glossy* appearance:—

Groves, fields, and meadows, are at any season of the year pleasant to look upon, but never so much as in the opening of the spring, when they are all new and fresh, and have their first *gloss* upon them.—*Spectator, No. 412.*
Then to gluse is to talk speciously, to flatter:—

What though on me they pour their spite,
I may not use the gliser's trade;
I cannot say the crow is white,
But needs must call a spade a spade.—H. Gifford, 1580.

And so to speak deceitfully, iii. 93.

439. Nor wonder, &c. And do not wonder that Spirits can partake of earthly food and turn corporeal to incorporeal, when the alchemist believes he can turn common metals to pure gold.

440. Empiric. Making experiments; der. Gr. πείρα, a trial.

Alchemist. One who practised alchemy, the science of converting baser metals to gold. Gr. χειμών, to pour.

443. As from the mine. As pure and perfect as from the gold-mine.

445. Crowned. Filled to the brim.


452. Mind. Thought, inclination, intention.


455. Of their being, &c. Of the state and existence of those who dwell in Heaven.

458. Divine effulgence. The brightness of the Deity. Effulgence is explanatory of and in apposition with forms. Forms and power are the subject of exceeded.

460. Empyreal. Heavenly; in ii. 771, he calls Heaven ‘the Empyrean,’ from its fiery splendour and brightness. Gr. ὀφρύς, fire.

467. What compare? What comparison is there between these earthly fruits and the high feasts of Heaven?

472. Such. Good. Created, a participle agreeing with all.


488. Discursive, or intuitive. Discursive knowledge, or discourse, is such as is derived mediately, discurrendo, by running about right and left, as it were, and drawing conclusions after reasoning them out. Intuitive knowledge, or intuition, is such as is apprehended immediately. Thus, the old metaphysicians divided all acts of the mind into discursive and intuitive, or the reasoning faculty and intuition. This explains the Shakespearean expression ‘discourse of reason,’ and the passages that follow are explanatory of the usage:—

O Heaven! a beast, that wants discourse of reason, Would have mourned longer.—Hamlet, i. 2.

Sure, He that made us with such large discourse
Looking before and after, gave us not
That capability and godlike reason
To fust in us unused.—Ib., iv. 4.
Is your blood
So madly hot, that no discourse of reason,
Nor fear of bad success in a bad cause,
Can qualify the same?—Troilus, ii. 2.

Philosophy we are warned to take heed of; not that philosophy
which is true and sound knowledge attained by natural discourse of
reason, but that philosophy which to bolster heresy and error, &c.—
Hooker, Ecclesiastical Polity, iii.

In vain it were to speak anything of God, but that by reason men
are able somewhat to judge of what they hear, and by discourse to
discern how consonant it is to truth.—Ib.

The glory of God is that divine excellency whereby He is eminent
above all things, His omnipotent, infinite, eternal being, which angels
and glorified saints do intuitively behold, we on earth apprehend prin-
cipally by faith, in part also by the experience of those effects,
the greatness whereof exceedeth the powers and habilities of all creatures
both in heaven and earth.—Ib. v.

The act of the mind which connects propositions, and deduceth
conclusions from them, the schools call discourse, and we shall not miscall
it if we name it reason.—Glanville.

Understanding is a power of the soul, by which we perceive, know,
remember, and judge, as well singualars as universals, having certain
innate notices or beginnings of arts, a reflecting action, by which it
judgeth of his own doings and examines them. The object first mov-
ing the understanding is some sensible thing; after, by discoursing, the
mind finds out the corporeal substance, and from thence the spiritual.
His actions, some say, are apprehension, composition, division, discoursing,
reasoning, memory (which some include in invention), and
judgment.—Anatomy of Melancholy, i. 1, 2, 10.

As the intuitive knowledge is more perfect than that which insinuates
itself into the soul gradually by discourse, so more beautiful the prospect
of that building which is all visible at one view, than what discovers it-
self to the sight by parcels and degrees.—Fuller, Worthies of England,
“Canterbury.”

489. The latter most is ours. See the third quotation from
Hooker.

498. Tract of time. Long course of time.
504. Your fill. May be taken as an adverbial phrase to enjoy.
509. The scale of nature. Scale is here used in the sense of
a ladder; one first matter is the centre, from which we ap-
proach gradually to the circumference that bounds human
knowledge.

518. Apprehend. Grasp with the understanding.
538. On other surety none. On no other surety.
548. Nor knew I not. And I did know that I was created
free to act and will.
553. Though what thou tell'st, &c. Though what you tell me of the fall of some in Heaven causes some doubt in my mind, but greater desire to hear the full account of it, if you consent.

554. Move. Move is in the subjunctive depending on though, with the sentence as its subject.

557. Worthy of sacred silence. A classical phrase, meaning deserving of such attention and silence as was preserved during religious ceremonies.

Utrumque sacro digna silentio
Mirantur umbrae dicere.—Horace, Odes, II. xiii. 29.

579. Upon her centre poised. Cf. in the description of the creation:
Earth, self-balanced, on her centre hung.—vii. 242.

589. Gonfalons. Gonfalon is an Italian word, the Pope's standard; properly a banner suspended at the end of a lance.

592. Tissues. Cloth embroidered with gold and silver.
Emblazoned. Illuminated, emblazoned, worked in bright characters on the tissues. From the A.S. blesan, to blow, come blase, to rush forth like a blast and so to spread, to publish; hence emblaze and blazon, terms in heraldry.

599. Brightness had made invisible. The same thought occurs before, iii. 380.

620. Yonder starry sphere, &c. In allusion to the music of the spheres; see Ode on the Nativity, xiii., and note.

624. Then most, &c. Most regular when they appear to us to be least so.

633. Rubied. The colour of rubies; in Samson Agonistes, wine is called the 'dancing ruby.'

636-641. In the first edition instead of these six lines there were only the following three:

They eat, they drink, and with refection sweet
Are filled, before the all-bounteous King, who showered
With copious hand, rejoicing in their joy.

647. The unsleeping eyes of God. Psalm cxxi. 4; Iliad, ii. 1.

648. Wider far, &c. Far more extensive than all the round world would be if it were spread out into a plain,—'from one entire globe stretched into longitude.'

652. By living streams. On the banks of living streams; the streams of the 'river of water of life,' on either side of which was there the 'tree of life.'—Revelation, vii. 17; xxii. 1, 2.

653. Pavilions and tabernacles are in apposition with camp. Reared is a participle qualifying pavilions.
657. Alternate. Sing in turns.
659. Dislodge. Remove, decamp; neuter; see vi. 7, 415.
671. His next subordinate. Beelzebub. See i. 79-81.
673. What sleep, &c. How can you sleep when you remember
the decree which was issued so lately as yesterday?
678. Both waking, &c. When awake we have always been
united in thought and action; how can you by sleeping pursue
a different course from mine?
680. New laws, &c. New laws enacted by our sovereign
may excite new feelings and designs in us his subjects. For
the meaning of minds, cf. line 452, note.
689. The quarters of the North. The expression is borrowed
from Isaiah, xiv. 12; see line 766, note. In Shakespeare (i
Henry VI., v. 3), Satan, or some chief fiend, is spoken of as
'monarch of the North.'
696. He together calls. I.e., 'the associate calls.'
697. Several. Separately; each by himself, one by one; an
adverb. Der. old Fr. severer, Lat. separare.
702. Casts between ambiguous words. Introduces insidious
words in his speech to try their fidelity and corrupt them. The
expression is taken from Virgil:

Hinc spargere voce
In vulgum ambigua.—Æneid, ii. 98.

708. The morning star. Lucifer, or the morning star, is one
of the titles of Satan. Isaiah, xiv. 12, 13.
709. The starry flock. The stars; 'the train of night,' line 166.
710. Drew after him. The subject of drew is countenance.
This line occurs in ii. 692; the expression is taken from Reve-
lation, xii. 3, 4.
713. The golden lamps, &c. "There were seven lamps of
fire burning before the throne, which are the seven Spirits of
God," Revelation, iv. 5.
718. Smiling. In keeping with the irony of the speech that
follows.

Said. The 'Eternal Eye,' which, as an attribute of God, is
put for the Omniscient Himself, is the subject of said.
719-732. The whole of this speech is ironical; as in Psalm
ii. 4:—

He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh:
The Lord shall have them in derision.

729. Let us advise. Let us take counsel together.
730. All employ in our defence, &c. Ironical; as if He stood
in need of aid.
734. Light'ning divine. Light'ning is thus printed in the
first edition, as if intended as a participle, ‘flashing in a divine manner.’ But as I have seen it thus printed in books of Mil- ton’s day where it is unmistakably a noun, it may be so here too, and equivalent to the ‘brightness of God’s glory’—Hebrews, i. 3—‘Divine effulgence.’

1739. Illustrates. Renders more illustrious.

1740. In event. In the result, in the issue.

1744. An host. This is the original reading—an where we should now say a.

1747. Imparls. Makes dazzling and bright like pearls; as in the opening lines of this book, Aurora is said to have sowed the earth with orient pearl.

1750. In their triple degrees. The degrees, according to the pseudo-Dionysius, were Angels, Archangels, Principalities; Powers, Virtues, Dominations; Thrones, Cherubim, Seraphim.

We find, as far as credit is to be given to the celestial hierarchy of that supposed Dionysius, the senator of Athens, the first place or degree is given to the Angels of love, which are termed Seraphim; the second to the Angels of light, which are termed Cherubim; and the third and so following places to Thrones, Principalities, and the rest, which are all angels of power and ministry; so as the angels of knowledge and illumination are placed before the angels of office and domination.—Bacon, Advancement of Learning, i.

To which. Compared with which. See note on to, iv. 78.

1752. To all the earth, &c. Compared with the extent of the earth and sea, if they were to be stretched out into a plain.

1753. Globose. Globe, sphere; an adj. used as a substantive.

1762. Which. Subject of called, line 766.

1766. The Mountain of the Congregation. The reference is to Isaiah, xiv. 12, 13:

How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning !
How art thou cut down to the ground, which didst weaken the nations !
For thou hast said in thine heart, I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God:
I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the north.

1768. To consult. Inf. on assembled.

1770. Thither to come. Who was to come there, referring to the King.

1773. If these magnific titles, &c. I may still call you so, unless these titles are only empty names. See x. 460.

788. *The supple knee.* The same expression occurs in Shake-
speare:—

And had the tribute of his *supple knee.*—*Richard II.*, i. 4.

789. *If ye know yourselves,* &c. If ye recollect that you are
the sons of Heaven.

790. *Possessed before by none.* *Possessed* refers to *Heaven*;
meaning they were the aboriginal inhabitants.

793. *Far not.* The metaphor is borrowed from music, and
appears to be taken from a passage in Shakespeare:—

*Exe.* Government, though high, and low, and lower,
Put into parts, doth keep in one concert;
Congreeng in a full and natural close,
Like music.

*Cant.* True; therefore doth Heaven divide
The state of man in divers functions.—*Henry V.*, i. 2.

798. *Who without law err not.* We have no laws to guide
or limit our actions, still we do not transgress.

799. *Much less for this,* &c. Newton says, “This passage
seems to me as inexplicable almost as any in Milton;” accord-
ingly he does not attempt to explain it.

Bentley would meet the difficulty in his usual “slashing” style;
instead of *for this* he proposes *forthink*, “or, if we have no re-
gard to the likeness of the letters, *aspire*, *presume*, or other such
word.”

“Who can introduce law and edict on us, when we can con-
duct our actions rightly without law? much less for this intro-
duction of law and edict claim the right of dominion.”—(War-
burton.)

“Much less *can he* for this, namely our being ‘less in power
and splendour’ (796), *assume* to be our Lord.”—(Bishop Pearce.)

Richardson considers *this* to refer contemptuously to the
Messiah, and the construction to be,—Much less can he intro-
duce a law and edict for this (new King) to be our Lord and
receive adoration from us.

Keightley’s note is: “*Much less,* sc. reason is there. This,
*obros*; probably in contempt, this new person, this upstart.”

Prendeville suggests “an ellipsis of the substantive verb *is*”
(which is very common in Milton), and that ‘this’ is spoken con-
temptuously. “Much less is it just or expedient for this new
functionary to exercise dominion over us to the abuse and dis-
paragement of our inherent right to govern.”

“The most feasible supposition seems to be Warburton’s—
which is that *for this* refers to *introduce law and edict*, and that
the meaning is, ‘Who can introduce law and edict on us, &c.?’
much less can any one assume, towards this end, or because of so doing, to be our Lord," &c.—(Professor Masson.)

800. To the abuse. Which would result in the lowering of our titles. To is not to be taken with look.

805. Abdiel. Abdiel is the Hebrew for Servant of God.

809. Blasphémous. The old pronunciation was, as here and elsewhere in Milton, blasphemous.

820. And equal, &c. To let an equal reign over his equals.

821. With unsucceeded power. Without a successor.


831. To grant it thee unjust, &c. Supposing that we do admit that it is unjust that an equal should reign as a monarch over his equals—yet do you count yourself, or even all the angelic host, the equal of Him who is the Begotten of the Father, and by whom all things were created? To grant it thee. I am willing to grant you; let it be admitted.

832. Reign. Should reign; subjunctive.

841. Nor by his reign obscured. And we do not lose any of our dignity by his becoming king.

844. All honour, &c. All honour done him reverts to us, as it is paid to one of our own number.

846. These and appease did not rhyme originally, as appease was formerly appaise.

861. Fatal course. The course of fate. When fate had perfected its course, and come round in due time.

862. The birth. Nominative in apposition with we, the subject (understood) of know, 860.

872. The sound of waters deep. The simile is from the Scriptures:

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: for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth.—Revelation, xix. 6.

890. Devoted. Given over to, doomed; a Latin use of the word.

Devota morti pectora.—Horace, Odes, IV. xiv. 18.

A world devote to universal wrack.—Par. Lost, xi. 821.

Lest the wrath, &c. Understand but before lest. I do not fly from these wicked tents, which are doomed to destruction, for any advice you have given, but lest the ruin which will speedily overtake you make no distinction, and the innocent be swallowed up with the guilty. Bentley proposes:

The wicked tents devote, but lest the wrath.

907. Proud towers. Either the towers of Lucifer's palace, or the troops of angels.
BOOK VI.

2. Champaign. Plain; it occurs as an adjective, iv. 134; and as a noun, Paradise Regained, iii. 257. Fr. champagne, It. campagna, Lat. campus.

3. Rosy hand. Rosy is a common poetical epithet for the morning; she advances with rosy steps, v. 1; and rosy progress, xi. 175; she is the rosy-fingered morning of Spenser (Faerie Queene, I. ii. 7) and Ben Jonson (Catiline, i.), and the ἀναξιότερος Ἅρω of Homer.

8. Grateful vicissitude. 'Change delectable;' v. 629. Vicissitude is now generally used for a change for the worse, a reverse of fortune.

10. Obsequious. Following; this is the primary signification, hence it comes to mean attentive, observant, as in line 783. But now both these meanings have gone out, and obsequious is used in an unfavourable sense, being applied to one who is unnecessarily or servilely attentive. Officious has gone through a similar degenerating process; see viii. 99, note.

16. Squadron, from ex, and quadrare, to square, is acies quadrata, a body of troops ranged in a square, the 'quadrate' of line 62, and the 'cubic phalanx' of 399.

19. In procinct. In readiness; the metaphor is borrowed from the Eastern custom of girding up the dress before engaging in work of any kind. The Latin phrase for an army ready for battle is stare in procinctu.

23. That one, &c. 'That out of so many fallen myriads, one, even one, returned not lost.' The allusion is to Luke, xv. 7, 10.

29. Servant of God, &c. His name, Abdiel, means Servant of God. The expressions are taken from Matthew, xxv. 21; and 2 Timothy, iv. 7.

34. Far worse to bear, &c. Thyer quotes from the Faerie Queene:

Evil deeds may better than bad words be bore.—IV. iv. 4.

39. To return . . . and to subdue. Substantival clause in apposition with conquest.

41. Who reason, &c. Who refuse to have reason as their law.

44. Of celestial armies prince. The battle of the Angels described in this book is founded on Revelation, xii. 7-9, where we are told that 'Michael and his angels fought against the dragon.'

45. Prowess. Might; prow is used as a noun by Chaucer,
in the sense of advantage; as an adj. by Spenser; and Milton has the superlative prowest: Par. Reg., iii. 342. Fr. prouesse.
55. Fiery chaos. Tartarus, or hell, was situated in Chaos, ii. 1002.
58. Reluctant. Struggling to break forth; not, as Newton explains it, 'slow and unwilling to break forth.' Reluctant is used here in its strict classical sense, as in iv. 311, and again, x. 515.
60. Gan is frequently used by Chaucer and Spenser in the sense of did, and generally, as here, without the sign of the infinitive with the verb that follows. We only retain the reduplicated form begin of the A.S. gin.
63. Moved on, &c. Compare the march of the rebel angels, i. 560.
69. Obvious. Standing in the way; used in its literal sense, and again in xi. 374.
72. Passive. Yielding; 'buxom air;' v. 270.
75. To receive their names. Genesis, ii. 19.
78. Terrene. Terrene globe, the earth; adjectives are frequently used as substantives by Milton; cf. v. 753; vi. 303, 381.
79. To the north. See v. 689, note.
81. Battailous. Drawn up in array; see line 216, note.
82. Bristled with upright beams, &c. The 'banded powers of Satan' appeared with numberless spears, which, shining, stood up like bristles; cf. 'horrent arms,' ii. 513. Horrente is used in the same metaphorical sense of arms:—

Mille rapit densos acie, atque horrentibus hastis.—Æneid, x. 178.

84. Various, with boastful argument. Diversified with emblazonry and devices. Virgil uses argumentum for the device on the shield of Turnus:—

At levem clypeum sublatis cornibus Io
Auro insigniat, jam setis obsita, jam bos,
Argumentum ingens.—Æneid, vii. 789.

90. Fond. Foolish; see iii. 470, note.
93. Hosting. Array, a body of troops mustered together; it occurs in Hollinshed, and in Spenser's View of Ireland.
101. Idol. 'Resemblance,' line 114; it is in app. with Apostate.
105. Interval. Space; dreadful, because so narrow. Interval is now generally applied to a space of time.
107. The cloudy van. The front of the army, resembling a cloud for multitude and extent.

115. Reality. Loyalty, fidelity to the king and constitution. Chaucer has realtie for royalty.

118. To sight unconquerable. Apparently invincible.

120. Tried unsound. Proved, and found to be unsound.

129. Prevention. Coming before, intervention; see iii. 231, note.

130. Securely. Fearlessly, confidently; see i. 261, note.

134. Abandoned at the terror. Left unguarded through fear of.

146. Erroneous to dissent. To dissent erroneously.

147. My sect. The party to which I belong. Thyer thinks that there is a sneer in the use of the word sect at the Royalists of the time; Milton being a Sectary, as Dissenters were then called.

148. How few, &c. How may be taken either with few, or with the whole clause. ‘How small a number,’ or ‘How a small number,’ Know. Be in the right.

150. Ill for thee, &c. It is unfortunate for you that you have returned now, at the time I have longed for to take my revenge, to receive the first onset of my enraged power.

154. Since first that tongue, &c. Since you were the first that dared to speak against us.

156. A third part of the gods. See ii. 692, and v. 710.

161. Plume. Token of victory; from a plume or feather being worn as an ornament in the helmet; cf. ‘plumed victory,’ and iv. 989. To ‘plume one’s self’ is to pride one’s self.

That thy success may show destruction. Success is here used in its old sense of result, or issue; and the passage means, That the result of your daring, and your want of success, may show to the rest the destruction that awaits them if they follow you. See ii. 9, note. Warburton takes success in its modern sense, and along with ‘to win some plume,’ and paraphrases the passage: “That thy success may show thy fellows the road to destruction, or the way to destroy their enemies.” But ‘ambitious to win from me some plume’ is to be regarded as parenthetical, and the ‘well’ in line 159 is contrasted with the ‘ill for thee’ in line 150. It is ill for thee that you have placed yourself in the brunt of the fight, and before your fellows; but well for them, that they may take warning by your destruction.

162. This pause between. Supply ‘is granted.’

163. Unanswered lest thou boast. Lest you should boast of being unanswered, or lest being unanswered you should boast of it.

165. All one. The same; it is rather an inelegant expression in modern English, but occurs in old writers; Spenser has:—
Both day and night is unto them all one.

—Hymn of Heavenly Love, 71.

167. Ministering Spirits. The expression, which is used scornfully by Satan, occurs in Hebrews, i. 14.
169. Servility with freedom, &c. Slaves to contend with the free.
170. Both their deeds. The deeds of both: of 'servility,' or the good angels; of 'freedom,' or the rebel angels.
174. Depravest. To deprave formerly meant to depreciate.

When he [thy enemy] is free from thy power, his malice makes him numble-eyed; apt to note a fault, and publish it; and, with a strained construction, to deprave those things that thy intents have told thy soul are honest.—Feltham, Resolves, xxi.

It. Viz., 'to serve whom God ordains.'
182. Lewdly. Ignorantly and wickedly; see iv. 193, note.
183. Reign thou in Hell, &c. A retort on Satan's boast—

Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven.—i. 263.

189. Saying. Contracted to a monosyllable in scanning.
199. Thrones. Angels, powers; see i. 360, ii. 310.
202. Bid sound. Bade to sound; bid is often found followed by the infinitive without the sign to; see ii. 514.
210. Madding. Mad, furious; it occurs in Gray's Elegy.
212. The dismal hiss . . . flew. The hiss of darts is poetical and animated for 'the hissing darts;' cf.—

A murmuring sound
Of waters issued from a cave, and spread
Into a liquid plain.—iv. 453.

216. Both battles main. In old writers battles is applied to an army or the main division of it; so in line 386, and—

We'll charge the main battalia, fall you
Upon the van; preserve your troops entire
To force the rear.—Massinger, The Bashful Lover, ii. 3.

Fire answers fire, and through their paly flames
Each battle sees the other's umbered face.—Henry V., iv., Chorus.

223. How much more of power. How much more able to raise dreadful combustion. Of power. Powerful, able; so Comus, 155.
229. Though numbered such. Though so numerous.
230. Each divided legion. Each separate legion of which the army was composed.
231. In strength each armed hand, &c. Each armed warrior appeared equal in strength to a legion.
I would propose band for hand. He first speaks of a 'divided legion,' and lastly of 'each warrior single;' here in the intermediate place we should expect a troop or band to be mentioned, and not an individual as it comes afterwards. Or 'hand' may be used as Lat. manus, for band, troop.
232. Led in fight, &c. Though each single warrior was led in fight, yet he appeared to be a commander-in-chief.
236. The ridges. The files of soldiers; the metaphor is taken from a ploughed field; cf. 'the files of war,' 339.
239. As only in his arm, &c. As if the victory depended on himself alone. The moment of victory. The turning of the scale for victory. Moment is used in the literal sense of momentum—i.e., quod movet, the weight that turns the balance; cf. the metaphor 'even scale,' 245; and see x. 47.
251. Two-handed. So large that it required the two hands to wield it. Sway. Movement.
255. His ample shield. See the description of the shield, i. 284.
262. Unknown. Agreeing with evil.
282. With wind of aery threats. With threats as empty as the wind and of as little force as the air.
284. Hast thou turned, &c.? Hast thou succeeded in putting to flight even the least of these, that thou shouldst therefore hope it to be easier to engage with me?
288. Err not. Do not be so mistaken as to suppose.
292. However. In any case or state. To dwell. Sc., we mean or intend.
296. Addressed. Prepared, got ready; from the Fr. dresser, Lat. dirigere, to make right; hence dress, to prepare, and redress, to make right again. Address is often used in this sense in Shakespeare:—

Once, methought,
It lifted up its head, and did address
Itself to motion.—Hamlet, i. 2.

He is addressed; press near, and second him.—Julius Caesar, iii. 1.

297. Who . . . can relate, &c.? Supply fight after relate and liken. Who can relate this fight, or to what things on earth can one liken it sufficiently conspicuous to raise human imagination?
With the tongue of angels. Similarly in Virgil, Æneid, vi. 625.
302. Stood they or moved. Whether they stood or moved. 
305. Two broad suns, &c. Their shields blazed opposite to
one another like two broad suns.
306. Expectation stood. There is a similar personification in
Shakespeare:—

Now sits Expectation in the air.—Henry V., ii., Chorus.

310. To set forth great things by small. See ii. 921, note.
311. Concord. Nominative absolute. There was such com-
motion as if, the order of Nature being broken, and war arisen
among the heavenly bodies, two planets were to engage in
combat.
313. Aspect malign and opposition are astrological terms. If
the distance between two planets was a half part of the twelve
signs, they were said to be in opposition or opposite, and sup-
pposed to strive and overcome one another, and to be of evil
aspect or influence; ‘opposite of noxious efficacy,’ x. 659.
316. Together both, &c. Together they both, with an almost
almighty arm, raised and ready to descend, aimed a single
stroke that might end the encounter, and not require to be re-
pealed as not of sufficient force to do so at once.
319. Nor odds appeared, &c. There seemed no difference in
the force of the stroke aimed by each, or their quickness in
warding off the blow.
321. The armoury of God. The expression, which occurs
also in vii. 200, is taken from Jeremiah, l. 25.
325. Descending. To be taken, probably, as qualifying sword
rather than with it. For sheer, completely, see i. 742, note.
329. Griding. Cutting; gird and gride are used by Spenser
and Shakespeare for to cut or pierce.
Discontinuus is used in allusion to the old definition of
a wound, that which separates the continuity of the parts,
‘Vulnus est solutio continui.’

As in the natural body a wound, or solution of continuity, is worse
than a corrupt humour, so in the spiritual.—Bacon, Essays, “Of
Unity in Religion.”

333. As. A pronoun; cognate obj. on bleed.
335. Was run by angels. Angels ran; an imitation of the
Latin idiom where a neuter verb is used impersonally with a
passive form, ‘cursum est.’ The nom. to was run is it, und.
Cf. vii. 503; x. 229.
349. No more than can the fluid air. The same simile occurs in Shakespeare:—

It [the ghost] is, as the air, invulnerable,
And our vain blows malicious mockery.—Hamlet, i. 1.

As easy may'st thou the intrenchant air
With thy keen sword impress, as make me bleed.—Macbeth, v. 7.

350. All heart, &c. Newton compares this with Pliny’s account of God:—

Quisquis est Deus, si modo est alius, et quacunque in parte, totus est sensus, totus visus, totus auditus, totus animae, totus animi, totus sui.—Nat. Hist., i. 7.

353. As likes them. As it pleases them; likes (O.E. lician, to please) is used impersonally again, line 717, and Paradise Regained, ii. 382.

362. Uncouth pain, &c. The wound which the Old Dragon received from the Redcross Knight had a similar effect:—

The piercing steel there wrought a wound full wide,
That with the uncouth smart the monster loudly cried.
—Faerie Querne, I. xi. 20.

363. Foe. Objective on vanquished. Bentley and Thyer consider that the sense and metre would be improved by supplying each, and reading Raphael as a disyllable:—

Uriel, and Raphael, each his vaunting foe.

364. Diamond. Adamant; see lines 110 and 255. Milton uses diamond in the same sense in the Apology for Smectymnuus:—

Zeal, whose substance is ethereal, arming in complete diamond,
ascends his fiery chariot drawn with two blazing meteors.—Sect. i.

365. Adramelec. One of the gods of Sepharvaim, 2 Kings, xvii. 31. Heb. adra, mighty, and melech, king.

Asmadai. Asmodeus, the evil Spirit mentioned in Tobit; see iv. 168, note. Asmadai is the rabbinical mode of writing it.

371. Ariel. Heb., the Lion of God. Arioc, Fierce Lion. Both names occur in Scripture: Ezra, viii. 16; Isaiah, xxix. 1; and Genesis, xiv. 1. The text follows Milton’s spelling, but in the English Bible it is Adrammelech and Arioch.

The violence of Ramiel. The violent Ramiel; similarly ‘the might of Gabriel,’ 355, for the mighty Gabriel; Upton quotes:—

Talibus exarsit dictis violentia Turni.—Aeneid, xi. 376.
374. *Eternize* is a rare word, but is found in Sidney, Spenser, and Shakespeare.

376. *The other sort. Sort* is left absolutely; 'as for the other sort, let them dwell nameless.'

381. *Just. For justice; a noun.*

386. *The battle swerved.* The main battalion gave way.

391. *What stood.* Those who did not 'lie overturned.'

402. *Not to have sinned, not to have disobeyed.* The infinitives (with the negatives) may be construed as noms. in apposition with *innoce*nce, or to gave understood.

404. *Unobnoxious.* Not liable or exposed to; in the literal sense of the Lat. *obnoxius.*

407. *Inducing.* Bringing on; used in the literal sense of *inducere,* as in Horace:—

\[ \text{Jam nox inducère terris} \\
\text{Umbras et cælo diffundere signa parabat.} \text{—Sat. I. v. 9.} \]

410. *The foughten field.* An expression found in Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, Drayton, and other old poets:—

\[ \text{As, in this glorious and well foughten field,} \\
\text{We kept together in our chivalry.} \text{—Henry V., iv. 6.} \]


413. *Cerubic waving fires.* Cherubim like flames of fire; *fires* is in app. with *watches.* Cherubim are the 'night-watches,' iv. 780; ix. 68.

415. *Dislodged.* Removed; not now used as an intrans.

421. *Pretence.* Claim; see ii. 825, note.

429. *Of future may be taken either with fallible or independently; either 'We may deem him fallible as regards the future,' or, 'For the future we may deem him fallible.'

432. *Known, as soon contemned.* When known, as soon contemned; despised as soon as discovered.

440. *Worse.* A rare form of the old verb *worsen; worst* is in use instead of *worse,* which is exactly analogical with the familiar verb *better.*


455. *Unpained, impassive.* Those who are not liable to pain or suffering. Cf. the use of *passive,* line 72.
458. *Remiss.* Here used in the literal sense, which is stronger than the modern, which simply means careless, negligent.


465. *Offend.* Damage, injure; lit. to knock against; cf. i. 187. *Inoffensive* is also used in its derivative sense, x. 305.

467. *To me.* In my opinion.

470. *Not uninvited, &c.* In Spenser, too, we have the invention of cannon and gunpowder in ‘deepest Hell:’—

As when that devlish iron engine wrought
In deepest Hell and framed by Furies’ skill
With windy nitre and quick sulphur fraught,
And rammed with bullet round, ordained to kill,
Conceiveth fire, the heavens it doth fill
With thundering noise and all air doth choke.

—*Faerie Queene*, I. vii. 13.

472. *Which of us, &c.* *Which* is the nom. to *is* understood.

‘Which of us is there who beholds the bright surface of this ethereous mould, &c., whose eye surveys these things so superficially as not to mind, &c.;’ or according to Newton: “The construction of this sentence is, ‘Which of us who beholds, &c., so superficially surveys these things, &c.;’ but, as the nominative case *which of us* is mentioned so many lines before the verb *surveys*, he throws in another nominative case, *whose eye.*”


482. *Nativity.* Birthplace; generally birth, or birthday.

*The deep.* The place where they grow ‘deep under ground.’


496. *Cheer.* Spirits; lit., face, countenance; see v. 123, note.

514. *Concocted and adjusted.* Baked and dried. *Adjusted,* also written *adust,* xii. 635, is from the past part. of *aduro,* to burn up.

519. *Incentive.* Calculated to set fire to.

520. *Pernicious with one touch to fire.* Causing ruin as soon as ignited (and applied to the engines). Newton says that *pernicious* is probably not to be understood here in the common acceptation, but in the sense of quick, speedy. If so, it comes from Lat. *pennix,* from *pernitor,* to struggle; while *pernicious,* destructive, is from *pernecare,* to kill utterly. Johnson adopts Newton’s explanation, and cites this passage as an instance—the only one, however,—of *pernicious* meaning quick, swift, adding that ‘as it produces an ambiguity, it ought not to be imitated.’ But besides it being unnecessary to twist this sense out of it, Milton uses *pernicious* in four other places, and always with the idea of destructive, ruinous. Todd reads ‘pernicious with one touch of fire;’ but has no note on the point.
521. **Under conscious night.** That is to say, night alone was witness of the deed. Hume quotes:—

*Quorum nox conscia sola est.*—Ovid, *Met.*, xiii. 15.

524. **Orient.** Rising; see i. 546, note.

525. **To arms the matin trumpet sung.** Thyer quotes Tasso’s expression, which is literally the same:—

*Quando a cantar la mattutina bronba Comincia à l’arme.*—Gier. *Lib.*, xi. 19.

526. **The trumpet sung.** Newton quotes Virgil’s:—

*Et tuba commissos medio canit aggere ludos.*—*Aeneid*, v. 113.

