PARADISE LOST
—
MILTON
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PARADISE LOST

BOOKS I. and II.

BY

JOHN MILTON.

With Introduction and Notes.

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INTRODUCTION.

Milton, the author of Paradise Lost, was born in London, England, on the 9th of December, 1608. His education was carried on at home by various masters, and by his father, who taught him to sing and to play the organ, and implanted in him his own love of music. Although his home was a cheerful and happy place, he seems to have been an unusually quiet, serious child, and prematurely studious, if we may judge from some lines placed by the engraver under a portrait of him, made when he was ten years old:

“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
Born to that end, born to promote all truth,
All righteous things.” (Paradise Regained.)

At twelve he was sent to St. Paul’s School, quite near his home in the city of London, and he still had tutors at home. He now worked very hard indeed for several years; no trouble or expense was grudged by his parents; for they were very proud of him, and had formed the highest hopes as to his future. “My father,” Milton says, “destined me, while yet a little boy, for the study of humane letters, which I seized with such eagerness that from the twelfth year of my age I scarce ever went from my lessons to bed before midnight, which indeed was the first cause of injury to my eyes, to whose natural weakness there were also added frequent headaches.” In 1625, when in his seventeenth
year, he entered Christ’s College, Cambridge, and remained there until he was twenty-three.

Here came a break in his education, and with it the question, What was he going to do in life? His parents had destined him for the church; but the system of government by bishops and the tyranny of Laud deterred him from entering the ministry. His father seems to have left him free to choose a calling for himself, and so we find him, about the time of his leaving college, finally determined to fit himself, by continued labor and study, and by a strictly pure and blameless life, to achieve some great work as a poet. Accordingly he now settled at Horton, a quiet hamlet in Buckinghamshire, within a short distance of Windsor and the Thames in the house of his father, who had retired thither to spend his old age.

Of the poems which he had already written the chief was *The Nativity Hymn*, begun on Christmas Day, 1629. His sonnet *On Arriving at his 23rd Year* is of special interest at this point:

“How soon hath Time, the subtle thief of youth,  
Stolen on his wing my three-and-twentieth year!  
My hasting days fly on with full career,  
But my late Spring no bud or blossom shew’th.  
Perhaps my semblance might deceive the truth  
That I to manhood am arrived so near;  
And inward ripeness doth much less appear,  
Than some more timely-happy spirits endu’th.  
Yet, be it less or more, or soon or slow,  
It shall be still in strictest measure even  
To that same lot, however mean or high,  
Toward which Time leads me, and the will of Heaven;  
All is, if I have grace to use it so,  
As ever in my great Task-Master’s eye.”

He seems to have devoted himself to an extensive course of "select reading," especially to a revision
of classical and Italian literature, storing his mind with all that was best worth appropriating, and becoming almost as familiar with Latin, Greek, and Italian as with his native tongue. He did not write more than five English poems of any great length during this period — *L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, Arcades, Comus,* and *Lycidas* — but they are amongst the very best in the language: and yet, in the last and the best of them, he is still dissatisfied with his powers. In the spring of 1637 he had lost his mother; next spring he started off to see Italy and Greece, which for him would be exceptionally interesting. But the tyranny of King Charles had at last provoked his subjects in Scotland to rebellion. On hearing of this, Milton at once resolved to return and take his part with his countrymen in the impending contest. In 1639 he was back. He took a house in London, and settled there for the rest of his life.

So far Milton's life had been one of quiet, secluded study. For the next twenty years poetry was banished, study and self-preparation were all but given up, and he was to be found in the very thick of the controversies of the day,—writing against Episcopacy, defending the Execution of Charles (in two books — *the First* and *the Second Defence*), and exposing the notorious *Eikon Basilike*. He had, on settling in London, begun to take a few pupils: this led him to write an essay on *Education*. But his only great and enduring work in prose was his *Areopagitica*, a plea for freedom of opinion, and for freedom to express that opinion by means of the printing-press, without the previous sanction of the Government Licenser. His activity in the Parliamentary cause had led to his
being appointed, in 1649, Latin Secretary to the Committee of Foreign Affairs, a post for which his knowledge of foreign languages specially qualified him. It was during his tenure of this office that he deliberately hastened his blindness, which had been coming on for some years, over the writing of the First Defence, mentioned above.

It is evident that this must have been, in his case, a terrible calamity, for he had not yet even begun his great poem. The truly admirable way in which he bore it is shown by the courage and patience which characterized his subsequent life, and by the various references to it which we find in his writings.

But there were other misfortunes in store for him: in 1660 the Parliamentary cause failed completely—for the time; Milton was imprisoned, some of his prose writings were burnt by the hangman, and he lost most of his savings. He had indeed "fallen on evil days," and yet he bravely took up and carried to completion the great work of his life—his epic poem, Paradise Lost. He had begun it before the Restoration, probably in 1658; he finished it about 1663, spent two years or so on its revision, and published it in 1667. Meanwhile he had commenced its sequel, Paradise Regained; then he wrote Samson Agonistes, a dramatic poem, and several prose works.

His latter years were greatly cheered and brightened by the fame which Paradise Lost brought him, and by the frank recognition of his pre-eminence by all parties. He died in London in 1674, and was buried in the church at St. Giles, Cripplegate.

Three qualities stand out conspicuously in Milton's character. First, his deep sense of duty. He
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seems never to falter in his entire devotion to that which he believes he ought to do at any particular juncture. Two striking instances of this are, the return from Italy in 1639, and the employment of his failing eyesight in writing the Defence. Second, the sincerity and the earnestness of his religious and political convictions. Third, his magnanimity and patience. Twenty years spent in a cause that, for the time, failed; loss of eyesight; loss of savings; loss of friends; the restoration of a dissolute monarch; all this produced neither bitterness nor murmur. "Who best bear His mild yoke, they serve Him best." So he wrote and so he lived. Truly, as Macaulay says, he was weighed in the balance and not found wanting.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

LITERARY.

Spenser born . . . . 1552
Bacon born . . . . 1561
Shakespeare born . . . . 1564
Galileo born . . . . “
Jonson born . . . . 1574
*The Faerie Queen* published . . . . 1590-6
Shakespeare's earlier plays acted . . . . 1597
Bacon's *Essays* published . . . . 1598
Milton born . . . . 1608
The Bible translated . . . . 1611
Shakespeare dies . . . . 1616
Milton goes to Cambridge . . . . 1625

GENERAL.

The Marian Persecution, 1555
Massacre of St. Bartholomew . . . . 1572
The Armada . . . . 1588
Battle of Ivry . . . . 1590
Edict of Nantes . . . . 1598
Gunpowder Plot . . . . 1605
Clarendon born . . . . 1608
Thirty Years' War begun, 1618
The *Mayflower* sails, 1620
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<tr>
<td>Dryden born</td>
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<tr>
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The subject of Paradise Lost as given in Book I. is the temptation and fall of man, that is, his deterioration from the state of perfect goodness and happiness, in which he was supposed to have been created, to one made up of good and evil, of happiness and unhappiness; this "fall" being symbolized by the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise or Eden. This is the central fact of the story; to it all the rest (Books I.–VIII.) is preparatory, and with it the story ends. But the preparatory events are so stupendous in their magnitude, so striking in their character, and described in such impressive language—forming, as they do, the best part of the poem—that they tend to overshadow the doings in the Garden; and so we come to look upon Paradise Lost as dealing rather with a series of connected events, of which the "fall" is the first in importance but not in interest. We may, therefore, regard Paradise Lost as dealing with the whole universe, in its widest possible aspect; with the origin of its various parts, and their significance for man.

Analysis of the Poem.

(A) The Fall: why and how it was brought about. I.–VIII.

(B) Its results. IX.–XII.

(C) Man's relation to the Universe and to God. Part of V.

(The third point, though not prominent, is very important in the scheme of the poem.)
(A) The Fall: why and how it was brought about:

(1) Heaven; the War:
   (a) Its Cause, the refusal of Satan and his followers to acknowledge the Son as their head. V.
   (b) The War, the expulsion of the rebels. VI.

(2) The Creation of the World and of Man.

(3) Hell: [VII., VIII.
   (a) The rebels closed in and stunned by their fall; Satan rallies his followers. I.
   (b) The leaders in Council; Satan undertakes to try to ruin Man. II.
   (c) Hell and Chaos described.
   (d) Satan’s journey through Chaos.

(4) The World; Eden:
   (a) Satan explores the World. III.
   (b) Adam and Eve in Eden; Satan’s plottings; Raphael’s warnings. IV. and V.
   (c) The Fall effected. IX.

(B) The Results of the Fall:

(1) Punishment pronounced on Tempter and Tempted by the Son. X.

(2) Sin and Death take possession of the World, but their overthrow by the Son (i.e. the Redemption) is foretold. X.

(3) Michael reveals the future to Adam, reassures him of Redemption, and leads him and Eve out of Paradise. XI. and XII.

(C) Man’s Relations to the Universe and to God, as set forth by Raphael in Book V. 469–543, may be summed up briefly thus:

“One Almighty is”; all things are created by Him, from “one first matter all”; all things are perfect in their various degrees, but are more refined and spiritual in proportion as they are near
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Him. In nature "the grosser feeds the purer," the soil is transformed, through the plant, into flower and fruit; the latter, used as man's nourishment, is "sublimed" into the living force which sustains the mind and the soul: thus there is complete continuity from the lowest forms (*i.e.* mere matter) to the highest (*i.e.* pure spirit); and "all things . . . up to Him return, if not depraved from good." Raphael concludes:

"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 Paradise dwell,
If ye be found obedient."

With this compare VII. 115, where the Almighty states His purpose in creating Man, viz. to replenish Heaven, lest Satan should boast of the damage inflicted: He will, He says, create

"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," etc.

In this analysis the topics are arranged in chronological order. The order in the poem, as the references show, is very different, and it may be helpful to indicate it.

(1) Milton plunges into the very midst of the whole subject by depicting the rebels lying stunned on the lake after their fall: they are roused by Satan, a council is held, Man's ruin resolved on, and intrusted to Satan. Hell and Chaos are described. I., II.
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(2) Satan traverses Chaos, and explores the World, finds Eden, and plots the Fall. II.—IV.

(3) Raphael now visits Adam and Eve. He describes their position in the universe, and warns them of their danger. In order to explain Satan's attitude, and to gratify Adam's curiosity, Raphael begins to narrate the course of events from the beginning—

V. viz. :— the War in Heaven and the Expulsion;

and the Creation of the World. VII.

Adam tells Raphael of his finding himself in Eden, and of the prohibition to touch the tree of knowledge. Raphael repeats the warning, and leaves him. VIII. (4) They sin and are expelled. IX.—XII.

THE COSMOLOGY OF PARADISE LOST.

Much of Paradise Lost is occupied with events that take place outside the universe as known to man—in Heaven, Hell and Chaos; much, too, with matters connected with that universe; while the relations of the various realms to one another, and the nature of man's World as described or assumed in the poem, are so peculiar and so fundamental, that clear ideas on the subject are of the highest importance.

