Three Poets in three distant ages born,
Greece, Italy, and England did adorn:
The First, in loftiness of thought surpass;
The Next, in majesty; in both the Last;
The force of Nature could no farther go:
To make a Third she join'd the former two.
-Prydon
To the Right Honorable the

EARL OF BATH.

MY LORD,

Milton himself prefixed no Dedication to the Paradise Lost; for he designed it, not for a single patron, but for the wise and learned of all ages. However several of the later editions have been inscribed to Lord Sommers, as a great admirer and encourager of this work: and indeed
indeed such a poem should be addressed only to the most worthy, to Lord Sommers, or One like Him a judge and patron of arts, and illustrious both in the commonwealth of men and the commonwealth of letters.

But this edition hath a peculiar right and title to Your Lordship's patronage and protection, as it was undertaken chiefly at Your desire, and in some measure carried on at Your expense, Your Lordship having generously contributed the copper plates to beautify and adorn it: and at the same time Your Lordship was willing to give some encouragement to the art of designing here in England; for it is greatly to be lamented, when we can produce models in poetry superior to any or all the nations in Europe, that we should be deficient and inferior to several of them in the finer art of painting.

Milton was ever a favorite poet with Your Lordship. You considered him always as a classic author in English,
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English, and were desirous to have him published as such: and though I cannot pretend to instruct Your Lordship to understand him better, or admire him more; yet if I can make him more generally understood, and consequently more justly admired, Your Lordship's purpose and mine will be sufficiently answered. Your Lordship's taste has never been questioned; and I should dread Your great abilities, if I did not love more Your candor and good-nature: and no wonder that You have so much a finer taste than other great men, as You are so much a finer writer, and if I may be allowed to mention it, in poetry as well as in prose. For the State has not wholly ingrossed Your time and attention; at proper seasons and intervals You have also sacrificed to the Muses. Your writings in other kinds are very well known to the world, have long been in every body's hands, and read with universal delight and admiration: but Your verses are made only for the amuse-
ment of Your leisure hours, and the entertainment of Your friends; and it is not easy for others, who have not had the pleasure of seeing some of them, to conceive the spirit, and ease, and elegance, and happiness, with which they are written. They, who remember the pieces by Lord Dorset, may have the best notion of them.

And if I may presume to know any thing of the spirit or mind of Milton by a diligent perusal of his works, he would be pleased with the offering of any of his writings to Your Lordship, for the sake of those principles of liberty which You have always professed. He would have rejoiced in Your long, and glorious struggle in the cause of liberty, in the cause of Your country: and if all the good effects have not followed from it, which might have been expected, though it may not become me to say where the blame ought to be laid, yet it cannot misbecome me to say that it ought by no means to be laid, as it has been,
upon Your Lordship. It is not my business to give any offense, and I intend none. I abhor defamation, and I scorn as much to flatter Your Lordship or any man. But it may be said, I hope without offense, I am sure without flattery, that it is in Your Lordship's power to set all these transactions in a clear light, and You have sufficient materials by You for this purpose, and have often been solicited by Your friends to do it: but Your Lordship's answer always was, that You would leave it to Time and Truth to vindicate Your character. And the event has succeeded according to Your Lordship's wisdom and foresight; prejudice is dying away; truth is gaining ground daily; and the more the truth is understood, the more it redounds to Your Lordship's honor: and Your enemies themselves, and those who not knowing Your purposes will not allow You to have acted a wise, must yet be forced to acknowledge that You acted a most disinterested part. For it is very well known, that You were even courted to accept the
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the place of the greatest power and confidence; or if You had foreseen any difficulty of maintaining Yourself in power, as that is a slippery and uncertain situation, You might have secured Yourself in the possession of any of the most lucrative employments, and might have enjoyed it with a patent for life. But Your Lordship was content to leave others in place and power, who You thought were most able and best qualified for the administration of public affairs, and retired Yourself with only a dignity, which had been offered You several times before. Such instances of magnanimity and disinterestedness have not been common in any age, and are very uncommon in the present.

Thus much the love of truth and virtue, which is inseparable from the love of Your Lordship, has obliged me to say: and if I am partial to Your Lordship's character, there are other reasons which have made me so, besides the friendship and kindness which You have shown to me upon all occasions. Your love of
of religion and virtue, which You express in all Your discourses and actions; Your reverence for the holy Scriptures, and how unfashionable soever it may be, Your open profession of the truth of the Christian revelation; Your regard for our establish'd Church, and regular attendance upon the public worship; Your constant and inviolable affection to the constitution and liberties of Your country; Your acting always upon the true Whig principles, and asserting equally the prerogatives of the crown and the privileges of the people; Your steady and sincere attachment, tho' not always to the ministers, yet always to the person of our most gracious King, and the true interests of his royal family, who next under God are the great bulwark and defense of our religion and liberties; Your readiness at all times to maintain the liberty of the press, tho' no man ever suffered more by the abuse of it than Yourself; Your humane and compassionate temper; Your uncommon knowledge, and extensive genius
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Genius for literature or business; Your easy wit, and flowing conversation, often instructive, always agreeable and entertaining; Your social and convivial spirit, that it is a happiness to live or converse with You; these, these are the good qualities, which have gained my affection, and must gain every one's who hath equal opportunities of observing them. If I knew any man, who possessed and exerted them all in a greater and more eminent degree than Your Lordship, I should love him and admire him more: but till then I must have the highest honor for Your Lordship, and cannot help professing myself without reserve, and with all possible veneration.

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's ever obliged,

and devoted Servant,

May 20, 1749,

THOMAS NEWTON.
To publish new and correct editions of the works of approved authors has ever been esteemed a service to learning, and an employment worthy of men of learning. It is not material whether the author is ancient or modern. Good criticism is the same in all languages. Nay I know not whether there is not greater merit in cultivating our own language than any other. And certainly next to a good writer, a good critic holds the second rank in the republic of letters. And if the pious and learned Bishop of Thessalonica has gained immortal honor by his notes upon Homer, it can be no discredit to a graver Divine than myself to comment upon such a divine poem as the Paradise Lost, especially after some great men, who have gone before me in this exercise, and whose example is sanction sufficient.

My design in the present edition is to publish the Paradise Lost, as the work of a classic author cum notis variorum. And in order to this end the first care has been to print the text correctly according to Milton's own editions. And herein the editors of Milton have a considerable advantage over the editors of Shakespeare. For the first editions of Shakespeare's works being printed from the incorrect copies of the players, there is more room left for conjectures and emendations; and as according to the old proverb,

Bene qui conjiciet vatem hunc perhibebo optimum,

the best guesser was the best diviner, so he may be said in some measure too to be the best editor of Shakespeare, as Mr. Warburton hath proved himself by variety of conjectures, and many of them very happy ones, upon the most difficult passages. But we who undertake to publish Milton's Paradise Lost are not reduced to that uncertainty; we are not left floating in the wide ocean of conjecture, but have a chart and compass to steer by; we have an authentic copy to follow in the two editions printed in his own life-time, and have only to correct what may be supposed to be the errors of the press, or mistakes occasioned by the author's
author's blindness. These two editions then, the first in ten books printed in a small quarto, and the second in twelve books printed in a small octavo, are proposed as our standard: the variations in each are noted; and we never deviate from them both without assigning, as we think, a substantial reason for it. Some alterations indeed are necessary to be made in consequence of the late improvements in printing, with regard to the use of capital letters, Italic characters, and the spelling of some words: but to Milton's own spelling (for we must distinguish between his and that of his times) we pay all proper regard, and commonly note where it is right, and where it is wrong; and follow it or not accordingly. His pointing too we generally observe, because it is generally right; such was the care, that Milton himself took in having the proof-sheets read to him, or his friends took for him: and changes of consequence we make none without signifying the reasons; in lesser instances there is no occasion to be particular. In a word we approve of the two first editions in the main, tho' we cannot think that they ought to be followed (as some have advised) letter for letter, and point for point. We desire to transcribe all their excellences, but have no notion of perpetuating their faults and errors.

When the text was settled, the notes came next under consideration. P. H. or Patrick Hume, as he was the first, so is the most copious annotator. He laid the foundation, but he laid it among infinite heaps of rubbish. The greater part of his work is a dull dictionary of the most common words, a tedious fardel of the most trivial observations, explaining what requires no explanation: but take away what is superfluous, and there will still remain a great deal that is useful; there is gold among his dross, and I have been careful to separate the one from the other. It was recommended to me indeed to print entire Mr. Addison's Spectators upon the Paradise Lost, as ingenious essays which had contributed greatly to the reputation of the poem, and having been added to several editions they could not well be omitted in this edition: and accordingly those papers, which treat of the poem in general, are prefixed in the nature of a preliminary discourse; and those, which are written upon each book separately, are inserted.
inferted under each book, and interwoven in their proper places. Dr. Bentley's is a great name in criticism, but he has not acquired any additional honor by his new edition of the Paradise Lost. Nay some have been so far prejudiced as to think, that he could not be a good critic in any language, who had shown himself so injudicious as one in his own mother-tongue. But prejudice apart, he was a very great man, of parts inferior to few, of learning superior to most men; and he has made some very judicious and useful remarks upon the Paradise Lost, though in the general they may rather be called the dotages of Dr. Bentley. He was more sagacious in finding faults, than happy in mending them; and if he had confined himself only to the former, he might have had better success; but when he attempted the latter, and substituted verses of his own in the room of Milton's, he commonly made most miserable bungling work, being no poet himself; and having little or no taste of poetry. Dr. Pearce, the present Lord Bishop of Bangor, has distinguished his taste and judgment in choosing always the best authors for the subjects of his criticism, as Cicero and Longinus among the Ancients, and Milton among the Moderns. His Review of the Text of the Paradise Lost is not only a most complete answer to Dr. Bentley, but may serve as a pattern to all future critics, of sound learning and just reasoning joined with the greatest candor and gentleness of manners. The whole is very well worthy of the perusal of every lover and admirer of Milton, but such parts only are ingrained into this work as are more immediately proper for our design; and explain some difficulty, or illustrate some beauty of our author. His Lordship together with my Lord Bath first engaged me in this undertaking, and he has kindly assisted me in it from the beginning to the end; and I cannot but entertain the better hopes of the public approbation, as these sheets, long before they went to the press, were perused and corrected by his Lordship. Of Mr. Richardson's notes we have much the same opinion, as we have of his paintings. Some of his portraits are stiff, and awkward, and nothing like the persons; but sometimes he was very happy in taking of likenesses, and finished his pieces with uncommon force and spirit: and in his writings there are strange
strange inequalities; there is often better sense than grammar or English; and among several things odd and unaccountable, he sometimes hits the true meaning of the author surprizingly, and explains it properly. He had good natural parts but without erudition or learning, in which he was assisted by his son, who is a man of taste and literature, as well as of the greatest benevolence and good-nature. Mr. Warburton likewise has published some remarks upon the Paradise Lost, occasioned chiefly by Dr. Bentley’s edition. They were printed some years ago in the History of the works of the Learned, and he allowed me the free use of them: but upon looking into the History of the works of the Learned, to my regret I found that his remarks were continued no farther than the three first books, and what is become of his other papers, and how they were mislaid and lost, neither he nor I can apprehend; but the excellence of those which remain sufficiently evinces the great loss that we have sustained in the others, which cannot now be recovered. He has done me the honor too of recommending this edition to the public in the preface to his Shakespear, but nothing could have recommended it more effectually than if it had been adorned by some more of his notes and observations. There is a pamphlet intitled An Essay upon Milton’s imitations of the Ancients, said to be written by a Gentleman of North Britain; and there is another intitled Letters concerning poetical translations, and Virgil’s and Milton’s arts of verse, commonly ascribed to Mr. Auditor Benson; and of both these I have made some use, as I have likewise of the learned Mr. Upton’s Critical Observations on Shakespear, wherein he has occasionally interspersed some remarks upon Milton; and in short, like the bee, I have been studious of gathering sweets wherever I could find them growing.

But besides the flower of those which have been already published, here are several new observations offered to the world, both of others and my own. Dr. Heylin lent me the use of his manuscript remarks, but much the greater part of them had been rifled before by Dr. Bentley. It seems Dr. Heylin had once an intention of publishing a new edition of the Paradise Lost, and mentioned his design to Dr. Bentley: but Dr. Bentley declaring at the same time his resolution of doing it,
Dr. Heylin modestly defisted, and freely communicated what observations he had made to Dr. Bentley. And what does Dr. Bentley do? Why, he borrows the best and most plausible of his notes from Dr. Heylin, publishes them as his own, and never has the gratitude to make any acknowledgment, or so much as any mention of his benefactor. I am obliged too to Mr. Jortin for some remarks, which he conveyed to me by the hands of Dr. Pearce. They are chiefly upon Milton’s imitations of the Ancients; but every thing that proceeds from him is of value, whether in poetry, criticism, or divinity; as appears from his Lusus Poetici, his Miscellaneous Observations upon authors, and his Discourses concerning the truth of the Christian Religion. Besides those already mentioned, Mr. Warburton has favored me with a few other notes in manuscript; I wish there had been more of them for the sake of the reader, for the loose hints of such writers, like the slight sketches of great masters in painting, are worth more than the labor’d pieces of others. And he very kindly lent me Mr. Pope’s Milton of Bentley’s edition, wherein Mr. Pope had all along with his own hand set some mark of approbation, recte, bene, pulchre &c, in the margin over-against such emendations of the Doctor’s, as seemed to him just and reasonable. It was a satisfaction to see what so great a genius thought particularly of that edition, and he appears throughout the whole to have been a very candid reader, and to have approved of more than really merits approbation. Mr. Richardson the father has said in his preface, that his son had a very copious collection of fine passages out of ancient and modern authors, by which Milton had profited; and this collection, which is written in the margin and between the lines of Mr. Hume’s annotations, Mr. Richardson the son has put into my hands. Some little use I have made of it; and it might have been of greater service, and have saved me some trouble, if I had not then almost completed this work. Mr. Thyer, the Librarian at Manchester, I have not the pleasure of knowing personally, but by his writings I am convinced that he must be a man of great learning, and as great humanity. It was late before I was informed that he had written any remarks upon the Paradise Lost, but he was very ready
PREFACE.

ready to communicate them, and for the greater dispatch sent me his interleav'd Milton, wherein his remarks were written: but unluckily for him, for me, and for the public, the book thro' the negligence of the carrier was dropt upon the road, and cannot since be found. Mr. Thyer however hath had the goodness to endeavor to repair the loss to me and to the public by writing what he could recollect, and sending me a sheet or two full of remarks almost every post for several weeks together: and tho' several of them came too late to be inserted into the body of the work, yet they will be found in the Appendix, which is made for the sake of them principally. It is unnecessary to say any thing in their commendation; they will sufficiently recommend themselves. Some other assistance too I have received from persons, whose names are unknown, and others, whose names I am not at liberty to mention: but I hope the Speaker of the House of Commons will pardon my ambition to have it known, that he has been pleased to suggest some useful hints and observations, when I have been admitted to the honor of his conversation.

And as the notes are of various authors, so they are of various kinds, critical and explanatory; some to correct the errors of former editions, to discuss the various readings, and to establish the true genuine text of Milton; some to illustrate the sense and meaning, to point out the beauties and defects of sentiment and character, and to commend or censure the conduct of the poem; some to remark the peculiarities of style and language, to clear the syntax, and to explain the uncommon words, or common words used in an uncommon signification; some to consider and examine the numbers, and to display our author's great arts of versification, the variety of the pauses, and the adaptness of the sound to the sense; some to show his imitations and allusions to other authors, whether sacred or profane, ancient or modern. We might have been much larger and more copious under each of these heads, and especially under the last: but I would not produce everything that hath any similitude and resemblance, but only such passages as we may suppose the author really alluded to, and had in mind at the time of writing. It was once my intention to prefix some essays to
to this work, one upon Milton's style, another upon his versification, a third upon his imitations &c; but upon more mature deliberation I concluded that the same things would have a better effect in the form of short notes, when the particular passages referred to came immediately under consideration, and the context lay before the reader. There would have been more of the pomp and ostentation of criticism in the former, but I conceive there is more real use and advantage in the latter. It is the great fault of commentators, that they are apt to be silent or at most very concise where there is any difficulty, and to be very prolix and tedious where there is none: but it is hoped that the contrary method has been taken here; and tho' more may be said than is requisite for critics and scholars, yet it may be no more than is necessary or proper for other readers of Milton. For these notes are intended for general use, and if they are received with general approbation, that will be sufficient. I can hardly expect that any body should approve them all, and I may be certain that no body can condemn them all.

The life of the author it is almost become a custom to prefix to a new edition of his works; for when we admire the writer, we are curious also to know something of the man: and the life of Milton is not barely a history of his works, but is so much the more interesting, as he was more engaged in public affairs than poets usually are. And it has happened that more accounts have been written of his life, than of almost any author's, particularly by Antony Wood in his Fasti Oxonienses, by our author's nephew Mr. Edward Philips before the English translation of Milton's State-letters printed in 1694, by Mr. Toland before the edition of our author's prose works in three volumes folio printed in 1698, by Monsieur Bayle in his Historical and Critical Dictionary, by Mr. Fenton before the edition of our author's poetical works printed in 1725, by Mr. Richardson in the preface to his Explanatory Notes and Remarks upon Milton's Paradise Lost, and by the reverend and ingenious Mr. Thomas Birch in the General Dictionary, and more largely before the edition of our author's prose works in two volumes folio printed in 1738. And I have not only read and compared
pared these accounts together, and made the best extracts out of them which I possibly could; but have also collected some other particulars from Milton's own works as well as from other authors, and from credible tradition as well as from written testimonies: and all these, like so many different threads, I have woven into one piece, and formed into a continued narration, of which, whether it affords more or less satisfaction and entertainment than former accounts, the reader must judge and determine: but it has been my study and endeavor, as in the notes to comprise the flower of all other notes, so in the life to include the substance of all former lives, and with improvements and additions.

In the conclusion are added copious indexes, one of the principal matters, and another of the words. The man, who is at the pains of making indexes, is really to be pitied; but of their great utility there is no need to say any thing, when several persons, who pass in the world for profound scholars, know little more of books than title-pages and indexes, but never catch the spirit of an author, which is sure always to evaporate or die in such hands.

As the business of this preface is to open and explain the use and intent of the present edition, and likewise to acknowledge what helps and assistances I have received towards completing it, I cannot conclude without returning my thanks to my subscribers, those of them especially who have not only honored me with their own names, but also by procuring others, and particularly to Lord and Lady Carpenter for a long series of favors, having lived above fifteen years in the most easy agreeable manner in their family.
IT is agreed among all writers, that the family of Milton came originally from Milton in Oxfordshire; but from which of the Miltons is not altogether so certain. Some say, and particularly Mr. Philips, that the family was of Milton near Abington in Oxfordshire, where it had been a long time seated, as appears by the monuments still to be seen in Milton-church. But that Milton is not in Oxfordshire, but in Berkshire; and upon inquiry I find, that there are no such monuments in that church, nor any remains of them. It is more probable therefore that the family came, as Mr. Wood says, from Milton near Halton and Thame in Oxfordshire: where it flourished several years, till at last the estate was sequestr’d, one of the family having taken the unfortunate side in the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster. John Milton, the poet’s grand-father, was, according to Mr. Wood, an under-ranger or keeper of the forest of Shotover near Halton in Oxfordshire; he was of the religion of Rome, and such a bigot that he disinherit’d his son only for being a protestant. Upon this the son, the poet’s father, named likewise John Milton, settled in London, and became a scrivener by the advice of a friend eminent in that profession: but he was not so devoted to gain and to business, as to lose all taste of the politer arts, and was particularly skilled in music, in which he was not only a fine performer, but is also celebrated for several pieces of his composition: and yet on the other hand he was not so fond of his music and amusements, as in the least to neglect his business, but by his diligence and œconomy acquired a competent estate, which enabled him afterwards to retire, and live in the country. He was by all accounts a very worthy man; and married an excellent woman, Sarah of the ancient family of the Bradshaws, says Mr. Wood; but Mr. Philips, our author’s nephew, who was more likely to know, says, of the family of the Caftons derived originally

THE LIFE OF MILTON.
originally from Wales. Whoever she was, she is said to have been a woman of incomparable virtue and goodness; and by her her husband had two sons and a daughter.

The elder of the sons was our famous poet, who was born in the year of our Lord 1608, on the 9th of December in the morning between 6 and 7 o'clock, in Bread-street London, where his father lived at the sign of the spread eagle, which was also the coat of arms of the family. He was named John, as his father and grand-father had been before him; and from the beginning discovering the marks of an uncommon genius, he was designed for a scholar, and had his education partly under private tutors, and partly at a public school. It has been often controverted whether a public or private education is best, but young Milton was so happy as to share the advantages of both. It appears from the fourth of his Latin elegies, and from the first and fourth of his familiar epistles, that Mr. Thomas Young, who was afterwards pastor of the company of English merchants residing at Hamburg, was one of his private preceptors: and when he had made good progress in his studies at home, he was sent to St. Paul's school, to be fitted for the university under the care of Mr. Gill, who was the master at that time, and to whose son are addressed some of his familiar epistles. In this early time of his life such was his love of learning, and so great was his ambition to surpass his equals, that from his twelfth year he commonly continued his studies till midnight, which (as he says himself in his second Defense) was the first ruin of his eyes, to whose natural debility were added too frequent head-aches: but all could not extinguish or abate his laudable passion for letters. It is very seldom seen, that such application and such a genius meet in the same person. The force of either is great, but both together must perform wonders.

He was now in the 17th year of his age, and was a very good classical scholar and master of several languages, when he was sent to the university of Cambridge, and admitted at Christ's College (as appears from the register) on the 12th of February 1624-5, under the tuition of Mr. William Chappel, afterwards Bishop of Ros in Ireland. He continued above seven years at the university, and took two degrees, that
that of Bachelor of Arts in 1628-9, and that of Master in 1632. It is somewhat remarkable, that tho' the merits of both our universities are perhaps equally great, and tho' poetical exercises are rather more encouraged at Oxford, yet most of our greatest poets have been bred at Cambridge, as Spenser, Cowley, Waller, Dryden, Prior, not to mention any of the lesser ones, when there is a greater than all, Milton. He had given early proofs of his poetic genius before he went to the university, and there he excelled more and more, and distinguished himself by several copies of verses upon occasional subjects, as well as by all his academical exercises, many of which are printed among his other works, and show him to have had a capacity above his years: and by his obliging behaviour added to his great learning and ingenuity he deservedly gained the affection of many, and admiration of all. We do not find however that he obtained any preferment in the university, or a fellowship in his own college; which seemeth the more extraordinary, as that society has always encouraged learning and learned men, had the most excellent Mr. Mede at that time a fellow, and afterwards boasteth the great names of Cudworth, and Burnet author of the Theory of the Earth, and several others. And this together with some Latin verses of his to a friend, reflecting upon the university seemingly on this account, might probably have given occasion to the reproach which was afterwards cast upon him by his adversaries, that he was expelled from the university for irregularities committed there, and forced to fly to Italy: but he sufficiently refutes this calumny in more places than one of his works; and indeed it is no wonder, that a person so engaged in religious and political controversies, as he was, should be calumniated and abused by the contrary party.

He was designed by his parents for holy orders; and among the manuscripts of Trinity College in Cambridge there are two draughts in Milton's own hand of a letter to a friend, who had importuned him to take orders, when he had attained the age of twenty three: but the truth is, he had conceived early prejudices against the doctrin and disciplin of the Church, and subscribing to the Articles was in his opinion subscribing slave. This no doubt was a disappointment to his friends,
friends, who though in comfortable were yet by no means in great circumstances: and neither doth he seem to have had any inclination to any other profession; he had too free a spirit to be limited and confined; and was for comprehending all sciences, but professing none. And therefore after he had left the university in 1632, he retired to his father’s house in the country; for his father had by this time quitted business, and lived at an estate which he had purchased at Horton near Colebrooke in Buckinghamshire. Here he resided with his parents for the space of five years, and, as he himself has informed us, (in his second Defense, and the 7th of his familiar epistles) read over all the Greek and Latin authors, particularly the historians; but now and then made an excursion to London, sometimes to buy books or to meet his friends from Cambridge, and at other times to learn something new in the mathematics or music, with which he was extremely delighted.

His retirement therefore was a learned retirement, and it was not long before the world reaped the fruits of it. It was in the year 1634 that his Mask was presented at Ludlow-castle. There was formerly a president of Wales, and a fort of a court kept at Ludlow, which has since been abolished; and the president at that time was the Earl of Bridgewater, before whom Milton’s Mask was presented on Michaelmas night, and the principal parts, those of the two brothers were performed by his Lordship’s sons the Lord Brackly and Mr. Thomas Egerton, and that of the lady by his Lordship’s daughter the Lady Alice Egerton. The occasion of this poem seemeth to have been merely an accident of the two brothers and the lady having left one another in their way to the castle: and it is written very much in imitation of Shakespear’s Tempest, and the Faithful Shepherdess of Beaumont and Fletcher; and though one of the first, is yet one of the most beautiful of Milton’s compositions. It was for some time handed about only in manuscript; but afterwards to satisfy the importunity of friends and to save the trouble of transcribing, it was printed at London, though without the author’s name, in 1637, with a dedication to the Lord Brackly by Mr. H. Lawes, who compos’d the music, and played the part of the attendant Spirit. It was printed likewise at Oxford at the end of Mr. R’s poems,
poems, as we learn from a letter of Sir Henry Wotton to our author; but who that Mr. R. was, whether Randolph the poet or who else, is uncertain. It has lately, th'o' with additions and alterations, been exhibited on the stage several times; and we hope the fine poetry and morality have recommended it to the audience, and not barely the authority of Milton's name; and we wish for the honor of the nation, that the like good taste prevailed in every thing.

In 1637 he wrote another excellent piece, his Lycidas, wherein he laments the untimely fate of a friend, who was unfortunately drowned that same year in the month of August, on the Irish seas, in his passage from Chester. This friend was Mr. Edward King, son of Sir John King, Secretary of Ireland under Queen Elizabeth, King James I, and King Charles I; and was a fellow of Christ's College, and was so well beloved and esteemed at Cambridge, that some of the greatest names in the university have united in celebrating his obsequies, and published a collection of poems, Greek and Latin and English, sacred to his memory. The Greek by H. More &c; the Latin by T. Farnaby, J. Pearson &c; the English by H. King, J. Beaumont, J. Cleaveland with several others; and judiciously the last of all, as the best of all, is Milton's Lycidas. "On such sacrifices the God's themselves strow incense," and one would almost wish so to have died, for the sake of having been so lamented. But this poem is not all made up of sorrow and tenderness; there is a mixture of satir and indignation; for in part of it the poet taketh occasion to inveigh against the corruptions of the clergy, and seemeth to have first discovered his acrimony against Archbishop Laud, and to have threaten'd him with the loss of his head, which afterwards happened to him thro' the fury of his enemies. At least I can think of no sense so proper to be given to the following verses in Lycidas,

Besides what the grim wolf with privy paw
Daily devours apace, and nothing said;
But that two-handed engin at the door
Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more.
About this time, as we learn from one of his familiar epistles, he had some thoughts of taking chambers at one of the Inns of Court, for he was not very well pleased with living so obscurely in the country: but his mother dying, he prevailed with his father to let him indulge a desire, which he had long entertained, of seeing foreign countries, and particularly Italy: and having communicated his design to Sir Henry Wotton, who had formerly been ambassador at Venice, and was then Provost of Eton College, and having also sent him his Mask of which he had not yet publicly acknowledged himself the author, he received from him the following friendly letter dated from the College the 10th of April 1638.

S I R,

"It was a special favor, when You lately bestowed upon me here the first taste of Your acquaintance, tho' no longer than to make me know, that I wanted more time to value it, and to enjoy it rightly. And in truth, if I could then have imagined Your farther stay in these parts, which I understood afterwards by Mr. H., I would have been bold, in our vulgar phrase, to mend my draught, for You left me with an extreme thirst, and to have begged your conversation again jointly with Your said learned friend, at a poor meal or two, that we might have banded together some good authors of the ancient time, among which I observed You to have been familiar.

Since Your going, You have charged me with new obligations, both for a very kind letter from You, dated the sixth of this month, and for a dainty piece of entertainment, that came therewith; wherein I should much commend the tragical part, if the lyrical did not ravish with a certain Doric delicacy in Your songs and odes, wherein I must plainly confess to have seen yet nothing parallel in our language, Ipsa mollities. But I must not omit to tell You, that I now only owe You thanks for intimating unto me, how modestly forever, the true artificer. For the work itself I had view'd some good while before with singular delight, having received it from our common friend Mr. R. in the very close of the late R's poems printed at Oxford;
Oxford; whereunto it is added, as I now suppose, that the accessory
might help out the principal, according to the art of stationers, and
leave the reader con la bocca dolce.

Now, Sir, concerning Your travels, wherein I may challenge a
little more privilege of discourse with You; I suppose, You will not
blanch Paris in Your way. Therefore I have been bold to trouble
You with a few lines to Mr. M. B. whom You shall easily find at-
tending the young Lord S. as his governor; and You may surely re-
ceive from him good directions for shaping of Your farther journey
into Italy, where he did reside by my choice some time for the king,
after mine own recess from Venice.

I should think, that Your best line will be thro' the whole length
of France to Marseilles, and thence by sea to Genoa, whence the
passage into Tuscany is as diurnal as a Gravesend barge. I hasten,
as You do, to Florence or Sienna, the rather to tell You a short
story, from the interest You have given me in Your safety.

At Sienna I was tabled in the house of one Alberto Scipione, an
old Roman courtier in dangerous times, having been steward to the
Duca di Pagliano, who with all his family were strangled, save this
only man, that escaped by foresight of the tempest. With him I
had often much chat of those affairs; into which he took pleasure
to look back from his native harbour; and at my departure toward
Rome, which had been the center of his experience, I had won con-
fidence enough to beg his advice, how I might carry myself securely
there, without offence of others, or of my own conscience: Signor
Arrigo meo, says he, i pensieri stretti, & il viso sciolto, that is, Your
thoughts close, and Your countenance loose, will go safely over the
whole world. Of which Delphian oracle (for so I have found it)
Your judgment doth need no commentary; and therefore, Sir, I
will commit You with it to the best of all securities, God's dear
love, remaining Your friend, as much at command as any of
longer date.