528. **The dawning hills.** *Dawning*, a transferred epithet, poetically applied to the *hills*, as the dawn first appears rising over them. Tennyson has borrowed the expression:—

I waited underneath the *dawning hills.*—*Enone.*

529. **Coast.** Region, quarter; see i. 340, note.

532. **Him.** The foe. It is the usage of modern English to regard the words ‘foe’ and ‘enemy’ as plural, if nouns of multitude; formerly, as here, a sing. pronoun was used; and by some recent writers, apparently in imitation of the French, the enemy is spoken of as ‘he.’

535. **Zophiel** is the Hebrew for Spy of God. The name does not occur in Scripture, and was probably formed by Milton.

539. **A cloud.** A common simile to express multitude; line 107.

541. **Sad.** Serious, commonly used by Spenser, Shakespeare, and other early writers, in this sense, and without any idea of sorrow; der. A.S. *sad*, settled, past part. of *sætan*.

_Let each, &c._ An imitation of Agamemnon’s speech:—

*Εφ’ μὲν τις δορυ θησαυρός έτ’ δ’ ακούισα θέσων, &c.*—*Iliad*, ii. 382.

542. **Adamantine coat.** An expression from Horace:—

*Quis Martem tunica tectum adamantina*  

544. **Borne even, or high.** “Held either straight out from the body, or high to protect the head.”—(Masson.)

546. **Barbed.** A barbed arrow was one set with *barbs* or jags at the point.

548. **Quit of all impediment.** Free from any encumbrances such as the artillery of the enemy. Lat. *impedimenta*, the baggage, &c., of an army.

553. **Training, &c.** Drawing the train of artillery.
558-567. This speech, as also those of Satan and Belial (609-619, 620-627), are spoken in a scoffing and jesting strain; the expressions ‘composure,’ ‘open breast,’ ‘overture,’ ‘perversion,’ ‘discharge,’ ‘in charge,’ ‘touch and propound,’ are each capable of a double meaning, and are used ironically.

563. That I doubt. I doubt that they will like our overture, and that they will not turn back. Witness Heaven. Let Heaven bear witness.

571. Discovered. Disclosed; discover was formerly used in the sense of show, disclose, give information to others about what was unknown to them; now, to find out generally.

576. Stony. Pearce says there were stone cannon to be seen, in his day, at Delft in Holland. Mould. Substance; see ii. 355. Had not refers to their being like to pillars. The construction (570-577) is: The dividing of the ranks disclosed to us a new and strange sight—a triple-mounted row of pillars, of brass, iron, or stone, for they seemed most like pillars but that their open mouths gaped on us.

578. Hollow true. Raphael himself puns on the word hollow.

580. Stood. The subject is reed. It is also possible to construe it: A seraph stood at each, and stood waving in his hand a reed. Bentley proposes held, as stood occurs three times in close succession.

581. Amused. Musing, considering; cf. 623. The idea of diversion or pleasure is only of modern introduction into the words amuse and amusement.

582. Sudden all, at once, their reeds put forth. In the original editions there are no commas in this sentence, leaving the construction of all doubtful. Major says they is understood as nom. to put forth; and Bohn points off all at once, making all an adv., but then the phrase would mean ‘suddenly,’ which is already expressed. All should be taken as the subject of put forth; and at once means ‘together.’

584. Nicest. Most accurate and exact.

586. Whose roar embowelled, &c. The roar of the engines, that is, the roaring engines, disembowelled the air with a terrible noise.

Embowell has the two opposite meanings of to tear out the bowels, eviscerate or disembowel; and to sink into the bowels, bury or fill. The former, I hold, is the meaning here, though the same thing is said in the next line.

Newton explains embowelled as filled, and says: “The most natural and obvious construction is, Whose roar embowelled, or filled, the air with outrageous noise.”

Pearce construes the passage: “The roar of which [engines], embowelled with outrageous noise, tore the air and all her en-
trails." According to this construction, *embowelled* would agree with *roar*, or rather with 'them' taken out of *whose*, and the comma after *air* should be removed.

Both Newton and Pearce further regard the *outrageous noise* as the instrument, and take *with* along with the verb; whereas *with outrageous noise* is simply an adverbial phrase qualifying *embowelled*.

589. *Their.* Though the *roar* of the engines is in reality the subject of the sentence and agrees with *disgorging*, he proceeds as if *engines* were the subject; the property of an agent often being put for the agent itself; cf. 'a *sound* of water issued, and ... *spread*,' iv. 453, 454.

598. *Dissipation.* Dispersion, rout. *Dissipation* was formerly used in the sense of a scattering; now it has a reference only to looseness of morals, or needless squandering.

605. *Tire.* Row, line 650; now written *tier*. In Bailey's *Dictionary*, ed. 1747, *tier* does not occur, but *tire* is explained, "A *row* of great guns placed along the ship's side, either upon deck or below."

619. *Result.* The under-meaning is rebound, flying off.

625. *Understand.* Shakespeare puns on the word in like manner:

> *Sped.*
> *Launce.* What a block art thou, that thou canst not! My staff understands me.—*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, ii. 5.

627. *Upright.* These two speeches Addison regards as "the most exceptionable in the whole poem, as being nothing else but a string of puns, and those, too, very indifferent ones."—*Spectator*, No. 279.

635. *Rage ... found them arms.* Virgil's expression, 'Furor arma ministrat,' *Æneid*, i. 150.

640. *Earth hath this variety from Heaven, &c.* This variety of hill and dale Earth has derived from Heaven. *From* goes with *hath*, and not with *variety*.

647. *Be sure.* A common expression with Milton, introduced in a speech to keep up the attention; cf. i. 158; ii. 323; iv. 841.


656. *Their armour helped their harm.* Spenser has the same play upon the words—

> Whom fierie steele now burnt, that erst him armed,
> That erst him goodly armed, now most of all him harmed.
> —*Faerie Queene*, i. xi. 27.

674. *Advised.* Advisedly, designedly; used adverbially.
681. Invisible. According to Newton, *invisible* is a neuter adjective, used for a substantive; and the sense is: In whose face what is invisible—namely, what by Deity I am—is beheld visibly. The allusion is to Romans, i. 20, and Colossians, i. 15; see also iii. 385.

Upton says it should be *th' Invisible.*

683. What by decree I do. What may be the nom. either to *is,* or *is beheld,* understood.

608. The main. The universe, all nature, the 'sum of things;' 673; and Paradise Regained, iv. 457.

713. My almighty arms gird on, &c. The words are taken from the Psalms:

Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O most Mighty, with thy glory and thy majesty. And in thy majesty ride prosperously.—*Psalm* lxi. 3, 4.

720. He all his Father, &c. See iii. 139; vii. 196; and x. 66.

732. Thou shalt be all in all, &c. See *John,* xvii. 21, 23; 1 Corinthians, xv. 24, 28.

737. These rebelled. These who have rebelled, in a state of rebellion; a stronger term than rebellious.

739. Chains of darkness. "God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness;" 2 Peter, ii. 4; and see Jude, 6. The undying worm. See Isaiah, lxvi. 24; *Mark,* ix. 44.

748. The third sacred morn. The third day of the war. Milton makes the war in Heaven last for three days, and describes the Messiah as vanquishing the rebel angels on the third, in allusion to his resurrection on the third day, and thus a second time overcoming the powers of Hell.

749. Forth rushed, &c. The description of the 'chariot of paternal Deity' and the 'four cherubic shapes' is taken from the vision of Ezekiel, chaps. i. and x.

752. Instinct. Moved, animated; ii. 937.

758. Whereon a sapphire throne. Some editions read, 'Where, on a sapphire throne,' and have a comma after arch.

Sapphire throne . . . colours of the showery arch. "And above the firmament that was over their heads was the likeness of a throne, as the appearance of a sapphire stone . . . As the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain, so was the appearance of the brightness round about," Ezekiel, i. 26, 28.

761. Urim. Urim and Thummim were the names given to the twelve precious stones, or as others suppose to a brilliant diamond, in Aaron's breastplate, Exodus, xxviii. 30. *Urim* means light, brilliant.

766. Bickering. Darting. To *bicker* is to skirmish, to quarrel.
Book Seventh.

771. Sublime. Aloft, borne on high; ii. 528.
777. Reduced. Led back, reduxit; the literal meaning, as in ii. 983.
797. Last. Finally, at last; Tickell and Bentley read lost.
808. Vengeance is his. Deut. xxxii. 35; Romans, xii. 19.
809. Number to this day's work, &c. It is not to multitude nor armies that the work to be accomplished this day has been given.
856. As a herd of goats. The allusion is to Matthew, xxv. 33.
862. The wasteful deep. Wasteful, desolate, Lat. vastus. See vii. 212.
868. Ruining. Thyer says the word ruining is the Italian word ruinando anglicised; it denotes anything falling down with ruin and precipitation.
875. Yawning. Compare the expression in Isaiah, v. 14, "Hell hath enlarged herself, and opened her mouth without measure."
879. Returning whence it rolled. Returning agrees with Heaven; here we have both the fem. and neut. pronouns, her and it, referring to the same noun; see the note on its, i. 254.
900. He. Grammatically it ought to be him in apposition with Satan; but he is more emphatic (it is hee in Milton's editions), as if he said, That one, I mean.
909. Thy weaker. Eve; the wife is called the 'weaker vessel,' i Peter, iii. 7.

BOOK VII.

1. Urania means Heavenly, and the invocation is to the same heavenly Muse whose inspiration he asks in the beginning of the poem, i. 6.
3. Above the Olympian hill, &c. At the outset he says his song would 'soar above the Aonian mount,' or inspiration of the heathen Muses; and here he asserts that its flight has been higher than that of any Greek or Roman poet, inspired from their Olympian heaven or soaring on the winged Pegasus.
4. Pegasean wing. "Pegasus was the winged horse which sprang from the blood of Medusa, when her head was struck
off by Perseus. He was called Pegasus because he made his appearance near the sources (φυγας) of Oceanus. While drinking at the fountain of Pirene, on the Acrocorinthus, he was caught by Bellerophon with a golden bridle, which Athena had given the hero. With the assistance of Pegasus, Bellerophon conquered the Chimera, but endeavouring to ascend to heaven upon his winged horse, he fell down upon the earth. Pegasus, however, continued his flight to heaven, where he dwelt among the stars. Pegasus was also regarded as the horse of the Muses, and in this connection is more celebrated in modern times than in antiquity; for with the ancients he had no connection with the Muses except producing with his foot the inspiring fountain Hippocrene."—(Smith's Classical Dictionary.)

5. Not the name, &c. There was a Urania (the Muse of Astronomy) among the Nine Muses, but it is not she whom he invokes, but that divine inspiration whose voice he sought and followed.

7. Old Olympus. Old, celebrated of old; like 'old Euphrates,' i. 420, 'Mount Casius old,' ii. 593. Cold has been suggested for old, as already used with Olympus, in i. 516.

8. Before the hills. Taken from what Wisdom says in Proverbs, viii. 23-25, 30. In the Latin translation it is playing instead of rejoicing, which is the word followed by Milton here and where he quotes the passage in Tetrachordon:—

God himself conceals not his own recreations before the world was built. I was, saith the Eternal Wisdom, daily his delight, playing always before him.

9. Converse. Live with, associate with; see ii. 184, note.

13. Presumed. Sc. to go; and cf. a similar ellipsis after presumed, viii. 356.

15. Thy tempering. Tempered or adapted to my earthly constitution by thee. Thee tempering, as Bentley observes, would be a better reading.

17. This flying steed. His Muse, carrying on the reference in line 4. Unreined. Without a bridle or rein; agreeing with steed.

19. The Aleian field. It was here, in Lycia, that Bellerophon wandered, after he fell from the winged horse. Ἀλειαν πεδίον means the land of wandering; and erroneous in the next line is used in its literal sense of 'wandering.' The story of Bellerophon is told in the Iliad, vi.

But when at last, distracted in his mind,
Forsook by Heaven, forsaking human kind,
Wide o'er the Aleian field he chose to stray
A long, forlorn, uncomfortable way.—Pope.
21. *Half, &c.* Newton’s note is: “I understand this with Mr Richardson, that ‘tis half of the episode, not of the whole work that is here meant; for, when the poem was divided into but ten books, that edition had this passage at the beginning of the seventh as now. The episode has two principal parts, the war in Heaven, and the new creation; the one was sung, but the other remained unsung, and he is now entering upon it.”

This book, however, even when seven of ten, is the commencement of the second half; half the poem as well as half the episode remain unsung. Newton overlooked the fact that the last four books of the first edition were not shorter than the present last six.

*Bound.* Newton takes *bound* as a participle; Kightley as a noun, with the article omitted, and in apposition with the next line.

22. *The visible diurnal sphere.* “The astronomical universe of man, which appears to revolve round the earth daily in twenty-four hours.”—(Masson.)


25. *Though fallen on evil days.* In allusion to his condition after the Restoration, and the fall of the Republican party, of which he had been so prominent a member,—blind, friendless, and exposed to danger.

30. *Govern.* Direct; literally, from *gubernare*.

32. *Drive far off, &c.* The reference is to the dissolute Court of Charles II. The expression *barbarous dissonance* occurs in *Comus*, 550.


41. *Affable.* ‘Sociable,’ as he is called in v. 221.

47. *If they transgress to be taken with lest the like befall.*

50. *Wandering.* Passing from one object to another, not fixed to one; agreeing with *appetite*.

*Consorted.* “*Consort was an active verb in Milton’s time, and the form *consorted* is found in Spenser and Donne.”—(Masson.)

For all that pleasing is to living care
Was there *consorted* in one harmony.—*Faerie Queene*, ii. 456.

Leave me; and in this standing wooden chest
*Consorted* with these few books, let me lie.—*Satire*, i. 70.

52. *Admiration.* In its derivative sense of ‘wonder.’ *Muse.*

Musing, reflection.

57. *Redounded as a flood.* To *rebound* means to flow back upon as a *flood* (*re* and *unda*); and he again translates the metaphor, ‘with a fierce *reflux rebound*;’ x. 739.
59. Repealed. Recalled; the technical word for revoking a law; Fr. rappeler.

63. Conspicuous. Which might be seen, which he saw before him.

66. Drouth. This is Milton’s word—spelling and pronunciation—but is improperly altered by some editors to drought. It occurs also in Comus, 66. Drouth is from dry; the spelling was altered to drougth, then drought; no educated person would now use the word drouth (for drought), but it is the word (as a vulgarism) in Ireland, Scotland, and the north of England, and the adjective is drouthy (drūthy). Another difference is that drought is not applied to the thirst of an individual, while drouth is, as well as to general dryness. Cf. famine, which would not now, as in ii. 847, be used for ‘hunger.’

69. Proceeded. The nom. is Adam in line 59, the construction being, ‘Adam repealed the doubts, and, led on to know,’ &c., ‘proceeded.’

74. What might else have been our loss. What, if we had not been forewarned, might have been the cause of loss and injury to us, being unknown and such as human knowledge could not have found out.

75. Unknown. ‘If unknown;’ and, line 85, known, ‘if known.’

79. The end, &c. The object for which we exist—i.e., for the will of God. “Thou hast created all things, and for thy pleasure they are and were created,” Revelation, iv. 11.


83. Our knowing. Us to know; cf. the use of hearing, line 118.

As to highest Wisdom seemed. As seemed good to God in His wisdom.

88. This which yields. The air, ‘buxom,’ ii. 842, v. 270; and ‘passive,’ vi. 72. Yields. A neuter verb; ‘the air either yields way to other bodies, or itself fills all space.’

89. “Ambient interspersed denotes the air not only surrounding the earth, but flowing into and spun out between all bodies; and is a fuller and finer notation of its liquid and spiritual texture leaving no vacuum in Nature than that of Ovid, Nec circumfuso pendebat in aere tellus, Met., i. 12.”—(Hume.)

90. Florid. In its literal meaning of ‘flowery.’

94. Absolved. Finished, completed; absolutus. See viii. 547.

97. “Remember that thou magnify his work, which men behold,” Job, xxxvi. 24.

98. Wants to run much. Has still much remaining to run.

Suspense. Holding back, delaying in his course.

100. Thy potent voice, he hears. I have adopted the punctuation of Pearce, who is followed by Newton, Todd, and Keightley. The original reading has no comma after the second voice. As it stands in the text the paraphrase is, ‘Stopping in his course, held by thy voice—thy potent voice—he listens.’ This seems more Miltonic than to say, ‘Held by thy voice, he hears thy voice.’


103. The unapparent deep. “Darkness was over the face of the deep,” Genesis, i. 2.

105. With her. With herself.

106. Sleep . . . will watch. Watch is wake, keep awake.

115. What thou canst attain. Attain what you can of what will enable you to serve your Maker best, and induce happiness to yourself also.

116. Infer thee happier. Infer is used in an unusual sense; Newton explains it, ‘By inference make thee happier;’ Keightley, ‘Bear into a state of;’ Masson, ‘Make thee by consequence,’ or ‘bring thee on.’ Cf. the use of infer, ix. 754.

118. Such commission, &c. See v. 224-245.

121. Inventions. There may be a reference to “They have sought out many inventions,” Eccles. vii. 29; and “They provoked him to anger with their inventions,” Psalm cvi. 29. Hope. Understand ‘to find out.’

122. The invisible King, &c. “The King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God,” 1 Timothy, i. 17.

123. Suppressed in night. Lit. ‘put down under night.’

126-130. Knowledge is as food, &c. Keightley quotes a parallel passage from Davenant’s Gondibert, published in 1651:

For though books serve as diet of the mind,
If knowledge early got self-value breeds,
By false digestion it is turned to wind,
And what should nourish on the eater feeds.—II. viii. 22.

131. Lucifer, ‘Light-bringer,’ was the classic name for Venus, as the morning star. In Isaiah, xiv. 12, the name is applied to the King of Babylon; early Christian writers applied the title to Satan in his fall. Cf. v. 708, 760, and notes on 708 and 766.

135. His place. There may be an allusion to the expression used of Judas, who went “to his own place,” Acts, i. 25.

139. At least, &c. The connection of at least not being clear, it has been proposed to read at last. I take who thought as equivalent to ‘in thinking,’ and paraphrase the sentence: Our
envious foe hath at least failed when he thought that all were rebellious.

141. *Strength.* Stronghold, seat of strength.

142. *Us dispossessed.* We being dispossessed; case absolute, which in English is the nominative, but Milton follows the Latin idiom of the ablative absolute; thus *him destroyed,* ix. 130.

143. *Fraud.* Here, and at ix. 643, Newton defines it, 'misfortune, ruin, one of the senses of *fraus;*’ and quotes:—

Quis deus in fraudem, que dura potentia nostra
Egit?—Æneid, x. 72.

But in both places the idea of snares, 'dolus,' 'insidiæ' (as Dobson translates it), seems rather to be conveyed.

144. *Drew many.* See i. 609, and v. 710. *Their place knows no more.* The expression occurs in *Job,* vii. 10; *Psalm* ciii. 16.

145. *Kept...their station.* *Jude,* 6.

152. *My damage, &c.* Absurdly supposed to cause injury or loss to me.


160. *Earth be changed, &c.* Earth would become like Heaven from the happy and holy lives of the inhabitants; and on their being transferred to Heaven it would resemble Earth in having the inhabitants of Earth dwelling in it.

162. *Inhabit lax.* Dwell apart, at large.


165. *Overshadowing Spirit.* See *Genesis,* i. 2; *Luke,* i. 35; and note on i. 21.

167. *Heaven.* The heaven of our universe, not the abode of God.

168-173. *Boundless the deep...fate.* This passage is differently punctuated. Pearce, Newton, Todd, Major, follow the first edition, and place a full stop after *space* (169), and a comma after *not* (172); the reading in the text is that of Keightley and Masson. According to the former punctuation the meaning is: The deep is boundless, but the space contained in it is notvacuous and empty, because there is an infinitude and I fill it. Though I, who am myself uncircumscribed, set bounds to my goodness, and do not exert it everywhere, yet neither Necessity nor Chance influences my actions. According to the latter: Chaos is boundless because I am boundless who fill infinitude; nor is Chaos empty of my presence, though I withdraw myself from it, dwelling in Heaven. Keightley supplies *he before who,* and takes 'who fill infinitude' as the predicate of *I,* but the order is, 'I who fill infinitude am (boundless).'
182, 184, 187. Glory is given to each of the three persons of the Trinity, according to their several attributes; the goodness, power, and wisdom of God, or, as in line 195, ‘majesty, sapience, and love.’

192. So sang. Milton chooses sang as more musical here than the sung of 182; and see iii. 383, note.

196. All his Father in him shone. See iii. 139, and note.

201. Two brassen mountains. “There came four chariots out from between two mountains; and the mountains were mountains of brass,” Zechariah, vi. 1.

202. Harnessed. See Ode on the Nativity, 244, note.

204. Within them Spirit lived. “The spirit of the living creature was in the wheels,” Ezekiel, i. 20.

205. Heaven opened wide her gates. See v. 254; and cf. ii. 880.

206. Sound. Objective on moving.

207. To let forth the King of Glory. The reference is to Psalm xxiv. 7-10.

212. Wasteful. Waste, desolate, vastus.

214. And surging waves. Newton and Todd think that and is a misprint for in.

215. With the centre mix the pole. Of course in Chaos there was neither centre nor pole; the metaphor is taken from the sea in a storm, the very centre of the earth mingling, as it were, with the extremities.

217. Omnific. All-creating; omnific is a word of Milton’s coinage, like petrific, x. 294.

219. In paternal glory. In the glory of his Father.

224. The servid wheels. The words of Horace, already quoted in describing the games of the fallen angels; see ii. 531, 532, and note.

225. The golden compasses. “He set a compass upon the face of the depth,” Proverbs, viii. 27: see also Job, xxvi. 7; Psalm civ. 5; Isaiah, xl. 12.

230. Thus far extend, &c. Psalm civ. 9.

232. Thus God, &c. Genesis, i. 1-25 brings us down to line 519.

235. His brooding wings. See i. 21, and note.

239-242. Then founded, &c. Keightley “doubts if there be a more difficult passage than this in the whole poem.” His note is, “By ‘the rest’ we understand what remained after the dregs had been purged out and separated; and we take ‘founded’ and ‘conglobed’ to be participles qualifying it; ‘like things to like’ being parenthetic. We would then interpret the passage thus: the rest having been melted, fused, or run (comp. i. 703),
and 'conglobed' or formed into two spheres (a hollow one for heaven, a solid one for earth), similar substances having combined for this purpose, he 'disparted' or separated the spheres, putting each in its 'several' or separate place, and he then 'spun out' the air between them, and 'hung' in the exact centre the earth, which was 'self-balanced,' because from its globular form, and equal distance from each point of the external sphere, it could not incline or move in any one direction more than another. Perhaps 'founded' and 'conglobed' may be taken as active participles, governing 'like things.'"

_Founded._ Melted and fused together, as in i. 703, from _fundere_, to pour; or established, from _fundare_, to found.

242. Earth, self-balanced, on her centre hung. Earth is the objective on hung. Hume refers to Ovid as the original of this line:—

Nec circumfuso pendebat in aere tellus
Ponderibus librata suis.—Metam., i. 12.

The same idea occurs in the _Ode on the Nativity_—

And the well-balanced world on hinges hung.—122.

243-245. Light ethereal... sprung from the deep. He does not say that light was created, but that, as already described (iii. 1-12), the 'first-born offspring of Heaven,' the 'first of things,' it 'sprung from the deep,' and 'invested the rising world.' In the description of the creation in 2 Esdras, it is said, "Then commandedst thou a bright light to come forth out of thy treasures," vi. 40.

_Qinctessence pure._ See iii. 716, note.

250. _By the hemisphere._ "Because, on account of the spherical figure of the earth and heaven, the portion between them formed two hemispheres, of which, with respect to the earth, one must be in darkness when the other was in light."

—(Keightley.)

254. _Orient light._ See note on _orient_, i. 546. Keightley has a full stop after _choirs_, and understands 'for' before _when._

255. _Exhaling._ Rising up like a vapour; neut.

256. _With joy and shout, &c._ "Where wast thou when I laid the foundations of the earth?... when the morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy?" Job, xxxviii. 4, 7.

264. _The firmament._ The Hebrew word translated 'firmament' in Genesis, i. 6, also means 'expansion,'—the word given in the margin; and so he calls it here, 'expanse of liquid air.' Compare the account in 2 Esdras: "Upon the second day thou createdst the heavenly air, and commandedst it, that,
going between, it should make a division between the waters, that the one part might remain above, and the other beneath,” vi. 41.

272. Fierce extremes. Such as Chaos consisted of; see ii. 895-910.

277. Involved. Wrapped up (in the womb).

280. Prolific. Causing to bring forth; used actively, and not in its present sense of very fruitful.

282. Genial. Productive, propagating; in the literal sense of genialis; so genial bed, viii. 598.

283. Be gathered, &c. The words of Genesis, i. 9.

293. Direct. Straight, perpendicular.

296. Of armies thou hast heard. In Raphael’s narrative of the war in Heaven in Book vi.

299. Torrent rapture. Rushing rapidity, rapid torrent; both words used in their primary sense, as current in line 67; and so serpent error (302), literally, creeping wandering; and lapse, viii. 263.

304. Easy. To remove the stop at wore would improve the rhythm, if not the sense too.

305. All. Adjectival to ground, ‘all the ground except within the banks;’ or adverbial to dry, ‘entirely dry, except,’ &c.

306. Perpetual. Perpetually, continually. Keightley explains it as ‘long,’ perpetuus, and quotes, “Perpetuis soliti patres considere mensis,” Æneid, vii. 176. He says, “The idea in the poet’s mind seems to have been that of a serpent, probably suggested by line 302.” Rather, as Richardson says, “the rivers are imagined as persons of great quality, the length of their robe trailing after them.”

311. Fruit-tree yielding fruit after her kind, whose seed is in herself. Milton makes the fruit-tree feminine, though in the Bible of 1611 it is neuter—Genesis, i. 11. This is not, however, an instance of the use of her for its, as there is a personification—herself.

315. The tender grass. The marginal reading for ‘grass,’ Genesis, i. 11. Verdure and verdant are from viridis, green.

317. Sudden flowered. Milton speaks of the several creations as coming into existence when the word went forth,— ‘forthwith’ (243), ‘immediately’ (285), ‘sudden’ (317), ‘straight’ (453). It is not so stated in the account in Genesis, but see 2 Esdras: “As soon as the word went forth the work was incontinently made; for immediately great and innumerable fruit did spring up,” vi. 43, 44.

321. The smelling gourd. This is the reading of the first and second editions. Bentley proposed swelling, and it has
been adopted by most editors, as making better sense than smelling, which has occurred already in 319, and would be a very natural misprint for swelling.

The corny reed. Hume says ‘of or like horn,’ Lat. corneus. But it is clearly the adj. of corn; ‘the reed of corn.’

322. In her field. This is a clear instance of the use of her for its; there is no personification, nor anything feminine about the reed. See note on its, i. 254.

Add the humble shrub. Add is the reading of the first two editions; in the third it is printed, or misprinted, and, which is followed by all subsequent editors without remark, except Professor Masson. And is evidently a printer’s error for add; the ‘humble shrub’ could not properly be coupled with the ‘reed,’ nor said to have ‘stood up,’ for Milton uses most appropriate expressions regarding each tree or plant,—the ‘gourd crept,’ the ‘reed stood up,’ and the ‘trees rose.’

323. Hair. Foliage, as coma is sometimes used; ‘nemorum coma,’ Horace. Implicit. Entangled, entwined; in the literal sense, as implicated, from the other supine of implico, to enfold.

325. Gemmed. Budded; the primary meaning of gemma is the bud or eye of a plant; and gemmare, whence Milton’s word gemmed, is to put forth buds.

331-337. God had yet not rained, &c. Genesis, ii. 5, 6.

340. The expanse of Heaven. The ‘firmament;’ see line 264, note, and Genesis, i. 14.

348. Altern. Alternately, ‘in their vicissitude.’

354. First the Sun. What follows is Milton’s own hypothesis.

356. Ethereal mould. See i. 285; ii. 139, and notes.

358. Sowed with stars. So in Spenser’s Hymn to Heavenly Beauty:

That bright shynie round still moving mass
The house of blessed God, which men call sky,
All sowed with glistering stars more thick than grass.—51.

359. Of light, &c. ‘He took the greater part of light transplanting it from its cloudy shrine, and placed it in the sun.’ This, however, is a different theory from what Milton gave in iii. 716, &c.

360. Her cloudy shrine, &c. The ‘cloudy tabernacle’ of 248.


368. Their small peculiar. The small portion belonging to themselves independent of what they received from the sun.

Peculiar is used here as a noun and in its literal sense; the Lat. peculium (from pecunia, property, and that from pecus, cattle) denoting the private property which a son or slave acquired with the consent of the paterfamilias.
370. His east. Compare the opening lines of Canto iii. of the Corsair, 'his own regions,' line 9.

The glorious lamp. The sun is called a 'lamp' in both Greek and Latin authors,—Sophocles, Antigone, 870; Virgil, Aeneid, iii. 637.

372. Focund to run. The allusion is to Psalm xix. 5, where it is said of the sun, that he "rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race."

373. Longitude. From east to west. In Milton longitude is used when we should say 'latitude;' see iii. 576, and note.

374. The Pleiades. Seven stars in the constellation Taurus. Newton observes that in saying the Pleiades danced before the sun, he intimates very plainly that the creation was in the spring, according to the common opinion. Cf. Virgil, Georgics, ii. 338.


379. In that aspect. In opposition; an astronomical term, see vi. 313.

382. Dividual. Divided; qualifying reign.

385. Their. Evening's and morning's. Professor Masson has her for their, but does not tell us why.

388. Reptile literally means creeping; Lat. repto (another form of serpo), to creep. The 'moving creature' of Genesis, i. 20, is in the margin translated 'creeping' creature; and 'that hath life' is 'living soul,' Milton's expression.

400. Shoals. Supply 'with;' 'swarm with fry and with shoals.'

402. Sculls. Shoal and scull are from the same root, A.S. scyian, to divide, separate. A shoal or scull is a number of fish divided off together from the main body; a shoal, shallow, or shelf, is a separate bank rising from the main bed. Shoal and scull are now applied to fishes; but formerly the application was less limited.

The youth in skulls flock and run together, and crave that they may have Agnes.—Foxe, Acts and Monuments, i.

409. In jointed armour. The reference is probably to lobsters. On smooth. 'On smooth seas.'

410. Bended dolphins. By the dolphin is meant the porpoise. Bended refers to its forming its back into a curve when it is taking a spring, and the expression is taken from Ovid, 'tergo delphina recurvo,' Fast., ii. 113.

412. Tempest. Richardson (Dictionary) says that Milton followed Ben Jonson in making a verb of tempest, and that he adopted the French, tempester:
By their excess
Of cold in virtue, and cross heat in vice,
Thunder and tempest on those learned heads.—Poetaster, v. 1.

Leviathan. See i. 201, note; and 2 Esdras, vi. 49, 52.
417. Tepid. Warm, so as to hatch their brood as a bird does.
419. Disclosed is used by Shakespeare also in this sense of
the opening of the egg at the birth of the young birds:—

As patient as the female dove,
When that her golden couplets are disclosed.—Hamlet, v. 1.

420. Callow. Bare, bald, without feathers, as a young bird
is when hatched. Fledge. Able to fly, feathered; see iii. 627.
421. Summed their pens. Completed the growth of their
wings. In falconry summed is applied to a hawk when it has
its feathers, and is fit to be taken from the eyrie. Pens, wing-
feathers, is used in the sense of penna, a feather, which in the
plural means wings. He uses summed again in the same sense,
‘with prosperous wing full summed,’ Paradise Regained, i. 14.
Soaring the air. Soar, used actively; or air, cognate accusa-
tive, like ‘wing the region’ (425). Sublime. Aloft, on high;
an adj. agreeing with they. See ii. 528; iii. 72; vi. 771; and
x. 536.
422. Under a cloud in prospect. To one looking, the ground
would have appeared to be under a cloud—shaded by the
number of birds. Stillingfleet, however, explains it: They
soared so high as to be just beneath the clouds.
424. Eyries. Nests; from ey, egg—i.e., eggery.
426. Ranged in figure, wedge their way. Forming themselves
into a figure like a Λ, they make their way like a wedge.
Du Bartas refers to this custom, describing the migration of
cranes:—

Afront each band a forward captain flies,
Whose pointed bill cuts passage through the skies;
Two skilful serjeants keep the ranks aright,
And with their voice hasten their tardy flight.

her appointed times; and the turtle and the crane and the
swallow observe the time of their coming,” Jeremiah, viii. 7.
429. With mutual wing easing their flight. Each taking it
in turn to steer the figure by flying first.
432. Floats. Flutteres, undulates. Kightley says, ‘fleets,
floats away.’
434. Painted wings. The ‘pictæ volucres’ of Virgil, Æneid, iv. 525.
435. The solemn nightingale. Milton shows his fondness for the nightingale by the frequent reference he makes to it. See v. 40, note.
438. The swan, &c. In Donne's Progress of the Soul, there is a passage on the swan containing similar expressions to those here:—
When goodly, like a ship in her full trim,
A swan so white that you may unto him
Compare all whiteness, but himself to none,
Glistened along, and as he glided watched,
And with his arched neck this poor fish catched.
It moved with state, as if to look upon
Low things scorned.—xxiv.