On reading the poem we find that Book I. does not begin the story, for there the War in Heaven is over and the rebels are undergoing punishment elsewhere; it is not till Books V.—VI. that the Angel Raphael is introduced, giving Adam a "full narration" of things from the beginning—and it is chiefly by means of these later books that we construct the key to the earlier ones.
I. At the earliest period referred to by Raphael, Space consists of two parts, Heaven or the Empyrean, and Chaos: \(^1\) “as yet this World was not,” nor Man, nor Hell. Heaven alone is created, or formed: the rest of space is a blank. This stage we may symbolize \(^2\) by figure 1. Heaven, we gather, is the region of light and life, the abode of God and the Angels—“the Sons of God.” Of its size and shape nothing definite is said. It is totally cut off by means of a crystal floor from Chaos; various ornamental features are mentioned — as gates, battlements and walls; and its beauty is suggested by descriptions of ideal earthly scenery, “heavenly paradises.” The Angels are of two kinds — Cherubim and Seraphim, arranged in three ranks — Archangels or Chiefs, Princes, and individual Powers or Intelligence, \(^3\) each kind having its special duties: the peculiar nature and mode of existence of these immaterial beings are described — their immortality, their might, their power of assuming any shape, and so forth. In all this Milton follows hints from the Scriptures, especially the vision of St. John (in the Book of Revelation), Jewish writings, Dante, and the traditions of the early and middle ages.

1. Heaven, perhaps that which is “heaved” up: Empyrean (Gk.), “made of fire” (the purest of the four elements; Chaos, the chasm, cleft or abyss.

2. The diagrams are merely symbolic: the form of Space, the relative magnitude of Heaven, Chaos and Hell, and the exact position of the World are not indicated in the poem.

He cautions us that his language is merely symbolical.

The Almighty, Himself invisible, has His throne on a central mount, clouded in dazzling brightness, where He receives the adoration of His sons, and makes known His commands.

Chaos,¹ “the Deep” or “the Abyss,” is the name which Milton gives to that portion of space which lies outside Heaven. Its nature is inconceivable and indescribable, for it consists of that which has not yet been organized into matter,—neither earth, air, fire nor water. The whole region is utterly devoid of life and light: it is left by the Almighty in utter confusion and darkness—“to the sway of Anarchy and Night.”

"a dark
Illimitable ocean, without bound,
Without dimension: where length, breadth, and highth,
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 embryon atoms” (II. 891–900).

II. This division of space continues until the revolt of the Angels, which leads to their expulsion: the floor of Heaven opens, they are driven out through the gap, and fall through “the Abyss” for nine days. Then they come to the place which the Almighty has prepared for them out of a portion of Chaos. It lies open to receive them, closes above them, and imprisons them. This new abode of theirs is called Hell: it is situated in the part of

¹. The fullest description of Chaos and its presiding deity is given in Book II. 890–1033.
Space remotest from Heaven, in "the bottomless pit," and is partitioned off from Chaos by walls and roof of fire. Its shape is not described, but the roof is said to be vaulted (fig. 2). Within it was indeed a place of torment, "created evil, for evil only good," "a place of fierce extremes," "with many a frozen, many a fiery Alp," "a universe of death;" so that Satan exclaims, on surveying it,

"Here at least
We shall be free; the Almighty hath not built
Here for His envy, will not drive us hence."

A means of exit into Chaos is afterwards discovered, through a gateway, guarded by two beings named Sin and Death. These open the gate for Satan, but cannot close it again: so that the Internals can henceforth pass out and in at will.

III. After their fall the Angels lie stunned and bewildered on a burning lake for nine days, and it is during this period that the next change is brought about. For some time the Almighty had purposed creating a new World, and placing in it a new and favored race. At His command the Messiah now issues forth "far into Chaos," and with "the golden compass" "circumscribes this Universe" of Earth, and Planets, and all that is cognizable by man. This new World hangs from the floor of Heaven by a golden chain attached to its topmost point, or zenith: but whether it is suspended from the centre of the Empyrean, and poised about the centre of
Space (as suggested in diagram 3), and what its relative size, cannot be determined.\footnote{1}

Man is thus in a middle position, the Good above, the Evil below, and he is to be connected with both. For the use of the good angels a golden stairway is let down from Heaven, and for the use of the evil ones a broad path, or bridge, is made by Sin and Death through the Deep in the track taken by Satan on his journey of exploration (II. 1024, etc.) The golden stair can be drawn up as if to secure Heaven against unwished-for visitants, but the lower bridge is never closed. The two roads meet at the same point, where there is an opening affording access to the interior of the World.

IV. Let us now look at this new World. It was created primarily\footnote{2} for a new race of beings, Man, and his abode, the Earth, is appropriately made its centre. It is a complicated system of ten hollow spheres or shells fitted one within another, and around the solid Earth. Each sphere has a motion of its own, imparted, in the first place, by the outside shell, called the Primum Mobile, or First Moved—how it is moved we are not told. Of

\footnote{1}{Professor Masson makes the radius of the World one-third of \(a\) to \(d\), and consequently the World stretches from \(a\) to \(e\). This seems to agree with I. 73, 74, but not with II. 1022-3, in which the World appears to Satan in the distance "as a star of smallest magnitude," nor with III. 427-8, where the World "from the wall of Heaven, though distant far, some small reflection gains." The force of the passage I. 73-4 depends on the meaning of the term "pole," which is rather vague, and in VII 23, seems applicable to the point \(a\).}

\footnote{2}{Cp. VIII. 98-9.}
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these spheres only two are material—the Primum Mobile or hard, external casing, and the next within it, the Crystalline Sphere, which consists of a clear, watery fluid. The first is designed as a protection to the whole system, the latter to moderate the extremes of heat and cold which may permeate the outer framework. The remaining eight are, or may be regarded as, mere divisions of space, in which the several planets or orbs have

their respective orbits. It was in all probability to account for the different motions of the several planets that the separate revolutions of the spheres were assumed. The seven planetary spheres, beginning with that nearest the Earth, are: the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn. The eighth sphere contains those stars
which occupy a fixed position with regard to one another, and it is therefore called the Fixed or the Firmament: it revolves once daily, carrying all its stars round with it. The Earth is supposed to be stationary.

This theory of the World was gradually given up in favor of the simpler one of Copernicus (1473–1543), which was advocated by Galileo and others, and finally established by Kepler and Newton. According to this the Sun is the centre\(^1\) of our universe, and is almost stationary; the Earth and the other planets revolve about it, whilst some of these planets, \(e.g.\) the Earth, have satellites of their own; and finally the "fixed stars" are outside the solar universe altogether.

Milton was well acquainted with the Copernican system, and may quite possibly have accepted it; but in a poem concerned with topics so far beyond the pale of experience and knowledge, and so full of ancient and mediaeval ideas, beliefs, and fancies, the old theory, however erroneous, was not only fitting, but necessary; for it is involved in very many of the thoughts borrowed by Milton, as it is in some of our phrases at this day;\(^2\) in Milton's time it was generally still accepted, and it was undoubtedly more poetical than the new system.\(^3\)

1. More correctly, the sun is not at the centre, but at the common focus of the ellipses of the paths described by the planets.

2. Professor Masson instances such phrases as "out of one's sphere."

3. Consider \(e.g.\) the quaint fancy of the music of the spheres as expressed by Shakespeare (\(Merchant of Venice, \text{V. 1 60}\)).

\[
\text{"There's not the smallest orb which thou behold'st}
\text{But in his motion like an angel sings,}
\text{Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubims;}
\text{Such harmony is in immortal souls;}
\text{But, whilst this muddy vesture of decay}
\text{Doth grossly close it in, we cannot hear it."}
\]
PARADISE LOST.

BOCK I.
PARADISE LOST.

The Printer to the Reader.

Courteous Reader, there was no Argument at first intended to the book; but for the satisfaction of many that have desired it, I have procured it, and withal a reason of that which stumbled many others, why the poem rimes not.

— S. Simmons.

The Verse.

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 rather is 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.
The Argument.

The 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 revolted 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, fitliest 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 prophecy 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 prophecy, 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 counsel.
PARADISE LOST.

BOOK I.

The subject of the poem, Man's fall. Invocation of the Holy Spirit's aid.

Of 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
Restore us, and regain the blissful seat,
Sing, Heavenly Muse, that on the secret top
Of Oreb, or of Sinai, did'st inspire
That shepherd who first taught the chosen seed

2. mortal, rendering liable to death.

6. Sing, etc. All preceding epic poets—Homer, Virgil, Dante, etc., use a similar form of invocation: in Milton's case it is a devout prayer for "that impulse or voice of God by which the prophets were inspired."

secret. This term probably refers to the manner in which Moses received God's communications: see Exodus xix. 3, 12, 20; xxiv. 2 ("and Moses alone shall come near," etc.

7. Oreb (Horeb, or of Sinai. Milton refers either to two events—the appearance in the burning bush (Exodus iii.) and the giving of the Law—or, more probably, to the latter event alone, Sinai being a part of Horeb, a mountain group north of the Red Sea.

8. that shepherd, etc. Moses, whose account of the creation is in Genesis i. Cp. Psalm lxxvii. 20.

the chosen seed: the Jews considered themselves to be God's favored people.
In the beginning how the Heavens and Earth
Rose out of Chaos: or, if Sion hill
Delight thee more, and Siloa's brook that flow'd
Fast by the oracle of God, I thence
Invoke thy aid to my adventurous song,
That with no middle flight intends to soar
Above the Aonian mount, while it pursues
Things unattempted yet in prose or rhime.
And chiefly thou, O Spirit, that dost prefer
Before all temples the upright heart and pure,
Instruct me, for thou know'st; thou from the first
Wast present, and, with mighty wings outspread,
Dove-like sat'st brooding on the vast Abyss,
And mad'st it pregnant: what in me is dark
Illumine, what is low raise and support;
That to the hight of this great argument
I may assert Eternal Providence,
And justify the ways of God to men.

9. the **Heavens and Earth**, *i.e.* this Universe: see *Cosmology*.
10. **Sion hill**, where the Temple stood.
11. **Siloa's brook**, a stream flowing from the pool of Siloam into the Kidron, just beneath the city walls and very near the Temple ("the oracle," 1 Kings vii.
12-14, and ix. 1-47.

Milton means, therefore, either that he intends to surpass the ancient poets, Homer and Virgil, or that he intends to write on subjects higher than any they ever treated of.

21. **Abyss**, lit. the bottomless depth (of the sea, etc.): here, *Chaos*.
24. **highth**, the correct form of the word: cp. depth, etc.
Man’s fall caused by Satan in revenge for his expulsion from Heaven.

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,
Favored 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,
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,
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
Hurled headlong flaming from the ethereal sky,

29. grand parents, first parents, ancestors.
32. For one restraint, etc., “because of one restraint, being, in all else, lords,” etc.
34. infernal, lit. belonging to the lower regions (or “hell”); hence, wicked, fiendish. But the word is also used without the notion of “wicked”: cp. “infernal court,” 792.
36. what time, when: cp. Lycidas, 28, “what time the gray-fly winds her sultry horn.”
39. peers, equals. Satan’s “peers” were his fellow-archangels.
With hideous ruin and combustion, down
To bottomless perdition, there to dwell
In adamantine chains and penal fire,
Who durst defy the Omnipotent to arms.

*Satan, recovering from his stupor, "views the situation":
Hell described.*

Nine times the space that measures day and night ⁵⁰
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
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 Angel's ken, he views
The dismal situation, waste and wild.
A dungeon horrible, on all sides round,

⁴⁶. ruin, in its Latin sense, downfall.
combustion, confusion, uproar, tumult.

⁴⁸. adamantine. lit made of adamant; that is, indestructible, unbreakable: cp. ii 646, "adamantine rock . . . impenetrable . . . unconsumed" by fire: and ii. 168, "we lay chained on the burning lake." The name "adamant" was applied to steel and the diamond
penal fire, fire used as a means of inflicting punishment. Cp.
"penal laws," "penalty," etc.