H. Wotton.

P. S.
P. S. "Sir, I have expressly sent this by my foot-boy to prevent your departure, without some acknowledgment from me of the receipt of your obliging letter, having myself thro' some business, I know not how, neglected the ordinary conveyance. In any part where I shall understand you fixed, I shall be glad and diligent to entertain you with home-novelties, even for some fomentation of our friendship, too soon interrupted in the cradle."

Soon after this he set out upon his travels, being of an age to make the proper improvements, and not barely to see sights and to learn the languages, like most of our modern travelers, who go out boys, and return such as we see, but such as I do not choose to name. He was attended by only one servant, who accompanied him through all his travels; and he went first to France, where he had recommendations to the Lord Scudamore, the English ambassador there at that time; and as soon as he came to Paris, he waited upon his Lordship, and was received with wonderful civility; and having an earnest desire to visit the learned Hugo Grotius, he was by his Lordship's means introduced to that great man, who was then ambassador at the French court from the famous Christina Queen of Sweden; and the visit was to their mutual satisfaction; they were each of them pleased to see a person, of whom they had heard such commendations. But at Paris he stayed not long; his thoughts and his wishes hastened into Italy; and so after a few days he took leave of the Lord Scudamore, who very kindly gave him letters to the English merchants in the several places thro' which he was to travel, requesting them to do him all the good offices which lay in their power.

From Paris he went directly to Nice, where he took shipping for Genoa, from whence he went to Leghorn, and thence to Pisa, and so to Florence, in which city he found sufficient inducements to make a stay of two months. For besides the curiosities and other beauties of the place, he took great delight in the company and conversation there, and frequented their academies as they are called, the meetings of the most polite and ingenious persons, which they have in this, as well as in
in the other principal cities of Italy, for the exercise and improvement of wit and learning among them. And in these conversations he bore so good a part, and produced so many excellent compositions, that he was soon taken notice of, and was very much courted and cared for by several of the nobility and prime wits of Florence. For the manner is, as he says himself in the preface to his second book of the Reason of Church-government, that every one must give some proof of his wit and reading there, and his productions were received with written encomiums which the Italian is not forward to bestow on men of this side the Alps. Jacomo Gaddi, Antonio Francini, Carlo Dati, Benedetto Bonmatthei, Cultellino, Frescobaldi, Clementilli are reckoned among his particular friends. At Gaddi's house the academies were held, which he constantly frequented. Antonio Francini composed an Italian ode in his commendation. Carlo Dati wrote a Latin eulogium of him, and corresponded with him after his return to England. Bonmatthei was at that time about publishing an Italian grammar; and the eighth of our author's familiar epistles, dated at Florence Sept. 10. 1638, is addressed to him upon that occasion, commending his design, and advising him to add some observations concerning the true pronunciation of that language for the use of foreigners.

So much good acquaintance would probably have detained him longer at Florence, if he had not been going to Rome, which to a curious traveler is certainly the place the most worth seeing of any in the world. And so he took leave of his friends at Florence, and went from thence to Sienna, and from Sienna to Rome, where he stayed much about the same time that he had continued at Florence, feasting both his eyes and his mind, and delighted with the fine paintings, and sculptures, and other rarities and antiquities of the city, as well as with the conversation of several learned and ingenious men, and particularly of Lucas Holstenius, keeper of the Vatican library, who received him with the greatest humanity, and showed him all the Greek authors, whether in print or in manuscript, which had passed thro' his correction; and also presented him to Cardinal Barberini, who at an entertainment of music, performed at his own expense, waited for him at
the door, and taking him by the hand brought him into the assembly. The next morning he waited upon the Cardinal to return him thanks for his civilities, and by the means of Holstenius was again introduced to his Eminence, and spent some time in conversation with him. It seems that Holstenius had studied three years at Oxford, and this might dispose him to be more friendly to the English, but he took a particular liking and affection to Milton; and Milton, to thank him for all his favors, wrote to him afterwards from Florence the ninth of his familiar epistles. At Rome too Selvaggi made a Latin distich in honor of Milton, and Salfilli a Latin tetraetich, celebrating him for his Greek and Latin and Italian poetry; and he in return presented to Salfilli in his sickness those fine Scasons, or Iambic verses having a spondee in the last foot, which are inserted among his juvenile poems.

From Rome he went to Naples, in company with a certain hermit; and by his means was introduced to the acquaintance of Giovanni Baptista Manfo, Marquis of Villa, a Neapolitan nobleman, of singular merit and virtue, to whom Tasso addresses his dialogue of friendship, and whom he mentions likewise in his Gierusalemme Liberata with great honor. This nobleman was particularly civil to Milton, frequently visited him at his lodgings, and went with him to shew him the Vice-roy's palace, and whatever was curious or worth notice in the city: and moreover he honored him so far as to make a Latin distich in his praise, which is printed before our author's Latin poems, as is likewise the other of Selvaggi, and the Latin tetraetich of Salfilli together with the Italian ode and the Latin eulogium before mentioned. We may suppose that Milton was not a little pleased with the honors conferred upon him by so many persons of distinction, and especially by one of such quality and eminence as the Marquis of Villa; and as a testimony of his gratitude he presented to the Marquis at his departure from Naples his eclogue intitled Mansus, which is well worth reading among his Latin poems. So that it may be reckoned a peculiar felicity of the Marquis of Villa's life, to have been celebrated both by Tasso and Milton, the one the greatest modern poet of his own, and the other the greatest of foreign nations.

Having
Having seen the finest parts of Italy, Milton was now thinking of passing over into Sicily and Greece, when he was diverted from his purpose by the news from England, that things were tending to a civil war between the King and Parliament; for he thought it unworthy of himself to be taking his pleasure abroad, while his countrymen were contending for liberty at home. He resolved therefore to return by the way of Rome, tho' he was advised to the contrary by the merchants, who had received intelligence from their correspondents, that the English Jesuits there were forming plots against him, in case he should return thither, by reason of the great freedom which he had used in all his discourses of religion. For he had by no means observed the rule, recommended to him by Sir Henry Wotton, of keeping his thoughts close and his countenance open: He had visited Galileo, a prisoner to the Inquisition, for asserting the motion of the earth, and thinking otherwise in astronomy than the Dominicans and Franciscans thought: And tho' the Marquis of Villa had shown him such distinguishing marks of favor at Naples, yet he told him at his departure that he would have shown him much greater, if he had been more reserved in matters of religion. But he had a soul above dissimulation and disguise; he was neither afraid, nor ashamed to vindicate the truth; and if any man had, he had in him the spirit of an old martyr. He was so prudent indeed, that he would not of his own accord begin any discourse of religion; but at the same time he was so honest, that if he was questioned at all about his faith, he would not dissemble his sentiments, whatever was the consequence. And with this resolution he went to Rome the second time, and stayed there two months more, neither concealing his name, nor declining openly to defend the truth, if any thought proper to attack him: and yet, God's good providence protecting him, he came safe to his kind friends at Florence, where he was received with as much joy and affection, as if he had returned into his own country.

Here likewise he stayed two months, as he had done before, excepting only an excursion of a few days to Lucca: and then crossing the Apennine, and passing thro' Bologna and Ferrara, he came to Venice,
in which city he spent a month; and having shipped off the books, which he had collected in his travels, and particularly a chest or two of choice music books of the best masters flourishing about that time in Italy, he took his course thro' Verona, Milan, and along the lake Leman to Geneva. In this city he tarried some time, meeting here with people of his own principles, and contracted an intimate friendship with Giovanni Deodati, the most learned professor of divinity, whose annotations upon the Bible are published in English. And from thence returning thro' France, the same way that he had gone before, he arrived safe in England, after a peregrination of one year and about three months, having seen more, and learned more, and conversed with more famous men, and made more real improvements, than most others in double the time.

His first business after his return was to pay his duty to his father, and to visit his other friends; but this pleasure was much diminished by the loss of his dear friend and schoolfellow Charles Deodati in his absence. While he was abroad, he heard it reported that he was dead; and upon his coming home he found it but too true, and lamented his death in an excellent Latin eclogue intitled Epitaphium Damonis. This Deodati had a father originally of Lucca, but his mother was English, and he was born and bred in England, and studied physic, and was an admirable scholar, and no less remarkable for his sobriety and other virtues than for his great learning and ingenuity. One or two of Milton's familiar epistles are addressed to him; and Mr. Toland says, that he had in his hands two Greek letters of Deodati to Milton, very handsomely written. It may be right for scholars now and then to exercise themselves in Greek and Latin; but we have much more frequent occasion to write letters in our own native language, and in that therefore we should principally endeavor to excel.

Milton, soon after his return, had taken a lodging at one Ruffel's, a tailor, in St. Bride's Church-yard; but he continued not long there, having not sufficient room for his library and furniture; and therefore determined to take a house, and accordingly took a handsome garden-house in Aldersgate-street, situated at the end of an entry, which was the
the more agreeable to a studious man for its privacy and freedom from noise and disturbance. And in this house he continued several years, and his sister's two sons were put to board with him, first the younger and afterwards the elder: and some other of his intimate friends requested of him the same favor for their sons, especially since there was little more trouble in instructing half a dozen than two or three: and he, who could not easily deny any thing to his friends, and who knew that the greatest men in all ages had delighted in teaching others the principles of knowledge and virtue, undertook the office, not out of any fordid and mercenary views, but merely from a benevolent disposition, and a desire to do good. And his method of education was as much above the pedantry and jargon of the common schools, as his genius was superior to that of a common schoolmaster. One of his nephews has given us an account of the many authors both Latin and Greek, which (besides those usually read in the schools) thro' his excellent judgment and way of teaching were run over within no greater compass of time, than from ten to fifteen or sixteen years of age. Of the Latin the four authors concerning husbandry, Cato, Varro, Columella, and Palladius, Cornelius Celsus the physician, a great part of Pliny's Natural History, the Architecture of Vitruvius, the Stratagems of Frontinus, and the philosophical poets Lucretius and Manilius. Of the Greek Hesiod, Aratus's Phænomena and Diosemeia, Dionysius Afer de situ orbis, Oppian's Cynegetics and Halieutics, Quintus Calaber's poem of the Trojan war continued from Homer, Apollonius Rhodius's Argonautics, and in prose Plutarch's Placita philosophorum, and of the education of children, Xenophon's Cyropædia and Anabasis, Ælian's Tactics, and the Stratagems of Polyænus. Nor did this application to the Greek and Latin tongues hinder the attaining to the chief oriental languages, the Hebrew, Chaldee and Syriac, so far as to go thro' the Pentateuch or five books of Moses in Hebrew, to make a good entrance into the Targum or Chaldee paraphrase, and to understand several chapters of St. Matthew in the Syriac Testament; besides the modern languages, Italian and French, and a competent knowledge of the mathematics and astronomy. The Sunday's exercise for his pupils was for
for the most part to read a chapter of the Greek Testament, and to hear his learned exposition of it. The next work after this was to write from his dictation some part of a system of divinity, which he had collected from the ablest divines, who had written upon that subject. Such were his academic institutions; and thus by teaching others he in some measure inlarged his own knowledge; and having the reading of so many authors as it were by proxy, he might possibly have preserved his sight, if he had not moreover been perpetually busied in reading or writing something himself. It was certainly a very recluse and studious life, that both he and his pupils led; but the young men of that age were of a different turn from those of the present; and he himself gave an example to those under him of hard study and spare diet; only now and then, once in three weeks or a month, he made a gawdy day with some young gentlemen of his acquaintance, the chief of whom, says Mr. Philips, were Mr. Alphry and Mr. Miller, both of Gray's-Inn, and two of the greatest beaus of those times.

But he was not so fond of this academical life, as to be an indifferent spectator of what was acted upon the public stage of the world. The nation was now in a great ferment in 1641, and the clamor run high against the bishops, when he joined loudly in the cry, to help the puritan ministers, (as he says himself in his second Defence) they being inferior to the bishops in learning and eloquence; and published his two books, Of Reformation in England, written to a friend. About the same time certain ministers having published a treatise against episcopacy, in answer to the Humble Remonstrance of Dr. Joseph Hall Bishop of Norwich, under the title of Smeedymnuus, a word consisting of the initial letters of their names, Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow; and Archbishop Usher having published at Oxford a refutation of Smeedymnuus, in a tract concerning the Original of Bishops and Metropolitans; Milton wrote his little piece Of Prelatical Episcopacy, in opposition chiefly to Usher, for he was for contending with the most powerful adversary; there would be either less disgrace in the defeat, or more glory in the victory. He handled the subject more at large in his next performance, which
which was the Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty, in two books. And Bishop Hall having published a Defense of the Humble Remonstrance, he wrote Animadversions upon it. All these treatises he published within the course of one year, 1641, which show how very diligent he was in the cause that he had undertaken. And the next year he set forth his Apology for Smedymanus, in answer to the Confutation of his Animadversions, written as he thought himself by Bishop Hall or his son. And here very luckily ended a controversy, which detained him from greater and better writings which he was meditating, more useful to the public, as well as more suitable to his own genius and inclination: but he thought all this while that he was vindicating ecclesiastical liberty.

In the year 1643, and the 35th of his age, he married; and indeed his family was now growing so numerous, that it wanted a mistress at the head of it. His father, who had lived with his younger son at Reading, was, upon the taking of that place by the forces under the Earl of Essex, necessitated to come and live in London with this his elder son, with whom he continued in tranquillity and devotion to his dying day. Some addition too was to be made to the number of his pupils. But before his father or his new pupils were come, he took a journey in the Whitsuntide vacation, and after a month's absence returned with a wife, Mary the eldest daughter of Mr. Richard Powell, of Foresthill near Shotover in Oxfordshire, a justice of the peace, and a gentleman of good repute and figure in that country. But she had not cohabited with her husband above a month, before she was earnestly solicited by her relations to come and spend the remaining part of the summer with them in the country. If it was not at her instigation that her friends made this request, yet at least it was agreeable to her inclination; and she obtained her husband's consent upon a promise of returning at Michaelmas. And in the mean while his studies went on very vigorously; and his chief diversion, after the business of the day, was now and then in an evening to visit the Lady Margaret Lee, daughter of the Earl of Marlborough, Lord High Treasurer of England, and President of the Privy Council to King James I. This Lady, being...
a woman of excellent wit and understanding, had a particular honor for our author, and took great delight in his conversation; as likewise did her husband Captain Hobson, a very accomplished gentleman. And what a regard Milton again had for her, he has left upon record in a sonnet to her praise, extant among his other poems.

Michaelmas was now come, but he heard nothing of his wife's return. He wrote to her, but received no answer. He wrote again and after letter, but received no answer to any of them. He then dispatched a messenger with a letter, desiring her to return; but she positively refused, and dismissed the messenger with contempt. Whether it was, that she had conceived any dislike to her husband's person or humor; or whether she could not conform to his retired and philosophical manner of life, having been accustomed to a house of much gaiety and company; or whether being of a family strongly attached to the royal cause, she could not bear her husband's republican principles; or whether she was overpersuaded by her relations, who possibly might repent of having matched the eldest daughter of the family to a man so distinguished for taking the contrary party, the King's head-quarters being in their neighbourhood at Oxford, and his Majesty having now some fairer prospect of success; whether any or all of these were the reasons of this extraordinary behaviour; however it was, it so highly incensed her husband, that he thought it would be dishonorable ever to receive her again after such a repulse, and he determined to repudiate her as she had in effect repudiated him, and to consider her no longer as his wife. And to fortify this his resolution, and at the same time to justify it to the world, he wrote the Doctrin and Disciplin of Divorce, wherein he endeavors to prove, that indisposition, unfitness, or contrariety of mind, proceeding from any unchangeable cause in nature, hindering and ever likely to hinder the main benefits of conjugal society, which are solace and peace, are greater reasons of divorce than adultery or natural frigidity, especially if there be no children, and there be mutual consent for separation. He published it at first without his name, but the style easily betrayed the author; and afterwards a second edition, much augmented, with his name; and he dedicated
dedicated it to the Parliament of England with the Assembly of Divines, that as they were then consulting about the general reformation of the kingdom, they might also take this particular case of domestic liberty into their consideration. And then, as it was objected, that his doctrin was a novel notion, and a paradox that no body had ever asserted before, he endeavored to confirm his own opinion by the authority of others, and published in 1644 the Judgment of Martin Bucer &c: And as it was still objected, that his doctrin could not be reconciled to Scripture, he published in 1645 his Tetrachordon or Expositions upon the four chief places in Scripture, which treat of marriage, or nullities in marriage. At the first appearing of the Doctrine and Disciplin of Divorce the clergy raised a heavy outcry against it, and daily solicited the Parliament to pass some censure upon it; and at last one of them, in a sermon preached before the Lords and Commons on a day of humiliation in August 1644, roundly told them, that there was a book abroad which deserved to be burnt, and that among their other sins they ought to repent, that they had not yet branded it with some mark of their displeasure. And Mr. Wood informs us, that upon Milton's publishing his three books of Divorce, the Assembly of Divines, that was then sitting at Westminister, took special notice of them; and notwithstanding his former services in writing against the Bishops, caused him to be summoned before the House of Lords: but that House, whether approving his doctrin, or not favoring his accusers, soon dismissed him. He was attacked too from the press as well as from the pulpit, in a pamphlet intitled Divorce at pleasure, and in another intitled an Answer to the Doctrine and Disciplin of Divorce, which was licenced and recommended by Mr. Joseph Caryl, a famous Presbyterian Divine, and author of a voluminous commentary on the book of Job: and Milton in his Colasteron or Reply published in 1645 expostulates smartly with the licencer, as well as handles very roughly the nameless author. And these provocations, I suppose, contributed not a little to make him such an enemy to the Presbyterians, to whom he had before distinguished himself a friend. He composed likewise two of his sonnets on the re-
ception his book of Divorce met with, but the latter is much the better of the two. To this account it may be added from Antony Wood, that after the King's restoration, when the subject of divorce was under consideration with the Lords upon the account of John Lord Ros or Roos his separation from his wife Anne Pierpoint eldest daughter to Henry Marquis of Dorchester, he was consulted by an eminent member of that House, and about the same time by a chief officer of state, as being the prime person who was knowing in that affair.

But while he was engaged in this controversy of divorce, he was not so totally engaged in it, but he attended to other things; and about this time published his letter of Education to Mr. Samuel Hartlib, who wrote some things about husbandry, and was a man of considerable learning, as appears from Sir William Petty's and Pell the mathematician's writing to him, the former his treatise for the Advancement of some particular parts of learning, and the latter his Idea of the Mathematics, as well as from this letter of our author. This letter of our author has usually been printed at the end of his poems, and is as I may say the theory of his own practice; and by the rules which he has laid down for education we see in some measure the method that he pursued in educating his own pupils. And in 1644, he published his Areopagitica or Speech for the liberty of unlicensed printing to the Parliament of England. It was written at the desire of several learned men, and is perhaps the best vindication, that has been published at any time or in any language, of that liberty which is the basis and support of all other liberties, the liberty of the press: but alas it had not the desired effect; for the Presbyterians were as fond of exercising the licencing power, when they got it into their own hands, as they had been clamorous before in inveighing against it, while it was in the hands of the Prelates. And Mr. Toland is mistaken in saying, "that such was the effect of this piece, that the following "year Mabol a licencer offered reasons against licencing; and at his "own request was discharged that office." For neither was the licencer's name Mabol, but Gilbert Mabbot; neither was he discharged from
from his office till May 1649, about five years afterwards, tho' probably he might be swayed by Milton's arguments, as every ingenuous person must, who peruses and considers them. And in 1645 was published a collection of his poems, Latin and English, the principal of which are On the morning of Christ's nativity, L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, Lycidas, The Mask &c &c: and if he had left no other monuments of his poetical genius behind him, these would have been sufficient to have rendered his name immortal.

But without doubt his Doctrin of Divorce and the maintenance of it principally engaged his thoughts at this period; and whether others were convinced or not by his arguments, he was certainly convinced himself that he was in the right; and as a proof of it he determined to marry again, and made his addresses to a young lady of great wit and beauty, one of the daughters of Dr. Davis. But intelligence of this coming to his wife, and the then declining state of the King's cause, and consequently of the circumstances of Justice Powell's family, caused them to set all engines on work to restore the wife again to her husband. And his friends too for different reasons seem to have been as desirous of bringing about a reconciliation as her's, and this method of effecting it was concerted between them. He had a relation, one Blackborough, living in the lane of St. Martin's Le Grand, whom he often visited; and one day when he was visiting there, it was contrived that the wife should be ready in another room; and as he was thinking of nothing less, he was surprised to see her, whom he had expected never to have seen any more, falling down upon her knees at his feet, and imploring his forgiveness with tears. At first he showed some signs of aversion, but he continued not long inexorable; his wife's intreaties, and the intercession of friends on both sides soon wrought upon his generous nature, and procured a happy reconciliation with an act of oblivion of all that was past. But he did not take his wife home immediately; it was agreed that she should remain at a friend's, till the house, that he had newly taken, was fitted for their reception; for some other gentlemen of his acquaintance, having observed the great success of his method of education, had recommended their sons to
to his care; and his house in Aldersgate-street not being large enough, he had taken a larger in Barbican: and till this could be got ready, the place pitched upon for his wife's abode was the widow Webber's house in St. Clement's Churchyard, whose second daughter had been married to the other brother many years before. The part, that Milton acted in this whole affair, showed plainly that he had a spirit capable of the strongest resentment, but yet more inclined to pity and forgiveness: and neither in this was any injury done to the other lady, whom he was courting, for she is said to have been always averse from the motion, not daring I suppose to venture in marriage with a man who was known to have a wife still living. He might not think himself too at liberty as before, while his wife continued obstinate; for his most plausible argument for divorce proceeds upon a supposition, that the thing be done with mutual consent.

After his wife's return his family was increased not only with children, but also with his wife's relations, her father and mother, her brothers and sisters, coming to live with him in the general distress and ruin of the royal party: and he was so far from resenting their former ill treatment of him, that he generously protected them, and entertained them very hospitably, till their affairs were accommodated thro' his interest with the prevailing faction. And then upon their removal, and the death of his own father, his house looked again like the house of the Muses: but his studies had like to have been interrupted by a call to public business; for about this time there was a design of constituting him Adjutant General in the army under Sir William Waller; but the new modeling of the army soon following, that design was laid aside. And not long after, his great house in Barbican being now too large for his family, he quitted it for a smaller in High Holborn, which opened backward into Lincoln's Inn Fields, where he prosecuted his studies till the King's trial and death, when the Presbyterians declaiming tragically against the King's execution, and asserting that his person was sacred and inviolable, provoked him to write the Tenure of Kings and Magistrates, proving that it is lawful to call a tyrant to account and to depose and put him to death, and that they who of late 
so much blame deposing are the men who did it themselves: and he published it at the beginning of the year 1649, to satisfy and compose the minds of the people. Not long after this he wrote his Observations on the articles of peace between the Earl of Ormond and the Irish rebels. And in these and all his writings; whatever others of different parties may think, he thought himself an advocate for true liberty, for ecclesiastical liberty in his treatises against the bishops, for domestic liberty in his books of divorce, and for civil liberty in his writings against the king in defense of the parliament and people of England.

After this he retired again to his private studies; and thinking that he had leisure enough for such a work, he applied himself to the writing of a History of England, which he intended to deduce from the earliest accounts down to his own times: and he had finished four books of it, when neither courting nor expecting any such preferment, he was invited by the Council of State to be their Latin Secretary for foreign affairs. And he served in the same capacity under Oliver, and Richard, and the Rump, till the Restoration; and without doubt a better Latin pen could not have been found in the kingdom. For the Republic and Cromwell scorned to pay that tribute to any foreign prince, which is usually paid to the French king, of managing their affairs in his language; they thought it an indignity and meanness, to which this or any free nation ought not to submit; and took a noble resolution neither to write any letters to any foreign states, nor to receive any answers from them, but in the Latin tongue, which was common to them all. And it would have been well, if succeeding princes had followed their example; for in the opinion of very wise men, the universality of the French language will make way for the universality of the French monarchy.

But it was not only in foreign dispatches that the government made use of his pen. He had discharged the business of his office a very little time, before he was called to a work of another kind. For soon after the King's death was published a book under his name intitled Eikon Basilikon, or the royal image: and this book, like Caesar's last will,
will, making a deeper impression, and exciting greater commiseration in the minds of the people, than the King himself did while alive, Milton was ordered to prepare an answer to it, which was published by authority, and intitled Εἰκονοκλασθε or the image-breaker, the famous surname of many Greek emperors, who in their zeal against idolatry broke all superstitious images to pieces. This piece was translated into French; and two replies to it were published, one in 1651, and the other in 1692, upon the reprinting of Milton's book at Amsterdam.

But his most celebrated work in prose is his Defense of the people of England against Salmasius, Defensio pro populo Anglicano contra Claudii Anonymi, alias Salmasii, Defensionem Regiam. Salmasius, by birth a Frenchman, succeeded the famous Scaliger as honorary Professor of the university of Leyden, and had gained great reputation by his Plinian Excercitations on Solinus, and by his critical remarks on several Latin and Greek authors, and was generally esteemed one of the greatest and most consummate scholars of that age: and is commended by Milton himself in his Reason of Church Government, and called the learned Salmasius. And besides his great learning he had extraordinary talents in railing. "This prince of scholars, as some body said of "him, seemed to have erected his throne upon a heap of stones, that "he might have them at hand to throw at every one's head who "passed by." He was therefore courted by Charles II, as the most able man to write a defense of the late King his father and to traduce his adversaries, and a hundred Jacobuses were given him for that purpose, and the book was published in 1649 with this title Defensio Regia pro Carolo I. ad Carolum II. No sooner did this book appear in England, but the Council of State unanimously appointed Milton, who was then present, to answer it: and he performed the task with amazing spirit and vigor, tho' his health at that time was such, that he could hardly endure the fatigue of writing, and being weak in body he was forced to write by piece-meal, and to break off almost every hour, as he says himself in the introduction. This necessarily occasioned some delay, so that his Defense of the people of England was not made
made public till the beginning of the year 1651: and they who cannot read the original; may yet have the pleasure of reading the English translation by Mr. Washington of the Temple, which was printed in 1692, and is inserted among Milton's works in the two last editions. It was somewhat extraordinary, that Salmasius, a pensioner to a republic, should pretend to write a defense of monarchy; but the States showed their disapprobation by publicly condemning his book, and ordering it to be suppressed. And on the other hand Milton's book was burnt at Paris, and at Toloufe by the hands of the common hangman; but this served only to procure it the more readers: it was read and talked of everywhere, and even they who were of different principles, yet could not but acknowledge that he was a good defender of a bad cause; and Salmasius's book underwent only one impression, while this of Milton passed thro' several editions. On the first appearance of it, he was visited or invited by all the foreign ministers at London, not excepting even those of crowned heads; and was particularly honored and esteemed by Adrian Pauw, embassador from the States of Holland. He was likewise highly complimented by letters from the most learned and ingenious persons in France and Germany; and Leonard Philaras, an Athenian born, and embassador from the Duke of Parma to the French king, wrote a fine encomium of his Defense, and sent him his picture, as appears from Milton's letter to Philaras dated at London in June 1652. And what gave him the greatest satisfaction, the work was highly applauded by those, who had desired him to undertake it; and they made him a present of a thousand pounds, which in those days of frugality was reckoned no inconsiderable reward for his performance. But the case was far otherwise with Salmasius. He was then in high favor at the court of Christina Queen of Sweden, who had invited thither several of the most learned men of all countries: but when Milton's Defense of the people of England was brought to Sweden, and was read to the Queen at her own desire, he sunk immediately in her esteem and the opinion of every body; and tho' he talked big at first, and vowed the destruction of Milton and the Parliament, yet finding that he was looked upon with coldness, he thought
proper to take leave of the court; and he who came in honor, was dismissed with contempt. He died some time afterwards at Spa in Germany, and it is said more of a broken heart than of any distemper, leaving a posthumous reply to Milton, which was not published till after the Restoration, and was dedicated to Charles II. by his son Claudius; but it has done no great honor to his memory, abounding with abuse much more than argument.

Isaac Vossius was at Stockholm, when Milton's book was brought thither, and in some of his letters to Nicolas Heinsius, published by Professor Burman in the third tome of his Sylloge Epistolatarum, he says, that he had the only copy of Milton's book, that the Queen borrowed it of him, and was very much pleased with it, and commended Milton's wit and manner of writing in the presence of several persons, and that Salmasius was very angry, and very busy in preparing his answer, wherein he abused Milton as if he had been one of the vilest catamites in Italy, and also criticized his Latin poems. Heinsius writes again to Vossius from Holland, that he wondered that only one copy of Milton's book was brought to Stockholm, when three were sent thither, one to the Queen, another to Vossius which he had received, and the third to Salmasius; that the book was in every body's hands, and there had been four editions in a few months besides the English one; that a Dutch translation was handed about, and a French one was expected. And afterwards he writes from Venice, that Holstenius had lent him Milton's Latin poems; that they were nothing, compared with the elegance of his Apology; that he had offended frequently against profody, and here was a great opening for Salmasius's criticism: but as to Milton's having been a catamite in Italy, he says, that it was a mere calumny; on the contrary he was disliked by the Italians, for the severity of his manners, and for the freedom of his discourses against popery. And in others of his letters to Vossius and to J. Fr. Gronovius from Holland, Heinsius mentions how angry Salmasius was with him for commending Milton's book, and says that Grafswinkelius had written something against Milton, which was to have been printed by Elzevir, but it was suppressed by public authority.

The
The first reply that appeared was published in 1651, and entitled an Apology for the king and people &c, Apologia pro rege & populo Anglicano contra Johannis Polypragmatici (alias Miltoni Angli) Defensionem destructivam regis & populi Anglicani. It is not known, who was the author of this piece. Some attributed it to one Janus a lawyer of Grays-Inn, and others to Dr. John Bramhall, who was then Bishop of Derry, and was made Primate of Ireland after the Restoration: but it is utterly improbable, that so mean a performance, written in such barbarous Latin, and so full of solècisms, should come from the hands of a prelate of such distinguished abilities and learning. But whoever was the author of it, Milton did not think it worth his while to animadvert upon it himself, but employed the younger of his nephews to answer it; but he supervised and corrected the answer so much before it went to the press, that it may in a manner be called his own. It came forth in 1652 under this title, Johannis Philippi Angli Responsio ad Apologiam anonymi cujusdam tenebrionis pro rege & populo Anglicano infantissimam; and it is printed with Milton’s works; and throughout the whole Mr. Philips treats Bishop Bramhall with great severity as the author of the Apology, thinking probably that so considerable an adversary would make the answer more considerable.