And cf. also—
The jealous swan there swimming in his pride
With his arched breast the waters did divide, &c.

—Drayton, Man in the Moon.

439. Mantling. Spreading themselves out like a mantle; agreeing with wings. To mantle is a term in falconry; a hawk mantles when she spreads out her wings.
440. Her state. The canopy, as it were, which would be over a barge of state; see Il Penseroso, 37, note. Oary feet. Using her feet as oars.
441. The dank. The water.
443. The crested cock. So in Ovid, 'cristatus ales,' Fast., i.
445.
444. The other. 'The other (cock):' the peacock.
450. With evening harps and matin. The day began with the evening. See note on Sabbath evening, viii. 246. Matin, morning.
451. Her refers to soul. In the original editions soul was misprinted sour, until corrected by Bentley.
457. Lair. The place where a wild beast lies, is laid, his bed; so layer of earth, a stratum or bed. Wons. See note on won, i. 764.
461. Those. The 'wild beasts;' these, the (tame) cattle in the field.
Rare. By themselves, here and there; 'rari nantes,' Æneid, i. 118.
462. At once. Together. But Keightley explains it 'the moment they upsprung.' Broad herds. The expression occurs in the Iliad, i. 678.
463. Calved. Produced young.
466. Rambant ... ounce. See iv. 343, 344, and notes.
467. Libbard. An old form of leopard.
468. Rising. To be pointed off with mole, and not, as Keightley has, with ounce, libbard, and tiger.
470. Scarce. With difficulty, vix.
472. Fleeced the flocks, &c. The flocks rose fleeced and bleating—i.e., full-grown.
476. Worm formerly signified any reptile, and included all 'creeping things,' as here, line 482. Cf. ix. 1068; Paradise Regained, i. 313; and—

Hast thou the pretty worm of Nilus there,
That kills and pains not?—Antony and Cleopatra, v. 2.
'Tis slander,
Whose edge is sharper than the sword; whose tongue
Outvenoms all the worms of Nile.—Cymbeline, iii. 4.
With that she takes
One of the worst, her best-beloved snakes,
Softly, dear worm, soft and unseen, said she,
Into his bosom steal.—Cowley, Davidis, i.

Fans. Wings; see the note on vans, ii. 927.
477. Smallest lineaments, &c. They decked their small, perfectly finished forms, in all the dress of the gay summer.
478. Liveries. See note on livery, iv. 599.
480. These. The latter—i.e., the worms.
485. Emmet. The old form from which ant is contracted. Provident of future, &c. The expression Horace uses of the ant, 'haud ignara ac non incauta futuri,' Satires, I. i. 35. And of bees Virgil says—

Ingentes animos angusto in pectore versant.—Georgics, iv. 83.

—from which Milton adopts his in small room large heart enclosed.

487. Pattern of just equality perhaps hereafter. Milton did not consider that 'just equality' had yet arisen; so the Angel is made to say that the ant's republic may be a type of what possibly may be found among men hereafter. Newton quotes as a parallel the following from Milton's tract, The Ready and Easy Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth, published in 1660:

"'Go to the ant, thou sluggard,' saith Solomon; 'consider her ways and be wise: which having no prince, ruler, or lord, provides her meat in the summer, and gathers her food in the harvest.' Which evidently shows that they who think the nation undone without a king, though they look grave and
haughty, have not so much true spirit and understanding in them as a pismire. Neither are these diligent creatures hence concluded to live in lawless anarchy, or that commended, but are set the examples to imprudent and ungoverned men, of a frugal and self-governing democracy or commonwealth; safer and more thriving in the joint providence and counsel of many industrious equals, than under the single domination of one imperious lord."

490. The female bee, &c. It was an opinion in Milton's day that it was the females among the bees who worked, and that the males were drones.

497. Mane. Virgil speaks of the manes (juba) of serpents, Æneid, ii. 266.

503. Was flown, &c. A Latin idiom; so in vi. 335, 'was run by angels—see the note.

504. Frequent. In large numbers; see i. 797, note. Of the sixth Day yet remained. Sc., a part remained; it was not yet ended.

505. There wanted. There was absent; a neuter verb—see iv. 338, v. 147, notes. The end. The object.

506. A creature, who, not prone, &c. Compare the parallel passage in Ovid:—

Sanctius his animal, mentisque capacious altae
Deerat adhuc, et quod dominari in cetera posset. . . .
Finxit in effigiem moderantium cuncta deorum.
Pronaque cum spectent animalia cetera terram,
Os hominí sublimé dedit, ecelumque tueri
Jussit, et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.—Metam., i. 76.

A creature of a more exalted kind
Was wanting yet, and then was man designed,
Conscious of thought, of more capacious breast,
For empire formed, and fit to rule the rest. . . .
Thus while the mute creation downward bend
Their sight, and to their earthly mother tend,
Man looks aloft, and with erected eyes
Beholds his own hereditary skies.—Dryden.

509. Upright. Erect. See quotation under note on strict, ii. 241; and iv. 288. Front. Forehead; brow; see iv. 300.

510. From thence. Therefore, in consequence of his being so.

517. For where is not He present? The Divine Word or Son had gone forth from the Father in Heaven (l. 219) to create the world, but we are reminded that God is still present everywhere.

519-534. Let us make man, &c. Gen. i. 26-31; ii. 7, 8, 15-18.

535. Wherever thus created . . . thence, &c. From whatever place you were thus created in he brought thee to this delicious
grove. In accordance with the Scripture narrative, "God formed man, and planted a garden, and there he put the man whom he had formed;" the inference being that man was not created in Eden, but after his creation was brought there; and in 2 Esdras, iii. 6, we read, "Thou leddest him into Paradise, which thy right hand had planted."

543. Works. Causes, brings; see iv. 49, note.

557. His great idea. The original meaning of the word idea, and the sense in which it is used here, is the image, representation, or model, which we form of a thing in our mind. The following passage, in which idea has the same reference as here, will illustrate its old meaning:—

God Almighty in the fabric of the universe first contemplated himself and reflected on his own excellencies; from which he drew and constituted those first forms which are called ideas; so that every species which was afterwards expressed was produced from that first idea, forming that wonderful contexture of created beings. . . . And though nature always intends a consummate beauty in her productions, yet through the inequality of the matter, the forms are altered; and in particular human beauty suffers alteration for the worse. For which reason, the artful painter and the sculptor, imitating the Divine Master, form to themselves, as well as they are able, a model of the superior beauties, and reflecting on them, endeavour to correct and amend the common nature, and to represent it as it was first created, without fault either in colour or lineament. This idea, which we call the goddess of painting and of sculpture, descends upon the marble and cloth, and becomes the original of those fine arts.—Bellori, translated in Dryden's Parallel of Poetry and Painting.

562-565. Job, xxxviii. 7; Psalm, xxiv. 7.

563. Stations. This is the reading of the first edition; in the second it is station, which, though probably a misprint, is followed by Newton, Todd, Tonson, Cowden Clarke, and others. The station of a planet, Newton says, is a term of art when the planet appears neither to go backwards nor forwards, but to stand still and keep the same place in its orbit.

564. Pomp. Used here in its classical sense of a procession, and so again in viii. 61.

578. Pavement stars. 'The road of Heaven star-paved;' iv. 976.

581. Powdered with stars. This expression occurs in Sylvester's Du Bartas, Drummond's Poems, Boccacio's Decameron; and so would seem to have been a common one.

591. From work now resting. &c. Genesis, ii. 1-3.

596. All organs of sweet stop. Wind instruments.

597. On fret. The fret is the stop or hole on the sound-board of a musical instrument.

Ham. Govern these ventages with your fingers and thumb, give it
breath with your mouth, and it will discourse most eloquent music. Look you, these are the stops. . . . And there is much music, excellent voice in this little organ; yet cannot you make it speak. 'Sblood! do you think I am easier to be played on than a pipe? Call me what instrument you will, though you can fret me, you cannot play upon me.
—Hamlet, iii. 2.

598. Tempered. Modulated; see Lycidas, 33, note.
605. The giant Angels. He calls the rebel Angels 'giant Angels,' in allusion to the war of the Giants against Heaven in the Greek mythology; see i. 198, note. The 'return from the giant Angels' is described in vi. 880-892.
607. Created to destroy. To destroy what has been created.
619. The clear hyaline, the glassy sea. The 'crystalline ocean,' line 271; the expressions are borrowed from Revelation, iv. 6: 'Before the throne there was a sea of glass (θάλασσα ἰδαίμη) like unto crystal.' Hyaline is the Greek for 'glassy' or 'crystalline.'
624. Her nether ocean. The 'waters under the firmament,' the 'clear hyaline' being those above the firmament.
631. Thrice happy, &c. A translation of Virgil's well-known line—

O fortunatos nimiûm, sua si bona nôrint.—Georgics, ii. 458.


BOOK VIII.

The first edition of Paradise Lost consisted of only ten books; in the second, the number twelve was made by dividing the then seventh and the tenth. Thus the eleventh originally comprised the present seventh and eighth books, and lines 639-642 ran—

"... If else thou seek'st
Aught, not surpassing human measure, say."
To whom thus Adam gratefully replied:
"'What thanks sufficient,' &c.

In the second edition, the three lines with which the eighth book begins first appear, as an opening to the book.
14. *Resolve* was formerly used in the sense of *solve*, clear the doubts of, answer; “Christ *resolveth* a rich man how he may inherit everlasting life,” *Mark*, x., heading of chapter; and see *On Death of a Fair Infant*, 36.

15. *This goodly frame, this world.* The words of Hamlet: “This goodly frame, the earth,” ii. 2.


22. *To officiate.* To supply as a duty; see *note* on *officious*, line 99.

23. *Punctual.* Point-like, no bigger than a point; Lat. *punctum*, a point.


25. *Admire.* Wonder; see i. 690, *note*.

28. *So many nobler . . . greater so manifold.* ‘To create, so many nobler and so many times greater bodies.’

30. *For aught appears.* For anything we see or know to the contrary. *Their orbs.* The spheres to which they belong.

32. *The sedentary earth, &c.* According to the Ptolemaic theory, that the earth is the centre of the universe.

36. *Such a sumless journey, &c.* Brought such a long way and so swiftly. *Brought* agrees with *warmth* and *light*, and *journey* is the objective of distance, or governed by some such preposition as ‘through,’ understood.

37. *Incorporeal speed.* The ‘speed almost spiritual’ of line 110.

38. *Number.* Mathematical number; see 108, 113, 114.

40. *Which Eve perceiving, &c.* Newton justly observes, “What a lovely picture has the poet here drawn of Eve! As it did not become her to bear a part in the conversation, she modestly sits at a distance, but yet within view. She stays as long as the Angel and her husband are discoursing of things which it might concern her and her duty to know; but when they enter upon abstruser points, then she decently retires. So, Cephalus in Plato’s *Republic*, and Scævola in Cicero’s *De Oratore.*” Cf. iv. 637.

61. *Pomp.* Train, procession; as in vii. 564.

70. *This to attain, &c.* There are two ways of construing this passage, according as we take *this* to refer to what precedes or follows. “To attain this knowledge of the seasons and years, it matters not whether it be heaven or earth that moves.” —(Newton, Masson.) Or, “to attain this knowledge—viz., whether it be heaven or earth that moves—is of no importance.” —(Hume, Richardson, Dunster, Keightley.) In the latter con-
struction, to attain is the subject of imports; in the former, the clause whether heaven move or earth.

78. Wide. Wide of the mark.

83. Centric and eccentric. "Centric, or concentric, are such spheres whose centre is the same with, and eccentric such whose centres are different from, that of the earth. Cycle is a circle; epicycle is a circle upon another circle. Expedients of the Ptolemaics to solve the apparent difficulties in their system."—(Richardson.)

99. Officious. Officiating, line 22. The use of officious in the sense of meddling, taking too much on one's self, is modern; in Bailey's Dictionary, ed. 1747, the only meanings are, 'Ready to do one a good office, serviceable, very obliging:' these it has entirely lost. In Milton, officious is found only in its old sense, see ix. 104, and Paradise Regained, ii. 302.

100. For. As for, with respect to.

102. His line stretched out so far. The expression is taken from Job, xxxviii. 5.

108. Numberless. Pearce and Newton refer numberless to circles; Bentley and Keightley take it with swiftness, as in line 38.


130. Three different motions. The three motions of the earth are: Its diurnal revolution on its axis, which causes day and night; its annual orbit round the sun, which brings about the change of the seasons; and its libration or oscillation of itself, so that its axis is parallel with that of the world. The last motion is in the Ptolemaic theory called the 'trepidation' (see iii. 483, and note), and is, according to it, attributed to the ninth or crystalline sphere; but the Copernican system assigns it as well as the other motions to the earth itself.

131-133. Else . . . thou must ascribe . . . or save the sun, &c. Either . . . thou must ascribe . . . or save the sun, &c.

The construction and meaning is: Which three motions of the earth you must either ascribe (according to the Ptolemaic system) to several spheres moving in a contrary direction to the earth and crossing each other obliquely; or (according to the Copernican) you must (by attributing these motions to the earth) save the sun his labour, and that primum mobile, or nocturnal and diurnal rhomb supposed (to exist, in the Ptolemaic theory) invisible otherwise (i.e., except in supposition) beyond all stars—the wheel of day and night; which (supposed rhomb) needs not thy belief, if the earth, industrious of herself, bring about day by (revolving on her axis and) travelling east, and that part of her which is turned away from the sun meet night, while the other part is shone on by it.
The wheel of day and night. This is a translation of 'nocturnal and diurnal rhomb.' Milton often, as here, translates a Greek or Latin expression immediately after using it; thus 'the galaxy, that milky way,' vii. 579; 'the clear hyaline, the glassy sea,' vii. 619.

140. Luminous. Illuminer.
143. Enlightening her. Giving light to the moon.
144. Reciprocal, &c. Doing good in turn to the inhabitants of the moon,—if it is inhabited.
145. Her spots thou seest as clouds, &c. In Milton's day it was supposed that the moon had, like the earth, an atmosphere, clouds, and rain; but this has since been found to be erroneous.
148. Other suns. The reference may be to Jupiter and Saturn, which Galileo had discovered had each an attendant moon or satellite.

150. Communicating male and female light. The suns giving male or original light, and the moons female or borrowed light. Pliny speaks of the sun as a masculine star, drying all things; and the moon as a feminine and soft star, dissolving humours by night.

152. Stored. I understand it as qualifying suns and moons. The only commentators who refer to the difficulty are Keightley and Professor Masson; their notes are:—

"Stored, &c.—i.e., each orb (each of them) being supplied with living inhabitants. With—i.e., by."—(Keightley.)

"I believe that stored here qualifies world, and that the meaning is, 'Which two great sexes animate the world—a world stored perhaps in each of its orbs with some living things.' But it is possible that stored refers to sexes, or to suns and moons, in either of which connections an intelligible meaning would arise."—(Masson.)

155. Contribute. The accent is on the first syllable, as with attribute, lines 12 and 107.

157. This habitable. The earth; the adj. used for a substantive; so in vi. 78, 'this terrene.'

158. Light back to them. Bentley objects to light, as, if the fixed stars conveyed only a glimpse of light, it would be too much to say that the earth 'returns back light' in general, and he proposes nought for light. But according to the reasoning of the passage the earth does send out light, line 140; and so Bp. Pearce suggests like for light.

164. That spinning sleeps, &c. "Metaphors taken from a top, of which Virgil makes a whole simile, Æneid, vii. 378. It is an objection to the Copernican system, that if the earth moved round on her axis in twenty-four hours, we should be sensible of the rapidity and violence of the motion; and there-
fore to obviate this objection it is not only said that 'she advances her silent course with inoffensive pace that spinning sleeps on her soft axle,' but it is farther added, to explain it still more, 'while she paces even, and bears thee soft with the smooth air along;' for the air, the atmosphere, moves as well as the earth."—(Newton.)

173. Be lowly wise. Todd notes that one of Milton's letters to his friend Diodati concludes with 'Humilè sapiamus,' 'let us be lowly wise.' And Hume quotes the Latin phrase, 'Noli altum sapere.'

181. Intelligence. A term for a heavenly being, similar to 'Virtue' in v. 371. The expression 'pure intelligences' for 'Spirits of Heaven' occurs in Spenser's Hymn of Heavenly Beauty:

Fair is the Heaven where happy souls have place, . . .
More fair is that, where those ideas on high
Enranged be, which Plato so admired,
And pure Intelligences from God inspired.—78.

183. Nor with perplexing thoughts, &c. Compare the speech of the Chorus in Samson Agonistes, 300-306.
184. The sweet. The sweetness; noun for adj.
185. Molest. Infinitive on bid.
191-194. Not to know . . . but to know . . . is the prime wis-
dom, &c. Several passages on which this may have been based are to be found in the Scriptures:

The secret things belong unto the Lord our God; but those things which are revealed belong unto us and to our children for ever, that we may do all the words of this law.—Deuteronomy, xxix. 29.

Seeing there be many things that increase vanity, what is man the better?—Ecclesiastes, vi. 11.

Be not righteous over-much; neither make thyself over-wise.—Ecle-
siastes, vii. 16.

Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world.—Colos-
sians, ii. 8.

Keightley notes that in the doctrine in this passage (183-197) Milton is directly opposed to Bacon's teaching and philosophy. To qualify the impression the passage conveys in this respect, Professor Masson refers to Milton's enthusiastic outburst on the pleasures of scientific research and speculation in the third of his Profectiones Oratoria, and also his advocacy of Physical Science in his Tractate on Education. His real meaning, he adds, is probably the same as Goethe's in his famous aphorism (though that was uttered with reference rather to metaphysical
than to physical speculations): "Man is born not to solve the problem of the universe, but to find out where the problem begins, and then to restrain himself within the limits of the comprehensible."

195. Fond. Foolish; see iii. 470, note. Impertinence. Doing what does not pertain or belong to one.

197. Still to seek. Having always to seek; the search being still before us. To seek was an old phrase meaning 'at a loss'; see Comus, 366, and note.

211. Sweeter thy discourse is, &c. "The poet had here probably in mind the passage in Virgil:

Tale tuum carmen nobis, divina poeta,
Quale sopor fessis in gramine, quale per aestum
Dulcis aqve saliente sitim restinguere rivo.—Eclogue v. 45.

O heavenly poet! such thy verse appears,
So sweet, so charming to my ravished ears,
As to the weary swain, with cares opprest,
Beneath the sylvan shade, refreshing rest;
As to the feverish traveller, when first
He finds a crystal stream to quench his thirst.—Dryden.

"But the fine turn in the three last lines is entirely Milton’s own, and gives an exquisite beauty to this passage above Virgil’s."—(Newton.)

212. Fruits of palm-tree. Dates. Hume, Milton’s earliest commentator, and contemporary with him, writes: "The palm-tree bears a fruit called a date, full of sweet juice, a great restorative to dry and exhausted bodies, by augmenting the radical moisture. There is one kind of it called Palma Egiptiaca, which from its virtue against drought was named Ἀνθύρος, Sitim sedans."

213. From labour. After labour; to one returned from labouring.

225. Our fellow-servant. As the Angel described himself to St John: 'I am thy fellow-servant,' Revelation, xxii. 9.


239. Inure. Accustom, practise by use; uren is another form of the word, from utere, to use. Keightley says manure, inure, and ure, are from œuvre.

241. Barricadoed. Barricado was the old form of barricade.

246. Ere Sabbath evening. The day being from sunset to sunset, Sabbath evening means the evening before the Sabbath or seventh day, just as Christmas eve is the evening before Christmas; see vii. 581, 591, et seq. The Angels were required to watch at Hell-gates only on the day of the creation of man,
and, the seventh day beginning with the seventh evening, 'they returned ere evening.'


252. Desire, &c. It was (therefore) desire to converse longer with you that induced me to relate my story.

258. Gazed awhile the ample sky. The preposition on or at is omitted by poetic licence, and so in v. 272, 'a phœnix, gazed by all;' and Par. Reg., i. 414; but elsewhere in Milton gazed, when an active verb, is followed by on or upon.

263. Liquid lapse. See the note on torrent rapture, vii. 299.

265. All things smiled. In Tonson's edition of 1727, there is no stop after smiled, and a comma is placed after fragrance. But in Milton's editions and in Tonson's of 1711 there is, as in the text, a comma after smiled, and 'with fragrance' is taken with 'overflowed;'—my heart overflowed with joy and fragrance.

269. As lively vigour led. The second edition, and Tonson's, have and for as.

277. How came I. Keightley and Cowden Clarke read, 'how I came.' A note of interrogation is sometimes wrongly printed after here; no question is asked, but a request made, in this and similar constructions. See xi. 785, note; xii. 385; Lycidas, 92.


291. Insensible. 'Insensibly;' adverbial to passing.

296. Thy mansion wants thee. For wants, see Index to the Notes.

302. Led me up, &c. See vii. 535, note.

316. Submiss. Falling low, prostrate. Reared. In its primary sense, raised up.

323. But of the tree, &c. 'This being the great hinge on which the whole poem turns, Milton has marked it strongly. 'But of the tree—remember what I warn thee,'—he dwells and expatiates upon it from ver. 323 to 336, repeating, enforcing, fixing every word; it is all nerve and energy.'—(Richardson.)

335. Yet. Still. Dreadful...though in my choice, &c. The sound of it is still dreadful to me, though it is left to my choice not to incur it.

337. Purpose. Speech, discourse; as in iv. 337; see note.

338-449. Genesis, ii. 18-25, covers this portion of the narrative.

350. These. The latter—i.e., the beasts.

351. Stooped. Bent, swooping; a participle, as crowering.

379. Let not my words offend thee. Borrowed from the speech of Abraham, Genesis, xviii. 30.

382. This line is generally printed without any punctuation; it may either be read—
And these, inferior far, beneath me set?

Or,

And these inferior, far beneath me, set?

384. Sort. Consort, company together; cf. use of sorted, x. 651. Professor Masson explains it, “issue, come to pass, succeed.”

387. Intense . . . remiss. Stretched and slack. The metaphor is taken from the strings of a musical instrument, where if one is wound up tight and another slack there can be no harmony, only disparity; and so, there can be no society between man wound up and strained to a loftier faculty and understanding, and the brute, remiss, let down, and of a lower nature.

393. Each with their kind. Their for its; see note on its, i. 254.

395. Much less can bird, &c. Much less is to be taken with line 391, what intervenes being parenthetical. The brute cannot be human consort (the beasts going in pairs according to their kind), much less can bird with beast (which are of different species) nor ox and ape (though of the same), but least of all can man and beast associate.

396. Converse. Dwell together; see ii. 184, note.

402. In pleasure. In allusion to the meaning of Eden, which is pleasure.

407. Second to me or like. Newton quotes from Horace:—

Unde nil majus generatur ipso,
Nec viget quidquid simile aut secundum.—Odes, I. xii. 17.

408. Converse. Accented on the second syllable, but as a noun now on the first.

410. Infinite descents. Governed by by understood; or the obj. of measure; or an adverbial clause qualifying inferior.

417. But in degree — the cause, &c. Only relatively perfect,—(and this want of perfection is) the cause of his desire to lessen or solace his defects with companionship with one like himself. His like. Like is a noun; the plural is in use still in the phrase ‘the likes of you,’ common as a provincialism, and in Ireland.

421. Through all numbers absolute. A translation of an expression used by Cicero, omnibus numeris absolutus, meaning perfect in all its parts. In Shakespeare absolute is common in the sense of perfect, finished; and Milton employs it in this sense in line 547.

423. His single imperfection. The imperfection of him single.
To manifest his single imperfection. To show that his being alone is an imperfection.

425. In unity. In being only one. Defective. Agreeing with image. Which. The antecedent is to beget like, &c.

429. So pleased. If you are so pleased—i.e., if you are pleased to do so.

435. Permissive. Permitted, agreeing with freedom. Milton uses this word only twice elsewhere; once actively, 'granting permission,'—'by his permissive will,' iii. 685; and once again passively,—'clad with permissive glory,' x. 451.

438. Knowing... of. Having knowledge of, acquainted with the nature of.


450. Other self. So in iv. 488, x. 128; like the Latin alter idem.

453. Earthly... heavenly. Understand 'nature;' cf. 'intellectual,' ix. 483. Overpowered... sunk down. As Daniel describes the effect of the heavenly vision on him: "As for me, straightway there remained no strength in me, neither is there breath left in me," Daniel, x. 17.


462. Abstract. For abstracted, and in its literal sense, carried away, removed (from himself). As in a trance, &c. Compare Balaam's account of the trance he fell into: "The man whose eyes are open hath said: he hath said, which heard the words of God, which saw the vision of the Almighty, falling into a trance, but having his eyes open," Numbers, xxiv. 3, 4.

464. Awake I stood. When awake I had stood.

465. My left side. The Scripture account does not say from what side the rib was taken, but simply 'one of his ribs.' Milton, however, adopts the idea of some commentators that it was from the left side, 'nearest my heart,' as Adam says, iv. 484; hence the use of cordial here, 'from the heart;' and see x. 886.

478. She disappeared, and left me dark. The same metaphor as he uses regarding the vision of his own wife in Sonnet xxiii. 14:

I waked, she fled, and day brought back my night.

485. Led by her heavenly Maker. The Lord God 'brought her unto the man,' Genesis, ii. 22.

488. Heaven in her eye. Newton quotes from Shakespeare:

The lustre in your eye, heaven in your cheek.

—Troilus and Cressida, iv. 4.

491. Turn. Favour, kind act. To do one a 'turn' is a phrase, meaning to do a kind act for a person; to do a bad turn,
an unkind act. The expression is now too homely and familiar for epic poetry, or to be used in the present connection.

494. Nor enviest. To be taken with ‘hast fulfilled.’ Thou hast fulfilled thy words, and dost not envy or grudge (thy gift).

500. Divinely brought. Brought by God,—line 485; see Index.

502. Conscience. Consciousness; an old use of conscience, as in Sonnet xxii. 10; 1 Corinthians, viii. 7; Hebrews, x. 2.

503. That would be wooed, &c. This recalls Shakespeare’s—

We cannot fight for love, as men may do;
We should be wooed, and were not made to woo.

—Midsummer Night’s Dream, ii. 2.

She’s beautiful, and therefore to be wooed;
She is a woman, therefore to be won.—1 Henry VI., v. 3.

The former contains the same sentiment as that before us—that woman is to be sought, and not herself woo; the latter quotation is similar merely in ‘wooed’ and ‘won’ being in proximity.

504. Obvious. Coming across the path, in the way; see Index.

505. To say all. To complete the list, or to sum all together or in one (of what caused her to turn from him). The construction of lines 501-507 is: Innocence and modesty, virtue and conscience of her worth, or (to say all) Nature herself wrought in her.

507. She turned. I.e., ‘turned away.’

509. Obsequious majesty. Compare the expressions ‘coy submission, modest pride,’ iv. 310.

510-520. To the nuptial bower, &c. See iv. 492-501, 689-713, 736-743, and 771-775.

518. The amorous bird of night sung spousal. ‘These, lulled by nightingales, embracing slept,’ iv. 771; and iv. 648, and v. 40, note.

532. Superior, unmoved. Nominatives, agreeing with I.


538. Too much of ornament. We have the same sentiment more fully in Samson Agonistes, 1025-1030.

539. Elaborate . . . exact. Both these words mean the same thing, ‘fully wrought, completely finished,’ the prep. e or ex in composition denoting completion.

547. Absolute. Perfect, complete; see line 421, and note.

552. Degraded. Placed in a lower grade or rank.

553. Shows. Appears; used before as a neuter in vii. 555.

555. Not after made occasionally. Hume points out that
this is a contradiction of Aristotle's saying of woman: "Animal occasionatum, non per se et ex principali naturae intentione generatum, sed ex occasione." Occasionally. For some particular occasion or object; this use of the word survives in the expression 'an occasional sermon,' which means one for some particular occasion.

567. For, what admirest thou, &c. The punctuation of this passage is not uniform. Newton and Todd follow the early editions, and have the interrogation after outside; Keightley and Masson as in the text. The latter is the simpler and more natural construction; the former will require what to be taken as a Greek acc. and outside the subject of transports. 'For what (why) does an outside transport thee?'

569. Cherishing, honouring, love. The words are taken from Ephesians, v. 28, 29; 1 Peter, iii. 7; and the promise made by the man—'to love and to cherish'—in the Marriage Service of the Church of England.

576. Adorn. Milton uses adorned several times, and so far as the metre is concerned might have done so here; but it is an adjective rather than a participle, not 'made adorned, ornamented,' but made beautiful, perfect.

578. Who sees, &c. Who knows when you are least wise; 'art seen' being equivalent simply to 'art,' 'art seen to be.' Or, according to Professor Masson, 'Who beholds thee in those moments when thou art to be seen in thy least wise condition.'

583. Divulged. The literal meaning of divulge is to make common.

589. Love refines the thoughts, &c. So in Spenser's Hymn in Honour of Love:

    Such is the power of that sweet passion,
    That it all sordid baseness doth expel,
    And the refined mind doth newly fashion
    Unto a fairer form.—190.

And Tennyson's lines on the elevating passion of love:

    I made them lay their hands in mine and swear . . .
    To lead sweet lives in purest chastity,
    To love one maiden only, cleave to her,
    And worship her by years of noble deeds,
    Until they won her; for indeed I know
    Of no more subtle master under Heaven
    Than is the maiden passion for a maid,
    Not only to keep down the base in man,
    But teach high thought, and amiable words
    And courtliness, and the desire of fame,
    And love of truth, and all that makes a man.—Guinevere.
591. **Judicious.** Full of judgment and discernment; an old use of it, as applied to persons,—'the judicious Hooker;' 'the judicious reader.' **Scale.** Ladder; as in v. 509, and **scaled**, iii. 541.

593. **Not sunk.** If thou art not sunk.

598. Of goes with **deem. Genial bed. Lectus genialis,** Horace, **Epistles,** i. i. 87. Cf. the use of **genial,** vii. 28a.

601. **Decencies. Graceful acts;** so **decent** is used in iii. 644.

607. **Subject not.** Do not make me a slave to them.

609. **From the sense, &c.** In consequence of the sense presenting them variously. **Represent** is equivalent to **present;** see v. 104; x. 849.

628. **Restrained conveyance.** The limited mode of going from place to place, as with inhabitants of the earth.

630. **Parting. Departing.**

631. **Green Cape and Verdant Isles.** Cape Verd (i.e., Green) and the Cape Verd Islands.

632. **Hesperian.** It is thus spelt in the original editions, though elsewhere **Hesperian. My signal to depart.** When he met Adam he told him he could stay 'till evening rise,' v. 376.

636. **Else.** Unswayed by passion.

645. **Benediction.** Gracious speech, thanks. **Since to part.** 'Since you are about to depart,' or 'since we are about to part.'

653. **Adam to his bower.** The conversation between Raphael and Adam took place in his bower, v. 300, 375, 378. When it was over, the Angel arose, 644, Adam followed him, and, after he had gone up to Heaven, returned 'to his bower.'

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**BOOK IX.**

2. **With man, as with his friend.** The expression is borrowed from the Scriptures: "The Lord spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend," **Exodus,** xxxiii. 11.

3. **Genesis,** xviii.

12. The same picture of the connection of Sin and Death occurs in x. 249-264—

For Death from Sin no power can separate; where Sin is similarly described as the 'shade' or 'shadow of Death.' See **Romans,** v. 12.

14-19. The wrath of God on fallen man was a higher theme and more worthy of being celebrated in an epic than the anger
of heroes or gods which forms the subject of the Iliad, the Odyssey, and the Æneid,—the three greatest epics the world had yet seen.

15. His foe. Hector, who, after having fled thrice round the walls of Troy, was slain by Achilles, in revenge for his having killed his friend Patroclus; an incident related in the Iliad, the subject of which was, as announced in the first line, "the wrath of (stern) Achilles."

17. Turnus, the son of Daunus, the king of the Rutuli at the time of the arrival of Æneas in Italy. He fought against Æneas because Lavinia, the daughter of king Latinus, who had been betrothed to him, was given to Æneas; in the end he was slain by the hand of the Trojan hero. This episode is related near the end of the Æneid, the plot of which mainly turns on the ire of Juno to Æneas.

19. The Greek. Ulysses, pursued by the anger of Neptune, the god of the sea; the story of whose wanderings is the subject of the Odyssey.

Clythered's son. Æneas, who suffered from the wrath of Juno. Venus, the mother of Æneas, is said to have arisen from the foam of the sea near Cythera; and that island was famed for her worship, whence her epithet of Cytherea.