⁵⁰. nine was a sort of sacred number with the ancients, as being a multiple of three. Cp. the use of the number seven in the Old Testament.

⁵¹. crew, any company of men, as a ship's crew.

⁵⁷. witnessed, bore witness to.

⁵⁹. ken may be taken either as a verb or as a noun; if the latter, angels will be in the possessive case, either singular or plural, as the mark of the possessive was in Milton's time often omitted. (M. E. kennen, to know.)
As one great furnace flamed; yet from those flames
No light; but rather darkness visible
Served only to discover sights of woe,
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.
Such place Eternal Justice has 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.
Oh, how unlike the place from whence they fell!
There the companions of his fall, o'erwhelmed

63. darkness visible, etc. Cp. 181-183:
"The seat of desolation, void of light,
Save what the glimmering of these livid flames
Casts pale and dreadful."

The language used in the text is contradictory only if taken literally—
"the dungeon flamed," i.e. the flames were visible, but the dull "glimmering" was only sufficient to reveal the prevailing horror and gloom.
Mr. Beeching says, "The flame of a spirit-lamp in a dark room will suggest what is meant." Cp. also Job x. 22.

63. darkness visible, that is, gloom. Darkness is not itself visible any more than silence is audible. [What figure of speech is "darkness visible," taken literally?]

66-67. "where) hope, that comes to all (mortals), never comes." The thought is found in Euripides; and Dante Inferno iii. has the famous inscription over the gates of hell, "All hope abandon, ye who enter here."


72. utter, outer, further from Heaven, hence belonging to Hell; the intervening being the "middle" darkness.

74. That is, three times the distance from the centre of this Universe (the Earth) to the outside sphere the Primum Mobile', or else to its point of suspension from the Empyrean. For this use of "centre," cp. 686-687. On the position of the Universe in space, see Cosmology.
With floods and whirlwinds of tempestuous fire, 
He soon discerns; and, weltering by his side, 
One next himself in power, and next in crime, 
Long after known in Palestine, and named 80
Beelzebub. To whom the Arch-Enemy, 
And thence in Heaven called Satan, with bold words
Breaking the horrid silence, thus began:—

_Satan’s speech to his comrade Beelzebub: he avows undying hate, and urges “eternal war.”_

“If thou beest he—but Oh, how fallen! how changed
From him!—who, in the happy realms of light, 85
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,
Joined with me once, now misery hath joined 90
In equal ruin; into what pit thou seest
From what highth 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,

78. _weltering_, rolling about. In the Bible of 1549 we read, “He that weltereth a stone”; in the version of 1610, “He that rolleth a stone.” (*Proverbs* xxvi. 27.)

79-81. _Beelzebub_, or Baalzebub, lit. “lord of flies,” was a god of the Philistines. His chief temple was at Ekron; his wishes were probably interpreted by the humming and motions of flies.

82. _Satan_ (Hebrew) enemy: his former name was Lucifer (“light-bearer”).
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,
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,
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.
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;

102. dislike, disapprove: not to "dislike" in our sense of the word: the latter does not depend upon our "daring," the former may.

104. dubious, for a time uncertain as to the result: the battle lasted three days. See Book vi.

109 "And in what else i.e besides these qualities) does not being overcome consist?" The line is, properly, parenthetical, or explanatory: and in some editions was printed in brackets. "That glory," then, refers directly to "submit or yield."

Some editors, however, put a semicolon after "overcome," so that the line means "and whatever other qualities are invincible," or "in whatever besides invincibility consists."

114. doubted his empire, felt insecure in regard to his supremacy.
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,
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:

*Beelzebub's reply: he is less hopeful: — "What avails it if we live only to suffer?"

"O Prince, O Chief of many throned powers
That led the embattled Seraphim to war

115. by fate, etc. Satan regards the angels as equal to God in all but power hence "gods") and equally free; not created by the Almighty, but, like Him, self-formed and immortal.
fate, necessity, the nature of things, regarded as unalterable and beyond the power of God.

117. this empyreal substance. The four elements, according to the ancients, were earth, air, fire and water. Of these "fire" was considered the noblest, and of it the angels, the heavens, etc., were supposed to be formed, whereas man was formed of "earth." Cp. 137-139.

124. tyranny. In ancient Greece a tyrant was a man who usurped the supreme authority, and governed at will. He was not necessarily a bad ruler. It is probably in a neutral sense that tyranny is used here.

125. apostate, as adj., false, traitorous: lit. one who deserts (his religion, party, etc.).
127. compeer, an associate or companion of equal rank.
128. throned powers, i.e. powers of high rank: cp. line 360.
129. embattled, arranged in order of battle.
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 vigor 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'erpowered 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

130. conduct, leadership.

138. essences, beings.

144. of force, either perforce, of necessity; or depending on "almighty."

152. the gloomy deep, Chaos.
Strength undiminished, or eternal being
To undergo eternal punishment?"

Where to with speedy words the Arch-Fiend replied:

*Satan's rejoinder: “Revenge is sweet; we can live to thwart our enemy.”*

"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 labor must be to pervert that end,
And out of good still to find means of evil:
Which oftentimes may succeed so as perhaps
Shall grieve him, if I fail not, and disturb
His inmost counsels from their destined aim.

"The storm is over; let us muster our forces and consult together."

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'erblown hath laid
The fiery surge that from the precipice
Of Heaven received us falling; and the thunder,

156. fiend, lit. hater, enemy.
172. laid, stilled, calmed. "The storm of hail having blown over, the fiery waves become calm."
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 harbor there; And, reassembling our afflicted powers, Consult how we may henceforth most offend Our enemy, our own loss how repair, How overcome this dire calamity, What re-inforcement we may gain from hope, If not, what resolution from despair."

Satan's vastness suggested by comparisons.

Thus Satan, talking to his nearest mate, With head uplift above the wave, and eyes That sparkling blazed; his other parts besides Prone on the flood, extended long and large,

176. his, masculine, as "Thunder" is personified. At this time (c. 1660) "its" was just coming into use as the neuter of "his." In the Bible of 1610 "its" occurs only once Leviticus xxv. 5), in Milton's poems only four or five times.)

178. slip, let slip (transitive) Cp Macbeth, "I... slipt the hour," and such current phrases as "slip a cable," etc.

186. afflicted, in its Latin sense, flung or dashed down, crushed. powers, forces, armies.

187. offend, harm.
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,
Briareos or Typhon, whom the den
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,
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.

He is allowed to rise.

So stretched out huge in length the Arch-Fiend lay,
Chained on the burning lake; nor ever thence

198-200. (whether) Titanian or Earth-born. The Titans were
the twelve sons of Uranus and Ge (i.e. Heaven and Earth); the Earth-
born, offspring of the same parents, were the Giants. According to the
legends the Giants made war on Jove, and were destroyed for their inso-
lence Briareos was one of the Titans, Typhon one of the Giants. The
latter was supposed to dwell in a cave in Cilicia (in Asia Minor) which
Milton denotes by Tarsus, its capital.

201. Leviathan, etc. The description fits the whale — except the
"scaly rind" (206); the name (Hebrew) is found in Job xii., and seems
to be applied to the crocodile; but in other passages of Scripture, as in
Psalms civ. 26, to any sea monster.

203–207. Olaus Magnus, a Swede (in his History of the Northern
Nations, 1658), and other writers of Milton's time, tell of the whale's
being taken for an island by sailors, who anchor to his back, drive stakes
into him, etc. Milton speaks of him as "like a promontory" (vii. 414);
"four acres in extent," says another writer!

204. night-foundered, lost in the darkness, stopped by the night
coming on. (Strictly, founder means to sink.)
skiff, ship. (Now the word denotes a small boat.)

208. Invests, enshrouds, wraps (like a garment).
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
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
Treble confusion, wrath, and vengeance poured.  

Satan and Beelzebub fly to land: the land described.

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.
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

232 Pelorus, now Cape Faro, N. E. of Sicily. It is near Etna. Probably "from" governs "shattered side."
And fueled entrails, thence conceiving fire,
Sublimed with mineral fury, aid the winds,
And leave a singed 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.

Satan's soliloquy on viewing their new abode.

"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 gloom
For that celestial light? Be it so, since he
Who now is sovrain 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,

234-237. thence, etc. "The contents of the mountain catching fire from this wind are changed int vapor by a heat like that of molten metals, and, in their turn, increase the force of the wind." Properly, subliming is a chemical operation in which volatile solids are separated from impurities, by heating, just as liquids are purified by distillation.
involved, enveloped.

239 Stygian, hateful, horrible. Cp. 195. The Styx ("hateful"), of the classical mythology, was the chief river in the lower world.

246. sovrain, O. F. soverain. A more correct form than sovereign — confused with reign.

247-249 "Furthest from him is best for us; for though we are his equals in reason, we are inferior to him in strength." Cp. 92-94, and 144-145.
Where joy forever 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.

They agree to rouse and rally their followers.

But wherefore let we then our faithful friends, 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 Regained in Heaven, or what more lost in Hell?" So Satan spake; and him Beelzebub

266. astonished, stunned, "astounded" (281), "confounded" (53), "entranced" (301). Lit., struck senseless.

oblivious, causing forgetfulness. Cp. Macbeth, "oblivious antidote"; and "forgetful lake," ii. 74. Milton is thinking of the river Lethe of the classical mythology, which caused all who drank of it to forget the past.

268. mansion, place of abode.
Thus answered: "Leader of those armies bright
Which, but the Omnipotent, none could have
foiled!
If once they hear that voice, their liveliest pledge
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
Grovelling and prostrate on yon lake of fire,
As we erewhile, astounded and amazed;
No wonder, fallen such a pernicious highth!"

The appearance of Satan as he makes for the shore, and
of his legions as they lie on the lake.

He scarce had ceased when the superior Fiend
Was moving toward the shore; his ponderous shield,
Ethereal temper, massy, large, and round,
Behind him cast. The broad circumference

274. pledge, surety.
276-277. perilous edge of battle, either the front line of battle, or at the critical moment
281. astounded same as astonished See 266.
    amazed, in a stronger sense than that in which it is now used: bewildered, dazed. (Fr. maze.
282. pernicious, destructive, ruinous.
285 Ethereal temper (a thing, wrought in Heaven, of heavenly workmanship. Cp iv. 812:
    "No falsehood can endure
    Touch of celestial temper" (i.e. Ithuriel's spear), etc.
    (Temper, to bring to the proper degree of hardness, to mix metals in due proportion.)
Hung on his shoulders like the moon, whose orb
Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views
At evening, from the top of Fesolé,
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 —
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 inflamed sea he stood, and called
His legions — Angel forms, who lay entranced,
Thick as autumnal leaves that strew the brooks
In Vallombrosa, where the Etrurian shades

288. artist, a professor of an art: it also denoted a skilled worker, our "artisan." The "Tuscan artist" is Galileo (1564-1642), a teacher of mathematics and astronomy at Pisa. His improvements in the telescope — for he did not invent it — enabled him to make discoveries which convinced him of the truth of the Copernican theory of astronomy.

289-290 Fesole, now Fiesolé, is a hill near Florence. Valdarno, i.e. Val d'Arno, the valley in which Florence is situated.

294. ammiral, the chief ship of a fleet, so called from its carrying the superior officer.