Sir Robert Filmer likewise published some animadversions upon Milton’s Defense of the people, in a piece printed in 1652, and intitled Observations concerning the original of government, upon Mr. Hobbes’s Leviathan, Mr. Milton against Salmasius, and Hugo Grotius de Jure belli: but I do not find that Milton or any of his friends took any notice of it; but Milton’s quarrel was afterwards sufficiently avenged by Mr. Locke, who wrote against Sir Robert Filmer’s principles of government, more I suppose in condescension to the prejudices of the age, than out of any regard to the weight or importance of Filmer’s arguments.

It is probable that Milton, when he was first made Latin Secretary, removed from his house in High Holborn to be nearer Whitehall: and for some time he had lodgings at one Thomson’s next door to the
Bull-head tavern at Charing-Cross, opening into Spring-Garden, till the apartment, appointed for him in Scotland-Yard, could be got ready for his reception. He then removed thither; and there his third child, a son was born and named John, who thro' the ill usage or bad constitution of the nurse died an infant. His own health too was greatly impaired; and for the benefit of the air, he removed from his apartment in Scotland-Yard to a house in Petty-France Westminster, which was next door to Lord Scudamore's, and opened into St. James's Park; and there he remained eight years, from the year 1652 till within a few weeks of the King's restoration. In this house he had not been settled long, before his first wife died in childbed; and his condition requiring some care and attendance, he was easily induced after a proper interval of time to marry a second, who was Catharine daughter of Captain Woodcock of Hackney: and she too died in childbed within a year after their marriage, and her child, who was a daughter, died in a month after her; and her husband has done honor to her memory in one of his sonnets.

Two or three years before this second marriage he had totally lost his sight. And his enemies triumphed in his blindness, and imputed it as a judgment upon him for writing against the King: but his sight had been decaying several years before, thro' his close application to study, and the frequent head-aches to which he had been subject from his childhood, and his continual tampering with physic, which perhaps was more pernicious than all the rest: and he himself has informed us in his second Defense, that when he was appointed by authority to write his Defense of the people against Salmasius, he had almost lost the sight of one eye, and the physicians declared to him, that if he undertook that work, he would also lose the sight of the other: but he was nothing discouraged, and chose rather to lose both his eyes than desert what he thought his duty. It was the sight of his left eye that he lost first: and at the desire of his friend Leonard Philaras the Duke of Parma's minister at Paris he sent him a particular account of his case, and of the manner of his growing blind, for him to consult Thevenot the physician, who was reckoned famous in cases
cases of the eyes. The letter is the fifteenth of his familiar epistles, and is dated Septemb. 28. 1654: but it does not appear what answer he received; we may presume, none that administered any relief. His blindness however did not disable him entirely from performing the business of his office. An assistant was allowed him, and his salary as secretary still continued to him.

And there was farther occasion for his service besides dictating of letters. For the controversy with Salmasius did not die with him, and there was published at the Hague in 1652 a book intitled the Cry of the King's blood &c, Regii sanguinis Clamor ad coelum adversus Parricidias Anglicanos. The true author of this book was Peter du Moulin the younger, who was afterwards prebendary of Canterbury: and he transmitted his papers to Salmasius; and Salmasius intrusted them to the care of Alexander Morus, a French minister; and Morus published them with a dedication to King Charles II. in the name of Adrian U lac the printer, from whence he came to be reputed the author of the whole. This Morus was the son of a learned Scotsman, who was president of the college, which the protestants had formerly at Castres in Languedoc; and he is said to have been a man of a most haughty disposition, and immoderately addicted to women, hasty, ambitious, full of himself and his own performances, and satirical upon all others. He was however esteemed one of the most eminent preachers of that age among the protestants; but as Monsieur Bayle observes, his chief talent must have consisted in the gracefulness of his delivery, or in those fancies of imagination and quaint turns and allusions, whereof his sermons are full; for they retain not those charms in reading, which they were said to have formerly in the pulpit. Against this man therefore, as the reputed author of Regii sanguinis Clamor &c, Milton published by authority his Second Defence of the people of England, Defensio Secunda pro populo Anglicano, in 1654, and treats Morus with such severity as nothing could have excused, if he had not been provoked to it by so much abuse poured upon himself. There is one piece of his wit, which had been published before in the news-papers at London, a distich upon Morus for getting Pontia the maid-servant of his friend Salmasius with child.
Galli ex concubitu gravidam te, Pontia, Mori
Quis bene moratam morigeramque neget?

Upon this Morus published his Fides Publica in answer to Milton, in which he inserted several testimonies of his orthodoxy and morals signed by the consistories, academies, synods, and magistrates of the places where he had lived; and disowned his being the author of the book imputed to him, and appealed to two gentlemen of great credit with the Parliament party, who knew the real author. This brought Du Moulin, who was then in England, into great danger; but the government suffered him to escape with impunity, rather than they would publicly contradict the great patron of their cause. For he still persisted in his accusation, and endeavored to make it good in his Defenfe of himself, Autoris pro se Defenso, which was published in 1655, wherein he opposed to the testimonies in favor of Morus other testimonies against him; and Morus replied no more.

After this controversy was ended, he was at leisure again to pursue his own private studies, which were the History of England before mentioned, and a new Thesaurus of the Latin tongue, intended as an improvement upon that by Robert Stephens; a work, which he had been long collecting from the best and purest Latin authors, and continued at times almost to his dying day: but his papers were left so confused and imperfect, that they could not be fitted for the press, tho' great use was made of them by the compilers of the Cambridge Dictionary printed in 1693. These papers are said to have consisted of three large volumes in folio; and it is a great pity that they are lost, and no account is given what is become of the manuscript. It is commonly said too that at this time he began his famous poem of Paradise Lost; and it is certain, that he was glad to be released from those controversies, which detained him so long from following things more agreeable to his natural genius and inclination, tho' he was far from ever repenting of his writings in defense of liberty, but gloried in them to the last.

The
The only interruption now of his private studies was the business of his office. In 1655 there was published in Latin a writing in the name of the Lord Protector, setting forth the reasons of the war with Spain: and this piece is rightly adjudged to our author, both on account of the peculiar elegance of the style, and because it was his province to write such things as Latin Secretary; and it is printed among his other prose-works in the last edition. And for the same reasons I am inclined to think, that the famous Latin verses to Christina Queen of Sweden in the name of Cromwell were made by our author rather than Andrew Marvel. In those days they had admirable intelligence in the Secretary's office; and Mr. Philips relates a memorable instance or two upon his own knowledge. The Dutch were sending a plenipotentiary to England to treat of peace; but the emissaries of the government had the art to procure a copy of his instructions in Holland, which were delivered by Milton to his kinsman who was then with him, to translate them for the use of the Council, before the said plenipotentiary had taken shipping for England; and an answer to all that he had in charge was prepared, and lay ready for him before he made his public entry into London. Another time a person came to London with a very sumptuous train, pretending himself an agent from the Prince of Conde, who was then in arms against Cardinal Mazarine: but the government suspecting him set their instruments to work so successfully, that in a few days they received intelligence from Paris, that he was a spy employed by Charles II: whereupon the very next morning Milton's kinsman was sent to him with an order of Council, commanding him to depart the kingdom within three days, or expect the punishment of a spy. This kinsman was in all probability Mr. Philips or his brother, who were Milton's nephews, and lived very much with him, and one or both of them were assistant to him in his office. His blindness no doubt was a great hindrance and inconvenience to him in his business, tho' sometimes a political use might be made of it; as men's natural infirmities are often pleaded in excuse for not doing what they have no great inclination to do. Thus when Cromwell, as we may collect from Whitlock, for some reasons delayed artfully
artfully to sign the treaty concluded with Sweden, and the Swedish embassador made frequent complaints of it, it was excused to him, because Mr. Milton on account of his blindness proceeded slower in business, and had not yet put the articles of the treaty into Latin. Upon which the embassador was greatly surprized, that things of such consequence should be intrusted to a blind man, for he must necessarily employ an amanuensis, and that amanuensis might divulge the articles; and said it was very wonderful, that there should be only one man in England who could write Latin, and he a blind one. But his blindness had not diminished, but rather increased the vigor of his mind: and his state-letters will remain as authentic memorials of those times, to be admired equally by critics and politicians; and those particularly about the sufferings of the poor protestants in Piedmont, who can read without sensible emotion? This was a subject that he had very much at heart, as he was an utter enemy to all sorts of persecution; and among his sonnets there is a most excellent one upon the same occasion.

But Oliver Cromwell being dead, and the government weak and unsettled in the hands of Richard and the Parliament, he thought it a seasonable time to offer his advice again to the public; and in 1659 published a Treatise of civil power in ecclesiastical causes; and another tract intitled Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove hirelings out of the church; both addressed to the Parliament of the commonwealth of England. And after the Parliament was dissolved, he wrote a Letter to some Statesman, with whom he had a serious discourse the night before, concerning the ruptures of the commonwealth; and another, as it is supposed, to General Monk, being a brief Delineation of a free commonwealth, easy to be put in practice and without delay. These two pieces were communicated in manuscript to Mr. Toland by a friend, who a little after Milton's death had them from his nephew; and Mr. Toland gave them to be printed in the edition of our author's prose-works in 1698. But Milton, still finding that affairs were every day tending more and more to the subversion of the commonwealth and the restoration of the royal family, published his
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his Ready and easy way to establish a free commonwealth, and the excellence thereof, compared with the inconveniences and dangers of re-admitting kingship in this nation. We are informed by Mr. Wood, that he published this piece in February 1659-60; and after this he published Brief notes upon a late sermon intitled, the Fear of God and the King, preached by Dr. Matthew Griffith at Mercers Chapel March 25, 1660: so bold and resolute was he in declaring his sentiments to the last, thinking that his voice was the voice of expiring liberty.

A little before the King’s landing he was discharged from his office of Latin Secretary, and was forced to leave his house in Petty France, where he had lived eight years with great reputation, and had been visited by all foreigners of note, who could not go out of the country without seeing a man who did so much honor to it by his writings, and whose name was as well known and as famous abroad as in his own nation; and by several persons of quality of both sexes, particularly the pious and virtuous Lady Ranelagh, whose son for some time he instructed, the same who was Paymaster of the forces in King William’s time; and by many learned and ingenious friends and acquaintance, particularly Andrew Marvel, and young Laurence, son to the President of Oliver’s Council, to whom he has inscribed one of his sonnets, and Marchamont Needham the writer of Politicus, and above all Cyriac Skinner, whom he has honored with two sonnets. But now it was not safe for him to appear any longer in public, so that by the advice of some who wished him well and were concerned for his preservation, he fled for shelter to a friend’s house in Bartholomew Close near West Smithfield, where he lay concealed till the worst of the storm was blown over. The first notice that we find taken of him was on Saturday the 16th of June 1660, when it was ordered by the House of Commons, that his Majesty should be humbly moved to issue his proclamation for the calling in of Milton’s two books, his Defense of the people and Iconoclastes, and also Goodwyn’s book intitled the Obstructors of justice, written in justification of the murder of the late King, and to order them to be burnt by the hands of the
common hangman. At the same time it was ordered, that the Attorney General should proceed by way of indictment or information against Milton and Goodwyn in respect of their books, and that they themselves should be sent for in custody of the Serjeant at arms attending the House. On Wednesday June 27th an order of Council was made agreeable to the order of the House of Commons for a proclamation against Milton's and Goodwyn's books; and the proclamation was issued the 13th of August following, wherein it was said that the authors had fled or did abscond: and on Monday August 27th Milton's and Goodwyn's books were burnt according to the proclamation at the Old Bailey by the hands of the common hangman. On Wednesday August 29th the act of indemnity was passed, which proved more favorable to Milton than could well have been expected; for tho' John Goodwyn Clerk was excepted among the twenty persons, who were to have penalties inflicted upon them, not extending to life, yet Milton was not excepted at all, and consequently was included in the general pardon. We find indeed that afterwards he was in custody of the Serjeant at arms; but the time, when he was taken into custody, is not certain. He was not in custody on the 12th of September, for that day a list of the prisoners in custody of the Serjeant at arms was read in the House, and Milton is not among them; and on the 15th of September the House adjourned to the 6th of November. It is most probable therefore, that after the act of indemnity was passed, and after the House had adjourned, he came out of his concealment, and was afterwards taken into custody of the Serjeant at arms by virtue of the former order of the House of Commons: but we cannot find that he was prosecuted by the Attorney General, nor was he continued in custody very long: for on Saturday the 15th of December 1660, it was ordered by the House of Commons, that Mr. Milton now in custody of the Serjeant at arms should be forthwith released, paying his fees; and on Monday the 17th of December, a complaint being made that the Serjeant at arms had demanded excessive fees for his imprisonment, it was referred to the Committee of privileges and elections to examine this business, and to call
call Mr. Milton and the Serjeant before them, and to determine what was fit to be given to the Serjeant for his fees in this case; so courageous was he at all times in defense of liberty against all the encroachments of power, and tho’ a prisoner, would yet be treated like a free-born Englishman. This appears to be the matter of fact, as it may be collected partly from the Journals of the House of Commons, and partly from Kennet’s Historical Register: and the clemency of the government was surely very great towards him, considering the nature of his offenses; for tho’ he was not one of the King’s judges and murderers, yet he contributed more to murder his character and reputation than any of them all: and to what therefore could it be owing, that he was treated with such lenity, and was so easily pardoned? It is certain, there was not wanting powerful intercession for him both in Council and in Parliament. It is said that Secretary Morrice and Sir Thomas Clargis greatly favored him, and exerted their interest in his behalf; and his old friend Andrew Marvel, member of Parliament for Hull, formed a considerable party for him in the House of Commons; and neither was Charles the Second (as Toland says) such an enemy to the Muses, as to require his destruction. But the principal instrument in obtaining Milton’s pardon was Sir William Davenant, out of gratitude for Milton’s having procured his release, when he was taken prisoner in 1650. It was life for life. Davenant had been saved by Milton’s interest, and in return Milton was saved at Davenant’s intercession. This story Mr. Richardson relates upon the authority of Mr. Pope; and Mr. Pope had it from Betterton the famous actor, who was first brought upon the stage and patronized by Sir William Davenant, and might therefore derive the knowledge of this transaction from the fountain.

Milton having thus obtained his pardon, and being set at liberty again, took a house in Holborn near Red Lion Fields; but he removed soon into Jewen Street near Aldersgate Street: and while he lived there, being in his 53d or 54th year, and blind and infirm, and wanting some body better than servants to tend and look after him, he employed his friend Dr. Paget to choose a proper comfort for him;
and at his recommendation married his third wife, Elizabeth Minshul, of a gentleman's family in Cheshire, and related to Dr. Paget. It is said that an offer was made to Milton, as well as to Thurloe, of holding the same place of Secretary under the King, which he had discharged with so much integrity and ability under Cromwell; but he persisted in refusing it, tho' the wife pressed his compliance; "Thou art in the right, says he; you, as other women, would ride in your coach; for me, my aim is to live and die an honest man." What is more certain is, that in 1661 he published his Accidence commenced Grammar, and a tract of Sir Walter Raleigh intitled Aphorisms of State; as in 1658 he had published another piece of Sir Walter Raleigh intitled the Cabinet Council discabinated, which he printed from a manuscript, that had lain many years in his hands, and was given him for a true copy by a learned man at his death, who had collected several such pieces: an evident sign, that he thought it no mean employment, nor unworthy of a man of genius, to be an editor of the works of great authors. It was while he lived in Jewen Street, that Elwood the quaker (as we learn from the history of his life written by his own hand) was first introduced to read to him; for having wholly lost his sight, he kept always some body or other to perform that office, and usually the son of some gentleman of his acquaintance, whom he took in kindness, that he might at the same time improve him in his learning. Elwood was recommended to him by Dr. Paget, and went to his house every afternoon except Sunday, and read to him such books in the Latin tongue, as Milton thought proper. And Milton told him, that if he would have the benefit of the Latin tongue, not only to read and understand Latin authors, but to converse with foreigners either abroad or at home, he must learn the foreign pronunciation; and he instructed him how to read accordingly. And having a curious ear, he understood by my tone, says Elwood, when I understood what I read, and when I did not; and he would stop me, and examin me, and open the most difficult passages to me. But it was not long after his third marriage, that he left Jewen Street, and removed to a house in the Artillery Walk leading to Bunhill Fields: and
and this was his last stage in this world; he continued longer in this house than he had done in any other, and lived here to his dying day: only when the plague began to rage in London in 1665, he removed to a small house at St. Giles Chalfont in Buckinghamshire, which Elwood had taken for him and his family; and there he remained during that dreadful calamity; but after the sickness was over, and the city was cleansed and made safely habitable again, he returned to his house in London.

His great work of Paradise Lost had principally engaged his thoughts for some years past, and was now completed. It is probable, that his first design of writing an epic poem was owing to his conversations at Naples with the Marquis of Villa about Tasso and his famous poem of the delivery of Jerusalem; and in a copy of verses presented to that nobleman before he left Naples, he intimated his intention of fixing upon King Arthur for his hero. And in an eclogue, made soon after his return to England upon the death of his friend and school-fellow Deodati, he proposed the same design and the same subject, and declared his ambition of writing something in his native language, which might render his name illustrious in these islands, though he should be obscure and inglorious to the rest of the world. And in other parts of his works, after he had engaged in the controversies of the times, he still promised to produce some noble poem or other at a fitter season; but it doth not appear that he had then determined upon the subject, and King Arthur had another fate, being reserved for the pen of Sir Richard Blackmore. The first hint of Paradise Lost is said to have been taken from an Italian tragedy; and it is certain, that he first designed it a tragedy himself, and there are several plans of it in the form of a tragedy still to be seen in the author's own manuscript preserved in the library of Trinity College Cambridge. And it is probable, that he did not barely sketch out the plans, but also wrote some parts of the drama itself. His nephew Philips informs us, that some of the verses at the beginning of Satan's speech, addressed to the sun in the fourth book, were shown to him and some others as designed for the beginning of the tragedy, several years before the poem was:
was begun: and many other passages might be produced, which plainly appear to have been originally intended for the scene, and are not so properly of the epic, as of the tragic strain. It was not till after he was disengaged from the Salmasian controversy, which ended in 1655, that he began to mold the Paradise Lost in its present form; but after the Restoration, when he was dismifed from public business, and freed from controversy of every kind, he prosecuted the work with closer application. Mr. Philips relates a very remarkable circumstance in the composure of this poem, which he says he had reason to remember, as it was told him by Milton himself, that his vein never happily flowed but from the autumnal equinox to the vernal, and that what he attempted at other times was not to his satisfaction, tho' he courted his fancy never so much. Mr. Toland imagines that Philips might be mistaken as to the time, because our author, in his Latin elegy, written in his twentieth year, upon the approach of the spring, seemeth to say, just the contrary, as if he could not make any verses to his satisfaction till the spring begun: and he says farther that a judicious friend of Milton's informed him, that he could never compose well but in spring and autumn. But Mr. Richardson cannot comprehend, that either of these accounts is exactly true, or that a man with such a work in his head can suspend it for six months together, or only for one; it may go on more slowly, but it must go on: and this laying it aside is contrary to that eagerness to finish what was begun, which he says was his temper in his epistle to Deodati dated Sept. 2. 1637. After all Mr. Philips, who had the perusal of the poem from the beginning, by twenty or thirty verses at a time, as it was composed, and having not been shown any for a considerable while as it was composed, and having not been shown any for a considerable while as the summer came on, inquired of the author the reason of it, could hardly be mistaken with regard to the time: and it is easy to conceive, that the poem might go on much more slowly in summer than in other parts of the year; for notwithstanding all that poets may say of the pleasures of that season, I imagin most persons find by experience, that they can compose better at any other time, with more facility and with more spirit, than during the heat and languor of summer. Whenever the
the poem was wrote, it was finished in 1665, and as Elwood says was shown to him that same year at St. Giles Chalfont, whither Milton had retired to avoid the plague, and it was lent to him to peruse it and give his judgment of it: and considering the difficulties which the author lay under, his uneasiness on account of the public affairs and his own, his age and infirmities, his gout and blindness, his not being in circumcstances to maintain an amanuensis, but obliged to make use of any hand that came next to write his verses as he made them, it is really wonderful, that he should have the spirit to undertake such a work, and much more, that he should ever bring it to perfection. And after the poem was finished, still new difficulties retarded the publication of it. It was in danger of being suppressed thro' the malice or ignorance of the licencer, who took exception at some passages, and particularly at that noble simile, in the first book, of the sun in an eclipse, in which he fancied that he had discovered treason. It was with difficulty too that the author could sell the copy; and he sold it at last only for five pounds, but was to receive five pounds more after the sale of 1300 of the first impression, and five pounds more after the sale of as many of the second impression, and five more after the sale of as many of the third, and the number of each impression was not to exceed 1500. And what a poor consideration was this for such an inestimable performance! and how much more do others get by the works of great authors, than the authors themselves! This original contract with Samuel Simmons the printer is dated April 27. 1667, and is in the hands of Mr. Tonson the bookseller, as is likewise the manuscript of the first book copied fair for the press, with the Imprimatur by Thomas Tomkyns chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury: so that tho' Milton was forced to make use of different hands to write his verses from time to time as he had occasion, yet we may suppose that the copy for the press was written all or at least each book by the same hand. The first edition in ten books was printed in a small quarto; and before it could be disposed of, had three or more different title pages of the years 1667, 1668, and 1669. The first fort was without the name of Simmons the printer, and began
began with the poem immediately following the title page, without any argument, or preface, or table of errata: to others was prefixed a short advertisement of the printer to the reader concerning the argument and the reason why the poem rhymes not; and then followed the argument of the several books, and the preface concerning the kind of verse, and the table of errata: others again had the argument, and the preface, and the table of errata, without that short advertisement of the printer to the reader: and this was all the difference between them, except now and then of a point or a letter, which were altered as the sheets were printing off. So that, notwithstanding these variations, there was still only one impression in quarto; and two years almost elapsed, before 1300 copies could be sold, or before the author was intitled to his second five pounds, for which his receipt is still in being, and is dated April 26. 1669. And this was probably all that he received; for he lived not to enjoy the benefits of the second edition, which was not published till the year 1674, and that same year he died. The second edition was printed in a small octavo, and was corrected by the author himself, and the number of books was augmented from ten to twelve, with the addition of some few verses; and this alteration was made with great judgment, not for the sake of such a fanciful beauty as resembling the number of books in the Æneid, but for the more regular disposition of the poem, because the seventh and tenth books were before too long, and are more fitly divided each into two. The third edition was published in 1678; and it appears that Milton had left his remaining right in the copy to his widow, and she agreed with Simmons the printer to accept eight pounds in full of all demands, and her receipt for the money is dated December 21. 1680. But a little before this Simmons had covenanted to assign the whole right of copy to Brabazon Aylmer: the bookseller for twenty five pounds; and Aylmer afterwards sold it to old Jacob Tonson at two different times, one half on the 17th of August 1683, and the other half on the 24th of March 1690, with a considerable advance of the price; and except one fourth of it which has been assign’d to several persons, his family have enjoyed
enjoyed the right of copy ever since. By the last assignment it appears, that the book was growing into repute and rising in valuation; and to what perverseness could it be owing that it was not better received at first? We conceive there were principally two reasons; the prejudices against the author on account of his principles and party; and many no doubt were offended with the novelty of a poem that was not in rime. Rymer, who was a redoubted critic in those days, would not so much as allow it to be a poem on this account; and declared war against Milton as well as against Shakespear; and threatened that he would write reflections upon the Paradise Lost, which some (says he *) are pleased to call a poem, and would assert rime against the slender sophistry wherewith the author attacks it. And such a man as Bishop Burnet maketh it a sort of objection to Milton, that he affected to write in blank verse without rime. And the same reason induced Dryden to turn the principal parts of Paradise Lost into rime in his Opera called the State of innocence and Fall of man; to tag his lines, as Milton himself expressed it, alluding to the fashion then of wearing tags of metal at the end of their ribbons. We are told indeed by Mr. Richardson, that Sir George Hungerford, an ancient member of parliament, told him, that Sir John Denham came into the House one morning with a sheet of Paradise Lost wet from the press in his hand; and being asked what he had there, said that he had part of the noblest poem that ever was written in any language or in any age. However it is certain that the book was unknown till about two years after, when the Earl of Dorset produced it, as Mr. Richardson was informed by Dr. Tancred Robinson the physician, who had heard the story often from Fleetwood Shephard himself, that the Earl, in company with Mr. Shephard, looking about for books in Little Britain, accidentally met with Paradise Lost; and being surprized at some passages in dipping here and there, he bought it. The bookseller begged his Lordship to speak in its favor if he liked it, for the impression lay on his hands as waste paper. The Earl having read it sent it to Dryden, who in a short time returned it with this answer, "This man

* See Rymer’s Tragedies of the loft age consider’d. p. 143.
man cuts us all out and the Ancients too." Dryden's epigram upon Milton is too well known to be repeated; and those Latin verses by Dr. Barrow the physician, and the English ones by Andrew Marvel Esq., usually prefixed to the Paradise Lost, were written before the second edition, and were published with it. But still the poem was not generally known and esteemed, nor met with the deserved applause, till after the edition in folio, which was published in 1688 by subscription. The Duke of Buckingham in his Essay on poetry prefers Tasso and Spenser to Milton: and it is related in the life of the witty Earl of Rochester, that he had no notion of a better poet than Cowley. In 1686 or thereabout Sir William Temple published the second part of his Miscellany, and it may surprise any reader, that in his Essay on poetry he taketh no notice at all of Milton; nay he faith expressly that after Ariosto, Tasso, and Spenser, he knoweth none of the Moderns who have made any achievements in heroic poetry worth recording. And what can we think, that he had not read or heard of the Paradise Lost, or that the author's politics had prejudiced him against his poetry? It was happy that all great men were not of his mind. The bookseller was advised and encouraged to undertake the folio edition by Mr. Sommers, afterwards Lord Sommers, who not only subscribed himself, but was zealous in promoting the subscription: and in the list of subscribers we find some of the most eminent names of that time, as the Earl of Dorset, Waller, Dryden, Dr. Aldrich, Mr. Atterbury, and among the rest Sir Roger Leftrange, tho' he had formerly written a piece intitled No blind guides &c against Milton's Notes upon Dr. Griffith's sermon. There were two editions more in folio, one I think in 1692, the other in 1695 which was the sixth edition; for the poem was now so well received, that notwithstanding the price of it was four times greater than before, the sale increased double the number every year; as the bookseller, who should best know, has informed us in his dedication of the smaller editions to Lord Sommers. Since that time not only various editions have been printed, but also various notes and translations. The first person who wrote annotations upon Paradise Lost was P. H. or Patrick Hume, of whom
whom we know nothing, unless his name may lead us to some knowledge of his country, but he has the merit of being the first (as I say) who wrote notes upon Paradise Lost, and his notes were printed at the end of the folio edition in 1695. Mr. Addison's Spectators upon the subject contributed not a little to establishing the character, and illustrating the beauties of the poem. In 1732 appeared Dr. Bentley's new edition with notes: and the year following Dr. Pearce published his Review of the text, in which the chief of Dr. Bentley's emendations are considered, and several other emendations and observations are offered to the public. And the year after that Messieurs Richardson, father and son, published their Explanatory notes and remarks. The poem has also been translated into several languages, Latin, Italian, French, and Dutch; and proposals have been made for translating it into Greek. The Dutch translation is in blank verse, and printed at Harlem. The French have a translation by Mons. Dupré de S. Maur; but nothing showeth the weakness and imperfection of their language more, than that they have few or no good poetical versions of the greatest poets; they are forced to translate Homer, Virgil, and Milton into prose: and blank verse their language has not harmony and dignity enough to support; their tragedies, and many of their comedies are in rime. Rolli, the famous Italian master here in England, made an Italian translation; and Mr. Richardson the son saw another at Florence in manuscript by the learned Abbé Salvini, the same who translated Addison's Cato into Italian. One William Hog or Hogaeus translated Paradise Lost, Paradise Regain'd, and Samson Agonistes into Latin verse in 1690; but this version is very unworthy of the originals. There is a better translation of the Paradise Lost by Mr. Thomas Power Fellow of Trinity College in Cambridge, the first book of which was printed in 1691, and the rest in manuscript is in the library of that College. The learned Dr. Trap has also published a translation into Latin verse; and the world is in expectation of another, that will surpass all the rest, by Mr. William Dobson of New College in Oxford. So that by one means or other Milton is now considered as an English classic; and the Paradise Lost is generally esteemed the noblest and
most sublime of modern poems, and equal at least to the best of the ancient; the honor of this country, and the envy and admiration of all others!

In 1670 he published his History of Britain, that part especially now called England. He began it above twenty years before, but was frequently interrupted by other avocations; and he designed to have brought it down to his own times, but stopped at the Norman conquest; for indeed he was not well able to pursue it any farther by reason of his blindness, and he was engaged in other more delightful studies, having a genius turned for poetry rather than history.

When his History was printed, it was not printed perfect and entire; for the licencer expunged several passages, which reflecting upon the pride and superstition of the Monks in the Saxon times, were understood as a concealed satir upon the Bishops in Charles the second's reign. But the author himself gave a copy of his unlicensed papers to the Earl of Anglesea, who, as well as several of the nobility and gentry, constantly visited him: and in 1681 a considerable passage, which had been suppressed at the beginning of the third book, was published, containing a character of the Long Parliament and Assembly of Divines in 1641, which was inserted in its proper place in the last edition of 1738. Bishop Kennet begins his Complete History of England with this work of Milton, as being the best draught, the clearest and most authentic account of those early times: and his stile is freer and easier than in most of his other works, more plain and simple, less figurative and metaphorical, and better suited to the nature of history; has enough of the Latin turn and idiom to give it an air of antiquity, and sometimes rises to a surprising dignity and majesty.