20. If answerable style. This refers back to line 6, before the parenthesis. "I now must change these notes to tragic, if answerable style I can obtain from my celestial patroness."

21. My celestial patroness. The heavenly muse, Urania; i. 6, vii. 31.

23. Dictates. The accent was formerly on the first syllable; but now as a verb the stress is on the second syllable, and as a noun on the first. For another instance of the old pronunciation, see line 355.

26. Long choosing and beginning late. Milton had proposed the story of King Arthur as a subject for an epic poem; he had also sketched out the plan of a drama on the Fall of Man. Paradise Lost was begun about two years before the Restoration, when the poet was fifty-two years of age.

29. Chief mastery. Supply, 'it being considered to be' (chief mastery to dissect). Dissect. The allusion is to the minute accounts of the wounds received by heroes in fight.


34. Furniture. The word furniture was not formerly limited to signify the furniture or movable articles of a room or house, but referred to 'whatsoever are requisite to furnish a house, or any other place or thing,' Bailey's Dictionary.
Whereas the king, being in the parts beyond the seas, needed ready money toward the furniture of his wars.—Lambard, *Perambulation of Kent*, p. 215, ed. 1596.

35. Impresses is spelt impresses in the original text, from Ital. *impresa*, a device or emblem on a shield. It occurs in Shakespeare:—

From mine own windows torn my household coat,
Rased out my impress.—*Richard II.*, iii. 1.

36. Bases. The base was an apron worn as part of a knight's dress on horseback. See *Faerie Queene*, V. v. 20. The expression *tinsel trappings* may have been taken from the *Faerie Queene*:

Her garments all were wrought of beaten gold,
And all her steed with *tinsel trappings* shone.—III. i. 15.

37. Marshalled feast, &c. The guests were marshalled or conducted to their places by the *marshal*; the *sewer* marched in before the dishes and arranged them on the table; and the *seneschal* was the steward or major-domo.

*Marshal*, *mareschal*, from Teut. *mara*, a horse, and *scalc*, a servant; the 'curator equorum.' *Sewer*, from *sew*, to assay or taste. *Seneschal*, Teut. *sineigs*, senior, elder, and *scalc*, servant.

39. The skill, &c. The duties of marshals, sewers, and seneschals.

41. Me . . . remains. The Latin construction *me manet*; it remains to me.

Skilled of. This expression also follows the Latin idiom of a gen. after *peritus*; but Todd quotes another instance of the use of 'skilled' followed by 'of' from Harrington's *Ariosto*:

As holy men of human manners *skilled*.—iv. 42.

44. Unless an age too late, &c. He expressed the same dread in 1641, when announcing to his countrymen his intention of composing a poem “to be left so written to after-times, as they should not willingly let die:”——

If to the instinct of nature, and the emboldening of art, aught may be trusted, and there be nothing *adverse in our climate, or the fate of this age*, it haply would be no rashness, from an equal diligence and inclination, to present the like offer in our ancient stories.—*Reason of Church Government*, ii.

45. Damp my intended wing depressed. A classical idiom; 'damp my wing so as to depress it.'

41-47. Milton has two or three similar prologues in the course of the poem,—iii. 1-55, and vii. 1-39,—in which he refers to
himself or his feelings. Such digressions of a poet he defends in the *Reason of Church Government*:

Although a poet, soaring in the high region of his fancies, with his garland and singing robes about him, might, without apology, speak more of himself than I mean to do; yet for me, sitting here below in the cool element of prose, a mortal thing among many readers of no empyreal conceit, to venture and divulge unusual things of myself I shall petition to the gentler sort it may be no envy to me.

53. *Late fled.* See iv. 1014.
58. *Midnight* should be pronounced as two distinct words, so as to throw the emphasis equally on *mid* and *night*.
59. *From compassing the earth.* Job, i. 7. *Cautious of day.* Beware of, and so avoiding, the daytime.
60-62. See iv. 555-590.
64. *Thrice the equinoctial,* &c. Three days he went round the earth from east to west, and four days from north to south, but all the time kept himself on the dark side of it.

The *colures* are two imaginary circles intersecting each other at right angles at the poles. Newton considers that *traversing* means going obliquely; according to Keightley it means simply 'going along,' as in line 434.

67. *The coast averse.* The side of Eden which was away from. See iv. 178-182; 543-550, where the 'entrance' and the 'cherubic watch' are described.

77-82. *From Eden,* &c. From lines 63 to 67 Satan's journey has been described astronomically. Here it is more fully detailed geographically. On leaving Eden, iv. 1014, Satan went north over the Black Sea, the Sea of Azof, still north over Siberia by the Ob which flows into the Arctic Ocean, over the north pole and down on the other side of the earth to the Antarctic; from east to west he went from the Orontes, a river of Lydia, to the Isthmus of Darien, and on, over India, back again to Eden.

*Pontus.* The Euxine or Black Sea. *The pool Maotis.* *Maotis palus,* the sea of Azof, called the *Tauric pool, Par. Reg.,* iv. 79.
80. *Orontes.* A large river of Syria, which flows into the Mediterranean. *The Ocean barred.* See Job, xxxviii. 10.
86. See *Genesis,* iii. 1.
87. *Irresolute of thoughts revolved.* Not having brought to a due resolution or conclusion the thoughts he had been revolving.
89. *Imp.* See *Sonnet xv.* 8, note.
104. *Officious.* In its old sense of doing one's duty. See viii. 99, note.
113. *Growth, sense, reason.* The various degrees of life, or animated nature, comprising the vegetable and animal kingdoms, and man, with his rational nature, summing up all three.

130. *Him destroyed.* The obj. case absolute; so in vii. 142.

141. *Well nigh half,* &c. See ii. 692; v. 710; and Revelation, xii. 4.

146. *If they at least,* &c. In his reply to Abdiel (v. 853 et seq.), Satan argues against the Angels being created beings.

156. *Psalm cxi. 11,* civ. 4.

157. *Their earthly charge.* *Psalm cxi. 11.* *Earthly.* This is the reading in the poet's own editions; the common one is *earthly.*

166. *This essence.* Himself, his spiritual nature. *To incarnate.* Inf. on constrained. *Imbrute* occurs in *Comus,* 468, which see.

170. *Obnoxious.* Exposed, liable to.

176. *Son of despite.* Offspring of hatred, created for my punishment. A Hebraism, like 'sons of Belial,' wicked men; 'sons of pride,' proud men.

186. *Nor nocent.* It was *not nocent* in the first edition, but altered in the second.

187. *In at his mouth.* Cf. vi. 352.


192. *Whenas.* An archaic form for 'when,' 'at the time that.'

193. *The humid flowers, that breathed,* &c. This beautiful passage, says Todd, has been the parent of two elegant imitations:

> See, Nature hastes her earliest wraiths to bring,
> With all the incense of the breathing spring.—Pope, *Messiah.*
> The breezy call of incense-breathing morn.—Gray's *Elegy.*

199. *Creatures wanting voice.* An instance of the word *creature* being applied to inanimate objects; see iii. 442.


213. *Hear.* This is the reading of the first edition; in the second it is *hear.* The change probably arose from the similarity of the type, 'h' and 'b;' either word suits the context, and some editors read one, some the other.

218. *Spring of roses.* *Spring,* from which comes 'sprig,' originally meant shoot, rod, and was poetically used for grove or coppice, and in some parts of England a plantation of young trees is called a *spring.*

222. *Object.* Professor Masson has *objects,*—a misprint, no doubt.

245. *Wilderness.* *Wildness*; so used in *Measure for Measure.*——
Such a warped slip of wilderness
Ne'er issued from his blood.—iii. 1.

249. Solitude sometimes is best society. Cf. the proverbial saying of Scipio, ‘Nunquam minus solus quam cum solus.’
288, 289. The construction of these two lines has not yet been attended to. The note of interrogation after ‘dear’ requires ‘which’ as well as ‘they’ to be the subject of ‘found,’ and ‘mistranslation’ to be taken as a participle. We have then a classical use of the relative, and ‘which how found they?’ is equivalent to ‘and how did they find?’ or there is an anacolouthon, and the whole clause is adjectival to ‘which,’ and the sentence broken off incomplete.
302. Affront. Meeting face to face. See i. 391.
306-308. Neither despise the subtlety of one who could seduce angels; nor think that the aid of others is superfluous.
313. Shame to be overcome. Shame lest he should be overcome.
314. Raised unite. Newton explains it,—“Would unite and add vigour to wisdom, watchfulness, and every virtue, mentioned before. If this be not the meaning, it must be understood thus, Would raise the utmost vigour, and collect it all when raised.”
327. Harm precedes not sin. We shall not suffer harm before sinning.
328. Foul esteem. Low estimation, disparaging opinion.
334. The event. The issue, result.
335. What is faith, &c.? What merit is there in faith, love, or virtue when left untried, and without exterior help to sustain it? That is, to prove one’s faith, &c., a person should have it put to the test when all their strength lies in themselves, and not in the help of others. Unassayed alone. If it has not been assayed alone, and unsustained by external help.
337. Let us not then suspect, &c. Let us not suppose our happy state to have been left so imperfect.
339. As not secure. As not to be secure. To single or combined. To us when single or combined.
365. Most likely. To avoid it would be most likely.
371. Securer. Less on our guard, ‘less prepared,’ 381; see note on secure, i. 261.
387. Oread or Dryad. Nymphs of mountains or trees.
Delia. Diana; so called from the island of Delos in which she was born, and which was the principal seat of her worship.
393. Pales, the Roman goddess who presided over shepherds and flocks; Pomona, the goddess of fruit-trees; Ceres, of the fruit of the ground and agriculture.

395. Vertumnus was the deity worshipped in connection with the change of the seasons and the like, but more particularly with the transformation of plants and their progress to fruit from blossom. The story is, that when Vertumnus was in love with Pomona he assumed various forms, in the end gaining her by appearing as a blooming youth. Pomona, when she fled. In all the beauty Pomona is described as possessing where the story is related by Ovid, Metam., xiv.

396. Yet virgin of Proserpina, &c. Before she had conceived Proserpina, of whom Jove was the father.

402. All things. Gov. by amid; or, according to some, by 'to have' understood.

405. Of thy presumed return. To be taken with falling. 'Much failing of thy presumed return.'

426. Bushing is the original reading; blushing, which was proposed by Bentley, is also common.

432. The same simile occurs in iv. 270.

436. Then . . . now. At one time . . . at another.


Artificumque manus inter se operumque laborem Miratur.—Æneid, i. 455.

440. Or . . . or. Either . . . or.

Of revived Adonis, or renowned Alcinous. The gardens of Adonis and Alcinous were proverbial for their beauty. Pliny writes: "Antiquitas nihil priùs mirata est quàm Hesperidum hortos, ac regum Adonis et Alcinos," xix. 4. At the festival of Adonis, flower-pots containing lettuce and fennel, and called the 'gardens of Adonis,' were carried about. There is an allusion in Shakespeare to this custom:—

Thy promises are like Adonis' gardens,
That one day bloomed, and fruitful were the next.

—1 Henry VI., i. 6.

and in Spenser, Faerie Queene, iii. 6. Alcinous was the king of the Phæcians in the island of Scheria, and entertained Ulysses, the son of Laertes. See v. 340, note.

v. 442. That, not mystic. The garden of Solomon, which was not feigned or fabulous. It is described in the Song of Solomon, vi.

450. Tedded grass. To 'ted' is to spread and turn up the fresh-mown grass, and thus make it hay.
453. The same thought occurs in Spenser:—

And all, though pleasant, yet she made much more.

—Faerie Queene, II. vi. 24.

467. The hot hell that always in him burns. See iv. 20, note.

480. Behold alone the woman, &c. Todd observes: “In the sacred drama of Protoplastus, written by Hieron.-Zieglerus, and published in 1547, there is a conversation between Lucifer, Belial, and Satan, on the method to be employed in seducing Adam and Eve; when Satan declines assailing the man, and says:—

Hens, non virum tentabimus, mulier erit
His rebus aptior, viri ingenium scio,
Flecti nequirit, frangi potest muliere dicto.—ii. 3.”

486. Exempt from wound. In like manner Eve had remarked that they were ‘not capable of death or pain,’ line 283, —their condition before the Fall.

488. To. Compared with; see iv. 78, note.

490. Though terror be in love, &c. A lovely and beautiful woman will inspire fear, unless the person who approaches her is more influenced by hatred for her than by the effect of her beauty.

496. Indented wave. Shakespeare applies this epithet to the motions of a snake:—

Nor with indented glides did slip away.—As You Like It, iv. 3.

505. Not those that in Illyria, &c. Cadmus and his wife Hermione or Harmonia were changed into serpents for having slain one sacred to Mars (Ovid, Metam., iv.) The serpents ‘changed’ them, but after their transformation they were still Harmonia and Cadmus; hence the expression, though unusual, is correct; and stands for, ‘Not those that Hermione and Cadmus were changed into.’

Pearce suggests that ‘were’ may be understood before ‘changed;’ ‘those that were changed—viz., Hermione and Cadmus.’ Dunster and Todd place a comma after ‘changed,’ and take ‘changed’ to mean ‘underwent a change.’ Cf. the use of changing, x. 541.

506. God in Epidaurus. Æsculapius, the god of medicine, the chief seat of whose worship was in Epidaurus. Being sent for to Rome in the time of a plague, he went there in the form of a serpent (Metam., xv.) God, obj. on changed.

507. Nor to which. Nor were those serpents lovelier in whose forms Jupiter Ammon, or the Capitoline Jupiter, appeared; the former with the mother of Alexander the Great, the latter with
the mother of Scipio. Jupiter Ammon, the Libyan Jove, was an Egyptian deity. It was fabled that he appeared in the form of a serpent to Olympias, and that she bore Alexander the Great to him. Dryden alludes to the story in *Alexander's Feast*:

The song began from Jove,
Who left his blissful seats above
(Such is the power of mighty love).
A dragon's fiery form belied the god;
Sublime on radiant spires he rode,
When he to fair Olympia pressed;
And while he sought her snowy breast
Then round her slender waist he curled,
And stamped an image of himself, a sovereign of the world.

Similarly, in flattery of Scipio Africanus, he is said to have owed his birth to Jupiter Capitolinus, so called from his temple on the Capitol.

515. Steers. Keightley suggests that Milton may have dictated veers.

522. Circean call. Alluding to the effect of the magic cup of Circe, whose charms induced the followers of Ulysses to partake of it, upon which they were turned into swine.—Ovid, *Metam.*, xiv. See *Comus*, 50-53, and note.

529. With serpent tongue organic, &c. Either making the serpent's tongue the organ or instrument, or by striking a sound like that of a voice on the air. Patrick Hume's note is: "That the Devil moved the serpent's tongue, and used it as an instrument to form that tempting speech he made to Eve, is the opinion of some; that he formed a voice by the impression of the sounding air, distant from the serpent, is that of others; of which our author has left the curious to their choice."

532-548. Compare this speech with that of the 'gentle voice' which Eve heard in her dream, v. 37-47.


558. Demur. Hesitate about, doubt; the noun is used similarly in ii. 431.

560. Thee...I knew. I knew thee to be the subllest beast, &c.

563. Speakable. Able to speak. Of mute. 'From being mute,' or 'among mute creatures;' cf. 'of brute, human,' 712.

581. Smell of sweetest fennel, &c. He mentions such things as were reputed to be most agreeable to serpents; according to Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xix. 9, 56), they delighted in fennel, and they were likewise supposed to suck the teats of ewes or goats.
594. Got. Arrived; agreeing with I in 596.
601. Retained. Bentley proposes restrained; but, as Warburton remarks, the word of strictest propriety is retained. For retained signifies the being kept within such and such bounds in a natural state; restrained, to be kept within them in an unnatural; but the serpent's being confined to his own shape was being in his natural state. Retained to this shape. To is not the preposition we should use with retained.
605. Middle. The air, 'between (heaven and earth) spun out,' vii. 241.
612. Universal Dame. Mistress of the universe. Dame, domina, lady, does not convey the same idea of respect now as in Milton's day, or even more recent times, being formerly the title for the wife of a knight, in which use Lady has displaced it.
613. Spirited. Possessed with a spirit; compare the use of the word in iii. 717.
624. Bearth. Almost all modern editions have birth; but bearth is Milton's spelling here. In this passage he does not mean birth merely, but intends something more,—the produce of nature already born, which she is bearing at the time, her burden,—her bearth.
633. Swift, agreeing with he.
634. As when a wandering fire, &c. This simile of the ignis-fatuus, or Will-of-the-wisp, is well chosen, there being so many points of resemblance,—its light and the glistering of the snake; the delusiveness of both; 'some evil spirit (they say) attending;' the effect on the person who follows the misleading fire.
635. Compact of. Composed, made up of. Compact is now only used metaphorically, but formerly was used in its literal sense; as—

A cunning carpenter, getting together fit matter for his purpose, compacted of wood, wire, paste, and paper, a rood of such exquisite art and excellency.—Lambarde, Perambulation of Kent, p. 227.

640. Misleads the amazed night-wanderer, &c. Another turn of Shakespeare's line in the Midsummer Night's Dream:—

Mislead night-wanderers, laughing at their harm.—ii. 1.

643. Fraud. Milton uses fraud in the same significatio in vii. 143, where he speaks of Satan having led the angels into fraud; see the note.
644. The tree of prohibition. A Hebrew idiom for 'the prohibited tree.'
648. Fruitless, agreeing with coming.

653. Daughter of his voice. His word; a Hebrew phrase; "So arrows," says Hume, "are called the 'sons of the quiver' (Lament. iii. 13), and corn the 'son of the threshing floor' (Isaiah, xxi. 10). It was the only command God had given, and so is said to be sole; see iv. 428, 433. The rest. A classical idiom; as for the rest, in other respects. We live law to ourselves. Romans, ii. 14.

656. Indeed? hath God then said, &c. The first seven verses of the third chapter of Genesis bring us to the end of this book.


673, 674. Stood in himself collected. This expression has been borrowed by Dryden (Theodore and Honora, 98, and Aurengzebe, iv. 1) and Pope (Iliad, ix. 512).

Each part. Each part of the orator,—head, hand, limb, &c.; (each) motion, every movement and gesture; each act, all his actions.

Ere the tongue. Understand 'won audience,' or 'gave utterance.' Professor Masson has no point after tongue, thus making it (instead of he understood) the subject of began,—which is an innovation, and is unnoticed in his Notes.

686. Life to knowledge. Life in addition to knowledge.

699. Since easier shunned. Since it would be more easily shunned if known.

702. Your fear itself, &c. You being afraid of incurring the punishment of death from God throws a doubt on his justice; but he cannot be unjust and be God, and so your fear is groundless.

710. Should. Some modern editors incorrectly read shall.

714. To put on Gods. The expression is taken from the English version of the Scriptures: "This corruptible must put on incorruption," 1 Corinthians, xv. 53.

718. That advantage use on our belief. Through their being prior in existence to us they are able to impose on us, so as to make us believe that all proceeds from them.

722. Them nothing. I see them producing nothing.

729. Can envy dwell in heavenly breasts? The words of Virgil:—

Tantæe animis cœlestibus ire?—Æneid, i. 11.

732. Humane. Human; see ii. 109, note.

735. Which to behold. 'The sight of which;' the whole expression is the subject of might tempt, and not which only.
738. **Seeming.** Thinking; a noun. *With truth* goes with impregnated.

739. **The hour of noon drew on,** &c. Newton observes: "This is a circumstance beautifully added by our author to the Scripture account, in order to make the folly and impiety of Eve appear less extravagant and monstrous." Dunster remarks thereon: "I should not, however, attribute beauty to this circumstance on the ground on which Dr Newton has done it. All these little circumstances, marking the particular hour of any transaction and noting the process of time, furnish materials that are interesting and enlivening; and I would estimate them as varying and relieving the general narration and description. It may be observed that, in *Paradise Regained*, Milton has laid the temptation of the banquet nearly at noon, ii. 292."

741. **With desire.** Causing desire; "a tree to be desired," *Genesis*, iii. 6.

742. **Inclined.** Inclined; bent down, literally.

754. **Infer.** Proves; as in viii. 91, ix. 285; and cf. vii. 116.

757. **Not had at all.** This is the reading of all the editions, till the Clarendon Press, which has *had not at all*—without remark.

771. **Author unsuspect.** An informant not to be suspected (of a wrong motive). *Unsuspect. So instruct for instructed,* *Paradise Regained*, i. 439.

777. **Fair to the eye,** &c. *Genesis*, iii. 6.

781. **Eat.** This is the old spelling, and that in Milton's editions (cf. *beat* the past tense of *beat*); some modern editions have *ate*.

782. Todd's note is: "Compare the *Sarcotis* of Masenius, lib. ii. p. 110, ed. Barbou; where Sarcotiea is represented reaching forth her hand to pluck the forbidden fruit, but not yet gathering it; a similar prodigy, however, occurs:—

Obstulit illa manus primum; sed dextra retractans
Sponte reedit. Natura nefas horrescere visa,
Pondere tam gravium cepit titubare malorum.

Yet this prodigy is neither so affecting, nor so poetical in the description, as that of Milton. In Masenius also, after Sarcotiea had eaten, a long description follows of the various prodigies which succeeded:—

Mora nulla, solutus Avernus
Expuit infandas acies, fractumque remugit
Divulsa compagne solum, &c.

"Twenty more lines are employed in painting the convul-
sions of earth, sea, and air on the occasion. I need not observe to the reader with what conciseness and energy, with what beauty and judgment, Milton’s scene of ‘completing the mortal sin original’ is drawn. Virgil, as Addison observes, has related that the earth trembled, the heavens flashed with lightnings, and the Nymphs howled on the mountain-tops when Dido was ruined. But though the reader should ransack all the volumes of poetry, both ancient and modern, he would never find a passage which might be brought in competition with the sublimity and pathos of Milton’s, lines 1000-1003.”

790. Nor was Godhead from her thought. ‘By this sin fell the angels.’


793. Boom. Merry, gay.


797. Infamed. Not famed, uncelebrated.

807. Experience. Nom. of address; Experience—i.e., the result of her experiment is personified. Owe. Am indebted.

815. Safe. In the old sense of secure, over-confident; feeling safe because he has all his spies about. Pearce explains it: “Safe here signifies as in the vulgar phrase ‘I have him safe,’ or ‘he is safe asleep,’ where not the safety of the person secured or asleep is meant, but the safety of others with respect to any danger from him.”

823-825. On this passage Newton refers us to Chaucer’s Wife of Bath’s Tale, ‘wherein the question is proposed, ‘What is it that women most affect and desire?’ Some say wealth, some beauty, some flattery—some in short one thing, and some another; but the true answer is sovereignty. And the thought of attaining the superiority over her husband is very artfully made one of the first that Eve entertains, after her eating of the forbidden fruit; but still her love of Adam, and jealousy of another Eve, prevail even over that; so just is the observation of Solomon, Cant. viii. 6, ‘Love is strong as death; jealousy is cruel as the grave.’”

826-833. What if God have seen, &c. Todd notes: “Perhaps the most striking instance of imitation by Milton, of the rabbi Eliezer, is this part, Archbishop Lawrence has shown, of Eve’s soliloquy: ‘Forsan jam moriar, et Sanctus Benedictus parabit illi aliam uxorem. Sed dabo quoque Adamo, et causa illi ero ut edat mecum; ut si moriamur, ambo simul moriamur; si vivamus, ambo quoque in vita maneamus.’”

832, 833. Parallels from Horace and Shakespeare are:
Tecum vivere amem, tecum oeam libens.—Odes, III. ix. 24.
But there where I have garnered up my heart,
Where either I must live or bear no life.—Othello, iv. 2.

838. Adam had wove a garland. Newton cites as a parallel
the story of Andromache amusing herself similarly and prepar-
ing for the return of Hector, not knowing he had been slain
by Achilles, Iliad, xxii. 440.

845. Divine of. Foretelling, foreboding; a Latin phrase,
‘imbrium divina avis imminentum,’ Hor., Odes, III. xxvii. 10.

846. He the flattering measure felt. He felt that his heart
misgave him; felt it beating unequally.

854. Apology to prompt. This is the reading in all the early
editions; Fenton proposed too, for to, which has been adopted
by Newton, Todd, and others. Either makes very good sense,
but there is no occasion to alter the line as it stood in the poet's
editions, the metaphor drawn from the stage being kept up.


888. Dunster's note is: "In reading this verse, it is abso-
lutely necessary to make a long pause after Adam; which gives
time, as it were, to the poet, and for the reader also, to contem-
plate or imagine Adam's extreme horror, before the description
of it is entered upon; or we may suppose the poet pausing
himself, as it were, to consider in what language he shall ade-
quately describe such extreme horror. In short, it is a pause
which the imagination of the poetical reader will not fail to
avail itself of and to turn to good effect. Let us only vary the
position of the words—

Adam, on the other side, soon as he heard, &c.—

and we shall be more sensible of the kind of effect which it is
now so peculiarly calculated to produce."

890. Horror chill, &c. Virgil's expression, Aenid, ii. 120;
xii. 951.

892. The garland wreathe for Eve down dropt. The similar
circumstance told in Spenser (Faerie Queene, iii. 4, 30) of
Cymoent flinging away the garlands she was making on hearing
of the misfortunes that had befallen her son, has been noted.
Milton's description of the scene is perfect, and adapted to the
situation in which Adam was, the garland dropping uncon-
sciously from his hand as he stood in mute amazement.

893. Shed. Were scattered; intrans.

901. Devote. Doomed, see iii. 208, note.

909. Thy love so dearly joined. That is, the love of thee so
dearly joined to me.

910. The very idea of his being left without her makes him
think of Paradise as if already a wilderness.
922. *Who thus hast.* This is the reading in the first edition; the second has *hath*; the former is received as the correct reading, but the Clarendon Press adopts *hath*. And in the original editions there is no comma after *dared*, showing that it is to be taken with *to eye*.

924. *Fruit.* Professor Masson, both in his three vol. ed. and in the Globe, misprints *food*.

928. *Fact.* Act or deed; ii. 124, note.

932. *He yet lives.* Todd and Keightley have *yet he lives*,—a misprint apparently.

946-951. This is similar to the argument used by Moses in his intercession for the children of Israel, *Numbers*, xiv. 15, 16; *Deuteronomy*, xxxii. 27.

953. *Certain.* Resolved, determined.

965. *Adam?* In the original editions there is no note of interrogation in this speech. Some modern editors place it after *attain*; Todd carries it down to the end of the sentence at known, 976.

973, 974. In the original editions there is no parenthesis nor any point after *occasion*.

977. *Were it.* If it were that.

979. *Rather die.* I would rather die.

980. *Oblige thee.* Render thee liable to the punishment of.

*Oblige* is here used in the sense of *obligare*, to bind:—

*Sed tu, simul obligasti*

*Perfidum votis caput.*—Horace, *Odes*, II. viii. 5.

*Disoblige* was formerly in use in the negative of this sense.

Though we are, perhaps, *disoblided* now from the circumstantial manner, yet are we nowise freed from the substantial performance of this sort of gratitude.—Barrow, *Sermon*, *Ephesians*, v. 20.


998. *Not deceived.* I *Timothy*, ii. 14; *Genesis*, iii. 17.

1004. *Adam took no thought.* Suffered no anxiety, did not give the matter the anxiety he should; see note on *Ly.idas*, 189.

1007. *That now.* So that now; and the result was that.

1011. *To scorn the earth.* Horace's *spernit humum fugiente penna,* *Odes*, III. ii. 24.

1016. *Gan.* See *vi. 60, note*.

1017. *Exact of taste and elegant.* Exact and elegant of taste.

1018. *Since to each meaning, &c.* We apply the word *savour* both to the understanding and the palate. *Savour* and *sapience* in English, and *savoir* and *savoir* in French, come from *sapere*, which means both 'to have a taste of' and 'to be wise.'
1023. Nor known, &c. And we have not known true relish in what we have tasted before.

1027. Play is used in the same sense as in Exodus, xxxii. 6; as is (probably) playing in L’Allegro, 19.

1029. Milton may have had in mind the conversation between Paris and Helen in the third Iliad, as well as that between Jupiter and Juno on Mount Ida in the fourteenth Iliad.

1034. &c. Compare the description of the love scenes between Adam and Eve before the Fall, iv. 736-743; viii. 510-520.

1049. Sleep, bred of unkindly fumes. Very different from the sleep they enjoyed in their state of innocence, v. 3.

1058. He covered. Shame covered Adam and Eve, but his clothing uncovered them more; though they were ‘clothed with shame’ (Psalm cix. 28), they were thereby rendered more naked. They had lost the veil of Innocence, and the robe of Shame only discovered their nakedness. Cf. Samson Agonistes:—

In vain thou striv’st to cover shame with shame,
Or by evasions thy crime uncover’st more.—841.

In Milton’s and the early editions there is no stop after shame, an error of the press; and he is emphatically printed hee.

1059. So. Understand the correlative as before they, 1062; their places, too, are interchanged. Just as Samson rose shorn of his strength, so they rose destitute of all their virtue. The Danite. Samson was of the tribe of Dan; Judges, xiii. 2.

1060. The harlot-lap, &c. Judges, xvi. 4-19.

1061. Dallilah. In the English Bible it is Delilah; but Milton spells and pronounces it Dallilah.


1068. Worm. The word worm was formerly applied to all kinds of reptiles; see vii. 476, note.

1078. Evil store. Evil in store, in abundance; see v. 322, note.

1079. Shame, the last of evils. Last is greatest. Shame is so described by Euripides in the Medea:—

‘Ἡ μεγάλη τῶν ἐν ἄνθρωποις νόμων πασῶν, ἀναιδεία.—472.

1086. Woods impenetrable to star. Newton quotes from Statius:—

Nulli penetrabilis astro
Lucus iners.—Thebais, x. 85.

1088. Cover me, ye pines. See Hosea, x. 8; Revelation, vi. 16.
1101. **The fig-tree.** In Gerard’s *Herball* there is an account of the ‘arched Indian fig-tree,’ from which Milton appears to have borrowed his description, adopting some of the expressions word for word. The tree, however, spoken of in the *Herball* is the banyan; its being there called the fig-tree led Milton to treat it as the tree from which Adam and Eve procured the fig leaves of which they ‘made themselves aprons.’ Pliny’s account of the *Ficus indica* is similar (lib. xii. c. 5), and referred to by Gerard. He says: “Ipse se serens, vastis diffunditur ramis; quorum imi adeo in terram curvuntur, ut annuo spatio insignatur, novamque sibi propaginem faciant circa parentem—quodam opere topiario—fornicato ambitu;—intra sepem eam æstivant pastores; foliorum latitudo pelta effigiem *Amasonica* habet.” This latter particular does not hold good of the banyan, its leaves being small for a forest tree. In Dellon’s *Voyage to the East Indies*, translated from the French in 1698, there is an account of “the bananas or Indian figs; the tree or stalk on which they grow is different from ours; it seldom grows above eight or ten feet high, without any branches. The least of the figs are about three inches long, their skin grows yellow as they ripen, their peel is pretty thick, not very close to the pulp, which is very white, and of an admirable taste.” If, then, as appears, both the banyan and the banana, or plantain, were known as the Indian ‘figs,’ we have the explanation of the banyan being described as ‘renowned for fruit’ and with ‘leaves broad as Amazonian targe,’ so true of the banana or plantain.

1140. **Approve.** Prove, put to the test. This is said in reference to Eve’s reasoning in line 335.

1158. **Facile.** Yielding, pliant. **Gainsay.** Oppose, say against it.

1163. **Is this the love?** Bentley reads, “Is this thy love?” which is an improvement, thy being contrasted with mine in the next line.

1170. **In thy restraint.** In restraining thee. In Tonson’s edition of 1711 it is ‘in my restraint,’ which is followed by Tickell, Fenton, and Bentley; the correct reading was restored by Newton.

1183. **Women** is the reading of the original editions. Bentley reads woman, on account of the pronouns that follow being in the singular; but there is a similar instance in *Samson Agonistes*, 1034, 1039, where the plural men, applied to men generally, is followed by singular pronouns.
BOOK X.

1. Heinous. Formerly spelt and pronounced hainous. Fr. haineux, from haine, hatred, malice. How much better the line would read, as it used to be read, if we said hainous.


9. Armed. The comma after armed is the punctuation of the original editions, but it was removed by Dunster, and he is followed by Keightley and Masson. Their interpretation is that 'full armour,' cap-à-pie, is what is intended, and that so we should have 'armed complete.' But to me it seems that the pause after armed, and the expansion of the idea in the next clause, is quite Miltonic: The comma after armed does not cause complete to go with man; but, his 'free will was armed,—completely so to have discovered any fraud.'