297. Heaven's azure, the crystal floor of Heaven.

299. Nathless, none the less; now displaced by nevertheless. The word is common in Chaucer.

303. Vallombrosa ("shady valley") a beautiful and thickly wooded valley and hilly slope about eighteen miles from Florence. It is said that Milton spent several days at a monastery that stood here.

Etruria, Tuscany.
High over-arched imbower; or scattered sedge
Afloat, when with fierce winds Orion armed
Hath vexed the Red-Sea coast, whose waves o'er-
threw
Busiris and his Memphian chivalry,
While with perfidious hatred they pursued
The sojourners of Goshen, who beheld
From the safe shore their floating carcases
And broken chariot-wheels. So thick bestrewn,
Abject and lost, lay these, covering the flood,
Under amazement of their hideous change.

Satan taunts them for their inactivity, and calls them to arms.

He called so loud, that all the hollow deep
Of Hell resounded: "Princes, Potentates,

304. sedge, in Hebrew the Red Sea is called "the sedgy sea," on account of the large quantity of sea-weed found in it.

305. Orion 'Orion, a constellation so named from a companion of Artemis or Diana, the goddess of hunting. The time of year at which this constellation sets — November or early December — was generally associated by the poets with bad weather.

armed, some of the stars of Orion appear to be arranged in the form of a sword and belt

307. Busiris, here identified with the Pharaoh of Exodus.

Memphian Egyptian, from the ancient capital Memphis, on the west bank of the Nile.

chivalry, army — horse and foot, though in this case mainly horse. (Exodus, xiv 28) Doublet "cavalry." See 575 n. on infantry and cavalry.

308. perfidious. Pharaoh had given the Israelites permission to leave Egypt.

309. sojourners, temporary dwellers in a place.

Goshen, a district east of the delta of the Nile.

who beheld, etc. See Exodus xxiv. 30.

311. abject, cast down.
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 linked thunderbolts
Transfix us to the bottom of this gulf? —
Awake, arise, or be for ever fallen!"

Their appearance: their multitude suggested by comparisons.

They heard, and were abashed, and up they sprung
Upon the wing, as when men wont 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

318-322. Or...or, whether...or.

virtue, valor, bravery: lit. manliness.

337. obey, in M E. took a dative case.
Innumerable. As when the potent rod
Of Amran’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.

The leaders come forward—for the time being nameless.

Forthwith from every squadron and each band,

338, etc. Alluding to Moses and the plagues. See Exodus x 12, etc.
341. warping, “floating about” at the mercy of the wind.
345. cope, roof, vault.
348. sultan, or soldan, 764, victor, prince: in 378 “emperor.”
351-355. The Goths from the province of Dacta, north of the Danube (Danaw), pressed forward by the Huns, settled in “the Empire” in 376: soon afterwards they defeated the Romans in battle. Forty years later the west Goths sacked Rome, and some passed into Gaul and Spain. German tribes, too, were at this time crossing the Rhine (Rhene), and pressing on into Gaul and Spain. Hordes of Huns now attacked Romans, Goths, and Germans alike, but were defeated in 451 at Chalons—one of the world’s critical battles. Some Germans called Vandals, who had at first settled in Spain, crossed into Africa (Libya) in 429, and founded a kingdom, with Carthage as capital. Even in Italy some east Goths settled. From these various settlements the Romance nations sprung.
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.
The leaders enumerated and described under the names they afterwards acquired as heathen deities.

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.

380. promiscuous, mixed, confused.

382. Cp. 1 Peter v. 8, "Your adversary the devil . . . walketh about, seeking whom he may devour."

383. seat of God, the Temple at Jerusalem.

385-386. durst abide, stood their ground in spite of. Cp 470.

thundering out of Sion, referring perhaps to what was thundered (the ten commandments, one of which forbade idolatry).

387. Cherubim, two figures in the sanctuary of the Temple 1 Kings vi. 23.

388. shrines, altars. See 2 Kings xxii. 4, "And he (i.e. King Manasseh) built altars in the house of the Lord."

389. abominations: referring to the idolatrous character of the shrines.
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 Bashan, to the stream
Of utmost Arnon. Nor content with such
Audacious neighborhood, 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,

392-521. See the Table of Heathen Deities, p. 48
394. Timbrel, a kind of tambourine.
403. that opprobrious hill, that hill of scandal, 416', the offensive mountain (443), all refer to the Mt of Olives, near Jerusalem.
404-405 Hinnom was a deep narrow ravine bounding Jerusalem on the south-west. To put an end to the idol worship carried on there—with its human sacrifices—Josiah rendered it "ceremonially unclean" by spreading human bones, etc., in it. Henceforward the refuse of the city was deposited there. By reason of its evil associations the later Jews used its name Ge Hinnom or Gehenna, to denote the place of torment. Tophet was the south-eastern part of the valley. Here, facing the city on the "hill of scandal," Solomon erected his high places to Moloch.(Smith's Bible Dict.)
406. obscene, foul, repulsive.
409. Seon, King of the Ammonites.
And Eleale to the Asphaltic 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 pu·poses,
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

417 Asphaltic pool, Dead Sea.
419. bordering flood, because forming the south or south-west boundary of Canaan. Genesis xv. 18.
435 bestial, refers either to the grossness of their worship, or to 476-489 below. In Egypt the sacred bulls "maintained...in the great temples of their respective cities were perpetually adored and prayed to by thousands during their lives, and at their deaths were entombed with the utmost care in huge sarcophagi, while all Egypt went into mourning for them" (Rawlinson).
Bowed down in battle, sunk before the spear
Of despicable foes. With these in troop
Came Ashtoreth, whom the Phœnicians called
Astarte, 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 lopt off,

438. Astoreth or Ashtoreth (singular form of Ashtaroth, representing the moon, which might be considered the fainter reflection or wife of the sun, and was, as the moon, addressed as "queen of heaven." Jeremiah vii. 18 Sayce.

455. See Ezekiel viii. 14, "Then he brought me to the door of the gate of the Lord's house, ... and behold, there sat women weeping for Tammuz."
In his own temple, on the grunsel-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 ferti'e banks
Of Abana 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 scape
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 grazed ox—

460. grunsel, i.e. groundsill or threshold.
485. Jeroboam, King of Israel, who rebelled against Rehoboam, set up two golden calves.
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 490 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, Their boasted parents;—Titan, Heaven’s first-born,

487-489 As the Israelites were on the point of leaving Egypt, a plague fell equally on the first-born of the Egyptians and on the animals which they worshipped
495. See 1 Samuel ii. 12 and 22.
508. Javan’s issue, i.e. the Greeks, regarded as descended from Javan or Ion, son of Japhet. (Genesis x. 2. Isaiah lxvi. 19.)
510. Titan, see 198 n.
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
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
Fled over Adria to the Hesperian fields,
And o'er the Celtic roamed the utmost isles.

*The leaders having assembled, Satan cheers them and
bids Azazel raise the standard.*

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
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


515-516. *Olympus,* the fabled abode of the Greek gods, is a mountain
in Thessaly; its highest point is covered with snow most of the year.

517-518 *Delphi,* at the foot of the steep southern slope of Mount
Parnassus; *Dodona,* in Epirus. These were the seats of the two most
famous oracles of ancient Greece — of Apollo and Zeus respectively.

520-521. Virgil and Ovid both speak of Saturn as fleeing alone (over
the Hadriatic Sea) before his son Zeus, to Italy, called by the Greeks the
Hesperian (or western) fields.

521. *the Celtic* (fields), the western or Celtic parts of the Continent,
especially France

(to) *the utmost isles,* probably Britain, etc.

523. *damp,* depressed. *Cp. “to damp a fire,” “to damp one’s spirits.”*
Soon recollecting, with high words, that bore
Semblance of worth, not substance, gently raised
Their fainting courage, and dispelled their fears: 530
Then straight commands that, at the warlike sound
Of trumpets loud and clarions, be upreared
His mighty standard. That proud honor claimed
Azazel as his right, a Cherub tall:
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
Sonorous metal blowing martial sounds:
At which the universal host upsent
A shout that tore Hell's concave, and beyond
Frighted the reign of Chaos and old Night.

*Thereupon their followers form in battle array and march to Dorian music.*

All in a moment through the gloom was seen

532. **clarions**, clear-sounding horns.

534. **Azazel**, probably the name of some evil spirit. The word means "the solitary one," or "scape-goat." See *Leviticus* xvi. 8: "And Aaron shall cast lots upon the two goats; one lot for the Lord and the other for the scape-goat." ("Azazel," R.V.

538. **emblazoned**, richly adorned, like a shield. To *blazon* is to portray armorial bearings on a shield. (M. E. *blason*, a shield. Cp. v. 588: "Ensigns high advanced...in their glittering tissue, bear emblazoned holy memorials." The word is an heraldic term.

539. **arms**, probably the ensign itself; **trophies**, gems and gold, regarded as symbols of victory

542. **concave**, hollow roof, or vault.

543. **Chaos**, etc., see ii. 890-967, where Night is spoken of as "eldest of things," and "eldest Night and Chaos" as ancestors of Nature, because they preside over that out of which "things" are formed.
Ten thousand banners rise into the air,
With orient colors 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
In perfect phalanx to the Dorian mood
Of flutes and soft recorders — such as raised
To highth of noblest temper heroes old
Arming to battle, and instead of rage
Deliberate valor breathed, firm, and unmoved
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,
Breathing united force with fixed thought,
Moved on in silence to soft pipes that charmed

546. orient, constantly used as an epithet of gems. It is frequently
used by Milton in the sense of "bright," "clear," "shining."

550. phalanx. "A body of troops in close array with a long spear as
their principal weapon. It was among the Dorians, and especially among
the Spartans that this arrangement was most rigidly adhered to"
(Smith's *Dict of Antiquities.*)

to the Dorian mood, *i.e.* to music of a grave, severe character,
supposed to inspire courage and endurance, as distinguished from the
Lydian or soothing, tender music (cp. *L'Allegro*, 139), and trumpet
music (540-541).

551. flutes and soft recorders. The modern flute is of recent German
origin: the flute of Milton's day — the English flute — was called a
recorder. As he is speaking of Greek music, the expression probably
refers in general terms to the so-called flutes of the Greeks, which in-
cluded reed instruments. They were of various sizes, and the different
parts of the harmony — bass, tenor, etc — could be played on them.

554. breathed, infused, inspired, instilled.

556. mitigate, make soft, mild, less severe.

561. charmed, in its old sense, denoting the effect of some mysterious
power or influence — as here, fascinated by means of music.
Their painful steps o'er the burnt soil. And now

_Satan views his army, compared with which the greatest forces of ancient or mediæval times are insignificant._

Advanced in view they stand — a horrid front
Of dreadful length and dazzling arms, in guise
Of warriors old, with ordered spear and shield,
Awaiting what command their mighty Chief
Had to impose. He through the armed files
Darts his experienced eye, and soon traverse
The whole battalion views — their order due,
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,
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 Illium, on each side


575. _inantry_. In the middle ages, the cavalry were considered as forming the main body of the army; and the two terms "cavalry" and "army" were convertible. Cp. chivalry, 307. The foot-men or infantry were deemed little better than rabble (Trench); and probably the word is used in this contemptuous sense here. (Span. and It. *infanta*, a child, a servant, a foot-soldier.)

The reference here is to the pygmies (cp. 780) a fabulous race whose stature was a "pygmi" (about 13 1-2 in.) They are said by Homer to have been attacked by cranes every spring, and according to the legends they fought on the backs of rams and partridges.