In 1670 likewise his Paradise Regain'd and Samson Agonistes were licenced together, but were not published till the year following. It is somewhat remarkable, that these two poems were not printed by Simmons, the same who printed the Paradise Lost, but by J. M. for one Starkey in Fleetstreet: and what could induce Milton to have recourse to another printer? was it because the former was not enough encouraged by the sale of Paradise Lost to become a purchaser of the other
other copies? The first thought of Paradise Regain'd was, owing to Elwood the quaker, as he himself relates the occasion in the history of his life. When Milton had lent him the manuscript of Paradise Lost at St. Giles Chalfont, as we said before, and he returned it, Milton asked him how he liked it, and what he thought of it: "Which I modestly, but freely told him, says Elwood; and after some further discourse about it, I pleasantly said to him, Thou hast said much of Paradise Lost, but what hast thou to say of Paradise Found? He made me no answer, but sat some time in a muse; then broke off that discourse, and fell upon another subject." When Elwood afterwards waited upon him in London, Milton showed him his Paradise Regain'd, and in a pleasant tone said to him, "This is owing to You, for You put it into my head by the question You put me at Chalfont, which before I had not thought of." It is commonly reported, that Milton himself preferred this poem to the Paradise Lost; but all that we can assert upon good authority is, that he could not indure to hear this poem cried down so much as it was, in comparison with the other. For certainly it is very worthy of the author, and contrary to what Mr. Toland relates, Milton may be seen in Paradise Regain'd as well as in Paradise Lost; if it is inferior in poetry, I know not whether it is not superior in sentiment; if it is less descriptive, it is more argumentative; if it doth not sometimes rise so high, neither doth it ever sink so low; and it has not met with the approbation it deserves, only because it has not been more read and considered. His subject indeed is confined, and he has a narrow foundation to build upon; but he has raised as noble a superstructure, as such little room and such scanty materials would allow. The great beauty of it is the contrast between the two characters of the Tempter and our Saviour, the artful sophistry and specious insinuations of the one refuted by the strong sense and manly eloquence of the other. This poem has also been translated into French together with some other pieces of Milton, Lycidas, L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, and the Ode on Christ's nativity: and in 1732 was printed a Critical Dissertation with notes upon Paradise Regain'd, pointing out the beauties of it, and...
written by Mr. Meadowcourt, Canon of Worcester: and the very learned and ingenious Mr. Jortin has added some observations upon this work at the end of his excellent Remarks upon Spenser, published in 1734: and indeed this poem of Milton, to be more admired, needs only to be better known. His Samson Agonistes is the only tragedy that he has finished, tho' he has sketched out the plans of several, and proposed the subjects of more, in his manuscript preserved in Trinity College library: and we may suppose that he was determined to the choice of this particular subject by the similitude of his own circumstances to those of Samson blind and among the Philistins. This I conceive to be the last of his poetical pieces; and it is written in the very spirit of the Ancients, and equals, if not exceeds, any of the most perfect tragedies, which were ever exhibited on the Athenian stage, when Greece was in its glory. As this work was never intended for the stage, the division into acts and scenes is omitted. Bishop Atterbury had an intention of getting Mr. Pope to divide it into acts and scenes, and of having it acted by the King's Scholars at Westminster: but his commitment to the Tower put an end to that design. It has since been brought upon the stage in the form of an Oratorio; and Mr. Handel's music is never employed to greater advantage, than when it is adapted to Milton's words. That great artist has done equal justice to our author's L'Allegro and II Penseroso, as if the same spirit possessed both masters, and as if the God of music and of verse was still one and the same.

There are also some other pieces of Milton, for he continued publishing to the last. In 1672 he published Artis Logicae plenior Institution ad Petri Rami methodum concinnata, an Institution of Logic after the method of Petrus Ramus; and the year following, a treatise of true Religion and the best means to prevent the growth of popery, which had greatly increased thro' the connivance of the King, and the more open encouragement of the Duke of York; and the same year his poems, which had been printed in 1645, were reprinted with the addition of several others. His familiar epistles and some academical exercises, Epistolae familiarium Lib. I. et Prolusiones quaedam Oratoriae
Oratoriae in Collegio Christi habita, were printed in 1674; as was also his translation out of Latin into English of the Pole's Declaration concerning the election of their king John III, setting forth the virtues and merits of that prince. He wrote also a brief History of Muscovy, collected from the relations of several travelers; but it was not printed till after his death in 1682. He had likewise his state-letters transcribed at the request of the Danish resident, but neither were they printed till after his death in 1676, and were translated into English in 1694; and to that translation a life of Milton was prefixed by his nephew Mr. Edward Philips, and at the end of that life his excellent sonnets to Fairfax, Cromwell, Sir Henry Vane, and Cyriac Skinner on his blindness were first printed. Besides these works which were published, he wrote a system of divinity, which Mr. Toland says was in the hands of his friend Cyriac Skinner, but where at present is uncertain. And Mr. Philips says, that he had prepared for the press an answer to some little scribbling quack in London, who had written a scurrilous libel against him; but whether by the diffusion of friends, as thinking him a fellow not worth his notice, or for what other cause Mr. Philips knoweth not, this answer was never published. And indeed the best vindicator of him and his writings hath been Time. Posterity hath universally paid that honor to his merits, which was denied him by great part of his contemporaries.

After a life thus spent in study and labors for the public he died of the gout at his house in Bunhill Row on or about the 10th of November 1674, when he had within a month completed the sixty sixth year of his age. It is not known when he was first attacked by the gout, but he was grievously afflicted with it several of the last years of his life, and was weakened to such a degree, that he died without a groan, and those in the room perceived not when he expired. His body was decently interred near that of his father (who had died very aged about the year 1647) in the chancel of the Church of St. Giles's Cripplegate; and all his great and learned friends in London, not without a friendly concourse of the common people, paid their last respects in attending it to the grave. Mr. Fenton in his short but elegant
The LIFE of MILTON.

elegant account of the life of Milton, speaking of our author's having no monument, says that "he desired a friend to inquire at St. Giles's Church; where the sexton showed him a small monument, which he said was supposed to be Milton's; but the inscription had never been legible since he was employed in that office, which he has possessed about forty years. This sure could never have happened in so short a space of time, unless the epitaph had been industriously erased: and that supposition, says Mr. Fenton, carries with it so much inhumanity, that I think we ought to believe it was not erected to his memory." It is evident that it was not erected to his memory, and that the sexton was mistaken. For Mr. Toland in his account of the life of Milton says, that he was buried in the chancel of St. Giles's Church, "where the piety of his admirers will shortly erect a monument becoming his worth and the encouragement of letters in King William's reign." This plainly implies that no monument was erected to him at that time, and this was written in 1698: and Mr. Fenton's account was first published, I think, in 1725; so that not above twenty seven years intervened from the one account to the other; and consequently the sexton, who it is said had been possessed of his office about forty years, must have been mistaken, and the monument must have been designed for some other person, and not for Milton. A monument indeed has been erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey by Auditor Benson in the year 1737; but the best monument of him is his writings.

In his youth he was esteemed extremely handsome, so that while he was a student at Cambridge, he was called the Lady of Christ's College. He had a very fine skin and fresh complexion; his hair was of a light brown, and parted on the foretop hung down in curls waving upon his shoulders; his features were exact and regular; his voice agreeable and musical; his habit clean and neat; his deportment erect and manly. He was middle-sized and well proportioned, neither tall nor short, neither too lean nor too corpulent, strong and active in his younger years, and though afflicted with frequent headaches, blindness, and gout, was yet a comely and well-looking man.
to the last. His eyes were of a light blue color, and from the first are said to have been none of the brightest; but after he lost the sight of them, (which happened about the 43d year of his age) they still appeared without spot or blemish, and at first view and at a little distance it was not easy to know that he was blind. Mr. Richardson had an account of him from an ancient clergyman in Dorsetshire, Dr. Wright, who found him in a small house, which had (he thinks) but one room on a floor; in that, up one pair of stairs, which was hung with a rufly green, he saw John Milton sitting in an elbow chair, with black clothes, and neat enough, pale but not cadaverous, his hands and fingers gouty, and with chalk stones; among other discourse he expressed himself to this purpose, that was he free from the pain of the gout, his blindness would be tolerable. But there is the less need to be particular in the description of his person, as the idea of his face and countenance is pretty well known from the numerous prints, pictures, busts, medals, and other representations which have been made of him. There are two pictures of greater value than the rest, as they are undoubted originals, and were in the possession of Milton's widow: the first was drawn when he was about twenty one, and is at present in the collection of the Right Honorable Arthur Onslow Esq; Speaker of the House of Commons; the other in crayons was drawn when he was about sixty two, and was in the collection of Mr. Richardson, but has since been purchased by Mr. Tonson. Several prints have been made from both these pictures; and there is a print done, when he was about sixty two or sixty three, after the life by Faithorn, which tho' not so handsome, may yet perhaps be as true a resemblance, as any of them. It is prefixed to some of our author's pieces, and to the folio edition of his prose works in three volumes printed in 1698.

In his way of living he was an example of sobriety and temperance. He was very sparing in the use of wine or strong liquors of any kind. Let meaner poets make use of such expedients to raise their fancy and kindle their imagination. He wanted not any artificial spirits; he had a natural fire, and poetic warmth enough of his own. He was
likewise very abstemious in his diet, not fastidiously nice or delicate in the choice of his dishes, but content with any thing that was most in season, or easiest to be procured, eating and drinking, (according to the distinction of the philosopher) that he might live, and not living that he might eat and drink. So that probably his gout descended by inheritance from one or other of his parents; or if it was of his own acquiring, it must have been owing to his studious and sedentary life. And yet he delighted sometimes in walking and using exercise, but we hear nothing of his riding or hunting; and having early learned to fence, he was such a master of his sword, that he was not afraid of resenting an affront from any man; and before he lost his sight, his principal recreation was the exercise of his arms; but after he was confined by age and blindness, he had a machine to swing in for the preservation of his health. In his youth he was accustomed to sit up late at his studies, and seldom went to bed before midnight; but afterwards, finding it to be the ruin of his eyes, and looking on this custom as very pernicious to health at any time, he used to go to rest early, seldom later than nine, and would be stirring in the summer at four, and in the winter at five in the morning; but if he was not disposed to rise at his usual hours, he still did not lie sleeping, but had some body or other by his bed side to read to him. At his first rising he had usually a chapter read to him out of the Hebrew Bible, and he commonly studied all the morning till twelve, then used some exercise for an hour, afterwards dined, and after dinner played on the organ, and either sung himself or made his wife sing, who (he said) had a good voice but no ear; and then he went up to study again till six, when his friends came to visit him and sat with him perhaps till eight; then he went down to supper, which was usually olives or some light thing; and after supper he smoked his pipe, and drank a glass of water, and went to bed. He loved the country, and commends it, as poets usually do; but after his return from his travels, he was very little there, except during the time of the plague in London. The civil war might at first detain him in town; and the pleasures of the country were in a great measure lost to him, as they depend
depend mostly upon sight, whereas a blind man wanteth company and conversation, which is to be had better in populous cities. But he was led out sometimes for the benefit of the fresh air, and in warm sunny weather he used to sit at the door of his house near Bunhill Fields, and there as well as in the house received the visits of persons of quality and distinction; for he was no less visited to the last both by his own countrymen and foreigners, than he had been in his flourishing condition before the Restoration.

Some objections indeed have been made to his temper; and I remember there was a tradition in the university of Cambridge, that he and Mr. King (whose death he laments in his Lycidas) were competitors for a fellowship, and when they were both equal in point of learning, Mr. King was preferred by the college for his character of good nature, which was wanting in the other; and this was by Milton grievously resented. But the difference of their ages, Milton being at least four years elder, renders this story not very probable; and besides Mr. King was not elected by the college, but was made fellow by a royal mandate, so that there can be no truth in the tradition; but if there was any, it is no sign of Milton's resentment, but a proof of his generosity, that he could live in such friendship with a successful rival, and afterwards so passionately lament his deceased. His method of writing controversy is urged as another argument of his want of temper: but some allowance must be made for the customs and manners of the time. Controversy, as well as war, was rougher and more barbarous in those days, than it is in these. And it is to be considered too, that his adversaries first began the attack; they loaded him with much more personal abuse, only they had not the advantage of so much wit to season it. If he had engaged with more candid and ingenuous disputants, he would have preferred civility and fair argument to wit and satire: "to do so was my choice, "and to have done thus was my chance," as he expresses himself in the conclusion of one of his controversial pieces. All who have written any accounts of his life agree, that he was affable and instructive in conversation, of an equal and cheerful temper; and yet
I can easily believe, that he had a sufficient sense of his own merits, and contempt enough for his adversaries.

His merits indeed were singular; for he was a man not only of wonderful genius, but of immense learning and erudition; not only an incomparable poet, but a great mathematician, logician, historian, and divine. He was a master not only of the Greek and Latin, but likewise of the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac, as well as of the modern languages, Italian, French, and Spanish. He was particularly skilled in the Italian, which he always preferred to the French language, as all the men of letters did at that time in England; and he not only wrote elegantly in it, but is highly commended for his writings by the most learned of the Italians themselves, and especially by the members of that celebrated academy called della Crusca, which was established at Florence for the refining and perfecting of the Tuscan language. He had read almost all authors, and improved by all, even by romances, of which he had been fond in his younger years; and as the bee can extract honey out of weeds, so (to use his own words in his Apology for Smedymnuus) "those books, which to many "others have been the fuel of wantonness and loose living, proved to "him so many incitements to the love and observation of virtue." His favorite author after the Holy Scriptures was Homer. Homer he could repeat almost all without book; and he was advised to undertake a translation of his works, which no doubt he would have executed to admiration. But (as he says of himself in his postscript to the Judgment of Martin Bucer) "he never could delight in long ci-"tations, much less in whole traductions." And accordingly there are few things, and those of no great length, which he has ever translated. He was possessed too much of an original genius to be a mere copyer. "Whether it be natural disposition, says he, or edu-"cation in me, or that my mother bore me a speaker of what God "made my own, and not a translator." And it is somewhat remark-able, that there is scarce any author, who has written so much, and upon such various subjects, and yet quotes so little from his contem-porary authors, or so seldom mentions any of them. He praises Selden
Selden indeed in more places than one, but for the rest he appears disposed to censure rather than commend. After his severer studies, and after dinner as we observed before, he used to divert and unbend his mind with playing upon the organ or bass-viol, which was a great relief to him after he had lost his sight; for he was a master of music as was his father, and he could perform both vocally and instrumentally, and it is said that he composed very well, tho' nothing of this kind is handed down to us. It is also said that he had some skill in painting as well as in music, and that somewhere or other there is a head of Milton drawn by himself: but he was blessed with so many real excellences, that there is no want of fictitious ones to raise and adorn his character. He had a quick apprehension, a sublime imagination, a strong memory, a piercing judgment, a wit always ready, and facetious or grave as the occasion required: and I know not whether the loss of his sight did not add vigor to the faculties of his mind. He at least thought so, and often comforted himself with that reflection.

But his great parts and learning have scarcely gained him more admirers, than his political principles have raised him enemies. And yet the darling passion of his soul was the love of liberty; this was his constant aim and end, however he might be mistaken in the means. He was indeed very zealous in what was called the good old cause, and with his spirit and his resolution it is somewhat wonderful, that he never ventured his person in the civil war; but tho' he was not in arms, he was not unactive, and thought, I suppose, that he could be of more service to the cause by his pen than by his sword. He was a thorough republican, and in this he thought like a Greek or Roman, as he was very conversant with their writings. And one day Sir Robert Howard, who was a friend to Milton as well as to the liberties of his country, and was one of his constant visitors to the last, inquired of him how he came to side with the republicans. Milton answered among other reasons, because theirs was the most frugal government, for the trappings of a monarchy might set up an ordinary commonwealth. But then his attachment to Cromwell must be con-
condemned, as being neither consistent with his republican principles, nor with his love of liberty. And I know no other way of accounting for his conduct, but by presuming (as I think we may reasonably presume) that he was far from entirely approving of Cromwell's proceedings, but considered him as the only person who could rescue the nation from the tyranny of the Presbyterians, who he saw were erecting a worse dominion of their own upon the ruins of prelatical episcopacy; and of all things he dreaded spiritual slavery, and therefore closed with Cromwell and the Independents, as he expected under them greater liberty of conscience. And tho' he served Cromwell, yet it must be said for him, that he served a great master, and served him ably, and was not wanting from time to time in giving him excellent good advice, especially in his second Defense: and so little being said of him in all Secretary Thurloe's state-papers, it appears that he had no great share in the secrets and intrigues of government; what he dispatched was little more than matters of necessary form, letters and answers to foreign states; and he may be justified for acting in such a station, upon the same principle as Sir Matthew Hale for holding a Judge's commission under the usurper: and in the latter part of his life he frequently expressed to his friends his entire satisfaction of mind, that he had constantly employed his strength and faculties in the defense of liberty, and in opposition to slavery.

In matters of religion too he has given as great offense, or even greater than by his political principles. But still let not the infidel glory: no such man was ever of that party. He had the advantage of a pious education, and ever expressed the profoundest reverence of the Deity in his words and actions, was both a Christian and a Protestant, and studied and admired the Holy Scriptures above all other books whatsoever; and in all his writings he plainly sheweth a religious turn of mind, as well in verse as in prose, as well in his works of an earlier date as in those of later composition. When he wrote the Doctrin and Disciplin of Divorce, he appears to have been a Calvinist; but afterwards he entertained a more favorable opinion of Arminius. Some have inclined to believe, that he was an Arian; but there
there are more express passages in his works to overthrow this opinion, than any there are to confirm it. For in the conclusion of his treatise of Reformation he thus solemnly invokes the Trinity; "Thou therefore that sittest in light and glory unapproachable, Parent of Angels and Men! next thee I implore Omnipotent King, Redeemer of that lost remnant whose nature thou didst assume, ineffable and everlasting Love! And thou the third subsistence of divine infinitude, illumining Spirit, the joy and solace of created things! one Tri-personal Godhead! look upon this thy poor, and almost spent and expiring Church &c." And in his tract of Prelatical Episcopacy he endeavors to prove the spuriousness of some epistles attributed to Ignatius, because they contained in them heresies, one of which heresies is, that "he condemns them for ministers of Satan, who say that Christ is God above all." And a little after in the same tract he objects to the authority of Tertullian, because he went about to "prove an impurity between God the Father, and God the Son." And in Paradise Lost we shall find nothing upon this head, that is not perfectly agreeable to Scripture. The learned Dr. Trap, who was as likely to cry out upon heresy as any man, asserts that the poem is orthodox in every part of it; or otherwise he would not have been at the pains of translating it. Neque alienum videtur a studiis viri theologi poema magna ex parte theologicum; omni ex parte (rideant, per me licet, atque ringantur athei et insideles) orthodoxum. Milton was indeed a dissentier from the Church of England, in which he had been educated, and was by his parents designed for holy orders, as we related before; but he was led away by early prejudices against the doctrine and discipline of the Church; and in his younger years was a favorer of the Presbyterians; in his middle age he was best pleased with the Independents and Anabaptists, as allowing greater liberty of conscience than others, and coming nearest in his opinion to the primitive practice; and in the latter part of his life he was not a professed member of any particular sect of Christians, he frequented no public worship, nor used any religious rite in his family. Whether so many different forms of worship as he had seen, had made him indifferent to all forms; or whether
whether he thought that all Christians had in some things corrupted
the purity and simplicity of the Gospel; or whether he disliked their
endless and uncharitable disputes, and that love of dominion and in-
clination to persecution, which he said was a piece of Popery insepa-
rible from all Churches; or whether he believed, that a man might
be a good Christian without joining in any communion; or whether
he did not look upon himself as inspired, as wrapt up in God, and
above all forms and ceremonies, it is not easy to determin: to his own
master he standeth or falleth: but if he was of any denomination, he
was a sort of a Quietist, and was full of the interior of religion tho'
he so little regarded the exterior; and it is certain was to the last an
enthusiast rather than an infidel. As enthusiasm made Norris a poet,
so poetry might make Milton an enthusiast.

His circumstances were never very mean, nor very great; for he
lived above want, and was not intent upon accumulating wealth; his
ambition was more to enrich and adorn his mind. His father supported
him in his travels, and for some time after. Then his pupils must
have been of some advantage to him, and brought him either a certain
stipend or considerable presents at least; and he had scarcely any other
method of improving his fortune, as he was of no profession. When
his father died, he inherited an elder son's share of his estate, the
principal part of which I believe was his house in Bread Street: And
not long after, he was appointed Latin Secretary with a Salary of 200l.
a year; so that he was now in opulent circumstances for a man, who
had always led a frugal and temperate life, and was at little unnece-
sary expense besides buying of books. Tho' he was of the victorious
party, yet he was far from sharing in the spoils of his country. On
the contrary (as we learn from his second Defense) he sustained great
losses during the civil war, and was not at all favored in the imposi-
tion of taxes, but sometimes paid beyond his due proportion. And
upon a turn of affairs he was not only deprived of his place, but also
lost 2000l. which he had for security and improvement put into the
Excise Office. He lost likewise another considerable sum for want of
proper care and management, as persons of Milton's genius are seldom expert
expert in money matters. And in the fire of London his house in Bread Street was burnt, before which accident foreigners have gone out of devotion (says Wood) to see the house and chamber where he was born. His gains were inconsiderable in proportion to his losses; for excepting the thousand pounds, which were given him by the government for writing his Defense of the people against Salmassius, we may conclude that he got very little by the copies of his works, when it doth not appear that he received any more than ten pounds for Paradise Lost. Some time before he died he sold the greatest part of his library, as his heirs were not qualified to make a proper use of it, and as he thought that he could dispose of it to greater advantage than they could after his decease. And finally by one means or other he died worth one thousand five hundred pounds besides his household goods, which was no incompetent subsistence for him, who was as great a philosopher as a poet.

To this account of Milton it may be proper to add something concerning his family. We said before, that he had a younger brother and a sister. His brother Christopher Milton was a man of totally opposite principles; was a strong royalist, and after the civil war made his composition thro' his brother's interest; had been entered young a student in the Inner Temple, of which house he lived to be an ancient bencher; and being a professed papist, was in the reign of James II. made a judge and knighted; but soon obtained his quietus by reason of his age and infirmities, and retired to Ipswich, where he lived all the latter part of his life. His sister Anne Milton had a considerable fortune given her by her father in marriage with Mr. Edward Philips (son of Mr. Edward Philips of Shrewsbury) who coming young to London was bred up in the Crown Office in Chancery, and at length became secondary of the office under Mr. Bembo. By him she had, besides other children who died infants, two sons Edward and John, whom we have had frequent occasion to mention before. Among our author's juvenile poems there is a copy of verses on the death of a fair infant, a nephew, or rather niece of his, dying of a cough; and this
being written in his 17th year, as it is said in the title, it may naturally be inferred that Mrs. Philips was elder than either of her brothers. She had likewise two daughters, Mary who died very young, and Anne who was living in 1694, by a second husband Mr. Thomas Agar, who succeeded his intimate friend Mr. Philips in his place in the Crown Office, which he enjoyed many years, and left to Mr. Thomas Milton, son of Sir Christopher before mentioned. As for Milton himself he appears to have been no enemy to the fair sex by having had three wives. What fortune he had with any of them is no where said, but they were gentlemen’s daughters; and it is remarkable that he married them all maidens, for (as he says in his Apology for Smedyminnuus, which was written before he married at all) he “thought with them, “ who both in prudence and elegance of spirit would choose a virgin “ of mean fortunes honestly bred before the wealthiest widow.” But yet he seemeth not to have been very happy in any of his marriages; for his first wife had justly offended him by her long absence and separation from him; the second, whose love, sweetness, and goodness he commends, lived not a twelvemonth with him; and his third wife is said to have been a woman of a most violent spirit, and a hard mother in law to his children. She died very old, about twenty years ago, at Nantwich in Cheshire: and from the accounts of those who had seen her, I have learned, that she confirmed several things which have been related before; and particularly that her husband used to compose his poetry chiefly in winter, and on his waking in a morning would make her write down sometimes twenty or thirty verses: and being asked whether he did not often read Homer and Virgil, the understood it as an imputation upon him for stealing from those authors, and answered with eagerness that he stole from no body but the Muse who inspired him; and being asked by a lady present who the Muse was, replied it was God’s grace, and the Holy Spirit that visited him nightly. She was likewise asked whom he approved most of our English poets, and answered Spenser, Shakespear, and Cowley: and being asked what he thought of Dryden, she said Dryden used some-
times to visit him, but he thought him no poet, but a good rimmer: but this was before Dryden had composed his best poems, which made his name so famous afterwards. She was wont moreover to say, that her husband was applied to by message from the King, and invited to write for the Court, but his answer was, that such a behaviour would be very inconsistent with his former conduct, for he had never yet employed his pen against his conscience. By his first wife he had four children, a son who died an infant, and three daughters who survived him; by his second wife he had only one daughter, who died soon after her mother, who died in childbirth; and by his last wife he had no children at all. His daughters were not sent to school, but were instructed by a mistress kept at home for that purpose: and he himself, excusing the eldest on account of an impediment in her speech, taught the two others to read and pronounce Greek and Latin and several other languages, without understanding any but English, for he used to say that one tongue was enough for a woman: but this employment was very irksome to them, and this together with the sharpness and severity of their mother in law made them very uneasy at home; and therefore they were all sent abroad to learn things more proper for them, and particularly embroidery in gold and silver. As Milton at his death left his affairs very much in the power of his widow, tho' she acknowledged that he died worth one thousand five hundred pounds, yet she allowed but one hundred pounds to each of his three daughters. Anne the eldest was decrepit and deformed, but had a very handsome face; she married a master-builder, and died in childbirth of her first child, who died with her. Mary the second lived and died single. Deborah the youngest in her father's lifetime went over to Ireland with a lady, and afterwards was married to Mr. Abraham Clarke, a weaver in Spittle Fields, and died in August 1727 in the 76th year of her age. She is said to have been a woman of good understanding and genteel behaviour, though in low circumstances. As she had been often called upon to read Homer and Ovid's Metamorphosis to her father, she could have repeated a considerable number of verses from the
beginning of both those poets, as Mr. Ward, Professor of Rhetoric in Gresham College, relates upon his own knowledge: and another Gentleman has informed me, that he has heard her repeat several verses likewise out of Euripides. Mr. Addison, and the other gentlemen, who had opportunities of seeing her, knew her immediately to be Milton's daughter by the similitude of her countenance to her father's picture: and Mr. Addison made her a handsome present of a purse of guineas with a promise of procuring for her some annual provision for her life; but his death happening soon after, she lost the benefit of his generous design. She received presents likewise from several other gentlemen, and Queen Caroline sent her fifty pounds by the hands of Dr. Freind the physician. She had ten children, seven sons and three daughters; but none of them had any children, except one of her sons named Caleb, and one of her daughters named Elizabeth. Caleb went to Fort St. George in the East Indies, where he married, and had two sons, Abraham and Isaac; the elder of whom came to England with the late governor Harrison, but returned upon advice of his father's death, and whether he or his brother be now living is uncertain. Elizabeth, the youngest child of Mrs. Clarke, was married to Mr. Thomas Foster a weaver in Spittle Fields, and had seven children, who are all dead; and she herself is aged about sixty, and weak and infirm. She seemeth to be a good plain sensible woman, and has confirmed several particulars related above, and informed me of some others, which she had often heard from her mother: that her grandfather lost two thousand pounds by a money-scrivener, whom he had intrusted with that sum, and likewise an estate at Westminster of sixty pounds a year, which belonged to the Dean and Chapter, and was restored to them at the Restoration: that he was very temperate in his eating and drinking, but what he had he always loved to have of the best: that he seldom went abroad in the latter part of his life, but was visited even then by persons of distinction, both foreigners and others: that he kept his daughters at a great distance, and would not allow them to learn to write, which he thought unnecessary for a woman;
that her mother was his greatest favorite, and could read in seven or eight languages, tho' she understood none but English; that her mother inherited his head-akes and disorders, and had such a weakness in her eyes, that she was forced to make use of spectacles from the age of eighteen; and she herself, she says, has not been able to read a chapter in the Bible these twenty years; that she was mistaken in informing Mr. Birch, what he had printed upon her authority, that Milton's father was born in France; and a brother of hers who was then living was very angry with her for it, and like a true-born Englishman resented it highly, that the family should be thought to bear any relation to France: that Milton's second wife did not die in childbed, as Mr. Philips and Toland relate, but above three months after of a consumption; and this too Mr. Birch relates upon her authority; but in this particular she must be mistaken as well as in the other, for our author's sonnet on his deceased wife plainly implies, that she did die in childbed. She knows nothing of her aunt Philips or Agar's descendants, but believes that they are all extinct: as is likewise Sir Christopher Milton's family, the last of which were two maiden sisters, Mrs. Mary and Mrs. Catharine Milton, who lived and died at Highgate: and she herself is the only survivor of Milton's own family, unless there be some in the East Indies, which she very much questions, for she used to hear from them sometimes, but has heard nothing now for several years; so that in all probability Milton's whole family will be extinct with her, and he can live only in his writings. And such is the caprice of fortune, this granddaughter of a man, who will be an everlasting glory to the nation, has now for some years with her husband kept a little chandler's or grocer's shop for their subsistence, lately at the lower Holloway in the road between Highgate and London, and at present in Cock Lane not far from Shoreditch Church. Another thing let me mention, that is equally to the honor of the present age. Tho' Milton received not above ten pounds at two different payments for the copy of Paradise Lost, yet Mr. Hoyle author of the treatise on the Game of Whist, after having disposed of all the first impression,
impression, sold the copy to the bookseller, as I have been informed, for two hundred guineas.

As we have had occasion to mention more than once Milton's manuscripts preserved in the library of Trinity College in Cambridge, it may not be ungrateful to the reader, if we give a more particular account of them, before we conclude. There are, as we said, two draughty of a letter to a friend who had importuned him to take orders, together with a sonnet on his being arrived to the age of twenty three: and by there being two draughts of this letter with several alterations and additions, it appears to have been written with great care and deliberation; and both the draughts have been published by Mr. Birch in his Historical and Critical Account of the life and writings of Milton. There are also several of his poems, Arcades, At a solemn music, On time, Upon the circumcision, the Mask, Lycidas, with five or six of his sonnets, all in his own hand-writing: and there are some others of his sonnets written by different hands, being most of them composed after he had lost his sight. It is curious to see the first thoughts and subsequent corrections of so great a poet as Milton: but it is remarkable in these manuscript poems, that he doth not often make his stops, or begin his lines with great letters. There are likewise in his own hand-writing different plans of Paradise Lost in the form of a tragedy: and it is an agreeable amusement to trace the gradual progress and improvement of such a work from its first dawning in the plan of a tragedy to its full lustre in an epic poem. And together with the plans of Paradise Lost there are the plans or subjects of several other intended tragedies, some taken from the Scripture, others from the British or Scotch histories: and of the latter the last mentioned is Macbeth, as if he had an inclination to try his strength with Shakspere; and to reduce the play more to the unities, he proposes "beginning at the arrival of Malcolm at Macduff; the matter of Dun "can may be expressed by the appearing of his ghost.” These manuscripts of Milton were found by the learned Mr. Professor Maaon
Mason among some other old papers, which, he says, belonged to Sir Henry Newton Puckering, who was a considerable benefactor to the library: and for the better preservation of such truly valuable reliques, they were collected together, and handsomely bound in a thin folio by the care and at the charge of a person, who is now very eminent in his profession, and was always a lover of the Muses, and at that time a fellow of Trinity College, Mr. Clarke, one of his Majesty's counsel.
IN PARADISUM AMISSAM
SUMMI POETÆ

JOHANNIS MILTONI.