12. They. The antecedent is man, a noun of multitude.

38. Foretold. Having been foretold.


54. Justice shall not return, &c. Justice shall not return back, as Bounty has done, treated with scorn and rejected.

56. To thee, &c. John, v. 22.

66. All his Father. See iii. 139, vii. 196; and Hebrews, i. 3.

69. Mine. It is my business. Cf. Virgil, Æneid, i. 76.

74. When time shall be. When the time for it comes round; see iii. 284; and Paradise Regained, iv. 616. So I undertook. See iii. 236-265.

77. Derived. Lit., diverted from its course.

80. Attendance none shall need. No attendance will be necessary. Need is the neuter verb; cf. iii. 340.

83. Convict. Formerly convince and convict retained the root meaning of to overcome, whether by might or argument. In seventeenth-century English a man might be said to be convinced of guilt who would not himself admit that he was in the wrong,—who was not what we now mean by convinced. Convict was similarly used, to overpower and to prove guilty; thus here 'convict by flight, conviction to the serpent none belongs,' means, He has proved himself guilty by taking to flight; no proving of his guilt is necessary. Again in line 831, 'All my evasions lead me still to my own conviction,'—to convincing me of my guilt.
His two chamberlains
Will I with wine and wassail so convince,
That memory, the warden of the brain,
Shall be a fume.—Macbeth, i. 7.

Scaliger is manifestly convinced of error in maintaining that this
Dagon was the goddess Derceto and not a God.—Childe, Caffarel's
Unheard-of Curiosities, ed. 1650, p. 15.

So, by a roaring tempest on the flood,
A whole armada of convicted sail
Is scattered.—King John, iii. 4.

92. Now was the sun, &c. 'The cool of the day,' as the
Scriptures express it. The account of God's interview with
Adam in the garden, as far as line 208, is from Genesis, iii. 8-21.
106. Obvious Meeting in the way. Common in this sense
in Milton.
145, 146. She I have in italics; the emphasis is intended by
'shee' in the original.
156. Person. Character; used in its primary sense, persona
dramatis. In his History of England, Milton uses person in
the same sense, the part or character one acts; and see Parad-
dise Regained, ii. 240.
168. Then. Therefore.
169-173. More to know, &c. To know more did not concern
man, nor did it alter his offence;—it was of no importance
that he should be told then that the serpent was merely the
instrument, and who Satan was who had really tempted him;
still God, in sentencing the serpent at the last, applied the serp-
ent's doom to Satan, though in terms unintelligible to Adam,
as was thought best then.
182. Oracle. The word spoken.
184-191. The Scripture references are Psalm lxviii. 18; Luke,
x. 18; Rom. xvi. 20; Eph. ii. 22; Col. iii. 15.
205. Shalt thou. Professor Masson, or his printer, has trans-
posed these words.
214. The form of servant. Philippians, ii. 7.
215. As when he washed, &c. John, xiii.
217. Or slain, or, &c. Either slain for the purpose, or sup-
plied with a fresh coat, as the snake,—the one cast off being
given to Adam and Eve. This last hypothesis of Milton's is
ridiculous, but is intended to account for the existence of the
skins when there had been no death yet.
219-223. Isaiah, lxi. 10; Romans, v. 10.
229. Was sinned and judged. Impersonals, after the Latin
idiom; so in vi. 335.
231. Counterview. *Vis-à-vis;* face to face, 'each other viewing.'

233. *Since the Fiend passed through,* &c. See ii. 648 *et seq.*


260. *For intercourse,* &c. For going to and from the world, or leaving this altogether, whichever may turn out to be their lot.

273. *As when a flock,* &c. Quotations might be multiplied of vultures and other birds of prey coming long distances after a battle; Todd quotes from Beaumont and Fletcher—

*’Tis said of vultures,*
*They scent a field fought, and do smell the carcasses*
*By many hundred miles.*—*Beggar’s Bush.*

But Milton's simile is that they scent the slaughter to be, before the battle is fought.

279. *Feature* is applied to Death as being a mere form—Shape, Shade, or Shadow. Spenser speaks of the 'grim visage' of Death (see the quotation, note on ii. 666); and Milton's metaphor is that Death is but a Visage or Feature.

To illustrate the meaning of Feature here, Mr J. Hunter quotes from Hacket's *Life of Williams*:

*But this young feature [project], like an imperfect embryo, was mortified in the womb by Star-chamber vexation.*—ii. 40.

281. *Quarry.* Prey; common in Shakespeare and Spenser either for the dead body of the animal hunted or the animal itself.


291. *The imagined way.* It being supposed that there might be a North-East passage to the Indies.

292. *Petsora.* The Petchora, which falls into the Arctic Ocean.

293. *The Cathaian coast.* Cathay, Catay, China. In Milton's *Brief History of Muscovia,* and of other less known Countries lying Eastward of Russia as far as Cathay, chap. v. gives an account of "the first discovery of Russia by the north-east, in 1553."

294. *Petrific.* Petrifying; formed like magnific.

296. *Delos, floating once.* Delos, one of the Cyclades; mentioned before, v. 265. According to the legend, it was called out of the deep by the trident of Poseidon, but was a floating island until Zeus fastened it by adamantine chains to the
bottom of the sea, that it might be a secure resting-place to Leto for the birth of Apollo and Artemis.—Smith, Classical Dictionary.

297. Gorgonian rigour. See ii. 611, note.


306. Great things to small. See ii. 921.

308. Memnonian palace. Herodotus calls Susa Memnonia.

312-318. Now had they brought the work, &c. Though in the original there is no comma after chaos, line 317, the construction must be: Now had they brought the work,—by wondrous pontifical art,—a ridge of hanging rock over the vexed abyss, to the bare outside of this round world, following the track of Satan to the self-same place where he first lighted, &c.

313. Pontifical. In its derivative sense of bridge-making; in this sense it is peculiar to Milton, as is the word pontifice, 348.

315. Where he first lighted. See iii. 418-422 and 498-501.

328. Steering his zenith. Steering for, directing his course to, the zenith.

332. After Eve seduced. After the seduction of Eve; cf. ‘Since created man,’ i. 573; and see line 577.

344. Understood not instant. Found out to be not immediate.

345. With joy, &c. This is the punctuation of Milton’s and subsequent editions, until Tickell altered the period after time to a comma, making understood a participle, case absolute; but according to the original reading, understood will come under the same construction as returned—i.e., the nom. ‘he’ is omitted.

351. Stupendous. Milton’s spelling is stupendious; and so in Samson Agonistes, 1627.

368. Confined. Agreeing with us taken out of our; ‘the liberty of us confined.’

381. His quadrature. There may be an allusion to the description of the New Jerusalem (Revelation, xxi. 16), “The city lieth four square.” Hume quotes from Gassendus: “Cælum Empyreum, mentium beatarum sedes, habetur formæ exteriæ quadratae, quod Civitas Sancta, in Apocalypsi descripta, posita in quadro dicatur.”

390. Triumphant, &c. That have met my triumphant act, the conquest of the new world, with a triumphal act of yours, the construction of this bridge so near Heaven’s door. Keightley has a comma after act and removed the one after met, “as it destroys the sense;” but he has missed both sense and construction.


402. Make sure. Secure; be certain of making.
415. The causey. Highway, road, embankment. From its meaning a way, causey has been corrupted into causeway; way, however, has nothing to do with the root: causey is from Fr. chausée, and that from calceata (via), a road paved with chalk. In the Bible of 1611 we have causeway in 1 Chronicles, xxvi. 18, for what in the ‘Breeches Bible’ is translated ‘the paved street;’ and causey itself occurs as a marginal reading to Proverbs, xv. 19.


418. That. The antecedent is bars. His. Of Chaos.

424. Pandemonium. See i. 756.


427. The Grand. The chiefs, the grandees; the ‘grand infernal Peers,’ ii. 507.

431. As when, &c. “As when the Tartar retreats from his Muscovite enemy, over the snowy plains by Astracan, a considerable part of the Czar’s dominion, formerly a Tartarian kingdom, with a capital city of the same name, near the mouth of the river Volga, at its fall into the Caspian Sea; or Bactrian Sophi, or the Persian emperor, named Bactrian of Bactria, one of the greatest and richest provinces of Persia, lying near the Caspian Sea, (retiring) from the horns of Turkish crescent, from his Turkish enemies who bear the horned moon, the crescent, in their ensigns, leaves all waste beyond the realm of Aladule, the greater Armenia, called by the Turks (under whom the greatest part of it is) Aladule, from its last king Aladules, slain by Selymus the First, in his retreat to Tauris, a great city in the kingdom of Persia, now called Esbatana, sometime in the hands of the Turks, but in 1603 retaken by Abas, king of Persia, or Casbeen, one of the greatest cities of Persia, in the province of Ayrach, formerly Parthia, towards the Caspian Sea, where the Persian monarchs made their residence after the loss of Tauris, from which it is distant sixty-five German miles to the south-east.”—(Hume.)

441-452. Unmarked, &c. Newton thinks this incident to be copied from the similar one related of Aeneas—Æneid, i. 439, 440, 586-589.


452. All. An adverb; entirely.

456. Consulting peers ... divan. See i. 794-798.

461. For in possession such, &c. See v. 773.

477. Unoriginal. Having no origin or beginning.

492. Dwell. Inhabit. Used actively without a prep., as in iii. 670.

499. Set. Appointed, determined.

512. Clung. Not necessarily, as Professor Masson says, “for
clinging;” but the past part., under the same construction as drawn.

513. Supplanted. ‘Taken off his feet;’ the literal meaning of supplantare. See Paradise Regained, iv. 607. Dunster points out that both supplanted and reluctant (515) are terms of the gymnasium (luctus and supplantatio), and that Milton preserves in both the gymnastic idea.

514. A monstrous serpent, &c. Compare with this the transformation of Cadmus in Ovid’s Metamorphoses, iv. 575; referred to before in ix. 506. Some of the expressions in a similar transformation scene in Dante are the same as here:—

The pierced spirit
Drew close his steps together, legs and thighs
Compacted.
The shoulders next I marked, that entering joined
The monster’s armpits, whose two shorter feet
So lengthened as the others dwindling shrunk.
The feet behind them twisting up became
That part that man conceals. . . . Meanwhile extends
His sharpened visage, and draws down the ears
Into the head.—Carey’s Inferno, xxv.

521. Riot. The reference is to his having deceived Eve; but it is a peculiar application of the word. Johnson, in his Dictionary, explains it as ‘seditious, uproar,’ in this passage, which, however, is the only one he quotes under that meaning of riot.

524–526. Scorpion, &c. The different kinds of reptiles he names here are from Pliny, Nicander, and Lucan’s Pharsalia. The scorpion noted for its venomous sting; the asp for its poison (Romans, iii. 13) and deadly sting (Faerie Queene, iv.); the amphibolana is said to have a head at both ends, and is so named from ἄμφως and βάλς, ‘going both ways;’ the cerastes was horned, hence the name from ἱππας, a horn; the hydrus, a water-snake, ὕδωρ, water; the ellops is said to give no sound of its advance, and hence drear, doleful; and the dipsas (δύσος, thirst) caused those whom it stung to suffer unquenchable thirst.

526. The soil bedropt, &c. Lybia; the fable, that accounted for the number of serpents in it, being that as Perseus was carrying the bleeding head of the Gorgon Medusa through the air—

The gory drops distilled as swift he flew,
And from each drop envenomed serpents grew.

The story is told in Ovid, Metam., iv. 616, and Lucan, Pharsalia, ix. 696. For other references in Milton to the Gorgon, see the Index.
527. The isle of Ophiusa, in the Mediterranean, was notorious for serpents, and hence its name of the Snake-island, in Greek Ophiusa (ὄφιος, a snake), in Latin Colubraria (coluber). Ovid speaks of Cyprus as ophiusa arva.

529. Dragon grown, &c. The 'great Dragon' is one of the titles applied to Satan in Scripture, Revelation, xii. 9; and so Milton describes him as larger even than the fabulous Python produced from the mud left on the earth after the deluge of Deucalion, as related in Ovid, Metam., i. 438.

531. No less, &c. No less than before his transformation. The and of this line joins the clause to still greatest of 528.

536. Sublime. On 'tiptoe,' or 'elated;' see ii. 528, note.

541. Changing. Change for instead of change into; cf. the use of change, ix. 505.

546. Exploding. Explode literally means to drive an actor off the stage with a hiss; it is so used again in xi. 669. Triumph to shame. "Therefore will I change their glory into shame," Hosea, iv. 7.

560. Megara. One of the three Eumenidæ, or Furies; fearful winged maidens, with serpents twined in their hair, and blood dropping from their eyes. They dwelt in the depths of Tartarus, dreaded by gods and men. The names of the others were Tisiphone and Alecto.

561. That which grew, &c. The 'apples of Sodom,' the name given to a fruit described by Josephus as to be found growing out of the ashes of the 'cities of the plain,' which appeared fair to the outside, but on being touched dissolved into ashes and smoke.


572. Triumphed. Triumphed over; the omission of the prep. is common in Milton.

573. In Milton's editions there is no comma after and, while there is one after famine. The line was accordingly a puzzle to commentators, the want of a conjunction between with famine and long and ceaseless hiss, being the chief stumbling-block; "but that," says Newton, "might be remedied thus—

And worn with famine, and long ceaseless hiss.

Or thus—

And worn with famine long, and ceaseless hiss."

Keightley was the first to see that hiss is a verb, and punctuates accordingly. It was the custom with last century printers (and with some of the present day too) to separate the subject
or object and its verb by a single comma, as in the old reading here, though not always thereby necessarily making the sentence ambiguous or misleading. Thus of Milton’s editors, Newton, Keightley, Major, Edmonston, Prendeville, Brydges, and the Clarendon Press read—

God
Approaching, thus to Adam called aloud.—x. 101.

Professor Masson has—

Nor set thy heart
Thus overfond, on that which is not thine.—xi. 288.

and see ix. 591, 592; and in various editions, x. 1016, xi. 21 and 540, are wrongly pointed.

574. Permitted. Agreeing with they.
577. Dash. See Index to the Notes. Man seduced. The seduction of man; a Latin idiom common with Milton; cf. ‘that tasted fruit,’ line 687, and see i. 573, note.
580-584. Fabled how the Serpent, &c. In this passage he speaks of the two dynasties of gods among the Greeks before Zeus was regarded as supreme. First Ophion—i.e., Serpent—and Eurynome ruled in Olympus or Heaven; then Saturn and Ops, having driven Ophion thence, were in possession until Jove in his turn drove them out. See the allusion to the story before, i. 510-514, and notes. The word Eurynome means Wide-ruling; and, he says, “just as Ophion represented the Serpent, so perhaps Eve, who was also ‘wide-encroaching,’ appears as Eurynome in the fable.” Jove is called Dictæan from Dictæ, a mountain in Crete, his birthplace.
590. His pale horse. “I looked, and behold a pale horse: and his name that sat on him was Death,” Revelation, vi. 8.
593. Not better far. Is it not better far, &c.? In the original there is no note of interrogation except at the end of the sentence. Keightley inserts a second after difficult; Masson a second after now.
597. Famine. See Index to the Notes.
599. Ravin is used in old writers for prey, booty:—
As when a gryfon seized of his prey
A dragon fierce encountereth in his flight
That would his rightful ravin rend away.—Faerie Queene, i. 5.

601. Maw, &c. See ii. 847. Unhidebound corpse. Body which is not tightly bound by its skin, as it would be if it were full. Corpse was not formerly restricted in meaning to a dead body.

617. Havoc. Dr Johnson says that a learned correspondent (Sir William Blackstone) informed him that "in the military operations of old times, havoc was the word by which declaration was made that no quarter should be given." Newton sees an allusion to the following passage in *Julius Caesar*:

Cæsar's spirit ranging for revenge,
With Até by his side come hot from Hell,
Shall in these confines, with a monarch's voice,
Cry Havoc, and let slip the dogs of war.—iii. 1.

624. Conniving. Passing over as if without seeing; lit. 'winking at.' See Samson Agonistes, 466, note.

630. Draff. Dregs, the brewer's grains that are thrown as refuse to pigs.

633. Glutted. Swallowed down; Lat. glutire, Fr. engloutir.

639. To. Up to; not 'for,' as Keightley says.

642. Sung Halleluiah, &c. "I heard as it were the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many thunderings, saying Halleluiah," Revelation, xix. 6; and see xv. 3, and xvi. 7.


651. Sorted. Agreed; see viii. 384, note.

656. Blanc. Pale, white; cf. i. 786, iii. 732.

657. The other five. See viii. 128, note.

659. In sextile, &c. Professor Masson gives the following translation from Belivelius, *De Sphaera* (1582), an old Latin Catechism of Astronomy, which explains all the allusions in this passage:

"What are the *aspects* of planets? They are such arrangements and distances of the planets as allow them to communicate their influence. How many species of aspects are there? Five—Conjunction, Sextile, Square, Trine, and Diametral or Opposition. What is the first? The first kind of aspects, called Conjunction, is when two stars or planets are conjoined and as it were connected in one line; by the Greeks it is called *Synod*. What is the Sextile aspect? When two planets or stars are distant from each other a sixth part of the *Zodiac*—i.e., two signs, or 60°. What is the Square aspect (*quadratus aspectus*)? When two stars look at each other at an interval of three signs, making a quadrant or 90°. What is trine (Trigonus) aspect? When the distance of the stars measures a third of a circle—that is, 120° or four signs. What is the Diametral aspect? It is the opposite configuration of two
luminaries which are distant from each other 180°, or half a
circle. . . . How are the aspects divided? Into happy and un-
happy. Which are the happy and prosperous aspects? The
prosperous and benign are the Trine and Sextile. Why are
they called happy? Because the rays of the planets, falling
obliquely and mutually yielding, infuse and communicate to
inferior bodies gentler and less violent influences. What are
the unhappy aspects? The unhappy or malignant are Con-
junction, Square, and Opposition. Why are they called mali-
nant? Because the planets, meeting each other with their rays,
mutually collide, and neither can yield to the other on account
of the directness of their onset; therefore they exercise greater
force in stimulating and varying seasons, and in mixing the
temperaments of animals and the qualities of the air. Whence
is the variety of effects known? The effect and variety of con-
figuration was first observed in the case of the moon, and
afterwards transferred to the other planets by artists (artifices)
who, by great sharpness of intelligence, and more attentive
observation, endeavoured to find out and display the causes of
events from the very nature of the heavenly motions and the
species of the aspects."

661. Synod. The Greek for conjunction, the Latin term
explained above.

664. Set. Appointed.

666. The thunder. Supply set; they appointed the thunder
when it was to roll. Some, however, regard roll as an active
verb, and 'rolling the thunder' part of the duty of the winds.
When. The time that it should.

682. Unbenighted. Without any night.

685. Which had forbid. Which would have prevented there
being snow so far south as Estotiland; or towards the south
pole, as far north beneath the Straits of Magellan. Estotiland
is the name on Mercator's maps of the country west of Labrador
and east of Hudson's Bay.

687. That tasted fruit. The tasting of that fruit; line 577,
note.

688. Thyestean banquet. The story is that Atreus, king of
Mycenæ, to be revenged on his brother Thyestes who had done
him a wrong, pretended to be reconciled and invited him to a
banquet, at which the two sons of Thyestes, whom Atreus had
killed, were served up, and their father partook of the dish not
knowing what had happened until Atreus produced their heads
and hands. At this deed of horror the sun is said to have
changed his course. Milton changes the accent from Thyestean
to Thyéstean.

689. Else, &c. If it did not change its course at the Fall,
how could the earth then, more than now, have enjoyed perpetual spring as it did, and not be subject to the extremes of heat and cold?


608. Gust and flaw. These words are frequently found together in old descriptions of storms, as in Venus and Adonis:—

Like a red morn, that ever yet betokened
Wreck to the seaman, tempest to the field,
Sorrow to shepherds, woe unto the birds,
Gusts and foul flaws to herdmen and to herds.—453.

But flaw has gone out of use in this sense, and gust is now only a sudden blast of wind, not the violent storm it used to be; the present meaning of gust—it and flaw being treated as synonymous—has led to flaw being regarded merely as a ‘sudden blast,’ instead of a ‘violent storm of wind.’ Milton uses it again, clearly in this sense, in Paradise Regained; see the account of the storm, iv. 410-419 and 452-455. See also the quotations from Drayton and Surrey in Richardson’s Dictionary. Flaw is commonly said to be derived from status or from phlacto, but it has nothing to do with Greek or Latin, being, as one might expect, Teutonic.

699-706. Boreas and Caecias were the north and north-east winds; Thrascias and Argestes, the corresponding winds in the north-west. These four northern winds are met from the south by Notus, the south wind, and Afer, the south-west. On the other hand, from east and west come the Levant (or ‘rising’) winds,—Eurus and Sirocco, and the Ponent (‘setting’),—Zephyr and Libeccio. Sirocco and Libeccio are Italian, while the other winds are called by their classical names. With their lateral noise,—being side-winds, as it were,—Sirocco south-east of Eurus, and Libeccio, south-west of Zephyr.

701. Blast. Professor Masson has blasts.
720. Miserable of happy ... accursed of blessed. Of for from.
733. Who, of all ages, &c. Who is there of all future ages but will curse me, feeling the evil brought on him by me?
736. His thanks. In this line we have one of the jingles which Milton has been found fault with for indulging in: ‘He may thank Adam for this! Ay, but our thanks will be curses.’
737. The execration. ‘Viz., ’I’ll fare our ancestor.’
738. Mine own, &c. The curses peculiarly mine. All from me. All the curses propagated from me.
740. Light heavy. Fall heavily. Heavy is the adverb here, qualifying light. This is the reading of the original editions, but Keightley has a comma, and Prof. Masson a semicolon, after light.
741. Though in their place. According to the laws of physics they should have no weight at all, being at the centre.
743. Did I request thee, &c. Isaiah, xlv. 9.
748. Equal . . . reduce. See Index to the Notes.
756, 757. Then . . . when. At the time that.
767. Thy reward was of his grace. Any reward he should give thee was of his favour.
783. All I. All of me, 792; ‘non omnis moriar.’
806. By which, &c. By the law of Nature all other causes act according to the power they have of receiving, and not to the extent of their own powers. This is a translation of an axiom of the schools: “Omne efficiens agit secundum vires recipientis, non suas.”
815. Death and I am. Some editors, agreeing with Bentley’s objection to am, have altered it to are. We often have, for emphasis’ sake, two nouns with a sing. verb; cf.—
Which teacheth thee that thou and I am one.
As You Like It, 1. iii.

822. Your curse. Either the object, or the cause, of your curse.
834. So might the wrath. Would that the wrath were to light on me only! For so, see iii. 34.
852. Death as oft, &c. He accused Death as oft of being slow, since it was denounced to him the day he offended and had not yet been put in execution.
872. Pretended to. Stretched forward in front of so as to conceal.
883. And understood not. And joins understood with fooled and beguiled after I, line 880.
886. To the part sinister. There is a play upon the word sinister,—in allusion both to the rib being from the left side (viii. 465), and to sinister meaning ‘unlucky.’
887. Supernumerary, &c. In allusion to an idea held by some that before Eve was formed Adam had thirteen ribs on one side,—one over the number men have now.
888. *Oh! why did God, &c.* Similarly in Euripides, Hippolytus and Jason cry out against the creation of woman. *Hippolytus, 616; Medea, 573.*

898. *For either, &c.* These lines recall the well-known passage in Shakespeare:—

>The course of true love never did run smooth, &c.

905. *Linked* may agree either with *he* or with *choice.* *His shame* in the next line makes the former the more probable construction of the two. *His hate or shame.* Whom he hates or is ashamed of.

918. *Bereave me not, &c.* Do not deprive me of that on which I live, your looks, &c.

938. *Till peace obtained.* Till peace should be obtained.

940. *Soon his heart relented.* Throughout the whole of this episode,—in the sentiments in lines 888-908, in Eve’s supplication for forgiveness and in Adam’s reconciliation—there are evident allusions to similar scenes in Milton’s own married life.

952. *Bear’st so ill.* Art so little able to endure.

978. *As in our evils.* In such evils as ours are; considering our evils.

989. *So Death.* In the early editions these two words begin line 990, which thus contains two syllables more, and 989 two less, than the correct number. The alteration was first made by Tickell in 1720. There is another instance of a needless Alexandrine in *Samson Agonistes, 497.*

996. *Before the present object.* In presence of the object within our reach.

997. *Like desire.* The same desire in each of them.

1000. *Make short.* Make short work of it; a phrase of the time.

1009. *Pale.* Paleness; the adj. for the noun, as before, iv. 115.

1024. *Forestalled.* Newton thought *forestall* too low and trite for heroic poetry, though, he adds, it might not be so trite and vulgar formerly, and quotes Fairfax as using it. It is also in both Spenser and Shakespeare; and if it was considered vulgar in Newton’s day, it is not so now. *To forestall* primarily meant to purchase articles before they reached the *stall* or market, for the purpose of selling them at a higher price; it is used only metaphorically now, which may account for its not having a ‘low’ idea attaching to it still.

1066. *Shattering.* He uses the same word similarly in *Lycidas, 5:*—

>Shatter your leaves before the mellowing year.
1069. *This diurnal star.* The sun, called the 'day-star' in *Lycidas*, 168.

1071. *Sere.* This word appears to have been out of use last century. Warton, in his note on *Lycidas*, 2, says, with reference to Newton's observation, that "there are more antiquated and obsolete words in that poem than in any other of Milton's;" that the "word sere is one of the most uncommon of these;" and in his note on the same passage Newton refers us to *Paradise Lost*, x. 1071, "where," says he, "it was explained and justified from parallel instances from Spenser." Todd, too, who belonged to the beginning of this century, thinks it necessary to tell his readers that *sere* is 'dry;' and adds that it often occurs in Chaucer and Spenser.

1075. *Tine.* Kindle; another form is *tind* (cf. *rine* and *rind*); and the noun is *tinder,*—still in use, though both *tine* and *tind* have gone out.

1078. *Supply.* Supply the place of.

1091. *Frequenting.* Filling; see Index to the Notes.

1098-1104. Repetitions of this kind occur in the Classics; see *Georgics*, iv. 538, 541.

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**BOOK XI.**


8. *Yet* refers back to the first line; the intermediate part being parenthetical.

12. *Deucalion and chaste Pyrrha.* Deucalion was the son of Prometheus and Clymene, king of Phthia, in Thessaly. When Zeus (Jupiter) had resolved to destroy the degenerate race of men, Deucalion and his wife Pyrrha were, on account of their piety, the only mortals saved. On the advice of his father, Deucalion built a ship, in which he and his wife floated in safety during the nine days' flood which destroyed all the other inhabitants of Hellas. At last the ship rested, according to the more general tradition, on Mount Parnassus in Phocis. Deucalion and his wife consulted the sanctuary of Themis how the race of man might be restored. The goddess bade them cover their heads and throw the bones of their mother behind them. After some doubts respecting the meaning of this command, they agreed in interpreting the bones of their mother to mean
the stones of the earth. They accordingly threw stones behind
them, and from those thrown by Deucalion there sprang up
men, from those thrown by Pyrrha women. Deucalion then
descended from Parnassus, built his first abode at Opus or at
Cynus, and became by Pyrrha the father of Hellen, Amphic-
tyon, Protagenia, and others.

15. Nor missed the way, &c. Compare iii. 444.
18. Psalm cxxi. 2; Revelation, viii. 3, 4.
33. His Advocate and propitiation. I John, ii. 1, 2.
38. The smell of peace. Genesis, viii. 21; Leviticus, iii. 3, 5.
39. His days. Cognate obj. on live. Let him reconciled live
before thee at least the limited number of days allowed him.
Live before thee. A Scriptural expression: "O that Ishmael
might live before thee!" Genesis, xvii. 18.
56. Of incorrupt. From the state of being incorrupt.
74. Heard in Oed, &c. See Exodus, xx. 18; and
1 Thessalonians, iv. 16.
76. General doom. Cf. 'our general sire,' iv. 144; 'general
mother,' iv. 492; general being equivalent to 'of all.'
80. In fellowships of joy. Compare the expression in Lyci-
das (179), 'in solemn troops, and sweet societies.'
86. Defended. Forbidden; used in this sense in Chaucer,
and also law statutes, from the French defendre. It occurs
again, xii. 207, and Par. Reg., ii. 370.
91-93. Longer than they move, &c. I know how variable
and vain he is when left to himself, and any longer than my
motions are guiding him.
101. Thy choice. See v. 333.
111. Excess. Transgression; see Ode on the Circumcision, 24.
131. Argus, the 'all-seeing,' had a hundred eyes, and was the
guardian of the cow into which Io had been metamorphosed.
Hermes, or Mercury, the messenger of the gods, was ordered
to carry off Io, which he accomplished by charming Argus to
sleep with the sweet notes of his Arcadian or shepherd's pipe,
and the soporific effects of his caduceus, or herald's staff.
132. Charmed. If they were to be charmed. Bentley ob-
jected to 'more wakeful than to drowse;' but it is 'more
wakeful than to drowse even if they were to be charmed by
Hermes' pipe and rod.'
135. Leucothea. Literally the 'white goddess;' used by
Milton as a suitable name for Aurora; Leucothea being used
in Greek for Matuta, the early morning.
152. Persuasion in me grew. I became persuaded.
157. The bitterness of death, &c. The words of Agag, 1 Samuel, xv. 32.

159. Eve rightly called, &c. Genesis, iii. 20.

185. The bird of Jove. The eagle; Jovis ales, Æneid, i. 399. Stoop. "A hawk is said to stoop when, being upon her wing, she bends down violently to strike the fowl."—Bailey. Tour. Most editions have tower, but the spelling in the first edition is tour; in it, however, I find that tower is variously spelt tour, tower, toure; then, again, the birds are said to 'tower the mid aerial sky,' vii. 441; it is 'towering eagles' in v. 271; and the lark is described as 'high towering,' Par. Reg., ii. 280. It is also to be added that while all modern texts read 'towering high' of the flight of Satan, ii. 635, in the first edition it is touring.

186, 188. Two birds... a gentle brace. Two birds and two deer, as types of the human pair.

208. By this. By this time; now.

213. Not that... in Mahanaim. Genesis, xxxii. 1, 2.

216. Nor that... in Dothan. 2 Kings, vi. 13-17.


242. Livelier than Melibœan, or the grain of Sarra. See note on grain, v. 285. Virgil alludes to both Melibœa and Sarra as famous for their purple dyes:—

Quam plurima circum

Purpura Mæandro duplici Melibœam cucurrit.—Æneid, v. 250.

Ut gemmâ bibat, et Sarrano indormiat ostro.—Georgics, ii. 506.

244. Iris had dipt the woof. He has the same metaphor in Conus, 83.

249. From his state. From his stately posture. Inclined not. Did not bow.

259-262. "It is after the manner of Homer that the Angel is here made to deliver the order he had received in the very words he had received it."—(Newton.)

270. Native soil. It was the native soil of Eve, as she was created there, but not of Adam, who was brought into Paradise after his creation elsewhere.

283. To this obscure. Obscure compared with this. See note on to, iv. 78.

332. His utmost skirts of glory. The reference is to Exodus, xxxiii. 22, 23.

333. Far off his steps adore. Newton quotes from Statius:—

Sed longe sequere, et vestigia semper adora.—Thebaid, xii. 817.


381. Not higher that hill, &c. ... glory. Matthew, iv. 8.
387-411. From the destined walls, &c. In this panoramic view Adam is shown the world continent by continent. From 388 to 395—Asia; from 396 to 404—Africa; 405—Europe; and from 407 to 411—America.

387-395. From the destined walls, &c. "He first takes a view of Asia, and there of the northern parts, the destined walls, not yet in being, but designed to be of Cambalu, seat of Cathaic Can, the principal city in Cathay, a province of Tartary (x. 293), the ancient seat of the Chams, and Samarcand by Oxus, the chief city of Zagathaian Tartary, near the river Oxus, Temir's throne, the birthplace and royal residence of Tamerlane. And from the northern he passes to the eastern and southern parts of Asia to Pauquin, or Pekin, of Sinaean kings, the royal city of China, the country of the ancient Sinae; and thence to Agra and Lahor, two great cities in the empire of the great Mogul, down to the golden Chersonese,—that is, Malacca, the most southern promontory of the East Indies, so called on account of its riches to distinguish it from the other Chersoneses or peninsulas; or where the Persian in Ecbatan sat, Ecbatana, formerly the capital of Persia, or since in Hispahan, the capital city at present, or where the Russian Ksar, the Czar of Muscovy, in Mosco, the metropolis of all Russia, or the Sultan in Bisance, the Grand Signior in Constantinople, formerly Byzantium, Turchestan-born, as the Turks came from Turchestan, a province of Tartary; he reckons these to Asia, as they are adjoining, and great part of their territories lie in Asia.