576-579. Phlegra, the westernmost of the three small peninsulas lying to the east of the Gulf of Salonica; the scene of the war between the gods and the giants. See 198.
Mixed with auxiliar gods; and what resounds
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,
Or whom Biserta sent from Afric shore,
Thebes and Ilium. "The heroic race that fought at Thebes
and Ilium" symbolizes the great heroes of Greek literature and legendary
history.
The story of the exploits of The Seven Greeks against Thebes is told
by Aeschylus, the story of the Trojan war by Homer.
Troy in N. W. Asia Minor.
Thebes in Boeotia.
auxiliar gods refers to the part taken by the deities in the
siege of Troy
579-581. Uther's (or Uther Pendragon's) son, i. e. King Arthur,
assisted by knights of Britain and of Brittany. For some time about
1038-39) Milton had thought of taking the Arthurian legends as the sub-
ject of his great poem.
582-587. Jousted, tilted; joust, literally, is the jostling together of
two knights on horseback at a tournament.
583-584. The names in these lines are said by some critics to have
been carefully selected for its associations with the mediaeval romances of
chivalry, by which Milton in his youth had been greatly attracted.
The names are in any case symbolical, like Thebes and Ilium above; at
the same time some of them may be connected with particular events.
Aspramont, a castle near Nice.
Damasco,
Trebisond, a town of great note and splendor in the middle ages.
All familiar names in the old romances, and specially associated
with tournaments and jousts.
Damasco was also the scene of several battles in the Crusades.
Montalban, a castle in Languedoc, of note in the wars of Charlemagne.
Marocco, Biserta, associated with the wars between the Christians
(Spaniards) and the Moors. From Biserta (the ancient Utica, near
Carthage) a Moorish army started to attack the Christians under Charle-
magne in Spain; the defeat, however, was inflicted, not by the Moors, but
by the Gascons at Roncesvalles, "by Fontarabbia," near Biarritz.
(Charlemagne was not killed in the battle of 778: he lived till 814.)
When Charlemain with all his peerage fell
By Fontarabbia. Thus far these beyond
Compare of mortal prowess, yet observed

The appearance of Satan and his host suggested by
various similes.

Their dread Commander. He above the rest
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
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
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
Signs of remorse and passion, to behold

586. all his peerage, i.e. the brave Roland, the wise Oliver, and all the
rest of the twelve peers or paladins of France—except perhaps one.
592-593. "Nor did it appear less (noble and commanding) than that of
an archangel who was now fallen and his excessive brightness dimmed."
597-599. disastrous, unfavorable, of bad omen.
601. intrenched, marked, furrowed, cut into.
603. considerate, meditating revenge) planning, scheming.
604. "His eye was cruel, but showed," etc.
605. Passion, suffering, sorrow: not, as now, strong feeling only.
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
Of Heaven, and from eternal splendors 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 singed 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 assayed, and thrice, in spite of scorn,
Tears, such as Angels weep, burst forth; at last
Words interwove with sighs found out their way:

Satan harangues his host: "their defeat was due to ignorance
of the enemy's strength."

"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?

609. amerced, deprived (by way of fine or punishment).
619. in spite of scorn, though scorning to weep.
For who can yet believe, though after loss,
That all these puissant legions, whose exile
Hath emptied Heaven, shall fail to reascend,
Self-raised, and repossess their native seat?
For me, be witness all the host of Heaven,
If counsels different, or dangers 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 they must oppose him by guile; a visit to the new-formed world suggested; war resolved on._

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 favor equal to the sons of Heaven.

636. **counsels different** (from those of the rest), "divided counsels."
643-645. **our better part**: "henceforth our safest course is," etc.
650-651. **so rife ... fame** so general a rumor.
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, out-flew
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 grasped arms
Clashed on their sounding shields the din of war
Hurling defiance toward the vault of Heaven.

Led by Mammon they quarry gold and cast it, ready for
use in building their palace.

There stood a hill not far, whose grisly top
Belched fire and rolling smoke; the rest entire
Shone with a glossy scurf — undoubted sign

656. eruption, sortie, expedition: lit. "outbreak."
660-662. despaired, resolved: cp. 208 and note.
662. understood—among ourselves.
668. This was the custom of Roman soldiers when applauding a general's speech. Note the expressiveness of this line through the repetition of the notion of sound in the words cla hed, sounding and din. Cp 768.
671. the rest entire, "all the rest."
672-674. the work of sulphur. According to the alchemists, sulphur understood as a vague "principal of fixation," not the substance we call sulphur was the chief agent in the formation of metals by its action on "earth," on the "seeds of metals," etc. The phrase, work of sulphur, refers to the metal either in the earth as metallic ore) or cropping out (as a sulphide) in flakes on the surface (glossy scurf).
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

675. brigad, brigade.
676. pioneers. Pioneers clear the way for an army by making roads, etc.
678. Mammon (Syriac, riches, here used as a proper noun (like Belial, 49)).
679. erected, high-minded, upright, noble.
682. Revelation xxı 21.
684. vision beatific, a phrase used by early Christian writers to
denote the "sight of God," for which they hoped, and which was to give
688. For treasures better hid, i.e. for gold, better left undisturbed.
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;

694. **Babel**, probably Babylon, noted for its vast walls, its hanging gardens, and the Temple of Belus (720).

**Memphian**, Egyptian, as in 307, from **Memphis**, the ancient capital of Egypt was famous for its pyramids and for its temples of Serapis. In l. 718 the new city of Memphis is mentioned under the name **Alcairo**, the modern Cairo. Probably in the latter passage there is a repetition of line 694 under different names. Note that in the second passage Milton uses the more modern names, perhaps to suggest different aspects of the cities. But possibly **Babel** denotes the tower of Babel, and **Memphian** may be used in a much wider sense than Alcairo.

698-699. Herodotus tells us that there were 366,000 men employed for twenty years in the building of the Great Pyramid.

702. **Sluiced** A sluice is a sliding gate for regulating the flow of a fluid.

703. **Founded**, melted. The process of purifying is now called smelting; whereas **founring** (705-707) denotes a later and final melting and moulding of the metal.

704. **bullion** refers to the unpurified metal ore.

**dross**, the impurities in the ore which float on the surface of the molten metal, forming a scum; so that the **bullion-dross** is the scum that comes from the bullion.
As in an organ, from one blast of wind,
To many a row of pipes the sound-board breathes.

*Pandemonium described: its architect, Mulciber.*

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
Belus or Serapis their gods, or seat
Their kings, when Egypt with Assyria strove

706. various, elaborate, intricate; e.g. the frieze and the roof (706–707) would require such mouldings.

708–709. All the pipes in an organ are supplied with wind from a wind-chest, of which the sound-board forms the upper part.

712. dulcet symphonies, sweet accompanying chords or strains (on instruments).

7–17 like a temple. In Greece and in Asia Minor there were many temples, mostly Loric, and their rows of pillars formed a conspicuous feature.

713. pilasters, square pillars partly sunk in a wall.

714. Doric Pillars. round pillar of a massive, simple style, with plain capital. Cp. note on "Dorian mod," 550. The other two orders of pillars are Ionic—fluted, with voluted capitals; and Corinthian—lighter columns, with highly ornamented capitals.)

715. Architrave. The beam or stonework which rests immediately on the top of a row of pillars; above it is an ornament called the frieze, and above that a projecting part, called the cornice. Architrave means chief beam.

716. bossy, standing out prominently.

717–720. See 694 n.
In wealth and luxury. The ascending pile
Stood fixed her stately highth; and straight the
doors,
Opening their brazen folds, discover, wide
Within, her ample spaces o'er the smooth
And level pavement: from the arched roof,
Pendant by subtle magic, many a row
Of starry lamps and blazing cressets, fed
With naphtha and asphaltus, yielded light
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 sceptered Angels held their residence,
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
Men called him Mulciber; and how he fell
From Heaven they fabled, thrown by angry Jove

728. A cresset was a lamp consisting of a small, open, iron cage or vessel, in which was placed rope or tow steeped in pitch, etc. It was usually carried hanging from the top of a pole.

737. In the middle ages it was supposed that the angels were of two kinds, Cherubim and Seraphim, or angels of light and angels of love, divided into three groups or Hierarchies, each consisting of three Orders

739. Ausonian land, Italy; from Ausonia, an ancient name for central Italy.

740. Mulciber, the softener, the metal-founder. Another name for Vulcan, the Roman god of fire. In Greece he was called Hephaestus. He was smith and armorer to the gods of Olympus, and was represented as lame.
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
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
By all his engines, but was headlong sent,
With his industrious crew, to build in Hell.

"The worthiest" summoned to a council, they and their
attendants swarm in, and fill the hall "both on the ground
and in the air."

Meanwhile the winged heralds, by command
Of sovran 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 squared regiment
By place or choice the worthiest: they anon
With hundreds and with thousands trooping came

746. Hence this island was sacred to Hephæstus, and here he had his forge!
753. sovran. See 246 n.
    awful, awe-inspiring.
756. Pandemonium, the palace (or temple) "of all the demons." Cp. Pantheon, a Roman temple to all the gods.
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 smoothed 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,

The followers, at a signal, all contract: the leaders hold a council.

Behold a wonder! They, but now who seemed
In bigness to surpass Earth’s giant sons,

764. soldan's, sultan’s.
765. Panim, belonging to a Pagan or heathen country.
766. career, the galloping of the combatants towards one another along the course. Note the two kinds of combat referred to; in the second the points of the lances were blunted.
769. In April the sun traverses that part of the sky in which the constellation Taurus is situated.
773. citadel, a little city — not a fort here.
774. balm, balsam; used by Milton for any fragrant resin or gum.
expatiate, spread out.
confer, discuss.
776. straitened, crowded close together for want of space.
PARADISE LOST.

Now less than smallest dwarfs, in narrow room
Throng numberless — like that pygmean race
Beyond the Indian mount; or faery 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 demigods on golden seats,
Frequent and full. After short silence then,
And summons read, the great consult began.

780. pygmean race. See 575 n.
781. Indian mount, the Himalayas.
785. arbitress, witness, spectator.

nearer to the earth. Fairies, witches, etc., were supposed to be able to draw the moon down towards the earth by their enchantments.
795. recess, retirement, or, a retired place.
conclave, assembly. This is the name specially applied to the secret meeting of cardinals at Rome when a pope is to be elected.
797. frequent, numerous, crowded; qualifying conclave.
798. consult, consultation.
PARADISE LOST.

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 an other 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 honored 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.
BOOK II.

The council opened by Satan: "We are united, and confident of our power; how can we best regain Heaven?"

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, 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, His proud imaginations thus displayed: —

"Powers and Dominions, Deities of Heaven! —

2. Ormus, on an island in the Persian Gulf, was at this time famous as a great and wealthy trading centre, being specially renowned for jewels. Ind, India.

4. Showers, etc. It was an Eastern custom to powder a monarch, at his coronation, with gold-dust and seed-pearl, and to strew pearls and jewels at his feet.

9. success, the result, namely — failure, defeat.

11. Powers, etc. In the middle ages it was supposed that the angels were of two kinds, Cherubim and Seraphim (or angels of light and angels of love), divided into three grades: Archangels or Chiefs, e.g. Michael, Raphael, and Lucifer — afterward Satan; Princes of various degrees, e.g. Beezlebub, Mammon, Belial; and individual Powers and Intel ligences. According to another scheme, however, there were three Hierarchies, each consisting of three Orders: 1) Seraphim, Cherubim, and Thrones; (2) Dominations, Virtues, and Powers; 3) Principalities, Archangels, and Angels. The matter is of little importance as regards this poem, for Milton seems to use the titles at random.
For, since no deep within her gulf can hold
Immortal vigor, though oppressed and fallen,
I give not Heaven for lost: from this descent
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,
With what besides, in council 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
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
Of endless pain? Where there is then no good
For which to strive, no strife can grow up there

12. deep, Chaos.
gulf, the lowest part of Chaos, called also the "pit," "Hell," etc. See Introduction.