 Qui legis Amissam Paradisum, grandia magni
Carmina Miltoni, quid nisi cuncta legis?
Res cunctas, & cunctarum primordia rerum,
Et fata, & fines continet iste liber.
Intima panduntur magni penetralia mundi,
Scribitur & toto quicquid in orbe latet:
Terræque, tractusque maris, coelumque profundum,
Sulphureumque Erebi, flammivomumque specus:
Quæque colunt terras, pontumque, & Tartara caeca,
Quæque colunt summi lucida regna poli:
Et quodcunque ullis conclusum est finibus usquam,
Et fine fine Chaos, & fine fine Deus:
Et fine fine magis, si quid magis est fine fine,
In Christo erga homines conciliatus amor.
Hæc qui speraret quis crederet esse futura?
Et tamen hæc hodie terra Britanna legit.
O quantos in bella duces! quæ protulit arma!
Quæ canit, & quanta prælia dira tuba!
Cœlestes acies! atque in certamine coelum!
Et quæ cœlestes pugna deceret agros!
Quantus in æthercis tollit se Lucifer armis!
Atque ipso graditur vix Michaelæ minor!

Quantis,
Quantis, & quâm funestis concurritur iris,
Dum ferus hic stellas protegit, ille rapit!
Dum vulfos montes ceu tela reciproca torquent,
Et non mortali desuper igne pluunt:
Stat dubius cui se parti concedat Olympus,
Et metuit pugnae non superesse sua.
At simul in coelis Messiae insignia fulgent,
Et currus animes, armaque digna Deo,
Horrendumque rotae frident, & saeva rotarum
Erumpunt torvis fulgura luminibus,
Et flammas vibrant, & vera tonitura rauco
Admistiis flammis insonuere polo:
Excidit attonitis mens omnis, & impetus omnis,
Et cassis dextris irrita tela cadunt;
Ad poenas fugiunt, & ceu foret Orcus asylum,
Infernis certant condere se tenebris.
Cedite Romani Scriptores, cedite Graii,
Et quos fama recens vel celebravit anus.
Hæc quicunque leget tantum cecinisse putabit
Mæonidem ranas, Virgilium culices.

Samuel Barrow, M. D.
WHEN I beheld the Poet blind, yet bold,
In slender book his vast design unfold,
Messiah crown'd, God's reconcil'd decree,
Rebelling Angels, the forbidden tree,
Heav'n, Hell, Earth, Chaos, all; the argument
Held me a while misdoubting his intent,
That he would ruin (for I saw him strong)
The sacred truths to fable and old song,
(So Sampson grop'd the temple's posts in spite)
The world o'erwhelming to revenge his fight.

Yet as I read, soon growing less severe,
I lik'd his project, the success did fear;
Through that wide field how he his way should find,
O'er which lame faith leads understanding blind;
Left he perplex'd the things he would explain,
And what was easy he should render vain.

Or if a work so infinite he spann'd,
Jealous I was that some less skilful hand
(Such as disquiet always what is well,
And by ill imitating would excel)
Might hence presume the whole creation's day
To change in scenes, and show it in a play.

Pardon me, mighty Poet, nor despise
My causeless, yet not impious, surmise.
But I am now convinc'd, and none will dare
Within thy labors to pretend a share.
Thou hast not miss'd one thought that could be fit,
And all that was improper dost omit:
So that no room is here for writers left,
But to detect their ignorance or theft.
That majesty which through thy work doth reign,
Draws the devout, deterring the profane.
And things divine thou treat'st of in such state
As them preserves, and thee, inviolate.
At once delight and horror on us seize,
Thou sing'st with so much gravity and ease;
And above human flight dost soar aloft
With plume so strong, so equal, and so soft.
The bird nam'd from that Paradise you sing
So never flags, but always keeps on wing.

Where couldst thou words of such a compass find?
Whence furnish such a vast expense of mind?
Just Heav'n thee like Tiresias to requite
Rewards with prophecy thy loss of sight.

Well might'st thou scorn thy readers to allure
With tinkling rime, of thy own sense secure;
While the Town-Bays writes all the while and spells,
And like a pack-horse tires without his bells:
Their fancies like our bushy-points appear,
The poets tag them, we for fashion wear.
I too transported by the mode offend,
And while I meant to Praise thee must Commend.
Thy verse created like thy theme sublime,
In number, weight, and measure, needs not rime.

Andrew Marvel.
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 meter; grac'd 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 express'd 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.
A CRITIQUE upon the PARADISE LOST.

By Mr. ADDISON.

Cedite Romani Scriptores, cedite Graii. Propert.

THERE is nothing in nature more irksome than general discourses, especially when they turn chiefly upon words. For this reason I shall wave the discussion of that point which was started some years since, Whether Milton's Paradise Lost may be called an Heroic Poem? Those who will not give it that title, may call it (if they please) a Divine Poem. It will be sufficient to its perfection, if it has in it all the beauties of the highest kind of poetry; and as for those who alledge it is not an heroic poem, they advance no more to the diminution of it, than if they should say Adam is not Æneas, nor Eve Helen.

I shall therefore examine it by the rules of epic poetry, and see whether it falls short of the Iliad or Æneid, in the beauties which are essential to that kind of writing. The first thing to be consider'd in an epic poem, is the fable, which is perfect or imperfect, according as the action which it relates is more or less so. This action should have three qualifications in it. First, It should be but One action. Secondly, It should be an Entire action; and Thirdly, It should be a Great action. To consider the action of the Iliad, Æneid, and Paradise Lost, in these three several lights. Homer to preserve the unity of his action hallowts into the midst of things, as Horace has observed: Had he gone up to Leda's egg, or begun much later, even at the rape of Helen, or the investing of Troy, it is manifest that the story of the poem would have been a series of several actions. He therefore opens his poem with the discord of his princes, and artfully interweaves, in the several succeeding parts of it, an account of every thing material which relates to them, and had passed before this fatal diffusion. After the same manner, Æneas makes his first appearance in the Tyrhene seas, and within sight of Italy, because the action proposed to be celebrated was that of his settling himself in Latium. But because it was necessary for the reader to know what had happened to him in the taking of Troy, and in the preceding parts of his voyage, Virgil makes his hero relate it by way of episode in the second and third books of the Æneid: the contents of both which books come before those of the first book in the thread of the story, tho' for preserving of this unity of action, they follow it in the disposition of the poem. Milton, in imitation of these two great poets, opens his Paradise Lost with an infernal council plotting the fall of Man, which is the action he proposed to celebrate; and as for those great actions, the battle of the Angels, and the creation of the world, (which preceded in point of time, and which, in my opinion, would have entirely destroyed the unity of his principal action, had he related them in the same order that they happened) he cast them into the fifth, sixth and seventh books, by way of episode to this noble poem.

Aristotle himself allows, that Homer has nothing to boast of as to the unity of his fable, the
A Critique on the Paradise Lost.

Theo' at the same time that great critic and philosopher endeavors to palliate this imperfection in the Greek poet by imputing it in some measure to the very nature of an epic poem. Some have been of opinion, that the Æneid also labors in this particular, and has episodes which may be looked upon as excrencencies rather than as parts of the action. On the contrary, the poem, which we have now under our consideration, hath no other episodes than such as naturally arise from the subject, and yet is filled with such a multitude of astonishing incidents, that it gives us at the same time a pleasure of the greatest variety, and of the greatest simplicity; uniform in its nature, tho' diversified in the execution.

I must observe also, that, as Virgil in the poem which was designed to celebrate the original of the Roman empire, has described the birth of its great rival, the Carthaginian common-wealth: Milton, with the like art in his poem on the fall of Man, has related the fall of those Angels who are his professed enemies. Beside the many other beauties in such an episode, its running parallel with the great action of the poem, hinders it from breaking the unity so much as another episode would have done, that had not so great an affinity with the principal subject. In short, this is the same kind of beauty which the critics admire in the Spanish Fryar, or the Double Discovery, where the two different plots look like counterparts and copies of one another.

The second qualification required in the action of an epic poem is, that it should be an entire action: An action is entire when it is complete in all its parts; or as Aristotle describes it, when it consists of a beginning, a middle, and an end. Nothing should go before it, be intermix'd with it, or follow after it, that is not related to it. As on the contrary, no single step should be omitted in that just and regular progress which it must be supposed to take from its original to its consum-
magnificence in every part of Paradise Lost, and indeed a much greater than could have been formed upon any Pagan system.

But Aristotle, by the greatness of the action, does not only mean that it should be great in its nature, but also in its duration; or in other words, that it should have a due length in it, as well as what we properly call greatness. The just measure of this kind of magnitude, he explains by the following similitude. An animal, no bigger than a mite, cannot appear perfect to the eye, because the sight takes it in at once, and has only a confused idea of the whole, and not a distinct idea of all its parts; if on the contrary you suppose an animal of ten thousand furlongs in length, the eye would be so filled with a single part of it, that it could not give the mind an idea of the whole. What these animals are to the eye, a very short or a very long action would be to the memory. The first would be, as it were, lost and swallowed up by it, and the other difficult to be contained in it. Homer and Virgil have shown their principal art in this particular; the action of the Iliad, and that of the Æneid, were in themselves exceeding short, but are so beautifully extended and diversified by the invention of episodes, and the machinery of Gods, with the like poetical ornaments, that they make up an agreeable story sufficient to employ the memory without over-charging it. Milton's action is enriched with such a variety of circumstances, that I have taken as much pleasure in reading the contents of his books, as in the best invented story I ever met with. It is possible, that the traditions, on which the Iliad and Æneid were built, had more circumstances in them than the history of the fall of Man, as it is related in Scripture. Besides it was easier for Homer and Virgil to dash the truth with fiction, as they were in no danger of offending the religion of their country by it. But as for Milton, he had not only a very few circumstances upon which to raise his poem, but was also obliged to proceed with the greatest caution in every thing that he added out of his own invention. And, indeed, notwithstanding all the restraints he was under, he has filled his story with so many surprising incidents, which bear so close analogy with what is delivered in holy Writ, that it is capable of pleasing the most delicate reader, without giving offense to the most scrupulous.

The modern critics have collected from several hints in the Iliad and Æneid the space of time, which is taken up by the action of each of those poems; but as a great part of Milton's story was transacted in regions that lie out of the reach of the sun and the sphere of day, it is impossible to gratify the reader with such a calculation, which indeed would be more curious than instructive; none of the critics, either ancient or modern, having laid down rules to circumscribe the action of an epic poem within any determined number of years, days, or hours.

But of this more particularly hereafter.

HAVING examined the action of Paradise Lost, let us in the next place consider the actors. This is Aristotle's method of considering; first the fable, and secondly the manners, or as we generally call them in English, the fable and the characters. Homer has excelled all the heroic poets that ever wrote, in the multitude and variety of his characters. Every God that is admitted into his poem, acts a part which would have been suitable to no other Deity. His princes are as much distinguished by their manners as by their dominions, and even those among them, whose characters seem wholly made up of courage, differ from one another as to the particular kinds of courage in which they excel. In short, there is scarce a speech or action in the Iliad, which the reader may not ascribe to the person that speaks or
or acts, without seeing his name at the head of it.

Homer does not only out-shine all other poets in the variety, but also in the novelty of his characters. He has introduced among his Grecian princes a perfon, who had lived in three ages of men, and converted with Thebus, Hercules, Polyphemus, and the first race of heroes. His principal actor is the son of a Goddess, not to mention the offspring of other Deities, who have likewise a place in his poem, and the venerable Trojan prince who was the father of so many kings and heroes. There is in these several characters of Homer, a certain dignity as well as novelty, which adapts them in a more peculiar manner to the nature of an heroic poem. Tho' at the same time, to give them the greater variety, he has described a Vulcan, that is, a buffoon among his Gods, and a Thersites among his mortals.

Virgil falls infinitely short of Homer in the characters of his poem, both as to their variety and novelty. Æneas is indeed a perfect character, but as for Achates, tho' he is stiled the hero's friend, he does nothing in the whole poem which may deserve that title. Gyas, Mnestheus, Sergestus, and Cloanthus, are all of them men of the same stamp and character,

—fortemque Gyan, fortemque Cloanthum. Virg.

There are indeed several very natural incidents in the part of Acanius; as that of Dido cannot be sufficiently admired. I do not see any thing new or particular in Turnus. Pallas and Evander are remote copies of Hector and Priam, as Lausus and Mezentius are almost parallels to Pallas and Evander. The characters of Nisus and Eurialus are beautiful, but common. We must not forget the parts of Sinon, Camilla, and some few others, which are fine improvements on the Greek poet. In short, there is neither that variety nor novelty in the person of the Æneid, which we meet with in those of the Iliad.

If we look into the characters of Milton, we shall find that he has introduced all the variety his fable was capable of receiving. The whole species of mankind was in two person at the time to which the subject of his poem is confined. We have, however, four distinct characters in these two persons. We see Man and Woman in the highest innocence and perfection, and in the most abrupt state of guilt and infirmity. The two last characters are, indeed, very common and obvious, but the two first are not only more magnificent, but more new than any characters either in Virgil or Homer, or indeed in the whole circle of nature.

Milton was so sensible of this defect in the subject of his poem, and of the few characters it would afford him, that he has brought into it two actors of a shadowy and fictitious nature, in the persons of Sin and Death, by which means he has wrought into the body of his fable a very beautiful and well-invented allegory. But notwithstanding the fineness of this allegory may atone for it in some measure; I cannot think that persons of such a chimerical existence are proper actors in an epic poem, because there is not that measure of probability annexed to them, which is requisite in writings of this kind, as I shall show more at large hereafter.

Virgil has, indeed, admitted Fame as an actress in the Æneid, but the part she acts is very short, and none of the most admired circumstances in that divine work. We find in mock-heroic poems, particularly in the Difpenfary and the Lutrin, several allegorical personages of this nature, which are very beautiful in those compositions, and may, perhaps, be used as an argument, that the authors of them were of opinion, such characters might have a place in an epic work. For my own part, I should be glad the reader would think so, for the sake of the poem I am now examining, and must further add, that if such empty unsubstantial beings may be ever made use of on this occasion,
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occasion, never were any more nicely imagined, and employed in more proper actions, than those of which I am now speaking.

Another principal actor in this poem is the great enemy of mankind. The part of Ulysses in Homer's Odyssey is very much admired by Aristotle, as perplexing that fable with very agreeable plots and intricacies, not only by the many adventures in his voyage, and the subtility of his behaviour, but by the various concealments and discoveries of his person in several parts of that poem. But the crafty being I have now mentioned, makes a much longer voyage than Ulysses, puts in practice many more wiles and stratagems, and hides himself under a greater variety of shapes and appearances, all of which are severally detected, to the great delight and surprise of the reader.

We may likewise observe with how much art the poet has varied several characters of the persons that speak in his infernal assembly. On the contrary, how has he represented the whole Godhead exerting itself towards Man in its full benevolence under the three-fold distinction of a Creator, a Redeemer, and a Comforter?

Nor must we omit the person of Raphael, who, amidst his tenderness and friendship for Man, shows such a dignity and condescension in all his speech and behaviour, as are suitable to a superior nature. The Angels are indeed as much diversified in Milton, and distinguished by their proper parts, as the Gods are in Homer or Virgil. The reader will find nothing ascribed to Uriel, Gabriel, Michael, or Raphael, which is not in a particular manner suitable to their respective characters:

There is another circumstance in the principal actors of the Iliad and Æneid, which gives a peculiar beauty to those two poems, and was therefore contrived with very great judgment. I mean the authors having chosen for their heroes persons who were so nearly related to the people for whom they wrote. Achilles was a Greek, and Æneas the remote founder of Rome. By this means their countrymen (whom they principally proposed to themselves for their readers) were particularly attentive to all the parts of their story, and sympathized with their heroes in all their adventures. A Roman could not but rejoice in the escapes, successes, and victories of Æneas, and be grieved at any defeats, misfortunes, or disappointments that befell him; as a Greek must have had the same regard for Achilles. And it is plain, that each of those poems have lost this great advantage; among those readers to whom their heroes are as strangers, or indifferent persons.

Milton's poem is admirable in this respect, since it is impossible for any of its readers, whatever nation, country or people he may belong to, not to be related to the persons who are the principal actors in it; but what is still infinitely more to its advantage, the principal actors in this poem are not only our progenitors, but our representatives. We have an actual interest in every thing they do, and no less than our utmost happiness is concerned, and lies at stake in all their behaviour.

I shall subjoin as a corollary to the foregoing remark, an admirable observation out of Aristotle, which hath been very much misrepresented in the quotations of some modern critics. 'If a man of perfect and consummate virtue falls into a misfortune, it raises our pity, but not our terror, because we do not fear that it may be our own case, who do not resemble the suffering person. But as that great philosopher adds, 'If we see a man of virtue, mixt with infirmities, fall into any misfortune, it does not only raise our pity but our terror; because we are afraid that the like misfortunes may happen to ourselves, who resemble the character of the suffering person.'

I shall only remark in this place, that the foregoing observation of Aristotle, tho' it may be true in other occasions, does not hold in this; because in the present case, though the persons
who fall into misfortune are of the most perfect and consummate virtue, it is not to be considered as what may possibly be, but what actually is our own case, since we are embark'd with them on the same bottom, and must be partakers of their happiness or misery.

In this, and some other very few instances, Aristotle's rules for epic poetry (which he had drawn from his reflections upon Homer) cannot be supposed to square exactly with the heroic poems which have been made since his time; since it is evident to every impartial judge his rules would still have been more perfect, could he have perused the Æneid which was made some hundred years after his death.

In my next, I shall go through some parts of Milton's poem; and hope that what I shall there advance, as well as what I have already written, will not only serve as a comment upon Milton, but upon Aristotle.

We have already taken a general survey of the fable and characters in Milton's Paradise Lost: The parts which remain to be consider'd, according to Aristotle's method, are the sentiments and the language. Before I enter upon the first of these, I must acquaint my reader, that it is my design as soon as I have finished my general reflections on these four several heads, to give particular instances out of the poem now before us of beauties and imperfections which may be observed under each of them, as also of such other particulars as may not properly fall under any of them. This I thought fit to premise, that the reader may not judge too hastily of this piece of criticism, or look upon it as imperfect, before he has seen the whole extent of it.

The sentiments in an epic poem are the thoughts and behaviour which the author ascribes to the persons whom he introduces, and are just when they are conformable to the characters of the several persons. The sentiments have likewise a relation to things as well as persons, and are then perfect when they are such as are adapted to the subject. If in either of these cases the poet endeavors to argue or explain, to magnify or diminish, to raise love or hatred, pity or terror, or any other passion, we ought to consider whether the sentiments he makes use of are proper for those ends. Homer is cenured by the critics for his defect as to this particular in several parts of the Iliad and Odyssey, 'tis at the same time those who have treated this great poet with candor, have attributed this defect to the times in which he lived. It was the fault of the age, and not of Homer, if there wants that delicacy in some of his sentiments, which now appears in the works of men of a much inferior genius. Besides, if there are blemishes in any particular thoughts, there is an infinite beauty in the greatest part of them. In short, if there are many poets who would not have fallen into the meanenes of some of his sentiments, there are none who could have risen up to the greatness of others. Virgil has excelled all others in the propriety of his sentiments. Milton shines likewise very much in this particular: Nor must we omit one consideration which adds to his honor and reputation. Homer and Virgil introduced persons whose characters are commonly known among men, and such as are to be met with either in history, or in ordinary conversation. Milton's characters, most of them, lie out of nature, and were to be formed purely by his own invention. It shows a greater genius in Shakespeare to have drawn his Calyban, than his Hotspur or Julius Cæsar: The one was to be supplied out of his own imagination, whereas the other might have been formed upon tradition, history and observation. It was much easier therefore for Homer to find proper sentiments for an assembly of Grecian generals, than for Milton to diversify his infernal council with proper characters, and inspire them with a variety of sentiments. The loves of Dido and Æneas, are only copies of what has passed between other persons. Adam and
and Eve before the fall, are a different species from that of mankind, who are descended from them; and none but a poet of the most unbounded invention, and the most exquisite judgment, could have filled their conversation and behaviour with so many apt circumstances during their state of innocence.

Nor is it sufficient for an epic poem to be filled with such thoughts as are natural, unless it abound also with such as are sublime. Virgil in this particular falls short of Homer. He has not indeed so many thoughts that are low and vulgar; but at the same time has not so many thoughts that are sublime and noble. The truth of it is, Virgil seldom rises into very astonishing sentiments, where he is not fired by the Iliad. He every where charms and pleases us by the force of his own genius; but seldom elevates and transports us where he does not fetch his hints from Homer.

Milton's chief talent, and indeed his distinguishing excellence lies in the sublimity of his thoughts. There are others of the moderns who rival him in every other part of poetry; but in the greatness of his sentiments he triumphs over all the poets both modern and ancient, Homer only excepted. It is impossible for the imagination of man to distend itself with greater ideas, than those which he has laid together in his first, second and sixth books. The seventh, which describes the creation of the world, is likewise wonderfully sublime, tho' not so apt to stir up emotion in the mind of the reader, nor consequently so perfect in the epic way of writing, because it is filled with less action. Let the judicious reader compare what Longinus has observed on several passages in Homer, and he will find parallels for most of them in the Paradise Lost.

From what has been said we may infer, that as there are two kinds of sentiments, the natural and the sublime, which are always to be purfued in an heroic poem, there are also two kinds of thoughts which are carefully to be avoided. The first are such as are affected and unnatural; the second such as are mean and vulgar. As for the first kind of thoughts we meet with little or nothing that is like them in Virgil: He has none of those trifling points and puerilities that are so often to be met with in Ovid, none of the epigrammatic turns of Lucan, none of those swelling sentiments which are so frequently in Statius and Claudian, none of those mixed embellishments of Tasso. Every thing is just and natural. His sentiments show that he had a perfect insight into human nature, and that he knew every thing which was the most proper to affect it.

Mr. Dryden has in some places, which I may hereafter take notice of, misrepresented Virgil's way of thinking as to this particular, in the translation he has given us of the Æneid. I do not remember that Homer anywhere falls into the faults abovementioned, which were indeed the false refinements of later ages. Milton, it must be confess, has sometimes erred in this respect, as I shall shew more at large in another paper; tho' considering all the poets of the age in which he writ, were infected with this wrong way of thinking, he is rather to be admired that he did not give more into it, than that he did sometimes comply with the vicious taste which still prevails so much among modern writers.

But since several thoughts may be natural which are low and groveling, an epic poet should not only avoid such sentiments as are unnatural or affected, but also such as are mean and vulgar. Homer has opened a great field of fancy to men of more delicacy than greatness of genius, by the homeliness of some of his sentiments. But, as I have before said, these are rather to be imputed to the simplicity of the age in which he lived, to which I may also add, of that which he described, than to any imperfection in that divine poet. Zoilus, among the Ancients, and Monsieur Perrault, among the Moderns, pushed their ridicule very far upon him,
him, on account of some such sentiments. There is no blemish to be observed in Virgil, under this head, and but a very few in Milton. I shall give but one instance of this impropriety of thought in Homer, and at the same time compare it with an instance of the same nature, both in Virgil and Milton. Sentiments which raise laughter, can very seldom be admitted with any decency into an heroic poem, whose business is to excite passions of a much nobler nature. Homer, however, in his characters of Vulcan and Therites, in his story of Mars and Venus, in his behaviour of Iris, and in other passages, has been observed to have lapsed into the burlesque character, and to have departed from that serious air which seems essential to the magnificence of an epic poem. I remember but one laugh in the whole Æneid, which rises in the fifth book upon Menoneus, where he is represented as thrown overboard, and drolling himself upon a rock. But this piece of mirth is so well timed, that the severest critic can have nothing to say against it, for it is in the book of games and diversions, where the reader's mind may be supposed to be sufficiently relaxed for such an entertainment. The only piece of pleasantry in Paradise Lost, is where the evil spirits are described as rallying the Angels upon the success of their new invented artillery. This passage I look upon to be the most exceptionable in the whole poem, as being nothing else but a string of puns, and those too very indifferent.

Satan beheld their plight,
And to his mates thus in derision call'd,
O Friends, why come not on these victors proud!
Fire while they fierce were coming, and when we,
To entertain them fair with open front,
And breach, (what could we more) propounded terms
Of composition; straight they chang'd their minds,
Flew off, and into strange vagaries fell,
As they would dance, yet for a dance they seem'd

Somewhat extravagant and wild, perhaps
For joy of offer'd peace; but I suppose
If our proposals once again were heard,
We should compel them to a quick result.
To whom thus Belial in like game some mood,
Leader, the terms we sent, were terms of weight,
Of hard contents, and full of force urg'd home,
Such as we might perceive amus'd them all,
And jumbled many, who receives them right,
Had need, from head to foot, well understand;
Not understood, this gift they have besides,
They show us when our foes walk not upright.
Thus they among themselves in pleasant vein
Stood scoffing——

HAVING already treated of the fable, the characters and sentiments in the Paradise Lost, we are in the last place to consider the language; and as the learned world is very much divided upon Milton as to this point, I hope they will excuse me if I appear particular in any of my opinions, and incline to those who judge the most advantageously of the author.

It is requisite that the language of an heroic poem should be both perspicuous and sublime. In proportion as either of these two qualities are wanting, the language is imperfect. Perspicuity is the first and most necessary qualification; in so much that a good-natured reader sometimes overlooks a little slip even in the grammar or syntax, where it is impossible for him to mistake the poet's sense. Of this kind is that passage in Milton, wherein he speaks of Satan.

——'God and his Son except,
Created thing nought val'd he nor fray'n'd.
And that in which he describes Adam and Eve,
Adam the goodliest man of men since born
His sons, the fairest of her daughters Eve.
It is plain, that in the former of these passages, according to the natural syntax, the divine Persons mentioned in the first line are represented as created beings; and that in the other, Adam and Eve are confounded with their sons and daughters. Such little blemishes
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as these, when the thought is great and natural, we should, with Horace, impute to a pardonable inadvertency, or to the weakness of human nature, which cannot attend to each minute particular, and give the last finishing to every circumstance in so long a work. The ancient critics therefore, who were acted by a spirit of candor, rather than that of cavilling, invented certain figures of speech, on purpose to palliate little errors of this nature in the writings of those authors who had so many greater beauties to atone for them.

If clearness and perspicuity were only to be consulted, the poet would have nothing else to do but to clothe his thoughts in the most plain and natural expressions. But since it often happens that the most obvious phrasés, and those which are used in ordinary conversation, become too familiar to the ear, and contract a kind of meanness by paffing through the mouths of the vulgar, a poet should take particular care to guard himself against idiomatic ways of speaking. Ovid and Lucan have many puerilities of expression upon this account, as taking up with the first phrasés that offered, without putting themselves to the trouble of looking after such as would not only be natural, but also elevated and sublime. Milton has but a few failings in this kind, of which, however, you may meet with some instances, as in the following passages:

Embrio’s and idiots, eremites and friers
White, black and gray, with all their trumpery,
Here pilgrims roam —
— A while discourse they hold,
No fear last dinner cool; when thus began
Our author —
Who of all ages to succeed, but feeling
The evil on him brought by me, will curse
My head, Ill fare our Ancestor impure,
For this we may thank Adam —

The great masters in composition know very well that many an elegant phrase becomes im-

proper for a poet or an orator, when it has been debased by common use. For this reason the works of ancient authors, which are written in dead languages, have a great advantage over those which are written in languages that are now spoken. Were there any mean phrasés or idioms in Virgil and Homer, they would not shock the ear of the most delicate modern reader, so much as they would have done that of an old Greek or Roman, because we never hear them pronounced in our streets, or in ordinary conversation.

It is not therefore sufficient, that the language of an epic poem be perspicuous, unless it be also sublime. To this end it ought to deviate from the common forms and ordinary phrasés of speech. The judgment of a poet very much discovers itself in shunning the common roads of expression, without falling into such ways of speech as may seem stiff and unnatural; he must not swell into a false sublime, by endeavoring to avoid the other extreme. Among the Greeks, Aeschylus, and sometimes Sophocles were guilty of this fault; among the Latins, Claudian and Statius; and among our own Countrymen, Shake spear and Lee. In these authors the affectation of greatness often hurts the perspicuity of the style, as in many others the endeavor after perspicuity prejudices its greatness.

Aristotle has observed, that the idiomatic style may be avoided, and the sublime formed, by the following methods. First, by the use of metaphors: such are those in Milton.

Imparadis’d in one another’s arms,
— And in his hand a reed
Stood waving tipt with fire. —
The grassy clods now cab’d. —
Spangled with eyes —

In these and innumerable other instances, the metaphors are very bold but just; I must however observe, that the metaphors are not thick fown in Milton, which always favors too much of wit; that they never clash with one another,
which, as Aristotle observes, turns a sentence into a kind of an enigma or riddle; and that he seldom has recourse to them where the proper and natural words will do as well.

Another way of raising the language, and giving it a poetical turn, is to make use of the idioms of other tongues. Virgil is full of the Greek forms of speech, which the critics call Hellenisms, as Horace in his odes abounds with them much more than Virgil. I need not mention the several dialects which Homer has made use of for this end. Milton in conformity with the practice of the ancient poets, and with Aristotle's rule, has infused a great many Latinisms as well as Grecisms, and sometimes Hebrewisms, into the language of his poem; as towards the beginning of it,

Nor did they not perceive the evil plight
In which they were, or the fierce pains not feel.
Yet is their general's voice they soon obey'd.
— Who shall tempt with wandering feet
The dark unbottom'd infinite abyss,
And through the palpable obscure find out
His uncouth way, or spread his airy flight
Upborne with indefatigable wings
Over the vast abrupt!

— So both ascend
In the visions of God ——

B. 11.

Under this head may be reckoned the placing the adjective after the substantive, the transposition of words, the turning the adjective into a substantive, with several other foreign modes of speech, which this poet has naturalized to give his verse the greater sound, and throw it out of prose.