396-404. "He passes now into Africa; nor could his eye not ken the empire of Negus, the upper Ethiopia or the land of the Abyssinians, subject to one sovereign, styled in their own language Negus or king, and by the Europeans Prester John, to his utmost port Ercoco, or Erquico, on the Red Sea, the N.E. boundary of the Abyssinian empire, and the less maritime kings, the lesser kingdoms on the sea-coast, Mombasa, and Quiloa, and Melind, all near the line in Zanguebar, a great region of the lower Ethiopia on the eastern or Indian Sea, and subject to the Portuguese, and Sofala thought Ophir, another kingdom and city on the same sea, mistaken for Ophir whence Solomon brought gold, to the realm of Congo, a kingdom in the lower Ethiopia on the western shore, as the others were on the eastern; and Angola farthest south, another kingdom south of Congo; or thence from Niger flood, the river Niger that divides Negroland into two parts, to Atlas mount in the most western parts of Africa, the kingdoms of Almansor, the countries over which Almansor was king,—viz., Fes and Sus, Morocco and Algiers, and Tremisen, all kingdoms in Barbary.
405. "After Africa he comes to Europe, of which, as it is so well known, Rome only is mentioned.

406-411. "In spirit perhaps he also saw—he could not see it otherwise, as America was on the opposite side of the globe—rich Mexico in North America, the seat of Montezume, who was subdued by the Spanish general Pizarro, and yet unspoiled Guiana, another country of South America, whose great city, Manhoa, Geryon's sons, the Spaniards, from Geryon, an ancient king of Spain, call El Dorado or the golden city, on account of its richness and extent.

"And thus he surveys the four different parts of the world, but it must be confessed, more with an ostentation of learning, than with any additional beauty to the poem."—(Newton.)

409. The wording is apparently borrowed from the title of Sir W. Raleigh's tract, published in 1596, entitled, The Discoverie of the Large and Rich Empire of Guiana, with a Relation of the Great and Golden City of Manoa.

414. Euphrasy and rue. Two herbs supposed to have the effect of purging the sight, and no doubt tried on Milton's eyes. Of euphrasy, or eye-bright, Shenstone (Schoolmistress) says:—

Yet euphrasy may not be left unsung
That gives dim eyes to wander leagues around.


430. Tilth. In a state of tillage.

433. Sord, swerd, or sward, originally meant a skin; 'sword of bacon' was an old phrase for the skin of bacon. Hence sord, now written sward, was applied to the skin or covering of the earth, the greensward.

458. The other's faith approved. Hebrews, xi. 4.

479. A lazar-house. A hospital for lazars, or diseased people and beggars like Lazarus in the parable.

485-487. These three lines are not in the first edition, but were inserted by Milton in the second.

496. Though not of woman born . . . to tears. The references to Shakespeare are to Macbeth, v. 7, and Henry V., i. 6.

521. Disfiguring, &c. Professor Masson regards this as a Latinism, disfiguring agreeing with them in their—'the punishment of them disfiguring,' &c. It is more natural to take it as qualifying punishment.

531. The rule of 'Not too much.' The classic aphorism, Mihi et quid nimis. Ne quid nimis.

535-537. He seems to have had in mind the passage of Cicero De Senectute, 19: "Et quasi poma ex arboribus, cruda
Book Eleventh.

si sint, vi avelluntur; si matura et cocta, decidunt; sic vitam adolescentibus vis aufer, senibus maturitas."

542. To. Compared with, as in line 283. For. Instead of.
551. 552. These two lines are expanded in the second edition from one of the first, which was

Of rendering up." Michael to him replied:

573-592. After these . . . a different sort. The descendants of Seth. On the hither side. Not so far off from Paradise as Cain, who was banished to the east of Eden.
612. His gifts . . . none. None of his gifts; ii. 331, note.
614. For that fair female troop thou saw'st. For you have seen that bevy how beautiful they are.
621. To these that sober race, &c. In this place Milton adopts the opinion that the Sons of God (Genesis, vi. 1, 2) were the children of Seth. In v. 447, he refers to the other theory that the Sons of God were Angels; and in Paradise Regained, Sons of Belial, fallen Angels, ii. 178-183.
624. Trains. Wiles, artifices; see Samson Agonistes, 533.
651. Makes. Altered from tacks, the reading of the first edition.
656. Scale. Ladder, escalade; see note on scaled, iii. 541.
660. "In this visionary part Milton has frequently had his eye on his master Homer, and several of the images which are represented to Adam are copies of the descriptions on the shield of Achilles, Iliad, xviii. The description of the shield of Achilles is certainly one of the finest pieces of poetry in the whole Iliad, and our author has plainly shown his admiration and affection for it by borrowing so many scenes and images from it; but I think we may say that they do not, like other copies, fall short of the originals, but generally exceed them, and receive this additional beauty, that they are most of them made representations of real histories and matters of fact."—(Newton.)
661. To council in the city-gates. See Genesis, xxxiv. 20; Deuteronomy, xvi. 18; xxi. 19; Zechariah, viii. 16.
665. Of middle age one rising. Enoch, 365 years being middle age for an antediluvian patriarch.
681. Whom had not Heaven, &c. There is an attraction of the relative here, the construction being: Who was that just man, who, had not Heaven rescued him, had been lost?
688. These Giants. Genesis, vi. 4.
694. And for glory done, &c. The punctuation is that of the first edition. The interpretations vary.

"Milton had said before that it 'shall be held the highest pitch of glory to subdue nations and bring home their spoils'; and here he adds, for this I take to be his sense, that it shall be held 'the highest pitch of triumph for that glory' obtained 'to be styled great conquerors.' So that though I approve of Dr. Bentley's changing done into won, I cannot agree to his altering of triumph to or triumph."—(Pearce.)

"This is one of the most difficult passages. I am not satisfied with the conjectures of either of these learned men, and see no other way of understanding it but this: 'To overcome, to subdue, to spoil, shall be held the highest pitch of glory, and shall be done for glory of triumph, shall be achieved for that end and purpose, 'to be styled great conquerors.'"—(Newton.)

"This passage is rather difficult. We would understand it thus: 'These things being done for glory, it shall be held the highest pitch (understood from 693) of triumph to be styled,' &c."—(Keightley.)

"The true meaning seems to be: 'To overcome in battle, &c., shall be held the highest pitch of human glory; and to be styled great conquerors, &c., shall be the highest pitch of glory achieved.'"—(Masson.)

700. The seventh from thee. Jude, 14.

706. Rapt, &c. We are not told how Enoch was taken from the earth; but Milton assumes that it was in the same way as Elijah, and describes his translation almost in the same words as he uses of the latter, in iii. 522.

In Keightley's text it is wrapped, though in his note, at the foot of the page, it is rapt; and the misprint reappears in Bell & Dally's reprint. I mention this as an instance of the difficulty of keeping out all misprints, whether they are to be set down to the slip or sleep of the editor or the perversity of the printer. Prof. Masson's edition, too, in spite of all the editor's labours and pains, is far from immaculate, while the errors in the Globe are fourfold more numerous—sufficient justification for emendations of Milton's text, cautiously and sparingly done, when, in addition to the 'reader's' liability to trip, the printer could, in those days, spell and point pretty much as he pleased.

717. Passing. Surpassing; an adverb.


752. Stable. Stabulum is the den or lair of any beast; see Comus, 534, note.
753. One small bottom. Bottom is an old word for a boat or ship:—

A bawbling vessel was he captain of,
With which such scathful grapple did he make
With the most noble bottom of our fleet.—Twelfth Night, v. 1.

What do we, but like foolish merchants venture all our estate in a bottom?—Feltham, Resolves, xxxi.

766. Dispensed. Weighed out.
773. Which neither. Bentley objected to neither ... and. Newton defended it by examples of neque ... et from Terence and Cicero. Todd supplied what he thought a parallel from Milton's prose: "In such a posture Christ found the Jews, who were neither won with the austerity of John the Baptist, and thought it too much licence to follow freely the charming pipe of him who sounded and proclaimed liberty and relief to all distresses."

Bentley sent them all off the scent. The and of line 774 does not connect the sentence that follows with that in 773, but with evil he may be sure.—773 being parenthetical. And neither is simply a strong negative, equivalent to 'not even.'

785. How comes it thus? &c. All editions follow the original in placing a note of interrogation after thus, and beginning a new sentence with unfold. The order is: Unfold, celestial guide, how comes it thus, and whether the race of man will end. See note on viii. 277, and xii. 385.

833. The great river. The Euphrates; Genesis, xv. 18. The gulf. The Persian Gulf.

840. Hull. Drift, float as a vessel without oars or sail would.

846. Their flowing. Their refers to wave. "As a noun of multitude of the plural; it is not easy to account for the syntax otherwise."—(Newton.) "The poet had probably dictated 'waves' in the preceding line."—(Keightley.) "A liberty of syntax."—(Masson.) None of these; their stands for its, as before 'each in their kind,' vii. 453; and again, 'each their way,' line 889; see note on its, i. 254. There is an idiom in which we use their as the possessive with a sing. noun, when the sex is not known to the speaker; or it may refer to either, as in such phrases as "One loves their own."

858. His foot. In the Bible narrative the dove is feminine, Genesis, viii. 9.

866. Listed. Striped, streaked (879).

886. Late. Lately, recently; Genesis, vi. 6-12.

892-901. Makes a covenant, &c. Genesis, viii. 22; ix. 11-15; 2 Peter, iii. 12, 13.
BOOK XII.

1-5. The first five lines were written as introductory to this book, when the original tenth was divided here to form two books.
1. Bait. To bait is to stop on one's journey for a bit or bite, to take rest or refreshment. So in Samson Agonistes:—

Evil news rides post, while good news baits.—1538.

And—

Come, sleep, O sleep, the certain knot of peace,
The baiting-place of art, the balm of woe.

—Sir Philip Sidney, Sonnet to Sleep.

24-37. Till one shall rise, &c. Nimrod. Genesis, x. 8-10. According to some Jewish commentators his being a 'mighty hunter' is explained to mean that he was a tyrannical ruler; and 'before the Lord' is said by some to mean against or in spite of God; while others explain it as under God, claiming to be next to God, and that his sovereignty is derived from God; both these explanations are given in lines 34, 35. From rebellion shall derive his name. Nimrod being from a Hebrew root meaning to rebel. The whole passage is characteristic of Milton's republican sentiments.

43. Cast. Plan; iii. 634.
55. Jangling noise is the expression Sylvester uses in his account of the confusion of tongues.
62. The work 'Confusion' named. According to the translation of Babel in the margin of Genesis, xi. 9.

69-71. Man over men, &c. Hume quotes from S. Augustine: 'Rationalem, factum ad imaginem suam, noluit nisi irration-alibus dominari, non hominem homini, sed hominem pecori.'

—De Civit. Dei.

85. Dividual. Separate; see vii. 382.

95. Tyranny must be, &c. Tyranny is a 'necessity,' but that does not justify 'the tyrants' plea;' iv. 393; and cf. Matthew, xviii. 7.

97-100. Yet sometimes, &c. Todd quotes from Milton's History of England:—
When God hath decreed servitude on a sinful nation, fitted by their own vices for no condition but servile, all estates of Government are alike unable to avoid it.—v. 1.

111. One peculiar nation. Genesis, xii.; Deut. xiv. 2.
132. Servitude. Servants; the abstract for the concrete. So in Paradise Regained, i. 146, apostasy for 'apostates.'
139-146. From Hamath, &c. Numbers, xxxiv. 3-12; Deuteronomy, iii. 8, 9. The desert. 'The wilderness of Zin.' The great western sea. The Mediterranean. Mount Carmel is 'on the shore' of the Mediterranean. The Jordon is called the double-founted stream, as it is formed by the union of two streams. Senir was the Amorite name for Hermon (Deuteronomy, iii. 9).
152. Faithful Abraham. Genesis, xvii. 5; Galatians, iii. 9.
164-214. Grown suspected to a sequent king, &c. Exodus, i. 6; xiv.
169. Those two brethren. Those in the original editions, for which these is incorrectly found in some.
188. Palpable darkness. See note on 'palpable obscure,' ii. 406.
191. The river-dragon. "Thus saith the Lord God; Behold, I am against thee, Pharaoh king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is mine own, and I have made it for myself," Ezeikel, xxix. 3. In the first edition it was, 'This river-dragon.'
204. Remove. Sc., itself.
207. Defends between. Defends, used as in xi. 86, forbids, prevents.
210. Crase. Break; from the French, écraser. So in i. 311, he says the chariot-wheels were 'broken,' though in Exodus it is only said the chariot-wheels were 'taken off.' Crase occurs in Samson Agonistes, 571.
217. Alarmed. Rouse to arms, à l'armée.
220. For life, &c. For those who are untrained in arms, whether noble-minded or not, are fonder of life (than those who are trained and risk it less), unless when led on by rashness.
227. From the Mount of Sinai. Exodus, xix. i, 16, 18; xx.
229. Trumpet's. It is the singular (not the plural, as some read), as may be seen from Exodus, xix. 16.

250. Of cedar. This is an oversight of Milton's: the sanctuary, or tabernacle, was made of ten curtains hung on 'pillars of shittim wood, overlaid with gold,' Exodus, xxvi. Cedar is not mentioned in any of the Books of Moses. Therein an ark, &c. Exodus, xxv.

255. Representing the heavenly fires. A gloss of Josephus.

283-306. The portions of Scripture referred to are: Romans, iii. 20; iv. 22-25; v. 17, 20, 21; vii. 7; viii. 15; x. 5; Galatians, iii. 11, 12, 19, 23; iv. 7; Hebrews, vii. 18, 19; ix. 13, 14; x. 1, 4.


322. A promise shall receive. 2 Samuel, vii. 16; Psalm lxxxix. 34-36; Isaiah, xi. 10.

335. Such. Such kings.

338. Heaped to the popular sum. The faults of the kings heaped along with the sins of the people.


353-358. Among the priests dissension springs. The contest for the high priesthood between Jason and Menelaus led to Jerusalem being taken (B.C. 173) by Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria, who plundered the city and defiled the temple. Again in B.C. 107 Aristobulus, the high priest, took the title of king. Then in B.C. 61 the sceptre was 'lost to a stranger,' Antipater of Idumaea being made king by Pompey, the Roman general; and he was succeeded by Herod, in whose reign Christ was born.

360-367. See Paradise Regained, i. 242-252.

374. Which these. A construction like this his, line 419.

383. His capital bruise. Capital, in the double sense of 'chief' and 'in the head;' cf. 'my capital secret,' Samson Agonistes, 394.

400. Theirs which. The antecedent of which is transgression understood with theirs.

402-435. References to Matthew, xxviii. 1; Romans, vi. 9; xiii. 10; Galatians, ii. 16; iii. 13; Colossians, ii. 14.

409. His merits to save them. Understand 'who shall believe,' from line 407.

436-465. Nor after resurrection, &c. The Scripture references are: Matthew, xxviii. 19, 20; Luke, xxi. 27; xxiv. 26; Romans, iv. 16; Ephesians, i. 20, 21; iv. 8; Colossians, ii. 15; Revelation, xx. 2.

442. Baptising in the profluent stream. In his Treatise on Christian Doctrine, Milton expresses the opinion, conveyed here by his use of the word profulent, that baptism should be by immersion in a running stream.
485-497. From heaven, &c. The Scripture references are: Psalm lvi. 11; Luke, xxiv. 49; John, xv. 26; xvi. 13; Galatians, v. 16; Ephesians, vi. 11-16.


526. His consort Liberty. “Where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty,” 2 Corinthians, iii. 17.

537. His living temples. “Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?” I Corinthians, iii. 16. “Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost?” vi. 19.


538. To good malignant, to bad men benign. Malignant and benign are astrological terms, ‘unhappy’ and ‘happy;’ see note on x. 659.


547. Then raise from the conflagrant mass, &c. 2 Peter, iii. 12, 13.

574. Also last replied. Replied for the last time, too, as said of Adam’s speech, line 552.

582. To thy knowledge answerable. Corresponding with your knowledge. Add faith, &c. 2 Peter, i. 5; I Corinthians, xiii. 13.

607. Descended. Case absolute; the hill being descended.

608. Found her waked. Milton forgot he had written this, when he says in the Argument that Adam “wakens Eve.”

609. With words not sad, &c. Of Eve’s speech Addison says: “The sleep that fell upon Eve, and the effects it had in quieting the disorders of her mind, produce the same kind of consolation in the reader, who cannot peruse the last beautiful speech which is ascribed to the mother of mankind without a secret pleasure and satisfaction. The following lines which conclude the poem rise in a most glorious blaze of poetical images and expressions.”

615. In me is no delay. Newton quotes: “In me mora non erit ulla,” Virgil, Eclogue iii. 52. With thee to go, is to stay here. To go with thee pleases me as much as if I were to be allowed to remain in Paradise.

630. Marsh. An old form of marsh; it occurs in Ezekiel, xlvii. 11.

634. Which. The antecedent is sword.

635. Adjust. Dry, burning; adjusted we have met in vi. 514—see note thereto.
637. In either hand, &c. One in each hand. The particular of the Angel taking Adam and Eve by the hand is not in the Scripture account of the expulsion from Paradise, but is borrowed by Milton from the story of the Angels taking Lot and his family out of Sodom: "While he lingered, the men laid hold upon his hand, and upon the hand of his wife," Genesis, xix. 16.

640. Subjected. Lying below.
644. Thronged. Past participle; obj. on beheld.
NOTES TO PARADISE REGAINED.

"The neglect which Paradise Lost never experienced seems to have been long the lot of Paradise Regained. It was not popular with the world; it was long believed to manifest a decay of the poet's genius; and in spite of all that the critics have written, it is still but the favourite of some whose predilections for the Miltonic style are very strong. The subject is so much less capable of calling forth the vast powers of his mind, that we should be unfair in comparing it throughout with the greater poem. It has been called a model of the shorter epic, an action comprehending few characters and a brief space of time. The love of Milton for dramatic dialogue, imbibed from Greece, is still more apparent than in Paradise Lost; the whole poem, in fact, may almost be accounted a drama of primal simplicity, the narrative and descriptive part serving rather to diversify and relieve the speeches of the actors, than their speeches, as in the legitimate epic, to enliven the narration. Paradise Regained abounds with passages equal to any of the same nature in Paradise Lost; but the argumentative tone is kept up till it produces some tediousness, and perhaps, on the whole, less pains have been exerted to adorn and elevate that which appeals to the imagination."—(Hallam.)

BOOK I.

1. As observed by Newton, Milton follows the precedent of other poets in referring, in the opening of a new poem, to a previous great work. Thus in the lines prefixed to the Æneid, attributed to Virgil—
Ille ego, qui quondam gracili modulatus avenâ
Carmen, &c.

And Spenser opens the *Faerie Queene* with a reference to his pastoral poems:—

Lo, I the man, whose Muse whilome did mask,
As time her taught, in lowly shepherd's weeds,
Am now enforced, a far unfitter task,
For trumpets stern to change mine oaten reeds,
And sing of knights' and ladies' gentle deeds.

8. *This glorious Eremite,* &c. "Then was Jesus led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil," *Matthew*, iv. 1. From the Greek ἔρημος, the desert, and ἐρημίτης, an inhabitant of the desert, is formed the word *eremite*, which occurs before in *Paradise Lost*, iii. 474: it is now contracted into *hermit*.


23. *Deemed.* As he was deemed or reputed to be.

26. *Divinely.* In the literal sense of the Lat. divinitus, from heaven; so in *Paradise Lost*, viii. 500, Eve was 'divinely brought.'

29. *His witness.* The testimony of John.

33. *Roving still about.* See *Job*, i. 7; *1 Peter*, v. 8.

39-41. *In mid air . . . within thick clouds,* &c. Thyer thinks Milton may have "St Austin in his eye, who, speaking of the region of clouds, storms, thunder, &c., says: 'Ad ista caliginosa, id est, ad hunc ætem, tanquam ad carcerem damnatus est Diabolus.'" In *Ephesians*, ii. 2, Satan is called 'the prince of the power of the air.'

42. *Gloomy consistory.* Named after the meeting of the Pope and Cardinals. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, i. 795, where he calls the same council 'secret conclave,' and x. 457, where he calls it 'their dark divan,' after the name of the Turkish council. In Bjount's *Dictionary* (ed. 1670) *consistory* is defined: "A council-house of ecclesiastical persons, or the place of justice in the Court Christian; a session or assembly of prelates." Milton's anti-prelatical views would make him select the name for the council of Satan.

45. *Air, our old conquest.* See *Paradise Lost*, x. 188-190.


74. *Purified to receive him pure.* From *1 John*, iii. 3.
82. Her crystal doors. In the ode On the Nativity, 125, we have 'crystal Spheres;' in Paradise Lost, vi. 772, the 'crystal-line sky.'

84. Sovran. In the first edition printed sovr'aign, but in Paradise Lost always sovr'an; it does not occur elsewhere in Paradise Regained.

87. Obtains. Holds; used in the sense of the Lat. obtinere; as a neut., to obtain means 'to hold ground,' 'to be in use.'

90. When his fierce thunder, &c. Described in Paradise Lost, vi. 834-866.

91. Who this is we must learn. "It was requisite for the poet to assume the opinion that Satan did not yet know Jesus to be the Son of God, as it is a necessary hinge on which part of the poetry turns."—(Dunster).

94. The utmost edge of hazard. Shakespeare has the same expression:

We'll strive to bear it, for your worthy sake,
To the extreme edge of hazard.—All's Well, iii. 3.

The phrase 'edge of battle' occurs in Paradise Lost, i. 276, and vi. 108; and εἰς τὸ ἐπάνω ἄσκον was a proverbial expression among the Greeks, Iliad, x. 173.

97. Well-couched fraud. 'Falsehood couched with revenge,' Paradise Lost, iv. 121.

100. I, when no other durst, &c. See Par. Lost, ii. 420, &c.

103. Calmer. Because the first was from Hell, through Chaos, this only from 'mid air,' where as before he could 'waft on the calmer wave,' Paradise Lost, ii. 1042.

104. The way found prosperous once, &c. 'The method I used before (to ruin Adam) having proved successful, augurs similar hope now.'

117. Yea gods. They were the gods of those who did not worship the true God, as described in Paradise Lost, i. 361, &c.

120. Giried with snaky wiles. Newton sees here an allusion to the "habit of sorcerers and necromancers, who are represented in some prints as giried about the middle with the skins of snakes and serpents, a cincture totally opposite to that recommended by the apostle in Ephesians, vi. 14." Dunster more naturally regards it as merely metaphorical, and equivalent to the 'dolis instructus' of Virgil, Æneid, ii. 152; and further on (iii. 5) Satan is described as 'collecting all his serpent wiles.' And as a parallel use of giried we have—

With all her winning charms begirt.—ii. 213.


128. Frequence. Assembly. Thus in Paradise Lost, i. 797,
he uses frequent in the Lat. sense of frequentia, a full assembly of the senate; and ‘full frecuence’ occurs again, Paradise Regained, ii. 130.

129. To Gabriel.  “This speech is properly addressed to Gabriel, among the Angels, as he seems to have been the Angel particularly employed in the embassies and transactions relating to the Gospel. Gabriel was sent to inform Daniel of the famous prophecy of the seventy weeks; Gabriel notified the conception of John the Baptist to his father Zacharias, and of our blessed Saviour to His Virgin Mother. The Jewish Rabbis say that Michael was the minister of severity, but Gabriel of mercy: accordingly our poet makes Gabriel the guardian angel of Paradise, and employs Michael to expel our first parents out of Paradise; and for the same reason this speech is directed to Gabriel in particular.”—(Newton.)

Smiling. In contrast with the ‘looks aghast and sad’ with which Satan addressed his ‘gloomy consistory.’

137. Then toldst. The personal pronoun is omitted after the Latin idiom; so again, line 221.

144. He boasts and vaunts. In lines 100-105.

146. Apostasy. Apostates; as servitude for ‘servants,’ Par. Lost, xii. 132.

156. Exercise. To try by affliction.

157. The rudiments, &c. Dunster quotes from Virgil and Statius:—

Primitiae juvenis miseræ, bellique propinqui
Dura rudimenta.—Æneid, xi. 156.
Quod si militia jam te, puer inclyte, prima
Clara rudimenta, et castrorum dulce vocaret
Auspiciun.—Sylv, V. ii. 3.

160. By humiliation, &c. Keightley and Professor Masson take this line with the one that follows, altering the original punctuation thus:—

Ere I send Him forth
To conquer Sin and Death, the two grand foes.
By humiliation and strong sufferance
His weakness, &c.

But, without altering a reading which two centuries of criticism has not disturbed, according to the original punctuation, ‘By humiliation,’ &c., may go with ‘lay down’ in line 157, rather than with line 159 or 161.

165. I have chose. See note on Morning of Christ’s Nativity, line 20.

168. All Heaven admiring stood a space. “We cannot but notice the great art of the poet, in setting forth the dignity and
importance of his subject. He represents all beings as interested one way or other in the event. A council of devils is summoned; an assembly of Angels is held. Satan is the speaker in the one; the Almighty in the other. Satan expresses his diffidence, but still resolves to make trial of this Son of God; the Father declares His purpose of proving and illustrating His Son. The infernal crew are distracted and surprised with deep dismay; all heaven stands awhile in admiration. The fiends are silent through fear and grief; the Angels burst forth into singing with joy and the assured hope of success. And their attention is thus engaged, the better to engage the attention of the reader.

—(Newton.)

171. The hand sung with the voice. Calton quotes from Tibullus:

Sed postquam fuerant digiti cum voce locuti,
Edidit hæc dulci tristia verba modo.—iii. 4.

And Milton uses hand elsewhere to distinguish instrumental harmony from vocal:

Harmony, in tones and numbers hit
By voice or hand.—Paradise Regained, iv. 255.
If my inferior hand or voice could hit
Inimitable sounds.—Arcades, 77.

Canere signifies not only to ‘sing’ but to ‘play on an instrument.’ Dunster cites from Ovid:

Ante deum Martem cornu tibicen adunco
Cum canit.—Ex Ponto, i. 1.

174. Duel. “There is, I think, a meanness in the customary sense of the word duel that makes it unworthy of these speakers and of this occasion. The Italian duello, if I am not mistaken, bears a stronger sense, and this I suppose Milton had in view.”

—(Thyer.)

“Milton may have probably been influenced, in his adoption of the word duel, by the title and subject of the following curious and rare book: Le Duel et Combat de Jesus Empereur, Roy, et Monarque de tout l'Univers, et Prince de Lumière, à l'encontre de son ennemie Sathan Prince de Tenebres, et inique usurpateur de ce monde visible. Composé par F. Guillaume Zolinc, Religieux profiez d'Abbaye de Madame S. Geneviève, &c. 12mo. Paris, 1587.”—(Todd.)

175. The metre of this line will be improved by accenting vanquish on the second syllable, as probably intended by Milton, and of which there is an instance in Shakespeare's 1 Henry VI., iii. 3.
Vigils. Lit. watches, nocturnal services; as in Paradise Lost, vii. 450, 'with evening harps and matin,' so here the angels 'tune their vigils,' or night-songs.
M. Much revolving, &c. Virgil's expression: 'multa movens animo,' Aeneid, x. 890.
190. To converse with solitude. See Mark, i. 35.
201-206. These lines were printed under Cipriani's etching of 1769 from the original portrait of Milton as a boy of ten.
207. The Law of God . . . sweet . . . delight. See Psalm cxix. 103, i. 2.
Then to subdue, &c. "Milton here carries his republican principles to the greatest height in supposing the overthrow of all monarchy to have been one of the objects of our Lord's early contemplations. We may compare Samson Agonistes, 1268."
—(Dunster.)
221. Yet held. A Latinism, the personal pronoun omitted, as before, line 137.
222. Observe the alliteration.
233. Express. Cf. iv. 601; and in Paradise Lost:—
He all his Father full expressed.—vi. 720.
Expressing well the spirit within thee free,—
My image,—not imparted to the brute.—viii. 440.
269. Waited. Waited, waited for.
271. Not knew. The syntax is peculiar; there is no obj. to knew; in full it would be, 'but whom I knew not.' John the Baptist says, "I knew him not," John, i. 31.
279. His greater. Like the idiom 'Your betters,' for 'those better than you;' it occurs again in Paradise Lost:—
Acknowledge him thy greater.—v. 172.
280. The laving stream. Baptism is called the 'laver of regeneration' in the Office in the Book of Common Prayer.
286. The time now full. "When the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth His Son," Galatians, iv. 4.
292, 293. I learn not yet, &c. "The whole soliloquy is
formed upon an opinion, which hath authorities enough to give it credit, that Christ was not, by virtue of the personal union of the two natures, and from the first moment of that union, possessed of all the knowledge of the Θεός as far as the capacity of a human mind would admit. In His early years He 'increased in wisdom and stature,' Luke, ii. 52."—(Calton.)

294. Our Morning Star. Luke, i. 78; Revelation, xxii. 16.
296. Dunster cites Aeneid, i. 165, and ix. 381, for similar epithets applied to a wood.
297, 299. Return was difficult connects with and he still on was led.

Professor Masson takes great liberty with the punctuation of the text here. He says: "The pointing in the original editions seems to me clearly erroneous, yielding a bad syntax and a clumsy sense. I have therefore altered it" thus—

The way he came, not having marked return,
Was difficult, by human steps untrod.

No doubt many passages in Milton might be altered for the better, but suggested improvements should be confined to the editor's notes.
302. This line resembles—

For solitude sometimes is best society.—Par. Lost, ix. 249.

—not only in the wording, but in both having twelve syllables,
—a foot too much.
310. Among wild beasts. Mark, i. 13. At his sight grew mild.
"Archbishop Secker, in his Sermon on the Temptation, says:
‘During these forty days it is observed by St Mark that our blessed Redeemer was with the wild beasts, which words must imply, else they are of no significance, that the fiercest animals were awed by His presence, and so far laid aside their savage nature for a time; thus verifying literally what Eliphaz in Job saith figuratively concerning a good man: ‘At destruction and famine thou shalt laugh; neither shalt thou be afraid of the beasts of the earth... for they shall be at peace with thee.’" Before the Fall, Milton supposes those beasts, which are now wild, to have been harmless—void of ferocity to each other, and even affectionate towards man. See Paradise Lost, iv. 340, &c. Immediately after the Fall, among other changes of Nature, the animals begin to grow savage. See Paradise Lost, x. 707. Here, upon the appearance of perfect innocence in a human form amongst them, they begin to resume a certain proportion of the Paradisiacal disposition. In Homer's Hymn to Venus, where that goddess descends on Mount Ida, to visit Anchises at his folds, her appearance is described as having the same
effect, in its fullest extent, ver. 68, &c. Giles Fletcher, in his *Christ's Triumph on Earth*, 1610, has given a similar but more diffuse description of the effect of our Lord's presence on the wild beasts of the wilderness."—(Dunster.)

313. *Glared.* See *Paradise Lost*, iv. 402, x. 714.
314. *Now an aged man.* "As the Scripture is entirely silent about what personage the Tempter assumed, the poet was at liberty to indulge his own fancy, and nothing, I think, could be better conceived for his present purpose, or more likely to prevent suspicion of fraud. The poet might perhaps take the hint from a design of David Vinkboon, where the Devil is represented addressing himself to our Saviour under the appearance of an old man. It is to be met with among Vischer's cuts to the Bible, and is engraved by Landerselt."—(Thyer.)

320. *Perused.* Examined closely; obsolete in this sense, now signifying only to 'read.' It occurs in its old sense in *Paradise Lost*, viii. 267, and in—

He falls to such *perusal* of my face,
As he would draw it.—*Hamlet*, ii. i.
Let me *peruse* this face.—*Romeo and Juliet*, v. 3.

323. *Caravan.* A convoy of soldiers for the safety of merchants that travel by land; Blount's *Dictionary* (ed. 1670).
334. *What happens new.* To be taken with the second hear in line 333. Professor Masson takes *what* with *aught*, "for 'aught that,' or 'aught which,' an obsolete use now of 'what,' except as a vulgarism."

*Fame also finds us out.* News is also brought to us.
339. *Stubs.* A stub is the stump of a tree. Thyer conjectured that *shrubs* should be read.
358. "Satan's instantaneous avowal of himself here has a great and fine effect. It is consistent with a certain dignity of character which is given him in general through the whole of the *Paradise Lost*. The rest of the speech is artfully submis
esive."—(Dunster.)
363. *Rigour unconvincing.* Rigour so strict as not to con
tive or 'close the eyes to,' and allow his transgressing his bounds. See the note on *connive*, *Samson Agonistes*, 466.
372. *To draw ... into fraud.* The same expression as in *Paradise Lost*, vii. 143.
375. Glibbed. Made glib or voluble. Milton forms this participle from the adj. glib, as gladded (now gladdened) from glad, and maddened (now maddened) from mad.

377. Though I have lost, &c. See Paradise Lost, i. 97, 591; iv. 836, 850.

385. Attent. This obsolete form occurs in the Faerie Queene:—

Whilst thus he talked, the knight with greedy ear
Hung still upon his melting mouth attent.—VI. ix. 26.