19 free choice. He had been accepted, if not chosen (l. 24). His leadership seems to have been taken as a matter of course so far, but to judge by this speech, Satan himself was far from feeling secure. Note how skilfully he makes use of the assumption in l. 11; that granted, the laws of Heaven will have more force, which will strengthen his position as their (natural) head. We shall see in the speeches following indications of an independent spirit amongst the leaders.

11-42. Satan's speech.
(1) Why will the spirits appear "more glorious," etc., after rising? (l. 16.
(2) Note how anxious Satan is to keep his position as chief, whilst he is showing what an unenviable post it is.
(3) Note how he ignores all possibility of failure or greater punishment.
From faction; for none sure will claim in Hell
Precedence: none whose portion is so small
Of present pain that with ambitious mind
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;
Sure to prosper than prosperity
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, sceptered king,
Stood up: the strongest and the fiercest spirit
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,
He recked not, and these words thereafter
spake:—

Moloch’s speech: “I vote for war forthwith; even if we fail
our lot cannot become worse.”

“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.

43-45. Moloch {i.e. king or ruler} is specially mentioned in the war in
Heaven, where he is called “furious king” (bk. vi), and he was the first
of the leaders to come up and greet Satan (and Beelzebub after the fall
(i. 392).

51-52. sentence, vote.
For, while they sit contriving, shall the rest—
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
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
Ag inst the Torturer; when, to meet the noise
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,
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

54-56 **stand in arms**, probably, "are ready armed." **Stand** and **sit**
must not be taken literally, for the numberless spirits who were waiting in
the Hall of the Palace swarmed "both on the ground and in the air."

65. **almighty engine.** For description see vi 749-766. The term
*engine* is applied to any mechanical contrivance, as to Satan's *cannon.*
Cp. also i. 750.

67. **Black fire and horror,** for "black horrid fire."

69. **Tartarean,** from Tartarus, part of the classical hell.

72. **wing,** course or flight.

73. **drench,** draught, that which drenches or soaks.
Of that forgetful lake benumb not still, 74
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,
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
Fear to be worse destroyed! What can be worse 85
Than to dwell here, driven out from bliss, con-
demned
In this abhorred Deep to utter woe;
Where pain of unextinguishable fire
Must exercise us without hope of end,
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.

74. **forgetful.** This word must be taken in a limited sense, for we find that after their nine days stup r on (in) the "oblivious pool" (i. 266), they could recall the past. Indeed, the memory of the past seems to be intended as part of their punishment (vi. 717, 718). Hence this lake corresponds only slightly to the classical Lethe, though the names applied to it constantly suggest the latter.

82. **event, result, consequence.**


89. **exercise, constantly torment, afflict.**

**without hope, etc.** Cp. Belial's speech, 1 209, etc.

90. **vassals, slaves.**

92. **penance, punishment.**
What fear we then? What doubt we to incense
His utmost ire? which, to the highth 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;

94. What doubt we, "why should we hesitate to provoke?" etc.
97. essential, essence, being.
104. fatal, secured by fate: cp. i. 116, 133. By fate the rebels meant necessity; the nature of things and course of events regarded as unalterable and beyond the power of the Almighty. Cp. 197-199 and 232; and contrast vii. 172, where the Almighty says —

"Necessity and Chance,
Approach not me; and what I will is Fate."

See note on 895-913.
51-105. Moloch's speech.

105. The speech ends forcibly with the strong and characteristic word "revenge," pronounced, no doubt, in a loud voice, and emphasized with a terrible frown. Milton makes a fine contrast between the undisguised ferocity with which Moloch ends his speech, and the graceful uprising of the next speaker.

106. denounced, signified in a threatening manner.

humane, of polished manners. (Now it means pitiful, kind.)
A fairer person lost not Heaven; he seemed
For dignity composed and high exploit.
But all was false and hollow; though his tongue
Dropt manna, and could make the worse appear
The better reason, to perplex and dash
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:—

_BeliaVs speech: “Better bear our present ills than risk worse.”_

"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

Manna tasted "like wafers made with honey"; _Exodus, xvi. 31._
113-114. made the worse . . . reason. This is called sophistry.
124. fact, same as _feat_.
127. scope. This difficult word seems to refer to the _range_ of Moloch's
hopes—from present misery, relieved by revenge, to "utter dissolution"
as the worst that can befall them.
With arm'd watch, that render all access
Impregnable; oft on the bordering Deep
Encamp 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,

130. access, approach.

139. ethereal mould, the heavenly substance of which the angelic beings were formed, namely, fire, as the purest of the four elements. It is also called empyreal substance, i. 117, and Heaven is the Empyrean.

134-142. It should be noticed how closely Belial's reply follows the arguments of the preceding speech. Lines 134-142, 145-151, 159-185 respectively answer ll. 60-70, 97-98, 85-93. The only important part of Moloch's speech which remains unanswered is the argument to show that the fallen angels could easily rise upwards (see ll. 70-81). But Belial is not bound to answer this, as he shows that even though they rose to heaven they could not surprise its impregnable towers, and would be inevitably defeated.
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?
When 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

155. Belike, indeed, forsooth. Ironical
impotence, inability to restrain his anger.)
165. amain, in large numbers and with haste. (Lit., “with force.”)
strook, struck.
170. Impendent, overhanging.
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, wrapt 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 highth 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,

182. **racking**, harassing, distressing.

187. So far Belial has been answering Moloch's arguments. He now treats the more general question of debate introduced by Satan. Cf. ll. 187, 188 with l. 41.

196 **Better these than worse**, it is better to endure these than worse torments. Belial acts upon the principle expressed in Hamlet's soliloquy, where it is said that the dread of something after death "Makes us rather bear those ills we have Than fly to others that we know not of."
The victor's will. To suffer, as to do,
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
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,
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.
Our purer essence then will overcome
Their noxious vapor; 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;
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

201. **This was at first resolved.** Belial means that, when they entered upon their perilous attempt, they surely foresaw the possibility of terrible punishment, and deliberately with their eyes open resolved to run the risk. By the words "if we were wise" he implies that, if they did not see all this clearly, they were very stupid.

213. **what is punished**, the amount of punishment inflicted.
For happy though but ill, for ill not worst,
If we procure not to ourselves more woe.”

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

Mammon’s speech: “Let us give up all thought of returning
    to Heaven, and make the best of our present lot, which
    may become easier in time.”

“Either to disenthrone the King of Heaven
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

228. Not peace This seems strange at first sight, seeing that Belial was
    entirely opposed to war, admitted the justice of their doom 200, 201), and
    urged patient submission thereto. He made no acknowledgment, however,
    of sinful, but only of unwise action? (ll. 201-203 ; suggested that they
    should merely offend no further, not that they should confess their wrong,
    ask forgiveness, and so become reconciled He assumed that they would
    maintain their hostile attitude until the Almighty chose to relent. His
    counsel then was to continue in their present antagonism.

Mammon, the least noble of the “spirits that fell.” See i. 678-688.
Forced Halleluiahs; while he lordly sits
Our envied sovran, and his altar breathes
Ambrosial odors 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 labor 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

243. Halleluiahs, from halelu, praise ye, and Jah, Jehovah.
245. Ambrosial, fragrant; lit. divine, from Gk. ambrosia, the food of the gods. A favorite word with Milton.
253. from our own—resources, labor, skill, etc., as explained below.
262-267. Psalm xviii 11, 13, and xcvi. 2.
Mustering their rage, and Heaven resembles Hell! As he our darkness, cannot we his light 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 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 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 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

270-273. It was Mammon who "led them on" to find gold for their palace.

275. our elements. Perhaps in allusion to the common belief in the middle ages that each of the four "elements" was inhabited by its own peculiar demons, and that these demons were fallen spirits. See Par. Reg., ii. 121, etc. Cp the phrase, "He is in his element."

278. sensible, sense. Cp. 97.

281. compose, settle, arrange.

229-283. Mammon's speech.

(1) Does reconciliation with the Almighty seem possible in Mammon's case?

(2) Note how the Almighty is assumed to be indifferent to what goes on outside Heaven—at least is supposed not to interfere. But cp. 317, etc.

(3) What new arguments does Mammon introduce?
Seafaring men o'er-watched, whose bark by chance,
Or pinnace, anchors in a craggy bay
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 Michael
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 Beelzebub perceived, than whom,
Satan except, none higher sat, with grave
Aspect 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,
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

288. o'er-watched, worn out through being awake or on watch so long.
289. pinnace, a smaller vessel than a bark, having oars and sails, or merely oars.
290. sentence, opinion.
292. "In aims and aspirations a rival power to Heaven."
293. Beelzebub, Satan's "mate" and "compeer;" see Book i.
294. Atlantean. Atlas was one of the Titans. He made war upon the Gods, and as a punishment had to bear the heavens on his shoulders.
295. audience, hearing.
Or summer’s noontide air, while thus he spake: —

*Beelzebub's speeches: “Peace, war, and the building up of an empire are all out of the question; Heaven is shut against us; let us be revenged by spoiling his new creation.”*

“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
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
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 highth or depth, still first and last will reign,
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.

324 Cp. *Rev.*, i. 11, “I am Alpha and Omega, the first and the last”
327-328. *iron sceptre* . *golden*. For similar symbolism, cp. v. 886, 887, “golden sceptre,” “iron rod”; and *Lycidas*, ii.3-11, where the golden key admits to heaven, the iron excludes. *Cp. Psalm* ii. 9.
What sit we then projecting peace and war?
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
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
In doing what we most in suffering 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
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
In power and excellence, but favored more
Of him who rules above; so was his will
Pronounced among the gods, and by an oath,

330. determined, made an end of us as a power, been our ruin.
336. to our power, to the extent of our power.
337. Untamed reluctance, untamable resistance.
341. want, opportunity be wanting.
346. fame, report, rumor.
That shook Heaven's whole circumference, confirmed.
Thither let us bend all our thoughts, to learn
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
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
To waste his whole creation, or possess
All as our own, and drive, as we are driven,
The puny inhabitants; or, if not drive,
Seduce them to our party, that their God
May prove their foe, and with repenting hand
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
Their frail original, and faded bliss,

357. attempted, tempted, tried.
367. puny, probably "less in power and excellence" (349); possibly, in literal sense, "later born"; (Fr puis nê).
369-370. Cp. Genesis, vi. 7, "I will destroy man...; it repenteth me that I have made them."
375. original, origin or originator, au.hor Adam).
Faded so soon! Advise if this be worth Attempting, or to sit in darkness here Hatching vain empires." Thus Beelzebub Pledged his devilish counsel, first devised 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 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:—

"This plan will raise us out of Hell, procure us a pleasanter abode, and perhaps enable us to attack Heaven; but whom shall we send to explore this new World?"