The third method mentioned by Aristotle, is what agrees with the genius of the Greek language more than with that of any other tongue, and is therefore more used by Homer than by any other poet. I mean the lengthening of a phrase by the addition of words, which may either be inserted or omitted, as also by the extending or contractting of particular words by the insertion or omission of certain syllables. Milton has put in practice this method of raising his language, as far as the nature of our tongue will permit, as in the passage above-mentioned, eremite, for what is hermit, in common discourse. If you observe the measure of his verse, he has with great judgment suppressed a syllable in several words, and shortened those of two syllables into one, by which method, besides the above-mentioned advantage, he has given a greater variety to his numbers. But this practice is more particularly remarkable in the names of persons and of countries, as Beelzebub, Hezelon, and in many other particulars, wherein he has either changed the name, or made use of that which is not the most commonly known, that he might the better depart from the language of the vulgar.

The same reason recommended to him several old words, which also makes his poem appear the more venerable, and gives it a greater air of antiquity.

I must likewise take notice, that there are in Milton several words of his own coinage, as Cerberean, miscreated, Hell-doom'd, embryon atoms, and many others. If the reader is offended at this liberty in our English poet, I would recommend him to a discourse in Plutarch, which shows us how frequently Homer has made use of the same liberty.

Milton by the above-mentioned helps, and by the choice of the noblest words and phrases which our tongue would afford him, has carried our language to a greater height than any of the English poets have ever done before or after him, and made the sublimity of his style equal to that of his sentiments.

I have been the more particular in these observations on Milton's style, because it is that part of him in which he appears the most singular. The remarks I have here made upon the practice of other poets, with my observations out of Aristotle, will perhaps alleviate the prejudice which some have taken to his poem upon
upon this account; tho' after all, I must confess, that I think his style, tho' admirable in general, is in some places too much stiffened and obscured by the frequent use of those methods, which Aristotle has prescribed for the raising of it.

This redundancy of those several ways of speech which Aristotle calls foreign language, and with which Milton has so very much enriched, and in some places darkned the language of his poem, was the more proper for his use, because his poem is written in blank verse. Rime without any other assistance, throws the language off from prose, and very often makes an indifferent phrase pass unregarded; but where the verse is not built upon rimes, there pomp of sound, and energy of expression, are indifferably necessary to support the stile, and keep it from falling into the flaneness of prose.

Those who have not a taste for this elevation of stile, and are apt to ridicule a poet when he goes out of the common forms of expression, would do well to see how Aristotle has treated an ancient author, called Euclid, for his insipid mirth upon this occasion. Mr. Dryden used to call this sort of men his prose-critics.

I should, under this head of the language, consider Milton's numbers, in which he has made use of several elisions, that are not customary among other English poets, as may be particularly observed in his cutting off the letter 't', when it precedes a vowel. This, and some other innovations in the measure of his verse, has varied his numbers, in such a manner, as makes them incapable of satiating the ear and clowing the reader, which the same uniform measure would certainly have done, and which the perpetual returns of rime never fail to do in long narrative poems. I shall close these reflections upon the language of Paradise Lost, with observing that Milton has copied after Homer, rather than Virgil, in the length of his periods, the copiousness of his phrases, and the running of his verses into one another.

I HAVE, now consider'd Milton's Paradise Lost under those four great heads of the fable, the characters, the sentiments, and the language; and have shown that he excels, in general, under each of these heads. I hope that I have made several discoveries which may appear new, even to those who are versed in critical learning. Were I indeed to choose my readers, by whose judgment I would stand or fall, they should not be such as are acquainted only with the French and Italian critics, but also with the ancient and modern who have written in either of the learned languages. Above all, I would have them well versed in the Greek and Latin poets, without which a man very often fancies that he understands a critic, when in reality he does not comprehend his meaning.

It is in criticism, as in all other sciences and speculations, one who brings with him any implicit notions and observations which he has made in his reading of the poets, will find his own reflections methodized and explained, and perhaps several little hints that had passed in his mind, perfected and improved in the works of a good critic; whereas one who has not thes previous lights, is very often an utter stranger to what he reads, and apt to put a wrong interpretation upon it.

Nor is it sufficient, that a man who sets up for a judge in criticism, should have perused the authors above-mentioned, unless he has also a clear and logical head. Without this talent he is perpetually puzzled and perplexed amidst his own blunders, mistakes the sense of those he would confute, or if he chances to think right, does not know how to convey his thoughts to another with clearness and perplexity. Aristotle, who was the best critic, was also one of the best logicians that ever appeared in the world.
Mr. Lock's Essay on Human Understanding would be thought a very odd book for a man to make himself master of, who would get a reputation by critical writings; though at the same time it is very certain, that an author, who has not learned the art of distinguishing between words and things, and of ranging his thoughts, and setting them in proper lights, whatever notions he may have, will lose himself in confusion and obscurity. I might further observe, that there is not a Greek or Latin critic who has not shewn, even in the style of his criticisms, that he was a master of all the elegance and delicacy of his native tongue.

The truth of it is, there is nothing more absurd than for a man to set up for a critic, without a good insight into all the parts of learning; whereas many of those who have endeavored to signalize themselves by works of this nature among our English writers, are not only defective in the abovementioned particulars, but plainly discover by the phrases which they make use of, and by their confused way of thinking, that they are not acquainted with the most common and ordinary systems of arts and sciences. A few general rules extracted out of the French authors, with a certain cast of words, has sometimes set up an illiterate heavy writer for a most judicious and formidable critic.

One great mark, by which you may discover a critic who has neither taste nor learning, is this, that he seldom ventures to praise any passage in an author which has not been before received and applauded by the public, and that his criticism turns wholly upon little faults and errors. This part of a critic is so very easy to succeed in, that we find every ordinary reader, upon the publishing of a new poem, has wit and ill-nature enough to turn several passages of it into ridicule, and very often in the right place. This Mr. Dryden has very agreeably remarked in those two celebrated lines,

Errors, like straws, upon the surface flow,
He who would search for pearls must dive below.

A true critic ought to dwell rather upon excellencies than imperfections, to discover the concealed beauties of a writer, and communicate to the world such things as are worth their observation. The most exquisite words and finest strokes of an author are those which very often appear the most doubtful and exceptionable, to a man who wants a relish for polite learning; and they are these, which a four undistinguishing critic generally attacks with the greatest violence. Tully observes, that it is very easy to brand or fix a mark upon what he calls verbum ardens, or, as it may be rendered into English, a glowing bold expression, and to turn it into ridicule by a cold ill-natured criticism. A little wit is equally capable of exposing a beauty, and of aggravating a fault; and though such a treatment of an author naturally produces indignation in the mind of an understanding reader, it has however its effect among the generality of those whose hands it falls into, the rabble of mankind being very apt to think that every thing which is laughed at with any mixture of wit, is ridiculous in itself.

Such a mirth as this, is always unseasonable in a critic, as it rather prejudices the reader than convinces him, and is capable of making a beauty, as well as a blemish, the subject of derision. A man, who cannot write with wit on a proper subject, is dull and stupid, but one who shows it in an improper place, is as impertinent and absurd. Besides, a man who has the gift of ridicule, is apt to find fault with anything that gives him an opportunity of exerting his beloved talent, and very often confines a passage, not because there is any fault in it, but because he can be merry upon it. Such kinds of pleasantry are very unfair and ingenuous in works of criticism, in which the greatest masters,
The fable of every poem is according to Aristotle's division either simple or implex. It is called simple when there is no change of fortune in it, implex when the fortune of the chief actor changes from bad to good, or from good to bad. The implex fable is thought the most perfect; I suppose, because it is more proper to stir up the passions of the reader, and to surprise him with a greater variety of accidents.

The implex fable is therefore of two kinds: In the firft the chief actor makes his way through a long series of dangers and difficulties, till he arrives at honor and prosperity, as we see in the story of Ulysses. In the second, the chief actor in the poem falls from some eminent pitch of honor and prosperity, into misery and disgrace. Thus we see Adam and Eve sinking from a state of innocence and happiness, into the most abject condition of sin and sorrow.

The most taking tragedies among the Ancients were built on this last sort of implex fable, particularly the tragedy of OEdipus, which proceeds upon a story, if we may believe Aristotle, the most proper for tragedy that could be invented by the wit of man. I have taken some pains in a former paper to show, that this kind of implex fable, wherein the event is unhappy, is more apt to affect an audience than that of the first kind; notwithstanding many excellent pieces among the Ancients, as well as most of those which have been written of late years in our own country, are raised upon contrary plans. I must however own, that I think this kind of fable, which is the most perfect in tragedy, is not so proper for an heroic poem.

Milton seems to have been sensible of this imperfection in his fable, and has therefore endeavored to cure it by several expedients; particularly by the mortification which the great adversary of mankind meets with upon his return to the assembly of infernal Spirits, as it is described in a beautiful passage of the tenth book.
book; and likewise by the vision, wherein
Adam at the close of the poem sees his offspring
triumphing over his great enemy, and himself
restored to a happier Paradise than that from
which he fell.

There is another objection against Milton's
fable, which is indeed almost the same with the
former, tho' placed in a different light, namely,
That the hero in the Paradise Lost is unsuccess-
ful, and by no means a match for his enemies.
This gave occasion to Mr. Dryden's reflection,
that the Devil was in reality Milton's hero. I
think I have obviated this objection in my first
paper. The Paradise Lost is an epic, or a nar-
rative poem, and he that looks for an hero in it,
seeks for that which Milton never intended;
and if he will needs fix the name of an hero upon
any person in it, 'tis certainly the Messiah is the
hero, both in the principal action, and in the
chief episodes. Paganism could not furnish out
a real action for a fable greater than that of the
Iliad or Æneid, and therefore an heathen could
not form a higher notion of a poem than one of
that kind which they call an heroic. Whether
Milton's is not of a sublimier nature I will not
pretent to determin: It is sufficient that I show
there is in the Paradise Lost all the greatness of
plan, regularity of design, and matterly beauti-
ties which we discover in Homer and Virgil.

I must in the next place observe, that Milton
has interwoven in the texture of his fable some
particulars which do not seem to have probabi-
licity enough for an epic poem, particularly in
the actions which he ascribes to Sin and Death,
and the picture which he draws of the Limbo
of Vanity, with other passages in the second
book. Such allegories rather favor of the spirit
of Spensr and Aritoile, than of Homer and
Virgil.

In the structure of this poem he has likewise
admitted of too many digressions. It is finely
observed by Aristotle, that the author of an
heroic poem should seldom speak himself, but
throw as much of his work as he can into
the mouths of those who are his principal actors.
Aristotle has given no reason for this precept;
but I presume it is because the mind of the
reader is more awed and elevated when he hears
Æneas or Achilles speak, than when Virgil or
Homer talk in their own persons. Besides that
assuming the character of an eminent man is
apt to fire the imagination, and raise the ideas
of the author. Tully tells us, mentioning his
dialogue of old age, in which Cato is the chief
speaker, that upon a review of it he was agree-
ably imposed upon, and fancied that it was
Cato, and not he himself, who uttered his
thoughts on that subject.

If the reader would be at the pains to see
how the story of the Iliad and Æneid is deli-
vered by those persons who act in it, he will be
surprised to find how little in either of these
poems proceeds from the authors. Milton has,
in the general disposition of his fable, very finely
observed this great rule; insomuch, that there is
scarce a third part of it which comes from the
poet; the rest is spoken either by Adam and
Eve, or by some good or evil Spirit who is en-
gaged either in their destruction or defense.

From what has been here observed, it ap-
ppears, that digressions are by no means to be
allowed of in an epic poem. If the poet, in
the ordinary course of his narration, should
speak as little as possible, he should certainly
never let his narration sleep for the sake of any
reflections of his own. I have often observed,
with a secret admiration, that the longest re-
flexion in the Æneid is in that passage of the
tenth book, where Turnus is represented as
dressing himself in the spoils of Pallas, whom
he had slain. Virgil here lets his fable stand
still for the sake of the fake of the following remark.
"How is the mind of man ignorant of futu-
"ritv, and unable to bear prosperous fortune
"with moderation? The time will come when
"Turnus shall wish that he had left the body
"of Pallas untouched, and curse the day on
"which he dressed himself in these spoils." As

the
the great event of the Aeneid, and the death of Turnus, whom Aeneas slew, because he saw him adorned with the spoils of Pallas, turns upon this incident, Virgil went out of his way to make this reflection upon it, without which so finall a circumstance might possibly have flopped out of his reader’s memory. Lucan, who was an injudicious poet, lets drop his story very frequently for the sake of his unnecessary digressions, or his diverticula, as Scaliger calls them. If he gives us an account of the pro-
digies which preceded the civil war, he de-
clames upon the occasion, and shows how much happier it would be for man, if he did not feel his evil fortune before it comes to pass, and suffer not only by its real weight, but by the apprehension of it. Milton’s complaint of his blindnefs, his panegyrick on marriage, his re-
fections on Adam and Eve’s going naked, of the Angles eating, and several other passages in his poem, are liable to the same exception, tho’ I must confess there is so great a beauty in these very digressions that I would not with them out of his poem.

I have, in a former paper, spoken of the characters of Milton’s Paradise Lost, and declared my opinion, as to the allegorical persons who are introduced in it.

If we look into the sentiments, I think they are sometimes defective under the following heads; Firft, as there are several of them too much pointed, and some that degenerate even into puns. Of this laft kind, I am afraid is that in the first book, where speaking of the pigmies, he calls them

— the small infantry
Warr’d on by cranes ——

Another blemiffh that appears in some of his thoughts, is his frequent allusion to heathen fables, which are not certainly of a piece with the divine subject, of which he treats. I do not find fault with these allusions, where the poet himself represents them as fabulous, as he does in some places, but where he mentions them as truths and matters of fact. The limits of my paper will not give me leave to be particular in instances of this kind: The reader will easily remark them in his perusal of the poem.

A third fault in his sentiments, is an unne-
cessary oftentation of learning, which likewise occurs very frequently. It is certain, that both Homer and Virgil were masters of all the learning of their times, but it shows itself in their works, after an indirect and concealed manner. Milton seems ambitious of letting us know, by his excursions on free-will and predestination, and his many glances upon history, astronomy, geography, and the like, as well as by the terms and phrases he sometimes makes use of, that he was acquainted with the whole circle of arts and sciences.

If, in the laft place, we consider the language of this great poet, we muft allow what I have hinted in a former paper, that it is often too much labored, and sometimes obscured by old words, transpositions, and foreign idioms. Seneca’s objection to the title of a great author, Riget ejus oratio, nihil in ea placidum, nihil lenie, is what many critics make to Milton: As I cannot wholly refute it, so I have already apolo-

ized for it in another paper; to which I may

further add, that Milton’s sentiments and ideas were so wonderfully sublime, that it would have been impossible for him to have representa-
ed them in their full strength and beauty, with-
out having recourse to these foreign affiftances. Our language funk under him, and was un-
equal to that greatnefs of soul, which furnished him with fuch glorious conceptions.

A second fault in his language is, that he often affects a kind of jingle in his words, as in the following passages, and many others:

That brought into this world a world of woe.
——— Begirt th’almighty throne
Beseeching or beseeing ——
This tempted our attempt ——
At one flight bound high over-leapt all bound.

I know
I know there are figures for this kind of speech, that some of the greatest Ancients have been guilty of it, and that Aristotle himself has given it a place in his Rhetoric among the beauties of that art. But as it is in itself poor and trifling, it is I think at present universally exploded by all the masters of polite writing.

The last fault which I shall take notice of in Milton's style, is the frequent use of what the learned call technical words, or terms of art. It is one of the great beauties of poetry, to make hard things intelligible, and to deliver what is abstruse of itself in such easy language as may be understood by ordinary readers: besides that the knowledge of a poet should rather seem born with him, or inspired, than drawn from books and systems. I have often wondered, how Mr. Dryden could translate a passage out of Virgil, after the following manner,

Tack to the larboard, and stand off to sea,
    Veer star-board sea and land.

Milton makes use of larboard in the same manner. When he is upon building, he mentions Doric pillars, pilasters, cornice, freeze, architrave. When he talks of heavenly bodies, you meet with elliptic, and eccentric, the trepidation, stars dropping from the zenith, rays culminating from the equator. To which might be added many instances of the like kind in several other arts and sciences.

I shall in my next papers give an account of the many particular beauties in Milton, which would have been too long to insert under those general heads I have already treated of, and with which I intend to conclude this piece of criticism.

I have seen in the works of a modern philosopher, a map of the spots in the sun. My last paper of the faults and blemishes in Milton's Paradise Lost, may be considered as a piece of the same nature. To pursue the allusion: As it is observed, that among the bright parts of the luminous body above-mentioned, there are some which glow more intensely, and dart a stronger light than others; so, notwithstanding I have already shown Milton's poem to be very beautiful in general, I shall now proceed to take notice of such beauties as appear to me more exquisite than the rest.
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On the same paper and with the same letter as this edition of the Paradise Lost, and with prints design'd by Mr. Hayman,

A new edition of Paradise Regain'd, Samson Agonistes, and Milton's other Poems, with Notes of various Authors,

By THOMAS NEWTON, D. D.
This first book proposes, first in brief, the whole subject, Man's disobedience, and the loss thereupon of Paradise wherein he was plac'd: Then touches the prime cause of his fall, the Serpent, or rather Satan in the serpent; who revolting from God, and drawing to his side many legions of Angels, was by the command of God driven out of Heaven with all his crew into the great deep. Which action pass'd over, the poem hastens into the midst of things, presenting Satan with his Angels now fallen into Hell, describ'd here, not in the center (for Heaven and Earth may be suppos'd as yet not made, certainly not yet accurs'd) but in a place of utter darkness, fitliest call'd Chaos: Here Satan with his Angels lying on the burning lake, thunder-struck and astonish'd, 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 battel, their chief leaders nam'd, according to the idols known afterwards in Canaan and the countries adjoining. To these Satan directs his speech, comforts them with hope 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 determin thereon he refers to a full council. What his associates thence attempt. Pandemonium the palace of Satan rises, suddenly built out of the deep: The infernal peers there sit in council.
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

1. Of Man’s first disobedience, &c.] Milton has proposed the subject of his poem in the following verses. These lines are perhaps as plain, simple, and unadorned as any of the whole poem, in which particular the author has conformed himself to the example of Homer and the precept of Horace. His invocation to a work, which turns in a great measure upon the creation of the world, is very properly made to the Muse who inspired Moses in those books from whence our author drew his subject, and to the Holy Spirit who is therein represented as operating after a particular manner in the first production of nature. This whole exordium rises very happily into noble language and sentiment, as I think the transition to the fable is exquisitely beautiful and natural. Addison.

Besides the plainness and simplicity of these lines, there is a farther beauty in the variety of the numbers, which of themselves charm every reader without any sublimity of thought or pomp of expression: and this variety of the numbers consists chiefly in the pause being so artfully varied, that it falls upon a different syllable in almost every line, as it may easily be perceived by distinguishing the verses thus;

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

Mr. Pope, in a letter to Mr. Walsh containing some critical observations on English versification, remarks that in any smooth English verse of ten syllables, there is naturally a pause at the fourth, fifth, or sixth syllable, and upon the judicious change and management of these depends the variety of versification. But Milton varies the pause according to the sense, and varies it through all the ten syllables, by which means he is a master of greater harmony than any other English poet: and he is continually varying the pause, and scarce ever suffers it to rest upon the same syllable in more than two, and seldom in so many as two, verses together. Here it is upon the first syllable of the verse,

— others on the grafs
Couch’d, and now fill’d with pasture gazing fit.

— such as in their souls infix’d
Plagues; they ahtonish’d all resistance loft.

B 2

Upon
With loss of Eden, 'till one greater Man

And bush with frizzled hair implicit; | last
Rofe as in dance the stately trees, vii. 323.
And here upon the end,

   — thou that day
Thy Father's dreadful thunder didst not spare | III. 393.
Attended with ten thouand thousand faints | VI. 767.

And sometimes to give the greater variety to the verse, there are two or more pauses in the same line: as

   — on the ground
Outstretch'd he lay, | on the cold ground, | and oft
Curs'd his creation x. 851.

And swins, | or sinks, | or wades, | or creeps, | or flies: | II. 950.

Exhausted, | spiritless, | afflicted, | fall'n. | VI. 852.

But besides this variety of the pauses, there are other excellencies in Milton's verfification. The English heroic verse approaches nearest to the Iambic of the Ancients, of which it wants only a foot; but then it is to be measur'd by the tone and accent, as well as by the time and quantity. An Iambic foot is one short and one long syllable ', and fix such feet constitute an Iambic verse: but the Ancients seldom made use of the pure Iambic, especially in works of any considerable length, but oftener of the mix'd Iambic, that is with a proper intermixture of other measures; and of these perhaps Milton has express'd as happy a variety as any poet whatever, or indeed as the nature of a verse will admit, that consists only of five feet, and ten syllables for the most part. Sometimes he gives us almost pure Iambics, as in I. 314.

   He call'd so loud, that all the hollow deep
Of Hell re-founded.

Sometimes he intermixes the Trochee or foot of
of one long and one short syllable \( \text{-} \text{-} \), as in v. 49.

Who durst defy th' Omnipotent to arms.

Sometimes the Spondee or foot of two long syllables \( \text{-} \text{-} \), as in v. 21.

Dove-like saæt brooding on the vast abyfs.

Sometimes the Pyrrichius or foot of two short syllables \( \text{-} \text{-} \), as in v. 64.

Serv'd only to discover fights of woe.

Sometimes the Dactyle or foot of one long and two short syllables \( \text{-} \text{-}\text{-} \), as in v. 45.

Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' ætherial sky.

Sometimes the Anapæst or foot of two short and one long syllable \( \text{-} \text{-}\text{-} \), as in v. 87.

Mýrâd's though bright! If he whom mutual league

Sometimes the Tribrachus or foot of three short syllables \( \text{-} \text{-}\text{-} \), as in v. 709.

Tô màny a row of pipes the found-board breathes.

And sometimes there is variety of these measures in the same verse, and seldom or never the same measures in two verses together. And these changes are not only rung for the sake of the greater variety, but are so contriv'd as to make the sound more expressive of the sense. And this is another great art of versification, the adapting of the very sounds, as well as words, to the subject matter, the style of sound, as Mr. Pope calls it: and in this Milton is excellent as in all the rest, and we shall give several instances of it in the course of these remarks. So that he has abundantly exemplified in his own practice the rules laid down by himself in his preface, his versification having all the requisites of true musical delight, which as he says consists only in apt numbers, fit quantity of syllables, and the sense variously drawn out from one verse into another.

1. Of Man’s first disobedience ---]

\[ \text{Mòvìv ace}_{\text{c}}{\text{'}} \text{, } \text{Iliad.} \]

\[ \text{A}n\text{d}e\text{ra } \mu\text{c}i \text{e} \text{nvi}v\text{e} \text{. } \text{Ody}f{\text{s}}. \]

\[ \text{Ar}m\text{a} \text{virum} \text{que} \text{cano. } \text{Æneid.} \]

In all these instances, as in Milton, the subject of the poem is the very first thing offer'd to us, and precedes the verb with which it is connected. It must be confessed that Horace did not regard this, when he translated the first line of the Odyssey, Did mihi Musa virum, &c. De Art. Poet. 141. And Lucian, if I remember right, makes a jest of this observation, where he introduces the shade of Homer as expressly declaring that he had no other reason for making the word \( \muòvi \) the first in his poem, but that it was the first which came into his head. However the uniform practice of Homer, Virgil, and Milton in this particular, seems to prove that it was not accidental, but a thing really design’d by them.

4. With los's of Eden, ] But Eden was not lost, and the raft that we read of our first parents is that they were still in Eden,

Through Eden took their solitary way.

With los's of Eden therefore means no more than with los's of Paradise, which was planted in Eden, which word Eden signifies delight or pleasure, and the country is supposed to be the same that was afterwards called Mesopotamia; particularly by our author in IV. 210. &c. Here the whole is put for a part, as sometimes a part for the whole, by a figure called Syncoc- doche.

4. \--- till one greater Man

Restore us, and regain the blissful seat,]

As it is a greater Man, so it is a happier Paradise which our Saviour promis'd to the penitent thief, Luke XXIII. 43. This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise. But Milton had a notion that after the conflagration and the general judgment
PARADISE LOST. Book I.

Sing heav'nly Muse, that on the secret top
Of Oreb, or of Sinai, didst inspire
That shepherd, who first taught the chosen seed,
In the beginning how the Heav'ns and Earth
Rose out of Chaos: Or if Sion hill

Delight

judgment the whole Earth would be made a
Paradise XII. 463.

for then the Earth
Shall all be Paradise, far happier place
Than this of Eden, and far happier days.

It should seem that the author, speaking here of
regaining the blissful seat, had at this time formed
some design of his poem of Paradise Regain'd.
But however that be, in the beginning of that
poem he manifestly alludes to the beginning of
this, and there makes Paradise to be regain'd
by our Saviour's foiling the tempter in the
wildernefs.

I who ere-while the happy garden sung,
By one Man's disobedience loft, now fing
Recover'd Paradise to all mankind,
By one Man's firm obedience fully try'd,--
And Eden rais'd in the waife wildernefs.

6. ———— that on the secret top
Of Oreb, or of Sinai, ——— —]

Dr. Bentley says that Milton dictated sacred top:
his reasons are such as follow: The ground of
Horeb is said to be holy, Exod. III. 5. and Ho-
reb is called the mountain of God 1 Kings XIX. 8.
But it may be answer'd, that tho' that place of
Horeb, on which Moses stood, was holy, it
does not follow that the top of the mountain
was then holy too: and by the mountain of God
(Dr. Bentley knows) may be meant only, in the
Jewish file, a very great mountain: Besides let
the mountain be never so holy, yet according
to the rules of good poetry, when Milton speaks

of the top of the mountain, he should give us
an epithet peculiar to the top only, and not to
the whole mountain. Dr. Bentley says farther
that the epithet secret will not do here, because
the top of this mountain is visible several
leagues of. But Sinai and Horeb are the same
mountain, with two several eminences, the
higher of them called Sinai: and of Sinai Jo-
says that it is so high, that the top of it cannot
be seen without straining the eyes. In this fense
therefore (tho' I believe it is not Milton's fenfe)
the top of it may be well said to be secret. In
Exod. XVII. it is said that the Israelites, when
incamp'd at the foot of Horeb, could find no
water; from whence Dr. Bentley concludes, that
Horeb had no clouds or mists about its top;
and that therefore secret top cannot be here
meant as implying that high mountains against
rainy weather have their heads surrounded with
mists. I never thought that any reader of Milton
would have understood secret top in this fense.
The words of Horeb or of Sinai imply a doubt
of the poet, which name was properer to be
given to that mountain, on the top of which
Moses receiv'd his inspiration; because Horeb
and Sinai are used for one another in Scripture,
as may be seen by comparing Exod. III. 1. with
Acts VII. 30. but by naming Sinai last, he seems
to incline rather to that. Now it is well known
from Exod. XIX. 16. Ecclus. XLV. 5. and other
places of Scripture, that when God gave his

laws
Delight thee more, and Siloa’s brook that flow’d
Fast by the oracle of God; I thence
Invoke thy aid to my adventrous song,
That with no middle flight intends to soar
Above th’ Aonian mount, while it pursues

laws to Mofes on the top of Sinai, it was co-
ver’d with clouds, dark clouds, and thick fmoke;
it was therefore secret at that time in a peculiar
fence: and the fame thing seems intended by
the epithet which our poet uses upon the very
fame occasion in XII. 227.

God from the mount of Sinai, whose gray top
Shall tremble, he descending, &c.
Dr. Bentley shows that sacred bill is common
among the poets in several languages; from
whence I should conclude that sacred is a general
epithet: whereas secret, in the fence which I have
given it, is the most peculiar one that can be:
and therefore (to use Dr. Bentley’s words) if, as
the best poets have adjudg’d, a proper epithet is to
be preferr’d to a general one, I have such an esteem
for our poet, that which of the two words is the
better, That I fay (viz. secret) was dictated by
Milton. Pearce.

We have given this excellent note at length,
as we have met with several persons who have
approved of Dr. Bentley’s emendation. It may
be too that the poet had a farther meaning in
the use of this epithet in this place; for being
accustomed to make use of words in the signifi-
cation that they bear in the learned languages,
he may very well be supposed to use the word
secret in the same fence as the Latin secretus, set
apart or separate, like the secretosque pios in
Virgil, Æn. VIII. 670. and it appears from
Scripture, that while Mofes was with God in
the mount, the people were not to come near
it or touch it, till after a signal given, and then
they were only to approach, and not to ascend
it, nor pass the bounds set for them upon pain
of death. Exod. XIX. So that upon all accounts
secret is the most proper epithet, that could
have been chosen.

8. That shepherd, who first, &c. [For Mofes
kept the flock of Jethro his father-in-law. Exod.
III. 1. And he is very properly said to have first
taught the chosen seed, being the most ancient
writer among the Jews, and indeed the most
ancient that is now extant in the world.

9. In the beginning how the Heav’n’s and Earth]
Alluding to the first words of Genesis.

11. and Siloa’s brook] Siloa was a small river
that flow’d near the temple at Jerusalem. It is
mention’d Iiai. VIII. 6. So that in effect he in-
vokes the heavenly Mufe, that inspir’d David
and the Prophets on mount Sion, and at Jeru-
usalem, as well as Mofes on mount Sinai.

15. Above th’ Aonian mount,] A poetical ex-
pression for soaring to a height above other
poets. The mountains of Bocotia, anciently
called Aonia, were the haunt of the Mufes,
and thus Virgil, Ecl. VI. 65.

Aonias in montes ut duxerit una fororum,
And again Georg. III. 11.

Aonia rediens deducam vertice Mufas;
though afterwards, I know not by what fa-
tality, that country was famous for the dulnefs
of its inhabitants.

16. Things
Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.
And chiefly Thou, O Spirit, that dost prefer
Before all temples th' upright heart and pure;
Instruct me, for Thou know'st; Thou from the first
Wast present, and with mighty wings outspread

16. Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.] Milton appears to have meant a different thing by rhyme here, from rime in his preface, where it is six times mention'd, and always spelt'd without an b; whereas in all the editions, till Dr. Bentley's appear'd, rhyme in this place of the poem was spelt'd with an b. Milton probably meant a difference in the thing, by making so constant a difference in the spelling; and intended that we should here understand by rhyme not the jingling sound of like endings, but verse in general; the word being deriv'd from rhytmus, ρυθμος. Aristotle had said

Cosa, non detta in prosa mai, ne in rima,
which is word for word the name with what Milton says here. "Prose.