Todd quotes from the ancient version of the Psalms attributed to Archbishop Parker—

O Lord, assent, O hear attent
My woeful voice.

397. They say. Raphael had said so, warning Adam to beware of Satan, who was ‘envying his state,’ and ‘plotting’ that he might ‘partake his punishment,’ Paradise Lost, vi. 900-904.

401. Fellowship in pain, &c. Dunster and Thyer cite:—

Non tamen Egeriae luctus aliena levare
Damna valent.—Ovid, Met. xv. 547.
Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris.

404, 405. This wounds me most, &c. “Very artful. As he could not acquit himself of envy and mischief, he endeavours to soften his crimes by assigning the cause of them.”—(Warburton.)

“The poet very judiciously makes the Tempter conclude with these lines concerning the restoration of fallen man, in order to lead our Saviour to say something about the manner of it, to know which was one great part of his design, that he might be able, if possible, to counterplot and prevent it. With no less judgment is our Saviour represented in the following answer, taking no other notice of it than by replying, ‘Deservedly thou grievest,’ &c.”—(Thyer.)


417. Imparts to thee no happiness. So in Paradise Lost, ix. 467-472.

428. In four hundred mouths. 1 Kings, xxii. 6.

435. With double sense deluding. The ancient oracles were generally so worded as to be capable of two meanings:—

Thè duke yet lives that Henry shall depose;
But him outlive, and die a violent death.
Why, this is just,
‘Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse.’
Well, to the rest:
Tell me, what fate awaits the Duke of Suffolk?
By water shall he die, and take his end. . . .
These oracles are hardly attained,
And hardly understood.—2 Henry VI., i. 4.

The predictions of the witches misled Macbeth, who in the end exclaims on them:—

Be these juggling fiends no more believed,
That palter with us in a double sense.—v. 7.

439. Instruct. Instructed; thus suspect for suspected, ii. 399; and unsuspect, Paradise Lost, ix. 771.
447. From him, &c. Thyer quotes Tertullian and St Augustine, who, answering the heathen boasts of their oracles, say that when their predictions were true it was by permission of God.

His Angels president. Warburton suggests that Milton takes this idea from the Septuagint version of Deuteronomy, xxxii. 8, in which the latter clause of the verse runs thus, "He set the bounds of the people according to the number of the angels of God."

456. Oracles are ceased. See ode On the Nativity, xix., and note on line 173.
474. Say and unsay, &c. "Might not Milton possibly intend here, and particularly by the word adjure, to lash some of his complying friends, who renounced their republican principles at the Restoration?"—(Thyer.)
480. Tunable, &c. See Paradise Lost, v. 151.
482. Most men admire Virtue, &c. Newton refers to the well-known saying of Medea:—

Video meliora, proboque;
Deteriora sequor.—Ovid, Met. vii. 20.

488. To tread his sacred courts. The expression occurs in Isaiah, i. 12.
496. Thou canst not more. Cf. Paradise Lost, iv. 1006-1009.
498. His gray dissimulation. His assumed form of an old man.

500. Night with her sullen wing. So in Virgil:—

Nox ruit, et fascis tellurem amplexitur alis.—Æneid, viii. 369.

To double-shade the desert. To double the natural shade and darkness of the desert. So in Comus:—

In double night of darkness, and of shades.—335.
BOOK II.

7. Andrew and Simon, &c. John, i.
16. The great Tishbite. Elijah the Tishbite, a native of Tishbe or Thisbe, a city of Gilead. For the form Tishbite Todd cites Thesbite from Du Bartas, and 'vates terræ Thesbiti-dis' from Milton's Elegia, iv. 97.
17. Once again to come. See Malachi, iv. 5; Matt. xvii. 11.
21. Mentioned in Deuteronomy, xxxiv. 3; John, iii. 23; Genesis, xxxiii. 18.
27. Newton quotes the first line of Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar for a similar turn of expression:—

A shepherd's boy (no better do him call).

30. Alas, &c. So in Paradise Lost, i. 92; v. 542. The sentiment, says Newton, is from Terence:—

Væ misero mihi, quanta de spe decedim!—Heaut. ii. 3.

34-57. Scriptural references—John, i. 14; Psalm ii. 2; Nehemiah, ix. 6.

60. To his mother Mary. This clause is either independent or considerably removed from what it is to be taken with. It adds force to the reference to her to begin by bringing back our attention to his mother by first naming her; and this separates the clause from the verb with which it is connected, and causes an anacolouthon. He begins: 'To his mother,' breaks off parenthetically, and on account of the length of the sentence, line 63 is thrown in, and the construction altered from 'to his mother Mary . . . motherly cares arose,' or some such verb. Or, the clause may be independent, and the to equivalent to as for.

67. Salute would not now be used for salutation.

83. Full grown to man, acknowledged. There is again an anacolouthon here; there is no noun expressed in agreement with these words, and no government for Son (line 85). They
may therefore be construed as noms. abs., 'he being full grown,' &c.

110. Fed. Cf. 'fed with thoughts,' ii. 258, and Paradise Lost, iii. 37.

111. Into himself descended. Newton quotes from Persius:—

Ut nemo in sese tentat descendere.—Sat. iv. 23.

120. Solicitous. Greatly anxious; Lat. sollicitus.

122-124. Demonian spirits, &c. "It was a notion among the ancients, especially among the Platonists, that there were demons in each element, some visible, others invisible, in the ether, and fire, and air, and water, so that no part of the world was devoid of soul. Michael Psellus, in his Dialogue concerning the Operation of Demons, from whence Milton borrowed some of his notions of spirits, speaks to the same purpose, that there are many kinds of demons, and of all sorts of forms and bodies, so that the air above us and around us is full, the earth and the sea are full, and the inmost and deepest recesses; and he divides them into six kinds—the fiery, the aery, the earthy, the watery, the subterraneous, and the lucifugous. But the demons not only resided in the elements, and partook of their nature, but also presided and ruled over them; as Jupiter in the air, Vulcan in the fire, Neptune in the water, Cybele in the earth, and Pluto under the earth."—(Newton.) See iv. 201.

123. Reign. Realm, kingdom; see Paradise Lost, i. 543, note. Rightlier called may go either with 'Demonian Spirits now' or with 'Powers, &c.,' according to the punctuation.

125. So. Either 'would that I' expressing a wish; or 'if it be so that,' conveying a doubt (for 'such an enemy is risen,' &c.)

131. Tasted. An old use of taste for 'handle,' examine in such a way as to know the nature of; so in Samson Agonistes, 1091.

134. Though Adam, &c. Though I had the help of Eve to seduce Adam.

136. If he be Man, &c. This line is variously interpreted. The punctuation of the text is that of Milton's edition, and to take if as 'though' makes very good sense; as in Paradise Lost, iii. 117, 'If I foreknew,' where no uncertainty or doubt is implied.

Other explanations are:—

"The Tempter had no doubt of Christ's being a 'man by the mother's side;' but the want of a comma in its due place after man hath puzzled both the sense and the construction. 'He is' must be understood at the end of the verse to support the syntax."—(Calton.)

"Satan had heard him declared from heaven, and knew him to be the Son of God; and now after the trial that he had made
of him, he questions whether he be man even by the mother's side. And it is his purport not to say anything to the evil spirits that may lessen, but everything that may raise, their idea of his antagonist."—(Newton.)

"I have ventured here to correct the punctuation thus—

If he be man by mother's side, at least
With more, &c.

Dr Newton's sense of it is strengthened and brought forward with additional beauty, and the whole of the sentence rendered more clear and perfect by this punctuation, which, I think, most probable to have been intended by Milton."—(Dunster.)

"'Who, if he be man by the mother's side, is at least adorned from heaven with more,' &c."—(Masson.)

150, 151. Belial . . . Asmodai. See Paradise Lost, i. 490-505, iv. 168, vi. 365, and notes.


160. Terrible. Todd quotes: "Thou art beautiful, O my love, as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem, terrible as an army with banners," Song of Solomon, vi. 4.

161. Skilled to retire, &c. So in his description of Eve:—

Not obvious, not obtrusive, but retired,
The more desirable.—Paradise Lost, viii. 504.

164. The rugged'st brow. He speaks of the 'rugged brow of Night' in Il Penseroso, 58.

168. The magnetic. The magnetic stone, the magnet; the adj. for the noun. Calton cites from Lucian, and Todd from Browne's Pastorals, instances of the simile of the beauty of women drawing a lover 'as the loadstone draws iron.'

169. Women . . . beguiled the heart of wisest Solomon. See Paradise Lost, i. 437-446, and 1 Kings, xi. 3-8.

175. Doat'st. This is the reading of Milton's edition, but Newton, Todd, and others have spoiled the sense by altering it to doat'dst, and Prof. Masson thinks that doat'st may be intended as a contraction for doatedst. But the present is intended, of old being equivalent to 'from of old time.' Thus in Paradise Lost we have of old similarly with the present tense:—

From the armoury of God, where stand of old
Myriads.—vii. 200.

And the same tense is kept up in lur'kst (183) and lay'st (189).

186-188. All these mistresses of the gods may be found in Ovid. Calisto was one of Diana's nymps, seduced by Jupiter;
Clymene, one of the Nereids, mother of Mnemosyne by Jupiter; Daphne, a nymph wooed by Apollo, and changed into a laurel when pursued by him; Semele, the mother of Bacchus by Jupiter; Antiopa, a nymph wooed by Jupiter in the form of a Satyr; Amymone, a nymph beloved by Neptune; Syrinx, a nymph chased by Pan, and changed into a reed in the pursuit.

188. *Many more too long.* Understand 'to tell of;' the same expression occurs in *Paradise Lost,* iii. 473.

189. *Scape.* *Scape* was an old word for a wild prank, what we now call an *escapade,* and had the still stronger sense of a loose act of vice or lewdness:—

No *scape* of nature.—*King John,* iii. 4.

A boy, or a child, I wonder? A pretty one—a very pretty one! Sure, some *scape*; though I am not bookish, yet I can read waiting-gentlewoman in the *scape.*—*Winter's Tale,* iii. 3.

196. *That Pellean conqueror, &c.* Alexander the Great, so called because he was born at Pella. The allusion is to his generous treatment of the queen and daughters of Darius and other Persian ladies whom he took captive at the battle of Issus, when he was but 'a youth' of twenty-three. Juvenal is an authority for *Pellean:*—

Unus Pellae juveni non sufficit orbis.—*Sat.* x. 168.

199. *He surnamed of Africa.* Scipio Africanus, who, when twenty-four, restored to her husband a beautiful Spanish lady, as related by Livy, xxvi. 50, and other historians.

214. *As the zone of Venus, &c.* Alluding to the story of Juno's borrowing the magic girdle of Venus, and thereby deceiving Jupiter, related in *Iliad,* xiv. :—

In this was every art and every charm,
To win the wisest, and the coldest warm;
Fond love, the gentle vow, the gay desire,
The kind deceit, the still reviving fire,
Persuasive speech and more persuasive sighs,
Silence that spoke, and eloquence of eyes.

216. *His majestic brow, seated.* A Miltonic syntax: 'the majestic brow of him seated.'

217. ***Virtue's hill.* "Probably in allusion to the rocky eminence on which the Virtues are placed in the *Pinax* or allegorical *Fable* of Cebes, a friend of Sophocles. Or the arduous ascent up the hill to which Virtue is represented pointing in the best designs of the Judgment of Hercules. But the first thought of seating Virtue on a hill was borrowed from Hesiod."—(Newton.)
218. 

Discountenance. Put out of countenance; a stronger sense than the present use. It occurs before similarly, Paradise Lost, viii. 553; x. 110.

222. Cease to admire. If you cease to admire.

222-224. Dunster sees in these lines a very beautiful and apposite allusion to the peacock; speaking of which bird, Pliny notices the circumstance of its spreading its tail under a sense of admiration; but Milton had here in his mind Ovid, De Arte Am.:

Laudatas ostendit avis Junonia pennas;  
Si tacitus speces, illa recondit opes.—i. 627.

227. Popular praise. Praise of the people. It is a frequent practice of Milton's to employ an adj. as equivalent to the possessive of the noun-form.

236, 237. The expressions are taken from Matthew, xii. 45.

240. Persons . . . part. See Paradise Lost, x. 155, 156, and the note on person.

257. Famine. Not now applied to the hunger of an individual; but thus used in Paradise Lost, ii. 847; x. 597.

259. Me hungering, &c. Matt. v. 6; John, iv. 34.

262. Hospitable covert of trees. Hospitable is applied to 'woods' in Comus, 187; and cf. in Virgil and Horace:

Obviaque hospitiis teneat frondentibus arbor.—Georg. iv. 24.

Quo pinus ingens albaque populus  
Umbram hospitalem consociare amant  
Ramilis?—Odes, II. iii. 9.

266. Him thought. It seemed to him; an old form, like 'methought;' see note, Paradise Lost, iv. 478.

266-278. The references are: i Kings, xvi. 5, xix. 4-8; and Daniel, i.

269. Prof. Masson says: "A line hyper-metrical by two syllables." Is it?

279. The herald lark. So in Shakespeare (Romeo and Juliet):

It was the lark, the herald of the morn.—iii. 5.


281. Greet her with his song. The same thought is found in Chaucer, Spenser, Fletcher, and other poets:

The merry lark, messenger of the day,  
Saluteth in her song the morrow gray.—Knight's Tale, 493.  
With merry notes her loud salutes the morning lark.  
—Faerie Queene, 1. xi. 51.
289. A bottom. A low ground, or hollow; so in Comus (532); ‘bottom glade.’ A common word still, but colloquially, and scarcely dignified enough for written composition.

293. Cf. Paradise Lost, iv. 246, 692, 772; v. 137; ix. 1037.

295. Nature taught Art. This clause is capable of three constructions: ‘Nature taught in Art’ (taught, a part. adjectival to Nature); ‘it was Nature that taught Art’ (taught, a verb); and, reading Nature-taught as a compound (as Todd does), ‘Art taught by Nature.’ Art, nom. in apposition with work, or after seemed. Spenser contrasts Art and Nature (Faerie Queene, II. xlii.), and the following passage from Shakespeare bears on the interpretation of this clause:—

Per. For I have heard it said, 
There is an art which, in their piedness, shares
With great creating Nature.

Pol. Say there be;
Yet Nature is made better by no mean,
But Nature makes that mean; so, o’er that art,
Which, you say, adds to Nature, is an art
That Nature makes. You see, sweet maid, we marry
A gentler scion to the wildest stock;
And make conceive a bark of baser kind
By bud of nobler race. This is an art
Which does mend Nature—change it rather; but
The art itself is Nature.—Winter’s Tale, iv. 3.

302. With granted leave. Leave had neither been granted nor refused (i. 493-496); but it is in keeping with the character of Satan to affect that it had been given. Officious. See Paradise Lost, viii. 99, note.

304. This wild solitude. Solitude now means only retirement, the state of being alone; but formerly, as here, it meant a desert. See the quotation from Barrow in note on Lycidas, 71.

308. The fugitive bond-woman. Hagar, the ‘handmaid’ or ‘bond-woman’ of Sarah, was twice in the wilderness; first as a ‘fugitive,’ when she ‘fled from’ her mistress, Genesis, xvi.; and again, when her son Ishmael was weaned, Sarah said, “Cast out this bond-woman and her son,” Genesis, xxi. 10.

309. Nebaioth was the eldest son of Ishmael (Genesis, xxv. 13). Nebaioth is named as being the head of a tribe who dwelt in the wilderness, and who are supposed to be the same as the Nabathæans.

Yet found he relief. This is the reading of the first and second editions; all subsequent editors print ‘Yet found here relief,’ regarding he as “an unnoticed error of the press”—(Todd); and “here indubitably the true reading”—(Masson). I cannot see that the alteration of the text is justifiable. The
construction is: 'Others have trod this wilderness,—the fugitive bond-woman, her son too, outcast Nebaioth, have trod it, yet found he relief.' The with in 308 does not go with fugitive, but is equivalent to 'likewise,' 'also;' and it is of the son rather than of his mother that the Scripture tells us that the Angel provided. The Angel said: "God hath heard the voice of the lad; . . . I will make him a great nation;" "and God was with the lad." And the subsequent use of here is against it in this place. 'Hagar trod the wilderness, yet found relief; Israel here had famished, the Prophet wandered here, but God fed them.'

311, 313. Here. Though these incidents are mentioned as having taken place in the same wilderness (307), each was in a distinct tract,—Hagar in Beersheba; the Israelites in Sin (Exodus, xvi. 1); Elijah 'a day's journey from Beersheba;' and Christ, near Jordan.

313. Thebes. This is for Thisbe. Newton says: "There is a Thebes mentioned in Judges, ix. 50, and it looks as if our author took that and this to be the same place. He had before called Elijah the 'great Thisbite' (line 16), and he might here more consistently have said 'native of Thisbe;' but he seems to write sometimes as if he had a mind to make work for commentators."


342. Of game. We do not now use game of the field-sport itself, but apply it to the birds.

343. In pastry built. "The pastry in the beginning of the last century was frequently of considerable magnitude and solidity. Of such kind must have been the pie in which Geoffrey Hudson, afterwards King James's dwarf, when eight years old, was served up to table at an entertainment given by the Duke of Buckingham."—(Dunster).

344. Grisamber. Grey amber, or ambergris, a sweet aromatic juice, very costly; "formerly," says a lady writing on this passage in the middle of the eighteenth century, "a main ingredient in every concert [made dish] for a banquet, to fume the meat, whether boiled, roasted, or baked; laid often on the top of a baked pudding; which last I have eat of at an old courtier's table. And I remember in an old chronicle there is much complaint of the nobilities being made sick at Cardinal Wolsey's banquets, with rich-scented cakes and dishes most costly dressed with ambergris. I once saw a little book writ by a gentlewoman of Queen Elizabeth's court, where ambergris is mentioned as the haut-godt of that age."

346. Exquisitest name. "This alludes to that species of Roman luxury which gave exquisite names to fish of exquisite
taste, such as that they called *cerebram Jovis*. They extended this even to a very capacious dish, as that they called *clypeum Minerva*. The modern Italians fall into the same wantonness of luxurious impiety, as when they call their exquisite wines by the names of *lacryme Christi* and *lac Virginis*.”—(Warburton.)

347. All these places were celebrated for their fish in the days of Roman luxury: Pontus or the Euxine Sea, in Asia, noted by Pliny, ix. 15; the Lucrine Lake, a bay on the coast of Campania, in Italy, for its shell-fish—Horace, *Epod.*, ii. 49; *Satires*, ii. iv. 32.

348. *Cates*. Dainties, delicacies; obsolete. Skinner derives it from *delicate*.

349. *Diverted*. In its literal sense of ‘turned from’ (the right path), perverted.

353. *Ganymed* or *Hylas*. Two beautiful youths,—the former the cup-bearer of Jupiter, the latter a youth who drew water for Hercules.

356. *Amalthea* was a Cretan nymph who fed Jupiter with the milk of a goat. He broke off one of its horns, and endowed it with the property of becoming filled with whatever the possessor might wish; hence this horn was commonly called the horn of plenty or cornucopia, and it was used in later times as the symbol of plenty in general. Dunster quotes from Ovid:—

> Naiades hoc pomis et odoroflocrepletum,  
> Sacrarunt, divèque meo bona copia cornu est.—*Met.*, ix. 87.

357. *Hesperides*. The daughters of Hesperis. See the Index to the Notes. Prof. Masson says, “Milton here applies the name to the garden itself;” but ‘ladies of the Hesperides’ may be equivalent to ‘some of the Hesperides,’ of whom, according to some accounts, there were seven.

358. *Fabled*. What has been fabled.

360, 361. *Logres*, or *Loëgria*, a name in the fabulous histories of Britain for part of England (see quotation from Milton’s *History* in note on *Comus*, 824). *Lyones*, an old name of Cornwall, was the country of Sir Tristram, a famous knight in the old romances; and in the *Faerie Queene*, VI. ii., *Lancelot* of Logris, *Pelleas*, and *Pellenore*, were knights of the Round Table who figure in the *Morte d’Arthur* and the *Faerie Queene*, VI. xii.


368. *What doubts? What* (like the Lat. *quid*) for ‘why;’ so ‘*What doubt we?’* *Paradise Lost*, ii. 94; and ‘*What sit we?’* *ib.*, 329.

370. 

385. And call swift flights of Angels. Matthew, xxvi. 53.

401. Fet. An old form for 'fetched,' common in Chaucer and Spenser.

The breaking off short of the verse admirably expresses the sudden and abrupt manner wherein 'both table and provision vanished,' in which the author has imitated Virgil:

At subita horrisco lapsu de montibus adsunt
Harpyiae, et magnis quatiunt clangoribus alas,
Diripiantque dapes.—Ænèid, iii. 225.

And we have a like scene in Shakespeare, in the Tempest, Act iii., where several strange shapes bring in a banquet, and afterwards enters Ariel like a harpy, claps his wings upon the table, and with a quaint device the banquet vanishes.

420. Multitude. The construction is, 'What followers, or the inconstant multitude following thee, canst thou gain for longer than thou canst feed them?' Calton imagined an omission on the part of the amanuensis, and proposed to insert 'how keep' after heels. 'The dissy multitude,' is the mobile vulgus, the ventosa plebs of Horace, Epist., I. xix. 37.
422. Mammon attempts the virtue of Sir Guyon with the same pretences in the Faerie Queene, II. vii. 11.
423. What raised Antipater, &c. Josephus speaks of him as abounding with great riches; and his son Herod was declared king of Judea by the favour of Mark Antony, partly for the sake of the money which he promised to give him—xiv. 2, 26.
427. Get riches first. Newton quotes from Horace—

Quærenda pecunia primum est.—Epist., I. i. 53.

439. Judges, vi. 15, xi. 1, 2; 1 Samuel, xvi. 11.
446. Quintius Cincinnatus "was twice invited, from following the plough, to be consul and dictator of Rome; and after he had subdued the enemy, when the Senate would have enriched him with public lands and private contributions, he rejected all these offers, and retired again to his cottage and old course of life. Fabricius could not be bribed by all the large offers of King Pyrrhus to aid him in negotiating a peace with the Romans; and yet he lived and died so poor that he was buried at the public expense, and his daughters' fortunes were paid out of the treasury. Curius Dentatus would not accept of the
lands which the Senate had assigned him for the reward of his victories; and when the ambassadors of the Samnites offered him a large sum of money as he was sitting at the fire and roasting turnips with his own hands, he nobly refused to take it, saying that it was his ambition not to be rich, but to command those who were so. And Regulus, after performing many great exploits, was taken prisoner by the Carthaginians, and sent with the ambassadors to Rome to treat of peace, upon oath to return to Carthage if no peace or exchange of prisoners should be agreed upon; but was himself the first to dissuade a peace, and chose to leave his country, family, friends, everything, and return a glorious captive to certain tortures and death, rather than suffer the Senate to conclude a dishonourable treaty."—(Newton.)

458. Yet not, &c. 'Yet I do not reject realms because a crown brings dangers and cares with it.' For that. Because.
466. Yet he . . . is more a king. Cf. Proverbs, xvi. 32, and Horace—

Latius regnes avidum domando
Spiritum.—Odes, II. ii. 9.

478. That other, &c. 'That another reigns merely over such a one's body.'
481. To give a kingdom, &c. As did Dioclesian, Charles V., and Christina, queen of Sweden, who resigned her crown in 1654 to her cousin, Charles Gustavus. Newton quotes from Seneca:—

Habere regnum, casus est; virtus, dare.

BOOK III.

3. Convinced. See the note on convict, Paradise Lost, x. 83.
4. Fallacious. 'With the object of deceiving;' as Lat. falsox.
11. Good, wise, just. Adjectives for the abstract nouns, as commonly in Milton.
Shape. A translation of the Greek ιδέα or Lat. forma.
13. The oracle Urim and Thummim, &c. See Paradise Lost, vi. 761, note.
18. Conduct. Leadership; Paradise Lost, i. 130.
25-28. See Lycidas, 70-72. Most erected spirits. Most is
the adv., making the adj. a superlative. He has the same phrase of Mammon, who was the

—least erected spirit that fell
From Heaven.—Par. Lost, i. 679.

31-36. Alexander the Great, son of Macedonian Philip, was but twenty years old when he began to reign, and achieved his extraordinary conquests within the next twelve years, dying in his thirty-third year. Scipio Africanus was only twenty-four years old when sent proconsul into Spain, and only about twenty-eight when he was chosen consul before the usual age, and transferred the war against the Carthaginians into Africa; and thus—

His wasted country freed from Punic rage.

Pompey was above forty when he took command against Mithridates, king of Pontus; but he had signalized himself by many extraordinary actions in his younger years, and had obtained the honour of two triumphal processions.

34. Dispose. An old form for disposal; again in line 369.

39-42. Great Julius, &c. "Alluding to a story related of Julius Cæsar, that, one day reading the History of Alexander, he sat a great while very thoughtful, and at last burst into tears; and his friends wondering at the reason of it, 'Do you not think,' said he, 'I have just cause to weep, when I consider that Alexander at my age had conquered so many nations, and I have all this time done nothing that is memorable?'" See Plutarch's Life of Cæsar. Others say that it was at the sight of an image of Alexander the Great. See Suetonii, Jul. Cæs., cap. 7."—(Newton.)

47-64. This passage is a reference to Milton's own case, and a consolaratory reflection on his lot for having dared to be singular.

62. Divulges. Lit. 'makes public to the people,' divulgers. Now used only of the thing published, not the person celebrated, as here, and in Samson Agonistes, 1248.

81-84. Must be titled Gods, &c. Thus the second Antiochus, king of Syria, was styled Θεός, or the God; and a coin of Antiochus Epiphanes (the Illustrious) is mentioned as bearing the same title. Demetrius Poliorcetes, and his father Antigonus, received from the Athenians the titles of Benefactors and Deliverers. The title of Deliverer was also given to the first Antiochus and the first Ptolemy, king of Egypt. Two of the Ptolemys assumed the title of Benefactor.

83. Worshipped with temple. As Caligula, emperor of Rome, who built a temple to himself, and appointed priests to officiate in his worship.
84. **One is the son of Jove.** Alexander, who wished to be esteemed the son of Jupiter Ammon; see *Paradise Lost*, ix. 508, 509.

**Of Mars the other.** Romulus, the founder of Rome.

96. **Memorable.** Worthy to be recorded.

101. **Young African.** For ‘young Africanus;’ Scipio Africanus the elder, when young.

106. From *John*, vii. 18; viii. 49, 50.

118. The expressions may be taken from *Galatians*, iii. 28.

122. **And reason.** ‘And it is reason’—*i.e.*, ‘right.’ One of the meanings of *raison* in French.

126-129. **What could he less, &c.** The same sentiment and turn of expression as in *Paradise Lost*, iv. 46-48.

138. **Recreant**, from the low Lat. *recredere*, to deny one’s faith, apostatise,—as *miscreant* meant an unbeliever, an infidel; and “he that denies his own challenge, or eats his words” (Blount); “one who betrays his trust” (Bailey).

157-162. **“Judea was reduced to the form of a Roman province, in the reign of Augustus, by Quirinius, or Cyrenius, then Governor of Syria; and Coponius, a Roman of the equestrian order, was appointed to govern it, under the title of Procurator.”**—(Newton.)

159. **Nor is always ruled with tempegate sway.** Pontius Pilate, Roman Procurator of Judea at this time, is noted in history as a most corrupt and flagitious governor. His tyrannical conduct excited an insurrection at Jerusalem, and commotions in Samaria, which were not put down without loss of life.

160. **Oft have they violated the Temple.** As Pompey, who, with several of his officers, entered not only into the holy place, but the holy of holies, which the high priest alone was permitted to do. The temple had formerly been profaned by Antiochus Epiphanes. See *Maccabees*, v.

165-170. **So did not Machabeus, &c.** Did not sit still or retire. Judas Maccabeus was the son of Mattathias, a priest who dwelt at *Modin*, in the tribe of Dan. He succeeded his father as leader of the people, during the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, and was called Maccabeus, or ‘the Hammerer,’ for his warlike acts. He at last fell nobly in battle while opposing the Syrian army under Bacchides. The sovereignty of the Jews thus came into the hands of his family, and the dynasty lasted from B.C. 166 to B.C. 37.

171. **Kingdom.** Kingship, the state of being a king; cf. thraldom, serfdom. *Let move thee seal.* A Latin construction.

173. **Occasion’s forelock.** Occasion is ‘opportunity;’ see *Paradise Lost*, i. 178. In Spenser, Occasion is personified as a hag:—
Book Third.

Her locks, that loathly were and hoary gray,
Grew all afore, and loosely hung unrolled;
But all behind was bald, and worn away,
That none thereof could ever taken hold.—IV. iv.

In the Greek and Latin poets, the ‘forelock of Occasion’ is spoken of; and to ‘take time by the forelock’ is a proverbial phrase.

Occasion hath all her hair on her forehead; when she is past you may not recall her,—she hath no tuft whereby you can lay hold of her, for she is bald in the hinder part of her head, and never returneth again.—Rabelais, Gargantua, i. 37.

175. Zeal of thy Father’s house. Psalm lxix. 9; John, ii. 17.
183. And time, &c. “To everything there is a season,”
Ecclesiastes, iii. 1.
187. In whose hand, &c. The words of Christ in Acts, i. 7.
189. Things adverse. The Lat. res adversa, adversity.
196. Just trial. It is a just trial.
201. My rising is thy fall. Alluding to the rising and setting of opposite stars.

212-222. A long and rather involved sentence, with ellipses and parentheses. In Milton’s edition there is no comma after whatever (line 213). The construction of ‘and hope,’ &c., is, ‘and, from that placid brow, I could hope that thy reign would rather stand as a shelter between me and thy Father’s ire than aggravate my evil state.’

234. Once a year Jerusalem. At the Feast of the Passover.
238. Quickest insight. Printed ‘quickest in sight’ in the original and subsequent editions, down to Tonson’s of 1747. Newton says: “We cannot but think in sight an error of the writer or printer, and prefer the emendation (insight) which Mr Theobald, Mr Meadowcourt, and Mr Thyer have, unknown to each other, proposed.” Professor Masson, however, goes back to in sight, and considers it “the better reading.” Insight seems to me to make the best sense, and the fact that it “had formerly the accent on the last syllable” (as Dr. Johnson says in his Dictionary), would account for the amanuensis treating it as two words.

242. He who, seeking asses, &c. Saul,—1 Samuel, ix.
253-266. It was a mountain, &c. All that the Scripture narrative says is, ‘The devil taketh him up into an exceeding high mountain.’ In Maundrell’s Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem in 1697, he says: “After about five hours’ march from Jerusalem, as soon as we entered the plain [of Jericho] we turned
up on the left hand, and, going about an hour that way, came to the foot of the Quarantania, which they say is the mountain into which the devil took our blessed Saviour." But Milton's picture is (lines 267-270) that Christ and Satan were transported out of the wilderness through the air a considerable distance to some peak of the Taurus range,—Niphates, probably,—on the top of which he represents Satan as having lighted when he first entered the world, *Paradise Lost*, iii. 742; and the 'two rivers' would be the Euphrates and Tigris, and the 'fair campaign,' Mesopotamia, lying between them.

257. *Intervineus*. Agreeing with *champaign;* 'intersecting it like veins.' Dunster quotes from Quintus Curtius, who, having spoken of the great fertility of the country between the Euphrates and the Tigris, adds, "Causa fertilitatis est humor, qui ex utroque amne manat, toto fere solo propter *venas aquarum* resudante."

258. *Meeting joined their tribute, &c.* As the Euphrates and Tigris do near Babylon, and flow into the Persian Gulf.

261. *High towered.* He speaks of 'towered cities' in *L'Allegro*, 117; and *turreta urbes* is classical.

274. *Inaccessible.* Dunster quotes from Solinus, 'solitudo inacessa.'

Arabian drouth. A bold figure to express the Arabian desert. Cf. Virgil's *deserta sit regio, Aeneid, iv. 42.*

277. *Golden.* Either with reference to the splendour and magnificence of the kings of Persia, or in allusion to the golden head of the image in Nebuchadnezzar's dream, which Daniel interpreted, "Thou art this head of gold," *Daniel*, ii. 38.

278. *Salmanassar, whose success, &c.* Salmanassar, in the reign of Hezekiah, king of Judah, carried the ten tribes captive into Assyria, 721 B.C.