"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 Of those bright confines, whence, with neighboring arms

376. Advise, consider.
379-380. See i. 650-654.
382. confound, ruin.
387. States, as in "three estates of the realm of Great Britain." Often so used by Shakespeare.
391. Synod, an assembly, a council.
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
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
The dark, unbottomed, 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
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
Choice in our suffrage; for on whom we send,

396. excursion, sally.
404. tempt, try, investigate, venture into.
406. palpable obscure, thick darkness. Cp. Exodus, x. 21, "darkness which may be felt"
409. the vast abrupt, the vast and steep gulf.
412 senteries, perhaps a corruption of sentinel. Origin of word uncertain.
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
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
So hardy as to proffer or accept,
Alone, the dreadful voyage; till, at last,
Satan, whom now transcendent glory raised
Above his fellows, with monarchal pride


315. Notice the rhetorical artifice by which Beelzebub using the first person appears to include himself among the vain dreamers, whose delusions he is exposing. He does this to avoid giving offence to Belial and Mammon.

(1) He considers Hell to be their dungeon (317; hence, perhaps, his dislike of the title "Princes of Hell."

(2) Why is peace out of the question?

It will be noticed that Satan takes no part in the debate; he resembles the chairman of a meeting, rather than a general presiding over a council of war. After stating his proposition in the briefest terms (ll. 37, 38), he leaves it to the Council to decide what shall be done. With respect to the other four speakers and their speeches, it may be helpful to the student to make a comparison, in tabular form, of the chief points; e. g. (a) the character of the speaker; (b) the style and tone of his speech; (c) his motive and aims; (d) his plan; (e) any striking merit or defect in it; etc. Thus if we take the first. Moloch, very briefly, we find that (a) he is strong, fierce and reckless (ll. 43-50; b) he is blunt, lacking in courtesy, and disparaging in referring to opponents (ll. 51-54, and 73); c) his motive is ambition to be equal to the Almighty and desire for revenge at any cost (ll. 46, 47, and 105; (d') he has no plan—urges mere brute force; (e) he assumes that punishment for the failure is out of the question, because their lot is already as bad as possible (ll. 92, 93), and (2) it will not improve (l. 89).

418. suspense, in suspense.

423. Astonished, filled with dismay, appalled at the daring suggestion.
Conscious of highest worth, unmoved thus spake:—

_Satan's second speech:_ "We may well pause; the undertaking is a perilous one, but I accept as great a share of hazard as of honor, and will make the attempt alone."

"O Progeny of Heaven, empyreal Thrones! With reason hath deep silence and demur
Siezed 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,
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,
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 splendor, 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

434. **convex**, vaulted roof; or perhaps the whole of Hell. (See _Intro._ fig. 2.)
439. **unessential**, having no essence or being.
These royalties, and not refuse to reign,
Refusing to accept as great a share
Of hazard as of honor, due alike
To him who reigns, and so much to him due
Of hazard more, as he above the rest
High honored sits? Go, therefore, mighty Powers,
Terror of Heaven, though fallen! intend at home,
While here shall be our homie, 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."

The council over, the leaders issue forth with Satan: their concord suggests to the poet the discord of men.

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,

452. Refusing, if I refuse.
457. intend, attend to this, consider.
470. erst, at first, or before.
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. 475
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 landskip 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 God-like imitated state. Him round 
A globe of fiery Seraphim enclosed, 
With bright emblazonry, and horrent arms. 
Then of their session ended they bid cry 
With trumpet's regal sound the great result. 
Towards the four winds four speedy Cherubim 
Put to their mouths the sounding alchymy, 
By herald's voice exclaimed; the hollow Abyss 
Heard far and wide, and all the host of Hell 
With deafening shout returned them loud acclaim.

*During Satan's absence the spirits pass the time in gambols, wild freaks, music, discussion, or exploration.*

Thence more at ease their minds, and somewhat raised

504. *enow,* enough.
513. *horrent,* bristling.
517. *alchymy,* the art of mixing and transmuting metals, then the mixture so formed, especially a particular alloy much used in the trumpet; hence the trumpet itself.
By false presumptuous hope, the ranged powers
Disband; and, wandering, each his several way
Pursues, as inclination or sad choice
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,
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
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.

526. entertain, pass, while away.
528. sublime, raised) aloft.
530. The Olympian and Pythian games were national Greek festivals, the former held at Olympia every fifth year and lasting for five days; the latter at Delphi, in honor of Apollo. At Olympia foot-races were more numerous than horse races (note ll. 531, 532). The only prize given was a garland of wild olive. The name and country (state) of each competitor were announced by a herald. (The Olympic games have lately been revived 1896, after a lapse of fifteen centuries.)
531. shun the goal, — in turning.
532. fronted, opposed.
536. Prick, spur.
couch, poise, balance ready for throwing.
533-538. Probably Milton is describing the appearance presented by masses of black cloud in a red sky, as often seen towards sunset. Some suggest the *Aurora Borealis*. In either case note the appropriateness of *burns*. Striking phenomena of this kind, meteors, etc., were formerly regarded as omens: hence *warn* l. 533). Cp. l. 597-599 n. Note the peculiar use of "heaven" here—"the heavens," the sky, the upheaved part
Others, with vast Typhœan rage, more fell,
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,
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
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

539. vast Typhœan rage. Typhon or Typhœus was a giant with a hundred heads. From his mouths and eyes he darted fire, and he uttered horrid yells like the discordant shrieks of different animals. He made war upon the gods and frightened them away, but at last Zeus put him to flight with his thunderbolts and burned him under Mount Etna.

542. Alcides, i.e. Hercules,—so called because he was the grandson of Alcæus,—on returning home from Æchalia (a town in Thessaly) where he had slain Eurytus, received (at the hands of his companion Lichas) a robe sent by his own wife, Deianira, who had previously dipped it in a potion of some kind, hoping thereby to regain his affection. The potion proved poisonous. Hercules in his rage hurled Lichas into the sea, then ascended Mount Æta (in Thessaly), built a large funeral pile and lay down upon it to be burnt. Jupiter, in admiration, took him up to heaven in a chariot.

546. Euboic sea, east of Mount Æta, by the Island Eubœa.

547. Retreated: not the past tense, but the participle—remote, secluded.

552. partial, i.e. in praise of their own deeds only, therefore contrasted with their music, which pleased everybody.

554. Suspended, etc., held in suspense, made everyone pause from what he was doing.
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—
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—
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 the obdurd breast
With stubborn patience, as with triple steel.
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
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

564. Passion and apathy. In the Stoic philosophy, passion (pathos) was any affection of the mind causing joy or grief; apathy, the mastery of such feelings.

568. obdured, hardened

576, etc. The names of the five rivers are from the classics: the meaning of each name is explained. It is Milton's own device to drain four of them into the lake. Note the contrast between Phlegeton and Lethe.
Cocytus, named of lamentation loud
Heard on the rueful stream; fierce Phlegeton,
Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage.
Far off from these a slow and silent stream,
Lethe, the river of oblivion rolls
Her watery labyrinth, whereof who drinks
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
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 Cassius old,
Where armies whole have sunk: the parching air
Burns frote, 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

581. torrent, scorching.
584. watery labyrinth, winding stream.
592-594. The lake or swamp Serbonis was a kind of lagoon east of Damiata (Damietta), at the mouth of the Nile. Cassius was only a large sand-hill. The place was evidently a quicksand and is now dried up. Some Persian troops invading Egypt were lost here: but this is the only known instance of such disaster.
595. frote, froren or frozen.
596. The Furies were goddesses of vengeance: the Harpies winged monsters having the face of a woman and the body of a vulture, and feet armed with sharp claws.
597. revolutions (of time), the ends of certain periods.
Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more fierce,
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
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;
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 may a dark and dreary vale
They passed, and many a region dolorous,

600. starve, cause to perish. Formerly to starve (or sterve) was simply to die. "Christ sterved upon the cross," Chaucer; now it means to die of hunger.

611. Medusa was one of the Gorgons (628)—monsters having brazen claws and wings, and hissing serpents or snakes for hair—and her head was so terrible that to look at it caused death.

613. wight, creature, person.

614. Tantalus, a son of Zeus, divulged the secrets of the gods. For punishment he was afflicted with a raging thirst and placed in a lake, the waters of which receded when he tried to drink of them; and above his head there hung a cluster of grapes which always withdrew from his grasp. Hence the word "tantalize."
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 Chimæras dire.

Satan's journey; at Hell-gate, he meets with Sin and Death, its guardians.

Meanwhile the Adversary of God and Man,
Satan, with thoughts inflamed of highest design,
Puts on swift wings, and towards the gates of Hell
Explores his solitary flight: sometimes
He scours the right hand coast, sometimes the left;
Now shaves with level wing the deep; then soars
Up to the fiery concave, towering high.
As when far off at sea a fleet descried
Hangs in the clouds, by equinoctial winds
Close sailing from Bengala, or the isles

620. Alp, any high mountain. Gaelic alp, a mountain.
628. Hydra. The Hydra of Lernæ was a monster that ravaged the country about Argos, and was slain by Hercules. It had nine heads, and if one was cut off two others at once grew in its place. Hercules, therefore, obtained the help of Iolas, who, as soon as a head was cut off, applied a burning iron to the wound.
Chimæra, a fire-breathing monster, a compound of lion, dragon, and goat.
638. Close sailing, probably sailing close together, for protection.
Bengala, Bengal.
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, impa'ed with circling fire,
Yet unconsumed. Before the gates there sat
On either side a formidable Shape.
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,
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,

639. Ternate and Tidore, two of the Moluccas, famous for spices.
641. Ethiopian, Indian Ocean.
642. nightly: the comparison is between Satan flying through the
gloom of Hell towards its gate, and a fleet sailing by night towards the
pole. For other similes see i. 192-210.
647. impaled, inclosed.
654. cry, pack; a term used in hunting.
655. These hounds are compared to Cerberus, Pluto's many-headed
dog that guarded the gate of the lower regions, preventing the living from
entering and the dead from escaping. Orpheus, when in search of
Eurydice, charmed Cerberus with his music.
656. list, please.
And kennel there; yet there still barked and howled
Within unseen. Far less abhorred than these
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
With Lapland witches, while the laboring 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,
For each seemed either—black it stood as Night,

660. Scylla was a beautiful maiden who used to bathe in the strait. Circe, out of jealousy, threw poisonous herbs into the water and so caused her to assume a form something like that here attributed to Sin. According to the legend she was afterwards changed into the rocks which still bear her name.

661. Calabria, east of the straits of Messina.
Trinacria, Sicily, the north-east coast of which is steep and rocky—hence the epithet hoarse.

662. the night-hag, probably Hecate, who was regarded in the middle ages as the queen of witches. Cp. Macbeth, iii. 5, 20, "I am for the air," etc.

665. Lapland is the traditional home of witches.
witches are said to have been specially addicted to killing infants.
laboring, in Latin sense (laborare, to be eclipsed). Witches were supposed to be able to draw down the moon and to eclipse it.

648-673. Notice the skilful way in which Milton suggests rather than describes these two "shapes," Sin and Death—the latter especially. Both are "formidable" and vast, vague, and indistinct, and repulsive in the extreme. Sin is, at first view, "fair" and attractive, but on a nearer view her appearance indicates the cold, pitiless, deadly power of the snake. The Hell-hounds are taken by Addison to symbolize "the terrors of an evil conscience." Death is appropriately depicted as fierce and aggressive, and at the same time more shadowy and intangible and so more difficult to combat. We shall see that Sin is the offspring of Satan's pride, and Death the child of Sin. The allegory is evidently based on James i. 15.
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 
The monster moving onward came as fast 675 
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 naught valued he nor shunned), 
And with disdainful look thus first began: 

"Whence, and what art thou, execrable Shape, 
That dar’st, though grim and terrible, advance 
Thy miscreated front athwart my way 
To yonder gates? Through them I mean to pass, 
That be assured, without leave asked of thee. 685 
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, 
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 
To waste eternal days in woe and pain? 695 
And reckon’st thou thyself with Spirits of Heaven,

677. admired, wondered, marvelled. 
678, 679. Compare Satan with Moloch. 
693. Conjured, banded together by oath.
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,
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.”