It is evident enough that by rhyme in this place is meant verse in general; but I suppose Milton thought it would sound too low and familiar to the ear to say in prose or verse, and therefore chose rather to say in prose or rhyme. When he says in prose or verse, he adds an epithet to take off from the commonnefs of the expression, as in V. 150.

--------- such prompt eloquence
Flow'd from their lips, in prose or numerous verse.

Is is said that Milton took the first hint of this poem from an Italian tragedy called Il Paradiso perso; and it is pretended that he has borrow'd largely from Mafenius, a German Jesuit, and other modern authors; but it is all a pretence, he made use of all authors, such was his learning; but such is his genius, he is no copyer, his poem is plainly an original, if ever there was one. His subject indeed of the fall of Man together with the principal epides may be said to be as old as Scripture, but his manner of handling them is entirely new, with new illustrations and new beauties of his own; and he may as justly boast of the novelty of his poem, as any of the ancient poets boast of that recommendation upon their works; as Lucretius I. 925.

Avia Pieridum peragro loca, nullius ante
Trita folo: &c.
and Virgil Georg. III. 3.
Cætera qua vacuas tenuiffent carmines mentes
Omnia jam vulgata. -------
Primus ego in patriam &c.
292. --- Juvat ire jugis, quia nulla priorum
Caftalian molli divertitur orbita clivo.

17. And chiefly Thou, O Spirit, &c.] Invoking the Mufe is commonly a matter of mere form, wherein the poets neither mean, nor desire to be thought to mean any thing seriously. But the Holy Ghost here invok'd is too solemn a name to be used insignificantly: and
Book I.  PARADISE LOST.

Dove-like sat on the vast abyss,  And madst it pregnant: what in me is dark 
Illumin, what is low raise and support;  That to the hight of this great argument 
I may assert eternal Providence, 

and besides our author, in the beginning of his 
next work Paradise Regain'd, scruples not to 
say to the same divine person 

--------- Inspire, 
As thou art wont, my prompted song, else mute. 
This address therefore is no mere formal-
ity. Yet some may think that he incurs a 
worst charge of enthusiasm, or even profane-
ness in vouching inspiration for his per-
formance: but the Scriptures represent inspira-
tion as of a much larger extent than is 
commonly apprehended, teaching that every 
good gift, in naturals as well as in morals, de-
scented from the great Father of lights, Jam. 
I. 17. And an extraordinary skill even in me-
chanical arts is there ascribed to the illumina-
tion of the Holy Ghost. It is said of Beza-
lel who was to make the furniture of the ta-
bernacle, that the Lord had filled him with the 
Spirit of God, in wisdom, in understanding, and 
in knowledge, and in all manner of workman-
ship, and to devise curious works, &c. Exod. 
XXXV. 31. Heylin.

But I conceive that Milton intended some-
thing more than this, for I have been informed 
by those, who had opportunities of convers-
ing with his widow, that she was wont to say 
that he did really look upon himself as inspir'd, 
and I think his works are not without a spirit 
of enthusiasm. In the beginning of his 2d 
book of The Reason of Church government, 
speaking of his design of writing a poem in the 
English language, he says, "It was not to be 
"obtained by the invocation of Dame Me-
"memory and her Siren daughters, but by de-
"vout prayer to that eternal Spirit who can 
"enrich with all utterance and knowledge, 
"and sends out his Seraphim, with the hal-
"low'd fire of his altar, to touch and purify 
"the lips of whom he pleases. p. 61. Edit. 
1738.

19. Instruct me, for Thou know'st; 

Eπι άν, συ γεπ ωια. 

21. Dove-like sat brooding,] Alluding to 
Gen. I. 2. the Spirit of God moved on the face 
of the waters; for the word that we translate 
moved signifies properly brooded, as a bird 
doeth upon her eggs; and he says like a dove 
rather than any other bird, because the de-
scnt of the Holy Ghost is compared to a 
dove in Scripture, Luke III. 22. As Milton 
studied the Scriptures in the original lan-
guages, his images and expressions are ofter 
copied from them, than from our transla-
tion.
And justify the ways of God to Men.

Say first, for Heav'n hides nothing from thy view,
Nor the deep tract of Hell, say first what cause
Mov'd our grand parents, in that happy state,
Favor'd of Heav'n so highly, to fall off
From their Creator, and transgress his will
For one restraint, lords of the world besides?
Who first seduc'd them to that foul revolt?
The infernal Serpent; he it was, whose guile,

26. And justify the ways of God to Men.] A verfe, which Mr. Pope has thought fit to borrow with some little variation, in the beginning of his Essay on Man,

But vindicate the ways of God to Man.

It is not easy to conceive any good reafon for Mr. Pope's preferring the word vindicate, but Milton makes ufe of the word justify, as it is the Scripture word, That thou mightest be justified in thy sayings, Rom. III. 4. And the ways of God to Men are juftified in the many argumentative discourses throughout the poem, and particularly in the conferences between God the Father and the Son.

27. Say first, for Heav'n hides nothing from thy view,
Nor the deep tract of Hell, -----] The poets attribute a kind of omnifcience to the Muse, and very rightly, as it enables them to speak of things which could not otherwise be supposed to come to their knowledge. Thus Homer, Iliad. II. 485.

28. by whose aid aspiring
To set himself in glory above his peers.] Here Dr. Bentley objects, that Satan's crime was not, his aiming above his peers; he was in place high above them before, as the Doctor proves from V. 812.
Stirr'd up with envy and revenge, decciv'd
The mother of mankind, what time his pride
Had cast him out from Heav'n, with all his host
Of rebel Angels, by whose aid aspiring
To set himself in glory' above his peers,
He trusted to have equal'd the most High,
If he oppos'd; and with ambitious aim
Against the throne and monarchy of God
Rais'd impious war in Heav'n and battel proud

With

V. 812. But tho' this be true, yet Milton may
be right here; for the force of the words seems,
not that Satan aspir'd to set himself above his
peers, but that he aspir'd to set himself in glory,
&c. that is in divine glory, in such glory as
God and his Son were set in. Here was his
crime: and this is what God charges him with
in V. 725.

--- who intends to erect his throne
Equal to ours, ---
And in VI. 88. Milton says that the rebel Ang-
els hop'd
To win the mount of God, and on his throne
To set the envier of his state, the proud
Aspirer.
See also to the same purpose VII. 140. &c.
From these passages it appears that there is no
occasion for Dr. Bentley's alteration, which is
this,

----- aspiring
To place and glory' above the Son of God.

Pearce.

Besides the other methods which Milton has
employ'd to diversify and improve his num-
bers, he takes the same liberties as Shakespear
and others of our old poets, and in imitation
of the Greeks and Latins often cuts off the
vowel at the end of a word, when the next
word begins with a vowel; though he does not
like the Greeks wholly drop the vowel, but
full retains it in writing like the Latins. Ano-
ther liberty, that he takes likewise for the
greater improvement and variety of his ver-
ification, is pronouncing the same word some-
times as two syllables, and sometimes as only
one syllable or two short ones. We have fre-
cquent instances in spirit, ruin, riot, reason,
highest, and several other words. But then
these excellencies in Milton's verse are attended
with this inconvenience, that his numbers seem
emascred to such readers, as know not, or
know not readily, where such elision or abbre-
viation of vowels is to take place; and there-
fore for their sakes we shall take care through-
out this edition to mark such vowels as are to
be cut off, and such as are to be contracted and
abbreviated, thus '.

Hurl'd
With vain attempt. Him the almighty Power
Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' ethereal sky,
With hideous ruin and combustion, down
To bottomless perdition, there to dwell
In adamantin chains and penal fire,
Who durst defy th' Omnipotent to arms.
Nine times the space that measures day and night
To mortal men, he with his horrid crew
Lay vanquish'd, rolling in the fiery gulf,
Confounded though immortal: But his doom
Reserv'd him to more wrath; for now the thought
Both of lost happiness and lasting pain
Torments him; round he throws his baleful eyes,

That

45. Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' ethereal sky,

46. With hideous ruin and combustion.] Ruin is deriv'd from ruo, and includes the idea of falling with violence and precipitation, and combustion is more than flaming in the foregoing verse, it is burning in a dreadful manner. So that he was not only hurl'd headlong flaming, but he was hurl'd headlong flaming with hideous ruin and combustion; and what occasion is there then for reading with Dr. Bentley confusion instead of combustion?


50. Nine times, &c.] The nine days astonishment, in which the Angels lay intranced after their dreadful overthrow and fall from Heaven, before they could recover either the use of thought or speech, is a noble circumstance, and very finely imagined. The division of Hell into seas of fire, and into firm ground impregnant
That witness’d huge affliction and dismay
Mix’d with obdurate pride and stedfast hate:
At once, as far as Angels ken, he views
The dismal situation waste and wild;
A dungeon horrible on all sides round
As one great furnace flam’d, yet from those flames
No light, but rather darkness visible
Serv’d 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 unconsum’d:

Impregnant with the same furious element, with
that particular circumstance of the exclusion
of hope from those infernal regions, are in-
fiances of the same great and fruitful inven-
tion. *Addison.*

63. *darkness visible]* Milton seems to have
used these words to signify *gloom:* Absolute
darkness is strictly speaking invisible; but where
there is a gloom only, there there is so much
light remaining as serves to show that there are
objects, and yet that those objects cannot be
distinctly seen: In this sense Milton seems to
use the strong and bold expression, *darkness vi-
sible.* *Pearce.*

Seneca has a like expression, speaking of the
Grotta of Paulyppo, Senec. Epist. LVII. Ni-
hil illo carcerre longius, nihil illis faucibus ob-
crusius, quæ nobis praevent, non ut *per tenebras*
videamus, sed ut *ipsas.* And, as Monf. Vol-
taire observes, Antonio de Solis, in his excel-
ent History of Mexico hath ventur’d on the
same thought, when speaking of the place
wherein Montezuma was wont to consult his
Deities; "*Twas a large dark subterraneous
vault, says he, where some dismal tapers al-
"forcd jut light enough to see the obscu-
rity." See his Essay on Epic Poetry, p. 44.
Such place eternal Justice had prepar’d
For those rebellious, here their pris’on ordain’d
In utter darkness, and their portion set
As far remov’d from God and light of Heaven,
As from the center thrice to th’utmost pole.
O how unlike the place from whence they fell!
There the companions of his fall, o’erwhelm’d
With floods and whirlwinds of tempestuous fire,
He soon discerns, and welt’ring by his side

---

72. In utter darkness,] Dr. Bentley reads outer here and in many other places of this poem, because it is in Scripture, το άκτον τοι οιτετέγον: But my dictionaries tell me that utter and outer are both the same word, differently spell’d and pronounc’d. Milton, in the argument of this book, says in a place of utter darkness, and no where throughout the poem does the poet use outer. Pearce.

74. As from the center thrice to th’utmost pole.] Thrice as far as it is from the center of the earth (which is the center of the world according to Milton’s system, IX. 103. and X. 671.) to the pole of the world; for it is the pole of the universe, far beyond the pole of the earth, which is here call’d the utmost pole. It is observable that Homer makes the seat of Hell as far beneath the deepest pit of earth, as the Heaven is above the earth,

Τεσσον ενθε ἀέρι, τον οὐρανός ἐσ’ ἀπο γαῖης.
Iliad. VIII. 16.

Virgil makes it twice as far,

----- Tum Tartarus ipse
Bis patet in præcepis tantum tenditque sub umbras,
Quantus ad ætherem coeli suspensus Olympum.
AEn. VI. 577.

And Milton thrice as far,
As far remov’d from God and light of Heaven,
As from the center thrice to th’utmost pole:
As if these three great poets had stretched their utmost genius, and vied with each other, who should extend his idea of the depth of Hell farthest. But Milton’s whole description of Hell as much exceeds theirs, as in this single circumstance of the depth of it. And how cool and unaffecting is the ταρταρον περιπλακα, the στρεπτικας των ουρανος και λυκον ητοι of Homer, and the lugentes campi, the ferrea turris, and berrifono stribentes cardine portae of Virgil, in comparison with this description by Milton, concluding with that artful contrast,

O how unlike the place from whence they fell!

81. Beil-
One next himself in pow'r, and next in crime,  
Long after known in Palestine, and nam'd  
Beelzebub. To whom th' Arch-Enemy,  
And thence in Heav'n call'd Satan, with bold words  
Breaking the horrid silence thus began.  

If thou be'st he; but O how fall'n! how chang'd  
From him, who in the happy realms of light  
Cloth'd with transcendent brightness didst outshine  
Myriads though bright! If he whom mutual league,  

81. Beelzebub] The lord of flies, an idol  
worshipped at Ecron, a city of the Philistines,  
2 Kings I. 2. He is called prince of the Devils,  
Mat. XII. 24. therefore defervedly here made  
secon'd to Satan himself. Hume.  

82. And thence in Heav'n call'd Satan,) For  
the word Satan in Hebrew signifies an enemy:  
he is the enemy by way of eminence, the chief  
enemy of God and Man.  

84. If thou be'st he; &c.] The thoughts in  
the first speech and description of Satan, who  
is one of the principal actors in this poem, are  
wonderfully proper to give us a full idea of  
him. His pride envy and revenge, obstinate  
despair and impenitence, are all of them very  
artfully interwoven. In short, his first speech  
is a complication of all those passions, which  
discover themselves separately in several other  
of his speeches in the poem. Addison.  

The change and confusion of these enemies  
of God is most artfully express'd in the abrupt-  
ness of the beginning of this speech: If thou  
art he, that Beelzebub ---- He stops, and falls  
into a bitter reflection on their present condi-  
tion, compared with that in which they lately  
were. He attempts again to open his mind;  
cannot proceed on what he intends to say, but  
returns to those sad thoughts; still doubting  
whether 'tis really his associate in the revolt, as  
now in misery and ruin; by that time he had  
expatiated on this (his heart was oppress'd with  
it) he is assur'd to whom he speaks, and goes  
on to declare his proud unrelenting mind.  
Richardson.  

84. -- but O how fall'n! how chang'd  
From him,) He imitates Isaiah and Virgil at  
the same time. If. XIV. 12. How art thou  
fallen, &c. and Virgil's AEn. II. 274.  
Hei mihi qualis erat! quantum mutatus ab illo!  

86. Cloth'd with transcendent brightness didst  
outshine  
Myriads though bright!] Imitated from Ho-  
mer, Odyf. VI. 110. where Diana excels all her  
nymphs
United thoughts and counsels, equal hope
And hazard in the glorious enterprize,
Join'd with me once, now misery hath join'd
In equal ruin: into what pit thou feest
From what hight fall'n, so much the stronger prov'd
He with his thunder: and till then who knew
The force of those dire arms? yet not for those,
Nor what the potent victor in his rage
Can else inflict, do I repent or change,
Though chang'd in outward lustre, that fix'd mind,
And high disdain from sense of injur'd merit,
That with the Mightieft rais'd me to contend,
And to the fierce contention brought along

Innu-

nymphs in beauty, though all of them be beau-
tiful.

\[\text{Peax o' ανυνωτη \ ζελετω, καλω δε \ τε \ \ ωασω.} \]

Bentley.

91. In equal ruin:] So it is in all the editions. And equal ruin is Dr. Bentley's emendation, which Dr. Pearce allows (and I believe every body must allow) to be just and proper; it being very easy to mistake one of these words for the other; and other instances perhaps may occur in the course of this work. Equal ruin hath join'd now, as equal hope join'd before; somewhat like that in Ovid's Metamorphosis, I. 351.

O foror, O conjux, O foemina sola superftes,
Quam commune mihi genus, et patruelis origo,
Deinde torus junxit, nunc ipsa pericula jungunt.

In equal ruin cannot anfwer to in the glorious enterprife, because Milton places a comma after enterprife, and in construction it follows after bazaed, and not after join'd.

93. He with bis thunder:] There is an uncommon beauty in this expression. Satan dis-
dains to utter the name of God, tho' he can-
ot but acknowledge his superiority. So again ver. 257.

----- all but lefs than he
Whom thunder hath made greater.

105. --what
Innumerable force of Spirits arm’d,
That durst dislike his reign, and me preferring,
His utmost pow’r with adverse pow’r oppos’d
In dubious battel on the plains of Heaven,
And shook his throne. What though the field be lost?
All is not lost; th’ 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

105. ---- What though the field be lost?]  
All is not lost; &c.] This passage is an excellent improvement upon Satan’s speech to the infernal Spirits in Tasso, Cant. 4. St. 15, but seems to be express’d from Fairfax his translation rather than from the original.

We lost the field, yet lost we not our heart.

109. And what is else not to be overcome;] Here should be no note of interrogation, but only a semi-colon. The words And what is else not to be overcome signify Et si quid fit alius quod superari nequeat, and if there be any thing else (besides the particulars mention’d) which is not to be overcome. Pearce.

110. That glory, &c.] That refers to what went before; his unconquerable will and study of revenge, his immortal hate and courage never to submit or yield, and what besides is not to be overcome; these Satan esteems his glory, and that glory he says God never should extort from him. And then begins a new sentence according to all the best editions, To bow and sue for grace, &c.—that were low indeed, &c. that still referring to what went before; and by observing this punctuation, this whole passage, which has perplex’d and confounded so many readers and writers, is render’d plain and easy to be understood.

D

116—since
Doubted his empire; that were low indeed,
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 advanc'd,
We may with more successful hope resolve
To wage by force or guile eternal war,
Irreconcileable to our grand foe,
Who now triumphs, and in th' excess of joy
Sole reigning holds the tyranny of Heaven.

So spake th' apostate Angel, though in pain,
Vaunting aloud, but rack'd with deep despair:
And him thus answer'd soon his bold compeer.

116.--since by fate, &c.] For Satan supposeth the Angels to subl'fift by fate and necessity, and he represents them of an empyreal, that is a fiery substance, as the Scripture itself doth; He maketh his Angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire. Psal. CIV. 4. He.b. i. 7. Satan disdains to submit, since the Angels (as he says) are necessarily immortal and cannot be destroy'd, and since too they are now improved in experience, and may hope to carry on the war more successfully, notwithstanding the present triumph of their adversary in Heaven.

125. So spake th' apostate Angel, tho' in pain, Vaunting aloud, but rack'd with deep despair:] The sense of the last verse rises finely above that of the former: In the first verse it is only said, that he spake, though in pain: In the last the poet expresseth a great deal more; for Satan not only spake but he vaunted aloud, and yet at the same time he was not only in pain, but was rack'd with deep despair.

Talia
O Prince, O Chief of many throned Powers,
That led th’ imbattel’d Seraphim to war
Under thy conduct, and in dreadful deeds
Fearless, indanger’d Heav’n’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 loft us Heav’n, and all this mighty hoft
In horrible destruction laid thus low,
As far as Gods and heav’nly essences
Can perish: for the mind and sp’rit remains
Invincible, and vigor soon returns,
Though all our glory’ extinct, and happy state

Talia voce refert; curifique ingentibus aeger
Spem vultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem.

131. — indanger’d Heav’n’s perpetual king,]
The reader should remark here the propriety of the word perpetual. Beelzebub doth not say eternal king, for then he could not have boasted of indangering his kingdom: but he endeavors to detract as much as he can from God’s everlasting dominion, and calls him only perpetual king, king from time immemorial or without interruption, as Ovid says perpetuum carmen, Met. I. 4.

133. — primaque ab origine mundi
Ad mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen.

What Beelzebub means here is express’d more at large afterwards by Satan, ver. 637.

140. — But he who reigns
Monarch in Heav’n, till then as one secure
Sat on his throne, upheld by old repute,
Consent or custom, &c.
Here swallow'd up in endless misery.
But what if he our conqu'ror (whom I now
Of force believe almighty, since no less
Than such could have o'er-pow'r'd such force as ours)
Have left us this our spirit and strength entire
Strongly to suffer and support our pains,
That we may so suffice his vengeful ire,
Or do him mightier service as his thralls
By right of war, whate'er his business be
Here in the heart of Hell to work in fire,
Or do his errands in the gloomy deep;
What can it then avail, though yet we feel
Strength undiminisht'd, or eternal being
To undergo eternal punishment?
Where to with speedy words th' Arch-Fiend reply'd.

150. — whate'er his business be] The business which God hath appointed for us to do.
So in II. 70. His torments are the torments which he hath appointed for us to suffer. Many instances of this way of speaking may be found in this poem. Pearce.

156. Where to ---] To what he had said last, which had startled Satan, and to which he thinks it proper to make a speedy reply. Speedy words are better applied here than επειξα ηλεοντα are always in Homer.

157. — to be weak is miserable
Doing or suffering: ] Satan having in his speech boasted that the strength of God's could not fail, ver. 116. and Beelzebub having said, ver. 146. if God has left us this our strength entire, to suffer pain strongly, or to do him mightier service as his thralls, what then can our strength avail us? Satan here replies very properly, whether we are to suffer or to work, yet still it is some comfort to have our strength undiminisht'd; for it is a miserable thing, (says he) to be
Fall’n Cherub, to be weak is miserable
Doing or suffering: but of this be sure,
To do ought 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 destin’d aim.
But see the angry victor hath recall’d
His ministers of vengeance and pursuit
Back to the gates of Heav’n: the sulphurous hail
Shot

be weak and without strength, whether we are
doing or suffering. This is the sense of the
place; and this is farther confirm’d by what
Belial says in II. 199.

--- To suffer as to do
Our strength is equal --- Pearce.

159. To do ought good never will be our task;
Dr. Bentley would read it thus,
To do ought good will never be our task,
as of a smoother and stronger accent: but I con-
ceive that Milton intended to vary the accent
of never and ever in the next verse.
169. But see the angry victor hath recall’d, &c.
Dr. Bentley hath really made a very material
objection to this and some other passages of the
poem, wherein the good Angels are repre-
fented, as pursuing the rebel host with fire and
thunderbolts down through Chaos even to the
gates of Hell; as being contrary to the account,
which the Angel Raphael gives to Adam in the
6th book. And it is certain that there the
good
Shot after us in storm, o'erblown hath laid
The fiery surge, that from the precipice
Of Heav'n receiv'd us falling; and the thunder,
Wing'd with red lightning and impetuous rage,
Perhaps hath spent his shafts, and ceases now
To bellow through the vast and boundless deep.
Let us not slip th' 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

Caft§

good Angels are order'd to stand still only and behold, and the Messiah alone expels them out of Heaven, and after he has expelled them, and Hell has clos'd upon them, VI. 88o.

Sole victor from th' expulfion of his foes
Messiah his triumphal chariot turn'd:
To meet him all his Saints, who silent stood
Eye-witneffes of his almighty acts,
With jubilee advanc'd.

These accounts are plainly contrary the one to the other: but the author doth not therefore contradict himself, nor is one part of his scheme inconsistent with another. For it should be considered, who are the persons that give these different accounts. In book the 6th the Angel Raphael is the speaker, and therefore his account may be depended upon as the genuine and exact truth of the matter. But in the other passages Satan himself or some of his Angels are the speakers; and they were too proud and obstinate ever to acknowledge the Messiah for their conqueror; as their rebellion was rais'd on his account, they would never own his superiority; they would rather ascribe their defeat to the whole host of Heaven than to him alone; or if they did indeed imagin their pursuers to be so many in number, their fears multiplied them, and it serves admirably to express how much they were terrified and confounded. In book the 6th, 83o. the noise of his chariot is compar'd to the sound of a numerous host; and perhaps they might think that a numerous host were really pursuimg. In one place indeed we have Chaos speaking thus, II. 996.
Cafts pale and dreadful? Thither let us tend
From off the toiling of these fiery waves,
There rest, if any rest can harbour there,
And re-assembling our afflicted Powers,
Consult how we may henceforth most offend
Our enemy, our own loss how repair,
How overcome this dire calamity,
What reinforcement we may gain from hope,
If not what resolution from despair.

Thus Satan talking to his nearest mate
With head up-lift above the wave, and eyes

That

--- and Heav'n gates
Pour'd out by millions her victorious bands
Pursuing;
But what a condition was Chaos in during the fall of the rebel Angels? See VI. 871.
Nine days they fell; confounded Chaos roar'd,
And felt tenfold confusion in their fall
Through his wild anarchy, so huge a rout
Encumber'd him with ruin.

We must suppose him therefore to speak according to his own frightened and disturb'd imagination; he might conceive that so much

Ruin upon ruin, rout on rout,
Confusion worfe confounded
could not all be effected by a single hand: and what a sublime idea must it give us of the ter-

rors of the Messiah, that he alone should be as formidable as if the whole hoft of Heaven were pursuing! So that this seeming contradiction, upon examination, proves rather a beauty than any blemish to the poem.

186. --- our afflicted Powers.] The word afflicted here is intended to be understood in the Latin sense, routed, ruin'd, utterly broken. Richardson.

191. If not what resolution] What reinforcement, to which is return'd If not: a vicious syntax: but the poet gave it If none. Bentley.

193. With head up-lift above the wave, and eyes
That [sparkling blaz'd, his other parts besides
Prone on the flood,] Somewhat like those lines
in Virgil of two monstrous serpents, Æn. II. 206.
That sparkling blaz'd, his other parts besides
Prone on the flood, extended long and large
Lay floating many a rood, in bulk as huge
As whom the fables name of monstrous size,
Titanian, or Earth-born, that warr'd on Jove,
Briareos or Typhon, whom the den
By ancient Tarfus held, or that sea-beast
Leviathan, which God of all his works
Created hugest that swim th' ocean stream:

Peccora quorum inter fluctus arrepta, jubæque
Sanguineæ exuperantundas; parsæcetera pontum
Pone legit.

196. *Lay floating many a rood,*] A rood is the fourth part of an acre, so that the bulk of Satan is express'd by the same sort of measure, as that of one of the giants in Virgil, Æn. VI. 596.

Per tota novem cui jugera corpus
Porrigitur.


199. *Briareos*] So Milton writes it, that it may be pronounced as four syllables; and not Briareus, which is pronounced as three.

Et centumgeminus Briareus.

And Briareus with all his hundred hands.

199 -- or *Typhon, whom the den* By ancient Tarfus held,*] Typhon is the same with Typhoëus. That the den of Typhoëus was in Cilicia, of which Tarfus was a celebrated city, we are told by Pindar and Pomponius Mela. I am much mistaken, if Milton did not make use of Farnaby's note on Ovid Met. V. 347. to which I refer the reader. He took ancient Tarfus perhaps from Nonnus:

*Tætaos antégemus pæтворннĕт* which is quoted in Lloyd's Dictionary. *Fortin.

200. *----- that sea-beast*  
*Leviathan,*] The best critics seem now to be agreed, that the author of the book of Job by the leviathan meant the crocodile; and Milton describes it in the same manner partly as a *fish* and partly as a *beast,* and attributes *scales* to it: and yet by some things one would think that he took it rather for a *whale* (as was the general opinion) there being no crocodiles upon the coasts of Norway, and what follows being related of the whale, but never, as I have heard, of the crocodile.

202. *Created hugest, &c.*] This verse is found fault with as being too rough and abbonous,
Him haply flumb'ring on the Norway foam
The pilot of some small night-founder'd skiff
Deeming some island, oft, as sea-men tell,
With fixed anchor in his skaly rind
Moors by his side under the lee, while night
Invests the sea, and wished morn delays:
So stretch'd out huge in length the Ar'ch-Fiend lay
Chain'd on the burning lake, nor ever thence
Had ris'n or heav'd his head, but that the will
And

but that is not a fault but a beauty here, as it
better expresses the hugenefs and unwieldines
of the creature, and no doubt was design'd by
the author.

203. Him haply flumb'ring, &c.] I have been
inform'd that in the Orlando Furioso one of the
heroes casts anchor in this manner, but cannot
recollect the passage.

204. ---- night-founder'd skiff ] Some little
boat, whose pilot dares not proceed in his course
for fear of the dark night; a metaphor taken
from a founder'd horse that can go no farther.

Hume.

Dr. Bentley reads night-founder'd; but the com-
mon reading is better, because if (as the Doctor
says) foundering is sinking by a leaking in the
ship, it would be of little use to the pilot to
fix his anchor on an island, the skiff would
sink notwithstanding, if leaky. By night-
founder'd Milton means overtaken by the night,
and thence at a loss which way to fail. That
the poet speaks of what befell the pilot by night,
appears from ver. 207. while night invests the sea.

205. --- as sea-men tell,] Words well added
to obviate the incredibility of casting anchor in
this manner. Hume.

207. Moors by his side under the lee,] Anchors
by his side under wind. Mooring at sea is the
laying out of anchors in a proper place for the
secure riding of a ship. The lee or lee-shore is
that on which the wind blows, so that to be
under the lee of the shore is to be close under
the weather-shore or under wind. See Cham-
bers's Dict. An instance this among others of
our author's affection in the use of technical
terms.

209. So stretch'd out huge in length the Ar'ch-
Fiend lay.] The length of this verse,
consisting of so many monosyllables, and pro-
ounce'd so slowly, is excellently adapted to the
subject
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 fought
Evil to others, and enrag'd might see
How all his malice serv'd but to bring forth
Infinite goodness, grace and mercy shewn
On Man by him seduc'd, but on himself
Treble confusion, wrath and vengeance pour'd.

Forthwith upright he rears from off the pool
His mighty stature; on each hand the flames
Driv'n backward slope their pointing spires, and roll'd
In billows, leave i'th' midst a horrid vale.
Then with expanded wings he steers his flight

Aloft,

subject that it would describe. The tone is
upon the first syllable in this line, the Arch-
Fiend lay; whereas it was upon the last syllable
of the word in ver. 156. the Arch-Fiend reply'd;
a liberty that Milton sometimes takes to pron-
ounce the same word with a different accent
in different places. We shall mark such words
as are to be pronounced with an accent diffe-
rent from the common use.

221. Forthwith upright he rears, &c.] The
whole part of this great enemy of mankind is
filled with such incidents as are very apt to
raise and terrify the reader's imagination. Of
this nature is his being the first that awakens
out of the general trance, with his posture
on the burning lake, his rising from it, and
the description of his shield and spear. To
which we may add his call to the fallen Angels,
that lay plung'd and stupified in the sea of fire.