280-283. *There Babylon, &c.* As Nineveh was situated on the river Tigris, so was Babylon on the river Euphrates; *the wonder of all tongues*, for it was reckoned among the seven wonders of the world; *as ancient* as Nineveh, for some say it was built by Belus, and others by Semiramis, the one the father, and the other the wife, of Ninus who built Nineveh; *but rebuilt by him,—*whoever built it, it was rebuilt, and enlarged, and beautified, and made one of the wonders of the world by Nebuchadnezzar ("Is not this great Babylon, that I have built," &c., *Daniel*, iv. 30), who twice Judah led captive, in the reign of Jehoiachin, *2 Kings*, xxiv., and eleven years after, in the reign of Zedekiah, *and laid waste Jerusalem, 2 Kings*, xxv., in which desolate condition it lay many years, till Cyrus set them free, and restored the Jews to their country again, *Esra*, i. ii.

287. *Heclonymelos*, the 'Hundred-gated city,' the capital of
Parthia, "formerly of that bigness that the Persians call it hyperbolically 'half the world'".—(Heylin).

288. Susa, "where the ancient Persian princes used to keep court in time of winter, as being more southern than Ecbatana" [the summer residence]—(Heylin.)

Choaspes, or "Eulæus, the chief river of Susiana, emptying itself into Sinus Persicus, a river of so pure a stream that the great Persian kings would drink of no other water."—(Heylin.)

290. Emathian. Macedonian; see Sonnet viii. 10, note.

291, 292. Seleucia, built near the Tigris by Seleucus Nicator, one of Alexander's captains, and called great to distinguish it from other cities of the same name. Nisibis, on the Tigris, in Mesopotamia, called also Antiocha. Artaxata, the chief city of Armenia, on the Araxes. Teredon, near the Persian Gulf, below the confluence of the Euphrates and Tigris. Ctesiphon, near Seleucia, the winter residence of the Parthian kings.

295. Great Arsaces. Arsaces, the founder of the Parthian empire. He was a man of obscure origin, but induced the Parthians to revolt against Antiochus II., king of Syria, and became their first monarch, B.C. 250; and after him his successors on the throne were called Arsacide.


306. Of equal dread, &c. The skill of the Parthians in discharging their arrows at their pursuers when they fled was proverbial:

Nec patitur Scythas
Et versis animosum equis
Parthum dicere.—Horace, Odes, I. xix. 10.
Fidentemque fugax Parthum versisque sagittis.
—Virgil, Georg., iii. 31.
Missat Parthi post terga sagittas.—Lucan, Phars., i. 229.

307. All horsemen. This may mean 'all skilled in horsemanship,' as line 327 says, 'nor wanted clouds of foot.'

309. Rhomb, &c. Military terms among the Greeks and Romans. The rhomb was a battalion with four equal but not rectangular sides. The wedge (ιππόδωρ, or cuneus) was a half-rhomb, having three sides, like the Greek Δ. The half-moon had the wings turned back, and the convex to the enemy. The wings were the καρα, ale or cornua.

313. Yet. Though they were clad in mail, still they were fleet.

316-321. Arachosia. A province of the Parthian dominions, corresponding to the south-east of Afghanistan and the north-east of Beloochistan. Candaor, another province of the Par-
thanion empire towards India, probably Kandahar. *Margiana*,
a province north of the mountains called Saraphi (Ghoor).
*Hyrcania*, a province on the south and south-east shore of the
Caspian Sea. *Iberia*, the fertile district south of the Caucasus,
between the Black and Caspian seas, now *Georgia*. *Atropatia*,
the north-west part of Media adjacent to Armenia. *Adiabene*,
the western part of Babylonia. *Susiana*, a province of the Per-
sean empire, towards the head of the Persian Gulf. *Balsara's
haven*—Bassora or Bussorah—a port on the united streams
of the Euphrates and Tigris, near their mouths, not far from
Teredon.


329. *Indorsed*. Lit. 'backed, having on the back.' Dunster
refers to Pliny, where elephants are mentioned as *'turrītī cum
sexagensis propagatoribus.'* He quotes another instance of this
use of *indorse* from Jonson in an *Epigram to William Earl of
Newcastle*:

Nay, so your seat his beauties did endorse
As I began to wish myself a horse.

Whether this be or not, *indorsed* in the text is evidently one of
the many words used by Milton in their primary Latin sense,
though then, as now, only retaining the secondary: *indorse* is
now only applied to writing *on the back* of a bill, or (by a
further metaphor) *backing* a statement or action.

337. *Such forces met not*. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, i. 574. Dunster
quotes—

Colere nec unquam
Tam variae cultu gentes.—*Lucan, Phars.*, iii. 288.

338-343. *When Africam, &c*. The allusion is to the romance
of Boiardo, *Orlando Innamorato*, in which Africam, king of
Tartary, besieges Albracca, the city of Gallaphrone, king of
Cathay, to obtain possession of his daughter Angelica. The
numbers brought into the field are represented in the romance
as fabulously great; and in *Don Quixote* the story furnishes
the same simile as here: "Before we are two hours in these
cross-ways, we shall see armed men more numerous than those
that came to Albracca to win Angelica the fair."—ii. 2.

342. *Prowest*. Bravest; the superlative of *prow*, the adj. of
prowess. *Prowest knights* is an expression in Spenser and old
writers of romance for the heroes of romance, called by the
French *preux chevalier*, and the "nine worthies" were spoken
of as the *neuf preux*.

350. *Show* is the reading of the first edition, but *shown* is
commonly found.
356. *Revoke*. Neut. 'is revoked.'
357. *Say*. Supposing that; as in *Paradise Lost*, iv. 93.
359. The Parthians had led away captive the high-priest Hyrcanus, when seventy years of age, B.C. 40, but not Antigonus. He was the rival of Hyrcanus, and with the assistance of the Parthians was made king of the Jews; but after three years he was deposed by the Romans, and replaced by Herod.
360. Shalmaneser, "the king of Assyria, did carry away Israel unto Assyria, and put them in Halah and in Habor by the river of Gozan, and in the cities of the Medes," *2 Kings*, xviii. 11; and these cities were now in the territory of the Parthians.
361. *Ten sons of Jacob, two of Joseph*. The ten lost tribes were those of Reuben, Simeon, Zebulon, Issachar, Dan, Gad; Asher, Naphtali, Ephraim, and Manasses. The first eight were sons of Jacob, the two last representing Joseph make nine, and the Levites scattered among them make up the "ten sons of Jacob."
362. *From Egypt to Euphrates*. These were the boundaries of the land promised to Abraham, *Genesis*, xv. 18; and the extent of Solomon's kingdom is thus described, *1 Kings*, iv. 21.
363. *Prediction else, &c.* 'Or else I will unpredict or render void the prediction, and fail myself of securing the throne.' He coins the word *unpredict* to represent by the negative particle the exact opposite and undoing of *prediction.—just as uncreate, Paradise Lost*, v. 895, and see ix. 943, 944.
364. *Luggage of war*. Luggage formerly had not its present familiar acceptation; in Dr. Johnson's Dictionary it is defined, "Anything cumbersome and unwieldy that is to be carried away; anything of more weight than value."
365. *Who, freed, &c.* 'Who, being freed, would un-humbled, &c., follow me their deliverer, as if to their ancient patrimony, regardless of the favour, and go back to their gods, perhaps the calves of Bethel and Dan.'
366. The commentators of last century stuck at this passage. Newton says: "There is some difficulty and some obscurity in this passage. Mr. Sympson would read, 'Headlong would fall off,' or, 'Headlong would fall, bow, and.' But Mr. Calton says there wants an accusative case, and suspects a whole line may have been lost, and proposes one:—

Their fathers in their old iniquities
Headlong would follow."
This is 'obscuring light with scratches' with a vengeance. The 'obscurity' arises from omitting or not observing the comma after freed.

431. See Jeremiah, v. 9.
432. With. And, along with.
435-439. A paraphrase of Isaiah, xi. 15, 16; and see Revelation, xvi. 12.

BOOK IV.

6. Little, qualifying won understood.
7. This far his over-match, who, &c. 'This one was far the over-match of him who,' &c. His . . . who,—a Miltonic construction.
10-14. "The character of the man of cunning irritated by defeat, however well drawn, is here an image too general and indistinct, materially to illustrate, or in any way to decorate, this part of the poem. We may therefore, perhaps, suppose the description in this place to have been personal; it might refer to his old literary-political enemy, Salmasius, as the 'man who had been matchless held,' and who, after being 'foiled' in the controversy by our author's Defensio Populi, endeavoured 'to salve his credit' by a virulent reply, which he did not live to finish, but which was published by his son; or it might relate to his later antagonist, Alexander More, or Morus."—(Dunster.)
15-17. The simile of the flies is Homeric, Iliad, ii. 469, xvi. 641, xvii. 570.
18. This simile is in Homer, Iliad, xv. 618; and Virgil, Æneid, vii. 586.
27. Another plain, &c. Italy, 'washed by' the Tyrrenene Sea or Mare Inferum, and 'backed by' the Apennines.
31. Septentrion. Northern; Septem triones being the Seven Oxen, the constellation of the seven stars at the North Pole in the Great Bear, otherwise called Charles's Wain. Thence. From the hills.
32. Of whose banks on each side is a Miltonic construction for 'on each side of whose banks.' Professor Masson, considering the "construction awkward," the "phrase unusual," and the "meaning confused," has "ventured on an amendment of the text," and reads off, "which is but an emphatic form of of."
37. Arcs. We should now say arches. Spenser also used arches in the same phrase.


40. Parallax is an astronomical term meaning the difference between the position of a heavenly body as actually observed and what it would be from an assumed central point; in other words, the difference between the real and apparent place of a star. But parallax is here used by Milton in its primary sense of 'variation,' to denote some mysterious way in which objects below the horizon were visible.

Above the height of mountains interposed.

42. Were curious. It would be needlessly inquisitive.

45. Great and glorious Rome. The description that follows is not confined to the Rome contemporary with Christ, but includes what is only applicable to the Rome of the Emperors. Thus it was not until the time of Nero there was such a palace on the Palatine as described in lines 51-54.

57. Aery microscope. The microscope of air; the air or atmosphere so acted on as to magnify objects.

59. Hand. Handwork; as in Paradise Lost, i. 732, ix. 438.

66. Turms. Troops of horsemen—Lat. 'turrea equitum,' one of Milton's words introduced direct from the original.

68, 69. The Appian road. Appia via, the most celebrated of the Roman roads, was commenced by Appius Claudius, b.c. 312, and was the great line of communication between Rome and southern Italy. The AEmilian, made by AEmilius Lepidus, the consul, b.c. 187, continued the Via Flaminia from Ariminum, and traversed the heart of Cisalpine Gaul through Bononia, Mutina, and Parma to Aquileia.

70. Both way. Both is an adj., hence way in the sing., as no way, 206.

70, 71. Syene, a city of Egypt, on the confines of Ethiopia. Meroe, a city on an island in the Nile: being south of the tropic of Cancer, the shadow falls at one part of the year to the north, at another to the south. "Rursus in Meroe (insula haec caputque gentes AEthiopum, in amne Nilo habitatur) bis anno absumi umbras."—(Pliny.)

72. Bocchus, king of Mauritania. Blackmoor sea. The Mauritanian or Moorish Sea. Blackmoor, or Blackamoor, an adj. from 'black as a Moor;' the term Moor being applied to blacks in general, as still in India Mussulmans are colloquially called Moormen.

73. And Parthian among these. There is an emphasis on Parthian, Satan dexterously taking the opportunity of impressing on Christ the greatness of the Romans by introducing
Parthians—whose power he had surveyed in Book III. among the embassies from Asia.

74, 75. *The Golden Chersonese*. Malacca; see *Paradise Lost*, xi. 392, and note. *Taprobane*. Ceylon, referred to by Pliny as 'extra orbem a natura religata.'

76. *Turbants*. The old spelling of *turban*. *Tulipant* is another form. Of this line it has been observed that it is "one of the most picturesque in poetry, almost every word conveying a distinct idea, and generally one of very great effect."

77. *Gades*. The old name of Cadiz in Spain.

79. *The Tauric pool*. The Sea of Azof, the Palus Maeotis, referred to under the latter name in *Paradise Lost*, ix. 78.


102. *A victor-people*, &c. In contrast to the temptation to free the Jews, who were captive and in servitude.

108. *Be prophesied what will*. In spite of the prophecies.

115. *On citron tables*, &c. Tables made of citron-wood were in such request among the Romans that Pliny calls it *mensarum insania*. They were beautifully veined and spotted. The citron-wood which grew upon Mount Atlas in Mauritania was held by the Romans to be more valuable than gold. *Atlantic stone*. Some kind of marble is referred to, probably Numidian marble.


119. *Myrrhine*. "Crystal and myrrhine are often quoted together by ancient authors. 'Murrhina et crystallina ex eadem terra effodimus, quibus pretium faceret ipsa fragilitas'"—(Pliny). It is supposed from the verse in Propertius—

Murrheaque in Parthis pocula cocta focis—

that they were like our porcelain. The words, *embossed with gems, &c.*, may refer only to gold."—(Newton.)

123. *To sit and hear*. For 'sitting to hear,' as in *Paradise Lost*, v. 369.


146-151. The references are: *Daniel*, iv. 11, ii. 44; *Psalm* ii. 9; *Luke*, i. 33.

191. *Pact*. "He uses the word *pact*, as it is the technical
term for the contracts of sorcerers with the devil."—(Warburton.)

201. Tetrarchs. Tetrarch originally meant a governor of the fourth part of a province; and Milton applies it here as if the four elements were so many tetrarchies. See ii. 122.

203. God of this World. 2 Corinthians, iv. 4.

219. Moses' chair. The place of the Jewish 'lawyers' and doctors who expounded the law, Matthew, xxiii. 2.

220. The childhood shows the man. Wordsworth's—

The child is father of the man.

225. Is not couched. Does not lie hid and included.

234. Idolisms may be either for idolatries, as idolists for 'idolaters' in Samson Agonistes, 453; or peculiar opinions, 'dogmas,' formed from Bacon's use of idols. Paradoxes. Paradoxa was the name given by the Stoics to propositions contradictory to general belief.

235. His. For 'its.' Evinced. In its Latin sense of 'vanquished;' just as convinced is used, iii. 3. Evinced now means merely to conclusively or convincingly show, prove.

236. This specular mount. Cf. 'this top of speculation,' Paradise Lost, xii. 588.

241. Native to ... or hospitable. The birthplace of men of genius, or receiving and encouraging them. Athens was noted for its hospitality to strangers, and certain officers, called ἀρχαιαί, were appointed for the purpose of receiving and showing hospitality to visitors.

244. Academe. The Academia was a piece of land near Athens which originally belonged to the hero Academus, and subsequently a gymnasium adorned with olive plantations, statues, and other works of art. Here Plato taught, and after him his followers, who were hence called the Academici, or Academic philosophers. And hence the word academy is applied in modern times as a dignified term for a school or institution of learning.

245. The Attic bird. The nightingale. Philomela, who was fabled to have been turned into a nightingale, was the daughter of Pandion, king of Athens. Hence the nightingale is called Attis in Latin. Newton quotes from Martial:

Sic ubi multisona servet sacer Athlide lucus.—i. 54.

Dunster notes that in the neighbourhood of Academe lay the Colonus Equestris, which Sophocles has made the scene of his Edipus Coloneus, and which he has celebrated as particularly abounding with nightingales, xix. 704.
247. *Hymettus.* A mountain about three miles from Athens, celebrated for its honey. Ovid speaks of it as the 'ever-flowery:'—

Vertice de summo semper florentis Hymetti.—Met., vii. 702.

249. *Ilissus.* A small river in Attica which rises in the Hymettus. On its banks Plato has laid the scene of his *Phædrus,* in which the philosophical retreat at the spring-head is beautifully described by Socrates as he sat conversing with Phædrus.

251. *His who bred great Alexander, &c.* Aristotle, the founder of the Peripatetics (so called from his *walking* up and down when teaching), held his school at the *Lyceum,* which, however, was not 'within the walls,' but outside Athens, just above the Ilissus.

253. *Painted Stoa.* One of the most famous Stoa or Portico in Athens was the Poikile Stoa—i.e., Variegated Portico; so called from its being adorned with paintings of the battle of Marathon. This Stoa was the lecture-hall of Zeno, the founder of the Stoics.

255. *Hit by voice or hand.* See i. 171, and note.

257. *Æolian charms.* Æolian songs, the verse of Alcæus and Sappho, who were both of Mitylene in Lesbos, an island belonging to the Æolians.

Princeps *Æolium carmen* ad Italos

*Dorian lyric odes* refer to those of Pindar, who calls his lyre *Δῶρα φορμίγγα.*

258. *Gave them breath.* Homer is represented as the father of all kinds of poetry—tragedy, comedy, ode, and lyric.

259. In the *Life of Homer* attributed to Herodotus, it is said that his mother called him Melesigenes because he was born near the river Meles; and that afterwards when he was blind and settled at Cuma he was called Homer, ὁ μὴ ὀρῶν, the term for blind among the Cumeans.

260. Alluding, says Newton, to a Greek epigram in the *Anthologia,* 'It was I who sang, Homer merely wrote it down:'—

"*Ἡνίου μὴν ἄγων, ἐχάρασε νε ἄθετος ὀμηρός.*"

261. *Lofty grave Tragedians.* In his Preface to *Samson Agonistes,* Milton says: "Tragedy, as it was anciantly composed, hath been ever held the *gravest,* moraest, and most profitable of all other poems."
262. Iambic. The Dialogues were in iambic verse.

267-271. Famous Orators. Such as Demosthenes and Pericles: the former stirred up his countrymen against Philip of Macedon, in orations so famous that philippic is applied to speeches of a similar nature; and Pericles’s addresses were directed against Artaxerxes, king of Persia.

270. Fulminat. We should now say fulminated: fulminat is the French form; it occurs in the Faerie Queene. Der. fulmen, storm of lightning and thunder.

273. The low-roofed house of Socrates. “In the Clouds of Aristophanes (line 92), where Strepsiades points out the habitation of Socrates, he uses the diminutive όλιδσω, small house.”
—(Dunster.)

275. Whom well inspired, &c. As related in Plato’s Apologia of Socrates. The verse pronounced by the oracle is, as handed down by tradition:—

Ἀνδρέων ἄλκταν οἰκράτης σοφότατος.
Of all men Socrates is the wisest.

276. From whose mouth, &c. Quintilian calls Socrates ‘Fons philosophorum.’


286. Or think, &c. Or continue to think that I don’t know them, I am not, therefore, through your thinking so, ignorant of them.

293. The first, &c. Socrates, who used frequently to say ‘the only thing he knew was that he knew nothing.’ Newton quotes from Cicero: “Hic in omnibus fere sermonibus, qui, ab ipsis qui illum audierunt, perscripti varie, copiose sunt, ita disputat, ut nihil adfirmet ipse, refellat alios: nihil se scire dicat, nisi ad ipsum: eoque praestare ceteris, quod ipsis, que nesciant, scire se putent; ipse, se nihil sciens, id unum sciat.—Academic, i. 4.


296. A third sort. The Sceptics, the followers of Pyrrho. Blount (in his Dictionary, ed. 1670) defines them, “Philosophers who used to search into and consider much of things, but leave them in suspense, without any determination, affirming they knew nothing.”


299. He. Contemptuously put for Epicurus.

300-303. The construction is: ‘The Stoic (completing the list) places felicity in philosophic pride, and often is not ashamed to prefer to God his ideal of a virtuous man, whom he represents as perfect in himself and possessing all things
equally with God.' Newton ingeniously alters Milton's reading, and prints equals, taking it as a verb, 'makes him equal to God,—nay, often prefers him.'

313. Awry is not now used as metaphorically as it is here and in the other places where it occurs in Milton—Paradise Lost, iii. 488; Samson Agonistes, 1041.

321. An empty cloud. In allusion to the fable of Ixion, who having attempted to win the love of Juno, met in her stead an empty cloud created by Jupiter to resemble her.

Many books, &c. "Of making many books there is no end; and much study [in the margin 'reading'] is a weariness of the flesh," Ecclesiastes, xii. 12.

322-326. See Paradise Lost, vii. 126.

323. A line of eleven syllables.

329. Worth a sponge. Deserving of being rubbed out with a sponge; expunged. Dunster notes: "We read in Suetonius's Life of Augustus, when that emperor had attempted a tragedy on the subject of Ajax he answered—'Ajacem suum in spungium incubuisse.'" And in his Areopagitica Milton says:—

Sometimes five Imprimaturs are seen together dialogue-wise in the piatta of one title-page, complimenting and ducking to each other with their shaven reverences, whether the author, who stands by in perplexity at the foot of his epistle, shall to the press or to the sponge.

330. As children gathering pebbles, &c. This metaphor is familiar from the well-known saying of Sir Isaac Newton, though whether he took the idea from Milton is unknown. In Spence's Anecdotes it is given: "I don't know what I may seem to the world, but as to myself I seem to have been only like a boy playing on the sea-shore and diverting myself in now and then finding a smoother pebble, or a prettier shell, than ordinary, whilst the great ocean of truth lay all undiscovered beyond me."

336. In Babylon, &c. The reference is to Psalm cxxxvii. i.

341. Personating. Celebrating loudly; the primary sense of personare, "to sound out or perfectly, to make a great noise "—Blount's Dictionary.

344. As varnish on a harlot's cheek. See the quotation from Hamlet in note on Paradise Lost, iv. 78.

346. Unworthy to compare with Sion's songs. Cf. in his Reason of Church Government:—

If occasion shall lead to imitate those magnific odes and hymns wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in most things worthy, some others in their frame judicious, in their matter most an end faulty. But those frequent songs throughout the law and prophets beyond all these, not in their divine argument alone, but in the very critical art of com-
position, may be easily made appear, over all the kinds of lyric poesy, to be incomparable.

351. Unless where. To be taken with line 346, ‘Unworthy to compare . . . unless where.’
353. As those. As those that are.
354. The top of eloquence. Cf. ‘Scipio, the height of Rome,’ Paradise Lost, ix. 510; and—

How would you be,
If He, who is the top of judgment, should
But judge you, as you are?—Measure for Measure, ii. 2.

Statists. Politicians, statesmen; so in Cymbeline, ii. 4.
356. Herein. In this respect—viz., that ours are divinely taught.
362. What makes a nation happy, &c. The words of Horace:

—facere et servare beatum.—Epist., I. vi. 47.

384. Voluminous, or single characters. The metaphor is taken from a book; whether taken collectively as a volume, or singly as individual letters or characters.
387. Attends. Awaits. It is attends in the original, but most modern editions read attend.
391. Eternal sure, &c. Ironical. ‘As it is without end, so it must be without beginning, and therefore eternal.’ This is of a piece with the insulting wit which the devils indulged in on the invention of artillery,—Paradise Lost, vi. 609-628.
393. Starry rubric. Directions indicated by the stars. The use of rubric is an adaptation of the word from the Prayer Book, in which it is applied to the directions, which are so called because printed in red.—Lat. ruber, red.
399. Unsubstantial. Having no substance or essence (cf. ‘unessential night,’ Paradise Lost, ii. 439); being merely negatives caused by the absence of light.
402. Hurried. Preternaturally borne along; see the note on ode on The Passion, 50.
404. Wherever. In whatever place it might be; as in Paradise Lost, vii. 535.
406. His sheltered head. ‘His head so as to shelter it,’—a Latinism; cf. ‘they hid their concealed weapons in the grass.’
409. Either tropic . . . and both ends. Poetical for ‘from all quarters;’ Virgil’s ‘intonuere poli.’ Either tropic may mean ‘north and south;’ and both ends, ‘east and west.’
411-413. Compare Virgil’s description of a storm:

Involvérē diem nimbi, et nox humida ccelum
Abstulit; ingeminant abruptis nubibus ignes.—Æneid, iii. 198.
411. Abortive. Untimely, to no purpose.
415. Hinges. A literal rendering of cardinal in the expression, the ‘four cardinal points.’
416. Vexed. Harassed; Lat. vexatus.
417. Deep as high. As deep as high.
419. Shrouded. Sheltered; see the use of shroud in Comus, 316.
424. Fiery darts. Ephesians, vi. 16.
427. Amice. “Amicitus, a garment or attire; particularly that linen attire which priests put first on when they vest themselves, by which is represented the head-cloth wherewith the Jews covered the face and eyes of our Saviour, when, buffeting Him, they said, ‘Prophesy, who is he that struck thee?’” —Blount’s Dictionary.
428, 429. Virgil describes Neptune stilling a storm and chasing the clouds in similar words:—
Sic ait, et dicto citiis tumida aequora placat,
Collectaqe fugat nubes, Solemque reducit.—Æneid, i. 142.
429. Laid the . . . spectres. To lay is the term for to dismiss a ghost, as raise is to bring one up. Warton notes that in the ode On the Nativity, Milton applies the superstitious spirits disappearing at break of day; he supposes that all false deities departed at the birth of Christ, as spectres and demons vanish when the morning dawns; and he here makes the fiends who had assembled in the night to terrify Christ, retire when the morn arose.
434-438. Professor Masson quotes the following passage, almost a prose version of this, from a Latin oratorical exercise of Milton’s, entitled Utrum Dies an Nox praestantior sit: “How pleasant and desirable day is to the race of living things what need is there to expound to you, when the very birds themselves cannot conceal their joy, but, leaving their little nests as soon as it has dawned, either soothe all things by their sweetest song of concert from the tops of trees, or, balancing themselves upward, fly as near as they can to the sun, eager to congratulate the returning light?”
Thyer, apparently unacquainted with the above, aptly observes that “there is in this description all the bloom of Milton’s youthful fancy.”
441. Glad would also seem. The subject omitted, as noticed elsewhere.
446. To be. At being.
449. He starts in wonted shape. See Paradise Lost, iv. 819.
453. As earth and sky would mingle. So in Virgil:—
   Jam caelum terramque, meo sine numine, Venti,
   Miscere.—Æneid, i. 133.
455. The pillared frame of Heaven. So in Comus, 598, the
   'pillared firmament,' and cf. Job, xxvi. 11.
457. The main. The universe; so in Paradise Lost, vi. 698.
467-475. “Here,” says Dunster, “is something to be under-
   stood after Did I not tell thee. The thing told we may suppose
   to be what Satan had before said, iii. 351-356.”
   The copy of the first edition of Paradise Regained in the
   King’s Library, in the British Museum, has manuscript correc-
   tions apparently made at the date of publication, and at this
   place is the following alteration:—
   Did I not tell thee, soon thou shalt have cause
   To wish thou never hadst rejected thus
   The perfect season offered, with my aid
   To win thy destined seat, prolonging still
   All to the push of Fate? Pursue thy way, &c.
496. Storm’s. The storm of lines 409-419.
502. Have is the reading of the original edition, and flocked
   (line 511), not had and flock, as generally printed.
523. Waste wild. Miltonic expressions for desert wilderness;
   Paradise Lost, i. 60, iii. 424, vi. 862.
524. Collect. Lit. ‘gather,’ which we should now use in this
   connection.
529. Parle. Parley; a conference between enemies as to
   some proposal; the technical term, as are also composition,
   truce, and league.
533. A rock of adamant. Milton applies adamant or ada-
   mantine to what he wishes to describe as impossible to break
   through: the Devil was consigned to ‘adamantine chains;’
   Paradise Lost, i. 48; the gates of hell were of ‘adamantine
   rock,’ ii. 646; and see ii. 436, 853; vi. 255, 542; x. 318.
534. As a centre, firm. Firmness and immovability were
   ideas connected with the central point of a sphere. Thus in
   Chaucer, Cambuscan is described as—
   Sooth of his word, benign and honourable;
   Of his courage as any centre stable.—Squire’s Tale.
And this simile illustrates and explains the passage in *Comus*:

He that has light within his own clear breast
May sit in the centre, and enjoy bright day.—382.

The pointing is that of the original edition, but almost all modern editors have a comma or semicolon after *firm*. The construction, *firm* qualifying both *adamant* and *centre*, is, "firm, as a rock of adamant and as a centre, to the utmost of a mere man who is both wise and good."

542. *Hippogriff*. An imaginary creature, part horse and part griffin, introduced in the Italian poets to convey their heroes of romance from place to place.

*Sublime*. Aloft; agreeing with *him*. See the Index to the Notes.

549. Milton follows Luke's account in placing this temptation last; in Matthew's account it comes second.

*Pinnacle*. Περίπυργος is the word which in the English Bible is translated *pinnacle*; it is more literally a 'wing' of the temple, probably a ridge of the roof. Milton, adopting the notion of pinnacle, or point of a spire, treats the mere standing on it a miracle in itself.

554. *Progeny*. Descent, birth and lineage (as Son of God); one of the meanings of *progenies*; progeny now signifies only offspring, descendants.

555-561. The references are—*Psalm* xci. 11, 12; *Deuteronomy*, vi. 16.

561. *And stood*. And so performed the miracle which Satan challenged him to in order to prove his Sonship. *Stood* is emphatic, and contrasts with both *said* and *fell*.

563. *Earth's son, Antaeus*. Antaeus, son of Poseidon (Neptune) and Gê (Earth), was a mighty giant and wrestler in Libya, whose strength was invincible so long as he remained in contact with his mother Earth. Hercules discovered the source of his strength, lifted him from the earth and crushed him in the air.

*To compare small things*, &c. See *Paradise Lost*, ii. 921.

564. *Irassa*, in Libya, the native place of Antæus, according to Pliny. It was at Lixos that his wrestling with Hercules took place.

565. *Jove's Alcides*. Alcides was a patronymic of Hercules, from his grandfather Alçæus; see *Paradise Lost*, ii. 542. But there were so many Herculeses in the Grecian mythology that it was necessary to specify when the principal Hercules, the son of Jupiter and Alcmena, was meant.

571. *Whence*. From that place in which.

572. *That Theban monster*. The Sphinx, a she-monster, the
daughter of Typhon and Chimæra. She is said to have proposed a riddle to the Thebans, and to have murdered all who were unable to guess it. The riddle was: A being with four feet has two feet and three feet, and only one voice; but his feet vary, and when it has most it is weakest. ÓEdipus solved it by saying it was man, whereupon the Sphinx slew herself.

575. The Ismenian steep. The Cadmea, or citadel of Thebes, so called because Thebes was on the Ismenus.

585. The blithe air. Symson says, "Which way soever I turn this term blithe, it conveys no idea to me suitable to the place... It ought to mean 'the lithe air.'... I make no doubt of the certainty of this conjecture." "I question," says Newton, "whether others will have as good an opinion of this emendation. 'Through the blithe air' I conceive to be much the same as if he had said 'through the glad air.'"

"The poet wrote 'blithe air' in reference, perhaps, to the fair morning after a 'dismal night,' and the air consequently blithe, light and pure, expressing what he says of the pure air of Paradise in Paradise Lost, iv. 153."—(Todd.)

592. If aught hunger. If hunger had impaired in any respect.

599. In fleshly tabernacle. The literal translation of John, i. 14, 15, "The Word was made flesh, and tabernacled among us."

600. Whatever place. In whatever place.

603. Attempter. Attempt is now rarely active, except with a cognate object, and in Milton is of a stronger force than its present signification; cf. Paradise Lost, ii. 420, x. 8; Comus, 406; Paradise Regained, iii. 26.

604. Thief of Paradise. See Paradise Lost, iv. 192. Him... thou didst debel. Debel, to war down, vanquish, is one of the seventeenth-century words, from a Latin root which the language has not retained. Blount's Dictionary gives also debellate and debellation, adding, "The title of one of Sir Thomas More's Treatises is, The Debellation of Salem and Byzance." Virgil's expression is familiar,—debellare superbos—Æneid, vi. 853.

607. Supplanted. Deceived, tripped up, fallen; lit. to trip with the foot; Lat. sub and planta, the sole of the foot. See Paradise Lost, x. 513.

608. Regained lost Paradise. In allusion to the subject and title of the work now completed.

611. His snares are broke. From "Our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowlers: the snare is broken, and we are escaped," Psalm cxxiv. 7.

612. Be failed. Has passed away; it being supposed, as stated in Paradise Lost, xi. 829-835, that the site of Paradise was removed and obliterated.
616. *When time shall be.* In the appointed time: the phrase occurs also in *Paradise Lost*, iii. 284, and x. 74.

619. *An autumnal star.* A falling star, seen in autumn; so in *Paradise Lost*, iv. 556, "swift as a shooting star in autumn." Such stars were, like comets, supposed to be precursors of evil to man; and in *Paradise Lost*, ii. 708-711, Satan is compared to a comet "that from his horrid hair shakes pestilence and war."


624. *Abaddon*, which means *destruction*, is in the Old Testament applied to the bottomless pit, and in the New is the name of the angel of it (Revelation, ix. 11). "Her gates shall lament and mourn" (Isaiah, iii. 26) is said of degenerate Zion.

628. *Demoniac holds.* Places held by demons. "Babylon is fallen, and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit," Revelation, xviii. 2. *Possession. Possessed* is the term applied in the Scriptures to a person in whom there was an evil spirit.


634. *Queller of Satan.* Compare *Paradise Lost*, xii. 311-314.

638. *Brought on his way.* A Scriptural expression,—*Acts*, xxii. 5.
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