*The impending combat is prevented by Sin, who explains the situation.*

So spake the grisly Terror, and in shape,
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
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,
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:

701. whip, etc. Cp. *I Kings*, xii. 11.
709. Ophiuchus, the Serpent, a very large constellation in the northern hemisphere.
715. fraught, laden, charged.
716. the Caspian was supposed (by the classical poets) to be specially subject to violent storms.
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 forebore;
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 callest
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."

721. See 1 Corinthians, xv. 26, and Hebrews, ii. 14.
The reply of Sin to Satan.

To whom thus the portress of Hell-gate replied:—

"Hast thou forgot me then, and do I seem
Now in thine eye so foul? — once deem'd 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
Surprised thee, dim thine eyes, and dizzy swum
In darkness, while thy head flames thick and fast
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 recoil'd afraid
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,
Becamest enamored 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
Clear victory, to our part loss and rout
Through all the Empyrean. Down they fell,

757, 758. This incident is based on the Greek legend of the birth of Minerva from the head of Jupiter.
Driven headlong from the pitch of Heaven, down
Into this Deep, and in the general fall
I also; at which time this powerful key
Into my hands 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,
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
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!
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
Engendering with me, of that rape begot
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

772. *pitch*, height. *Pitch* was a technical term for the height to which the falcon soared in order to swoop on the quarry.
PARADISE LOST.

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,
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.
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."

_Satan appears friendly and explains his errand._

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
Then sweet, now sad to mention, through dire change
Besallen us unforseen, unthought of — know,
I come no enemy, but to set free

_813._ tempered heavenly, wrought in heaven.
_dint_, blow.
_815._ lore, lesson.
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 odors; there ye shall be fed and filled
Immeasurably; all things shall be your prey:"

_Sin explains her position, and unlocks the gate, but cannot shut it._

He ceased, for both seemed highly pleased, and
Death

Grinned horrible a ghastly smile to hear

825. _pretences_, claims.
827. _uncouth_, as in 407, unknown and strange.
829. _unfounded_, bottomless.
833. _purlieus_, outskirts; "The utmost border."
842. _buxom_, elastic, yielding.
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 has hither thrust me down
Into this gloom of Tartarus profound,
To sit in hateful office here confined,
Inhabitant of Heaven, and Heavenly-born,
Here in perpetual agony and pain,
With terrors and with clamors compassed round
Of mine own brood, that on my bowels feed?
Thou art my father, thou my author, thou
My being gav'st me; whom should I obey
But thee? whom follow? Thou wilt bring me soon
To that new world of light and bliss, among
The gods who live at ease, where I shall reign
At thy right hand votuptuous, as beseems
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,

874. portcullis, a massive, harrow-like, iron gate, working up and down in grooves.
Which, but herself, not all the Stygean powers could once have moved; then in the key-hole turns
The intricate wards, and every bolt and bar
Of massy iron or solid rock with ease
Unfastens. On a sudden open fly,
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,
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.

*Satans passes out and travels on through Chaos till he comes to the "pavilion" of its rulers.*

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 highth,
And time, and place, are lost; where eldest Night
And Chaos, ancestors of Nature, hold

883. Erebus, another classical name for Hell.
885. wings. Cp. i. 616, 617.
889. redounding, rolling back, like waves, "surging." (928.)
895. Nature, that part of the Universe which is *formed* or *created* as opposed to Chaos.
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,

900. embryo, germ, germ-like.
904. Barca and Cyrene are two cities in N. Africa.
905. Levied, perhaps in double sense of to levy troops and Fr. lever, to raise; refers, of course, to sands.
906. Their, i.e., the winds.
910. Cp. Shakespeare—

"The earth that’s nature’s mother is her tomb."

895-913. This description of Chaos is based upon the philosophy of Heraclitus c. 500 B.C. and Demócrito (c. 400 B.C.). The latter assumed, as the basis of nature, an infinitude of indivisible particles or atoms, varying in size, shape, and weight, but all of the same quality. These atoms, floating about in empty space, impinged on one another, and, being of various sizes and weights, moved at different rates (902). Amidst this confusion and whirl, this “concourse of atoms,” certain forces or tendencies prevailed, according to which the atoms formed themselves into groups, giving us “things” nature. But these “things” again break up in course of time into their original atoms (911). The ground, or final cause, of this process (Chaos) was Necessity or Fate, or as Demócrito called it, Chance (“high arbiter,” 909, 910. Heraclitus regarded all growth and creation as due to the harmonious action of hostile principles. “Strife is the father of all things,” said he; hence the description under the form of a battle. The tendencies mentioned above to take the forms of earth, air, etc. (898 and 912, were suggested by Empedocles (c. 444 B.C.), and accepted till modern times.
PARADISE LOST.

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 awhile,
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 axle 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
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

912, 913. "Water, earth, air, and fire were not yet formed, but their component atoms were there in readiness for creation."

920. pealed, stunned, dinned  Cp. "the pealing organ."

921. ruinous, crashing as of a building falling.

922. Bellona, the goddess of war.

927. vans, wings; also used in its other form, fan.

933. pennons, pinions, wings.
Ten thousand fathom deep, and to this hour
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,
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 wingèd course, o’er hill or moory dale
Pursues the Arimaspián, 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,
And swims, or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies.
At length a universal hubbub wild
Of stunning sounds and voices all confused,

936. rebuff, in its literal sense, a sudden beating back.
937. nitre, the chief of the three constituents of gunpowder; here used for gunpowder itself.
939. Syrtis—a quicksand. (Syrtis, a dangerous quicksand gulf on north coast of Africa.)
940. foundered, sent to the bottom, sunk. (Distinguish from wrecked.)
942 behoves him, it is necessary for him to use, etc. Cp. “It behoved Christ to suffer,” Luke, xxiv. 46.
943-947. gryphon, or griffin, a monster, part eagle, part lion, “a kind of wild beasts that fly.” According to stories in Herodotus and Pliny, there were gold-mines in the north of Europe which the griffins visited or worked. The Arimaspi were a one-eyed race who tried to steal the griffin’s gold.
Borne through the hollow dark, assaults his ear
With loudest vehemence. Thither he plies,
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
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; Rumor next and Chance,
And Tumult and Confusion all embroiled,
And Discord with a thousand various mouths.

Satan inquires his way, again promising recompense; hears
from Chaos of the newly created World, and at last comes
within sight of it.

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,

961. wasteful, full of empty wastes.
964. Orcus and Ades (or Hades, other names of Pluto, or of his
realm.
965. Demogorgon, a dreaded name of a still more dreaded and myster-
ious "master of the fates," "lord of Chaos," etc.
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 Pour ed out by millions her victorious bands Pursuing. I upon my frontiers here

977. Confine with, border on.
985. journey, quest, purpose.
989. incomposed, disordered or disturbed (?). Not elsewhere used by Milton.
Keep residence; if all I can will serve
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
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.''

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 wild 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:

1004. Heaven and Earth (like the heavens and the earth" in Genesis, 1. — the World not the Empyrean, which was before Hell).
1017–1020. Argo, the ship in which Jason and the fifty Argonauts went in quest of the golden fleece. The justling rocks were in the Straits of Constantinople, and used to clash together when anything attempted to pass between them. Jason was advised to send on a dove, and the rocks closed; but the Argo was ready to pass through as they recoiled, and so managed to get clear in time.

Scylla and Charybdis, two rocks in the Strait of Messina. The passage between them is narrow, and rendered dangerous by currents and whirlpools. Thus in avoiding one peril there is risk of running into another.
1019. larboard, left-hand side; now port.
So he with difficulty and labor hard
Moved on. With difficulty and labor he;
But, he once passed, 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
To tempt or punish mortals, except whom
God and good Angels guard by special grace.

But now at last the sacred influence
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,
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;
Or, in the emptier waste, resembling air,

1028. The bridge is described in Book x. 293-321.
1029. utmost orb, outmost sphere; see Intro.
1034. influence, in literal sense, an in-flowing, a stream.
1039. works, in the military sense.
1043. holds, makes for.
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
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,
Accursed, and in a cursed hour, he hies.

1046. Weighs, poises, balances evenly.
1049, 1050. Of living sapphire goes with "battlements."
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<td>392–405</td>
<td>Moloch</td>
<td>1 The Ammonites. 2) The Jews at Jerusalem.</td>
<td>A fire or sun god; supposed to be able to ward off the destructive heat of the sun.</td>
<td>Lev. xviii. 21. Ps. cvi. 37, 38. Jer. vii. 31.</td>
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<td>419–446</td>
<td>Baalim and Ashteroth.</td>
<td>(1) The various Phoenician and Canaanish nations from north Euphrates to south brook Besor. (2) The Jews at Jerusalem.</td>
<td>These were national and other forms of Moloch.</td>
<td>† Kings xi. 5. Judg. ii. 13. Gen. xv. 18.</td>
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<td>446–457</td>
<td>Thammuz</td>
<td>The Syrians, Jews, † Egyptians, etc.</td>
<td>A legendary Phoenician prince killed by a boar near the river Adonis in Lebanon. The coloring of the stream in the spring floods gave rise to the legend of his &quot;annual wound.&quot;</td>
<td>† Ezek. viii. 14.</td>
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<td>457-466</td>
<td>Dagon.</td>
<td>The Philistines (Azotus = Ashdod; Accaron = Ekron).</td>
<td>Fish (?) and corn god. Had the face and hands of a man, and the tail of a fish.</td>
<td>For the allusion see 1 Sam. v. 4: “Dagon was fallen to the ground... and the head and the palms were cut off upon the threshold.”</td>
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<td>467-476</td>
<td>Rimmon.</td>
<td>The Syrians (at Damascus).</td>
<td></td>
<td>Naaman, a Syrian leper, when cured by Flisha, forsook Rimmon 2 Ki. v. 13. Later, Ahaz, king of Judah, set up a Syrian altar (2 Kings xvi.)</td>
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<td>476-489</td>
<td>Osiris, Isis and Orus.</td>
<td>The Egyptians.</td>
<td>Osiris (&quot;the Good&quot;), Isis, his consort, and Orus, their son. Osiris has another son, Typhon (&quot;evil&quot;), with whom he is ever in conflict, but, through the help of Isis and Orus, is never overcome. Osiris was worshipped under the form of a bull (Apis); Isis, of a woman with cow’s horns.</td>
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<td>490-505</td>
<td>[Belial (Hebrew, wickedness, worthlessness), not a god, but a personification of evil.]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Whereas the deities are identified with open, acknowledged wickedness, “Belial” is used by Milton to symbolize the evil that is secret, or disguised under the cloak of religion, wealth or rank.</td>
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<td>506–521</td>
<td>The Ionian (or Grecian deities, sprung from Uranus and Ge (198 n.), Heaven and Earth) Kronos or Saturn and Rhea other Titans Jove.</td>
<td>The Greeks (\text{&quot;Javan's issue&quot;}) — in Crete, on Olympus, at Delphi and Dodona, etc. — Romans, Gauls and Celts.</td>
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