He call'd so loud that all the hollow deep
Of Hell refounded. -----
Aloft, incumbent on the dusky air
That felt unusual weight, 'till on dry land
He lights, if it were land that ever burn'd
With solid, as the lake with liquid fire;
And such appear'd in hue, as when the force
Of subterranean wind transports a hill
Torn from Pelorus, or the shatter'd side
Of thund'ring Ætna, whose combustible
And fuel'd entrails thence conceiving fire,
Sublim'd with mineral fury, aid the winds,
And leave a singed bottom all involv'd
With stench and smoke: Such resting found the sole
Of unblest feet. Him follow'd his next mate,
Both glorying to have 'scap'd the Stygian flood

that wherein his person is described in those cele-
lebrated lines

--- He above the rest
In shape and gesture proudly eminent
Stood like a tow'r, &c. Addison.

229. --- liquid fire;] Virg. Ecl. VI. 33.
Et liquidi simul ignis.

231. Of subterranean wind] Dr. Pearce con-
jectures that it should be read subterranean winds, be-
cause it is said aid the winds afterwards, and
the conjecture seems probable and ingenious:

the fuel'd entrails, sublim'd with mineral fury, aid
and increase the winds which first blew up the
fire.

232. Pelorus,] A promontory of Sicily, now
Cape di Faro, about a mile and half from Italy,
whence Virgil angustia a fede Pelori, Æn. III.
687. Hume.

238. Of unblest feet.] Dr. Bentley to make
the accent smoother reads Of feet unblest; but
Milton could have done the same thing, if he
thought proper: On the contrary he choos'd
almost always to put the epithet before the sub-
stantive
As Gods, and by their own recover’d strength, Not by the sufferance of supernal Power.

Is this the region, this the foil, the clime, Said then the loft Arch-Angel, this the seat That we must change for Heav’n, this mournful gloom For that celestial light? Be’ it so, since he

Who now is Sovran can dispose and bid What shall be right: fartheft from him is best, Whom reason hath equal’d, force hath made supreme Above his equals. Farewel happy fields, Where joy for ever dwells: Hail horrors, hail

Infernal.

Exaltation (excepting at the end of a verse) even tho’ the verse be the rougher for it. A plain sign that he thought it poetical to do so.

Pearce.

246. Sovran] So Milton spells it after the Italian Sovrano. It is not easy to account for the formation of our word Sovereign.

247. ---farthest from him is best.] This is express’d from the Greek proverb ἀνῶς τῷ ἅπανθον, Far from Jupiter but far too from thunder. Bentley.

248. Whom reason hath equal’d.] Reason is to be pronounced here as one syllable, or two short ones, as it is likewise in VIII. 591. and IX. 559. See the note on ver. 39.

250. ---Hail horrors, hail &c.] His sentiments are every way answerable to his character, and suitable to a created being of the most exalted and most depraved nature. Such is that in which he takes possession of his place of torments.

--- Hail horrors, hail &c.

And afterwards

---Here at least

We shall be free; &c.

Amidst those impieties which this enraged Spirit uttereth in other places of the poem, the author has taken care to introduce none that is not big with absurdity, and incapable of shocking a religious reader; his words, as the poet himself describes them, bearing only a semblance of worth, not substance. He is likewise with great art described as owning his adversary to be almighty. Whatever perverse interpretation he puts on the justice, mercy and other attributes.
Infernal world, and thou profoundest Hell
Receive thy new possessor; one who brings
A mind not to be chang’d by place or time.
The mind is its own place, and in itself
Can make a Heav’n of Hell, a Hell of Heav’n.
What matter where, if I be still the same,
And what I should be, all but less than he
Whom thunder hath made greater? Here at least
We shall be free; th’ Almighty hath not built
Here for his envy, will not drive us hence:
Here we may reign secure, and in my choice

butes of the Supreme Being, he frequently con-
fesses his omnipotence, that being the perfe-
tion he was forced to allow him, and the only
consideration which could support his pride un-
der the shame of his defeat. Nor must I omit
that beautiful circumstance of his bursting out
into tears, upon his survey of those innumera-
ble Spirits whom he had involved in the same
guilt and ruin with himself. Addison.

252. Receive thy new possessor;] This passage
seems to be an improvement upon Sophocles,
Ajax 395, where Ajax, before he kills himself,
cries out much in the same manner.

253. --- by place or time.] Milton is excellent
in placing his words: invert them only, and
say by time or place, and if the reader has any
ear, he will perceive how much the alteration
is for the worse. For the pause falling upon
place in the first line by time or place, and again
upon place in the next line The mind is its own
place, would offend the ear, and therefore is
artfully varied.

A mind not to be chang’d by place or time.
The mind is its own place.

257. --- all but] I have heard it propos’d
to read albeit, that is, although; but prefer the
common reading.

259. --- th’ Almighty hath not built
Here for his envy.] This is not a place that
God should envy us, or think it too good for

WORDS
To reign is worth ambition though in Hell:
Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven.
But wherefore let we then our faithful friends,
Th' associates and copartners of our loss,
Lie thus astonish'd on th' 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
Regain'd in Heav'n, or what more lost in Hell?

So Satan spake, and him Beelzebub
Thus answer'd. Leader of those armies bright,
Which but th' Omnipotent none could have foil'd,
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 rag'd, in all assaults
Their surest signal, they will soon resume
New courage and revive, though now they lie
Groveling and prostrate on yon lake of fire,
As we erewhile, astounded and amaz'd,
No wonder, fall'n such a pernicious hight.

He scarce had ceas'd when the superior Fiend
Was moving toward the shore; his pond'rous shield,
Ethereal temper, massy, large and round,

Behind

fine taste, that Shakespear has an expression
very like this in 2 Hen. IV. Act. I.

You knew, he walk'd o'er perils, on an edge
More likely to fall in, than to get o'er:

and something like it in 1 Hen. IV. Act. I.

I'll read you matter, deep and dangerous;
As full of peril and adventrous spirit,
As to o'erwalk a current, roaring loud,
On the unstedfast footing of a spear.

Hot. If he fall in, good night, or sink or swim.

Or after all may not the edge of battle be expressed from the Latin acies, which signifies both the edge of a weapon, and also an army in battle array? The author himself would incline one to think so by his use of this metaphor in another place, VI. 108.

On the rough edge of battle ere it join'd.

282. ----- fall'n such a pernicious height.] Dr. Bentley reads fall'n from such prodigious height; but the epithet pernicious is much stronger, and as for the want of a preposition, that is common in this poem; for thus in I. 723.

Stood fix'd her stately height,

And in II. 409.

----- ere he arrive

The happy isle?

Pearce.

287. --- like
Behind him cast; the broad circumference
Hung on his shoulders like the moon, whose orb
Through optic glafs 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 walk'd with to support uneasy steps

287. — like the moon, whose orb &c.] Homer compares the splendor of Achilles' shield to the moon, Iliad. XIX. 373.

289. Fesolé.] Is a city in Tuscan; Valdarno, or the valley of Arno, a valley there.

292. His spear, to equal which the tallest pine &c.] He walk'd with his spear, in comparison of which the tallest pine was but a wand. For when Homer Odysseus. IX. 322. makes the club of Polyphemus as big as the mast of a ship

293. Norwegian hills] The hills of Norway, barren and rocky, but abounding in vast woods,
Over the burning marble, not like those steps
On Heaven's azure, and the torrid clime
Smote on him fore besides, vaulted with fire;
Nathless he so indur'd, till on the beach
Of that inflamed sea he stood, and call'd
His legions, Angel forms, who lay intranc'd
Thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks
In Vallombrosa, where th'Etrurian shades
High over-arch'd imbow'r; or scatter'd fedge
Aflote, when with fierce winds Orion arm'd
Hath

from whence are brought masts of the largest size. Hume.

294. ammiral] According to its German extraction amiral or amirael, says Hume; from the Italian ammiraglio, says Richardson more probably. Our author made choice of this, as thinking it of a better sound than admiral; and in Latin he writes ammiralatus curia, the court of admiralty.

299. Nathless] Nevertheless, of which it seems to be a contracted diminutive. Hume. This word is frequently used by Spenser, and the old poets.

302. Thick as autumnal leaves] Virg. Æn. VI. 309.
Quam multa in sylvis autumni frigore primo
Lapfa cadunt folia.
Thick as the leaves in autumn strow the woods. Dryden.

But Milton's comparison is by far the exactest; for it not only expresses a multitude, but also the posture and situation of the Angels. Their lying confusedly in heaps, covering the lake, is finely represented by this image of the leaves in the brooks. And besides the propriety of the application, if we compare the similes themselves, Milton's is by far superior to the other, as it exhibits a real landscape. See An Essay upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients, p. 23.

303. Vallombrosa,] A famous valley in Etruria or Tuscany, so named of Vallis and Umbra, remarkable for the continual cool shades, which the vast number of trees that overspread it afford. Hume.

305. when with fierce winds Orion arm'd &c.] Orion is a constellation represented in the figure of an armed man, and supposed to be attended with stormy weather, affurgens fluëtus nimbus. Virg. Æn. I. 539. And the Red-Sea abounds
Hath vex'd the Red-Sea coast, whole waves o'erthrew
Busiris and his Memphian chivalry,
While with persidious hatred they pursued
The sojourners of Goshen, who beheld
From the safe shore their floating carcases
And broken chariot wheels: so thick bestrown
Abject and lost lay these, covering the flood,
Under amazement of their hideous change.
He call'd so loud, that all the hollow deep
Of Hell resounded. Princes, Potentates,
Warriors, the flow'r of Heav'n, once yours, now lost,
If such astonishment as this can seize

Eternal

abounds so much with sedge, that in the Hebrew Scripture it is called the Sedgy Sea. And he says hath vex'd the Red-Sea coast particularly, because the wind usually drives the sedge in great quantities towards the shore.

306. --- whose waves o'erthrew
Busiris and his Memphian chivalry,] Dr. Bentley throws out six lines here, as the Editor's, not Milton's: His chief reaon is, That that single event of Moses's passing the Red-Sea has no relation to a constant quality of it, that in stormy weather it is strow'd with sedge. But it is very usual with Homer and Virgil (and therefore may be allow'd to Milton) in a comparison, after they have shown the resemblance, to go off from the main purpose and finish with some other image, which was occasion'd by the comparison, but is itself very different from it. Milton has done thus in almost all his similitudes; and therefore what he does so frequently, cannot be allow'd to be an objection to the genuiness of this passage before us. As to Milton's making Pharaoh to be Busiris (which is another of the Doctor's objections to the passage) there is authority enough for to justify a poet in doing so, tho' not an historian: It has been suppos'd by some, and therefore Milton might follow that opinion. Chivalry for cavalry, and cavalry (says Dr. Bentley) for chariots, is twice wrong. But it is rather twice right: for chivalry (from the French chevalerie) signifes not only knighthood, but those who
Eternal Spirits; or have ye chos'n this place
After the toil of battel to repose
Your wearied virtue, for the case 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 scatter'd arms and ensigns, till anon
His swift pursuers from Heav'n gates discern
Th' advantage, and descending tread us down
Thus drooping, or with linked thunderbolts
Transfix us to the bottom of this gulf.

Awake,

who use horses in fight, both such as ride on
horses and such as ride in chariots drawn by
them: In the sense of riding and fighting on
horseback this word *chivalry* is used in ver. 76.5.
and in many places of Fairfax's *Tasso*, as in
In the sense of riding and fighting in chariots
drawn by horses, Milton uses the word *chivalry*

308. *perfidious hatred*] Because Pharaoh, after
leave given to the Israelites to depart, follow'd
after them like fugitives. *Hume.*

310. *From the safe shore their floating carcases* &c.] Much has been said of the long similitudes of
Homer, Virgil, and our author, wherein they
fetch a compas as it were to draw in new
images, besides those in which the direct point
of likenes consits. I think they have been
sufficiently justify'd in the general: but in this
before us, while the poet is digressing, he raises
a new similitude from the floating carcases of
the Egyptians. *Heylin.*

328. --- *with linked thunderbolts
Transfix us to the bottom of this gulf:*] This
alludes to the fate of Ajax Oileus,

Illum exspirantem transfixo pectore flammas
Turbine corripuit, scopolque infixit acuto.

Who pleaseth to read the Devil's speech to his
damned assembled in *Tasso*, Cant. 4. from Stanza
9 to Stanza 18, will find our author has seen
him, tho' borrow'd little of him. *Hume.*
Awake, arise, or be for ever fall'n.

They heard, and were abash'd, 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 obey'd
Innumerable. As when the potent rod
Of Amram's son, in Egypt's evil day,
Wav'd round the coast, up call'd a pitchy cloud
Of locusts, warping on the eastern wind,
That o'er the realm of impious Pharaoh hung
Like night, and darken'd all the land of Nile:
So numberless were those bad Angels seen

Hovering

338. As when the potent rod &c.] See Exod, X. 13. Moses stretched forth his rod over the land of Egypt, and the Lord brought an east-wind upon the land, and the east-wind brought the locusts; and the locusts went up over all the land of Egypt—so that the land was darken'd.
351. A multitude, like which &c.] This comparison doth not fall below the rest, as some have imagin'd. They were thick as the leaves, and numberless as the locusts, but such a multitude the north never pour'd forth; and we may observe that the subject of this comparison rises very much above the others, leaves and locusts. The populous north, as the northern parts of the world are observed to be more fruitful of people, than the hotter countries: Sir William Temple calls it the northern hive. Pour'd never, a very proper word to express the
Hovering on wing under the cope of Hell
'Twixt upper, nether, and surrounding fires;
Till, as a signal giv'n, th' up-lifted 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
Pour'd 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 Lybian sands.

Forthwith from every squadron and each band
The heads and leaders thither haste where stood
Their great commander; Godlike shapes and forms
Excelling human, princely Dignities,

the inundations of these northern nations. From her frozen loins, it is the Scripture expression of children and descendents coming out of the loins, as Gen. XXXV. 11. kings shall come out of thy loins; and these are call'd frozen loins only on account of the coldness of the climate. To pass Rhene or the Danaw, He might have said confidently with his verse The Rhine or Danube, but he chose the more uncommon names Rhene of the Latin, and Danaw of the German, both which words are used too in Spenser. When her barbarous sons &c. They were truly barbarous; for besides exercising several cruelties they destroy'd all the monuments of learning and politeness wherever they came. They were the Goths, and Huns, and Vandals, who overrun all the southern provinces of Europe, and crossing the Mediterranean beneath Gibraltar landed in Africa, and spread themselves as far as the sandy country of Libya.

Beneath
And Pow’rs that erst in Heaven sat on thrones;  
Though of their names in heav’nly records now  
Be no memorial, blotted out and ras’d  
By their rebellion from the books of life.  
Nor had they yet among the sons of Eve  
Got them new names, till wand’ring 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 th’ invisible  
Glory of him that made them to transform  

Beneath Gibraltar that is more southward, the  
north being uppermost in the globe.  
363. --- the books of life.] Dr. Bentley reads  
the book of life, that being the Scripture expression. And Shakespeare says likewise blotted from  
the book of life, Richard II. Act I.  
My name be blotted from the book of life.  
But the author might write books in the plural as well as records just before; and the plural agrees better with the idea that he would give  
of the great number of Angels.  
369. *---- and th’ invisible  
Glory of him that made them to transform  
Oft to the image of a brute.] Alluding to  
Rom. I. 23. And changed the glory of the incorruptible God, into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things.  

372. With gay religions full of pomp and gold,]  
By religions Milton means religious rites, as Cicero ues the word, when he joins religions et ceremonias. De Legib. lib. i. c. 15. and elsewhere. Pearce.  
376. Say, Muse, &c.] The catalogue of evil  
Spirits has abundance of learning in it, and a very agreeable turn of poetry, which rifes in a  
great measure from its describing the places where they were worshipped, by those beautiful marks of rivers, so frequent among the ancient poets. The author had doubtless in this place Homer’s catalogue of ships, and Virgil’s  
list of warriors in his view. Addison.  

Dr. Bentley says that this is not the finest  
part of the poem: but I think it is, in the design and drawing, if not in the coloring; for the Paradise Lost being a religious epic, no-
Oft to the image of a brute, adorn'd
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. 375
Say, Muse, their names then known, who first, who last,
Rous'd from the slumber, on that fiery couch,
At their great empe'rors call, as next in worth
Came singly where he stood on the bare strand,
While the promiscuous crowd stood yet aloof. 380
The chief were those who from the pit of Hell
Roaming

thing could be more artful than thus deducing
the original of superstition. This gives it a great
advantage over the catalogues he has imitated,
for Milton's becomes thereby a necessary part
of the work, as the original of superstition, an
essential part of a religious epic, could not have
been shown without it. Had Virgil's or Ho-
mer's been omitted, their poems would not
have suffered materially, because in their rela-
tions of the following actions we find the sol-
diers, who were before catalogued: but by no
following history of superstition that Milton
could have brought in, could we find out these
Devils agency, it was therefore necessary he
should inform us of the fact. Warburton.
Say, Muse, &c. Homer at the beginning of
his catalogue invokes his Muse afores in a very
pompous manner. Virgil does the like, and

Milton follows both so far as to make a fresh
 invocation, though short; because he had al-
ready made a large and solemn address in this
very book, at the beginning of his poem.

376. --- their names then known.] When they
had got them new names. Milton finely con-
ider'd that the names he was obliged to apply
to these evil Angels carry a bad signification,
and therefore could not be those they had in
their state of innocence and glory; he has
therefore said their former names are now loft,
ras'd from amongst those of their old associ-
ates who retain their purity and happiness.

Richardson.

376. --- who first, who last,]
Quem telo primum, quem postremum &c.
Virg. Æn. XI. 664.

386. --- thron'd
Roaming to seek their prey on earth, durft fix
Their feats long after next the seat of God,
Their altars by his altar, Gods ador’d
Among the nations round, and durft abide
Jehovah thund’ring out of Sion, thron’d
Between the Cherubim; yea, often plac’d
Within his sanctuary itself their shrines,
Abominations; and with cursed things
His holy rites and solemn feasts profan’d,
And with their darkness durft affront his light.
First Moloch, horrid king, besmear’d with blood
Of

386. "thron’d"
Between the Cherubim;] This relates to the
ark being placed between the two golden Che-
rubim, 1 Kings VI. 23. 1 Kings VIII. 6 and 7.
See also 2 Kings XIX. 15. O Lord God of Is-
rael which dwell’d between the Cherubim. He-
zekiah’s prayer. Hume.

387. "yea, often plac’d"
Within his sanctuary itself their shrines,
Abominations;] This is complain’d of by the
prophet Jeremiah VII. 30. For the children of
Juda have done evil in my sight, faith the Lord;
they have set their abominations in the house
which is called by my name, to pollute it. And
we read of Manafich, 2 Kings XXI. 4, and 5.
that He built altars in the house of the Lord, of
which the Lord said, In Jerusalem will I put my
name: And he built altars for all the boast of
Heaven, in the two courts of the house of the

Lord. See also Ezek. VII. 20. and VIII. 5, 6.
392. First Moloch, horrid king,] First after
Satan and Beelzebub. The name Moloch sig-
nifies king, and he is call’d horrid king, because
of the human sacrifices which were made to
him. This idol is suppos’d by some to be the
same as Saturn, to whom the Heathens sacri-
ficed their children, and by others to be the
Sun. It is said in Scripture that the children
passed through the fire to Moloch, and our au-
thor employs the same expression, by which
we must understand not that they always actu-
ally burnt their children in honor of this idol,
but sometimes made them only leap over the
flames, or pass nimbly between two fires, to
purify them by that lustration, and consecrate
them to this false deity. The Rabbins affir-
me us that the idol Moloch was of brasse, fitting on
a throne of the same metal and wearing a royal
Of human sacrifice, and parents tears,
Though for the noise of drums and timbrels loud
Their children's cries unheard, that pass'd through fire
To his grim idol. Him the Ammonite
Worshipt in Rabba and her watry plain,
In Argob and in Basan, to the stream
Of utmost Arnon. Nor content with such
Audacious neighbourhood, the wisest heart
Of Solomon he led by fraud to build
His temple right against the temple of God
On that opprobrious hill, and made his grove

The royal crown, having the head of a calf and his arms extended to receive the miserable victims which were to be consumed in the flames; and therefore is very properly stiled here his grim idol. He was the God of the Ammonites, and is called the abomination of the children of Ammon, 1 Kings XI. 7. and was worshipped in Rabba, the capital city of the Ammonites, which David conquer'd, and took from thence the crown of their God Milcom as some render the words 2 Sam. XII. 30. and this Rabba being called the city of waters, 2 Sam. XII. 27. it is here said Rabba and her watry plain: and likewise in Argob and in Basan, neighbouring countries to Rabba and subject to the Ammonites, as far as to the stream of utmost Arnon, which river was the boundary of their country on the south. Solomon built a temple to Molech on the mount of Olives, 1 Kings XI. 7. therefore called "that opprobrious hill"; and high places and sacrifices were made to him in the pleasant valley of Hinnom, Jer. VII. 31. which lay south-east of Jerusalem, and was called likewise Tophet from the Hebrew Toph a drum, drums and such like noisy instruments being used to drown the cries of the miserable children who were offer'd to this idol, and Gehenna or the valley of Hinnom is in several places of the New Testament, and by our Saviour himself made the name and type of Hell, by reason of the fire that was kept up there to Molech, and of the horrid groans and outcries of human sacrifices. We might inlarge much more upon each of these idols, and produce a heap of learned authorities and quotations; but we endeavor to be as short as we can, and say no more than may serve as a sufficient commentary to explain and illustrate our author.

G

406. Next
The pleasant valley of Hinnom, Tophet thence
And black Gehenna call'd, the type of Hell.

Next Chemos, th' obscene dread of Moab's sons,
From Aroar to Nebo, and the wild
Of southmost Abarim; in Hefebon
And Horonaim, Seon's realm, beyond
The flow'ry dale of Sibma clad with vines,
And Eleale to th' Asphaltic pool.

Peor his other name, when he entic'd
Israel in Sittim on their march from Nile

406. Next Chemos, &c.] He is rightly mention'd next after Moloch, as their names are join'd together in Scripture 1 Kings XI. 7. and it was a natural transition from the God of the Ammonites to the God of their neighbours the Moabites. St. Jerom and several learned men assert Chemos and Baal Peor to be only different names for the same idol, and suppose him to be the same with Priapus or the idol of turpitude, and therefore called here the obscene dread of Moab's sons, from Aroar a city upon the river Arnon, the boundary of their country to the north, afterwards belonging to the tribe of Gad, to Nebo, a city eastward, afterwards belonging to the tribe of Reuben, and the wild of southmost Abarim, a ridge of mountains the boundary of their country to the south; in Hefebon or Heshbon, and Horonaim, Seon's realm, two cities of the Moabites, taken from them by Sihon king of the Amorites, Numb. XXI. 26. beyond the flow'ry dale of Sibma clad with vines, a place famous for vineyards, as appears from Jer. XLVIII. 32. O vine of Sibmah I will weep for thee, and Eleale another city of the Moabites not far from Heshbon, to the Asphaltic pool the Dead Sea so call'd from the Asphaltus or bitumen abounding in it, the river Jordan empties itself into it, and that river and this sea were the boundary of the Moabites to the west. It was this God under the name of Baal Peor, that the Israelites were induced to worship in Sittim, and committed whoredom with the daughters of Moab, for which there died of the plague twenty and four thousand, as we read in Numb. XXV. His high places were adjoining to those of Moloch on the mount of Olives, therefore called here that hill of scandal as before that opprobrious hill, for Solomon did build an high place for Chemos the abomination of Moab in the bill that is before Jerusalem, and for Moloch the abomination of the children of Ammon, 1 Kings XI. 7. But good
To do him wanton rites, which cost them woe. Yet thence his lustful orgies he inlarg’d. Ev’n 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 bord’ring 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 good Josiah brake in pieces their images, and cut down their groves. See 2 Kings XXIII. 13, 14.

--- from the bord’ring flood Of old Euphrates &c.] It is rightly called old, being mention’d by the oldest historian in the earliest accounts of time, Gen. II. 14. And it is likewise called the bord’ring flood, being the utmost limit or border eastward of the promis’d land, according to Gen. XV. 18. Unto thy seed have I given this land from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates: and the Psalmist speaking of the vine that was brought out of Egypt says Psal. LXXX. 11. she sent out her branches unto the sea, and her branches unto the river, that is from the Mediterranean to the river Euphrates: to the brook that parts Egypt from Syrian ground, most probably the brook Besor mention’d in Scripture, near Rhinocolura, which city is assign’d sometimes to Syria and sometimes to Egypt.

--- from the bord’ring flood Of old Euphrates &c.] These are properly named together, as they frequently are in Scripture; and there were many Baalim and many Ashtaroth; they were the general names of the Gods and Goddesses of Syria, Palestine, and the neighbouring countries. It is supposed that by them is meant the sun and the hoist of Heaven.

--- from the bord’ring flood Of old Euphrates &c.] These notions about Spirits seem to have been borrow’d from Michael Pöllus his dialogue about the operation of Demons, where a story is related of a Demon’s appearing in the shape of a woman; and upon this a doubt is rais’d whether some Demons are males, and others females; and it is asserted that they can assume either sex, and take what shape and color they please,
Can either sex assume, or both; so soft
And uncompounded is their essence pure,
Not ty’d 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 condens’d, bright or obscure,
Can execute their aery purposes,
And works of love or enmity fulfil.
For those the race of Israel oft forsook
Their living strength, and unfrequented left
His righteous altar, bowing lowly down
To bestial Gods; for which their heads as low

Bow’d

pleas’d, and contract or dilate themselves at
pleasure, as they are of an aery nature. δχο
καὶ εκατον τοις, τοις σωμα τρεις, αν αειν-
tο χρυσα μεταθυσας, και χροματε νινφ
εφιώκοτο το τε σωματο εξαιρησεως, ωσ-
tε μεν ας ανερ εσται, ωσε δε προς γυναικ
μεταλλευ μορφιν &c. See Michaelis De Velle
οις ενυρέως θαμευνων συνολος. p. 70. 77.
scholar was Milton, and such use he made
of all sorts of authors.

437. With these in troop &c.] Astarte or
Astarte was the Goddess of the Phoenicians,
and the moon was adored under this name.
She is rightly said to come in troop with Astarte,
as she was one of them, the moon with
the stars. Sometimes she is called queen of Hec-

ven, Jer. VII. 18. and XLIV. 17, 18. She is
likewise called the Goddess of the Zidonians,
1 Kings XI. 5. and the abomination of the Zido-
nians, 2 Kings XXIII. 13. as she was worshipped
very much in Zidon or Sidon, a famous city of
the Phoenicians, situated upon the Mediterra-
nean. Solomon, who had many wives that
were foreigners, was prevail’d upon by them
to introduce the worship of this Goddess into
Israel, 1 Kings XI. 5. and built her temple on
the mount of Olives, which on account of this
and other idols is called the mountain of corrup-
tion, 2 Kings XXIII. 13. as here by the poet
th’ offensive mountain, and before that oppro-
brious bill, and that bill of scandal.

446. Thammuz came next &c.] The account
of Thammuz is finely romantic, and suitable
to
Bow'd down in battel, sunk before the spear
Of despicable foes. With these in troop
Came Astoreth, whom the Phœnicians call'd
Astarte, queen of Heav'n, with crescent horns;
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 th' offensive mountain, built
By that uxorious king, whose heart though large,
Beguil'd by fair idolatresses, fell
To idols foul. Thammuz came next behind,
Whose annual wound in Lebanon allur'd

The

to what we read among the Ancients of the
worship which was paid to that idol. The
reader will pardon me, if I insert as a note on
this beautiful passage, the account given us by
the late ingenious Mr. Maundrel of this an-
cient piece of worship, and probably the first
occasion of such a superstition. "We came
"to a fair large river -- doubtless the ancient
"river Adonis, so famous for the idolatrous
"rites performed here in lamentation of
"Adonis. We had the fortune to see what
"may be supposed to be the occasion of that
"opinion which Lucian relates, viz. that this
"stream at certain seasons of the year, espe-
cially about the feast of Adonis, is of a
"bloody color; which the Heathens looked
"upon as proceeding from a kind of syrn-

"pathy in the river for the death of Adonis,
"who was kill'd by a wild boar in the moun-
tains, out of which this stream rifes. Some-
ting like this we saw actually come to pass;
"for the water was stain'd to a surprizing red-

ness; and as we observed in traveling, had
"discolor'd the sea a great way into a reddish
hue, occasion'd doubtless by a sort of mi-
"nium or red earth, wash'd into the river by
"the violence of the rain, and not by any

"stain from Adonis's blood." Addison.

Thammuz was the God of the Syrians, the
same with Adonis, who according to the tra-
ditions died every year and reviv'd again. He
was slain by a wild boar in mount Lebanon,
from whence the river Adonis descends: and
when this river began to be of a reddish hue,
The Syrian Damfels to lament his fate
In amorous ditties all a summer's day,
While smooth Adonis from his native rock
Ran purple to the sea, suppos'd 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 survey'd the dark idolatries
Of alienated Judah. Next came one

Who

as it did at a certain season of the year, this
was their signal for celebrating their Adonia or
feasts of Adonis, and the women made loud
lamentations for him, supposing the river was
discolor'd with his blood. The like idolatrous
rites were transferred to Jerusalem, where
Ezekiel saw the women lamenting Tammuz,
Ezek. VIII. 13, 14. He said also unto me, Turn
thee yet again, and thou shalt see greater abomi-
nations that they do. Then he brought me to the
door of the gate of the Lord's house, which was
towards the north, and behold there fat women
weeping for Tammuz. Dr. Pemberton in his
Observations upon poetry quotes some of these
verses upon Thammuz as distinguishably me-
elodious; and they are observed to be not un-
like those beautiful lines in Shakespear i Hen.
IV. Act. III. and particularly in the sweetness
of the numbers;

As sweet as ditties highly penn'd,

Sung by a fair queen in a summer's bower,
With ravishing division to her lute.
Who mourn’d in earnest, when the captive ark
Maim’d his brute image, head and hands lopt off
In his own temple, on the gruf nel edge,
Where he fell flat, and sham’d his worshippers:
Dagon his name, sea monster, upward man
And downward fish: yet had his temple high
Rear’d in Azotus, dreaded through the coast
Of Palestine, in Gath and Ascalon,
And Accaron and Gaza’s frontier bounds.
Him follow’d Rimmon, whose delightful seat

others from Dagon, which signifies a fish, and
represent him accordingly with the upper part
of a man, and the lower part of a fish. Our
author follows the latter opinion, which is that
commonly receiv’d, and has besides the author-
ity of the learned Selden. This Dagon is
called in Scripture the God of the Philistines,
and was worshipp’d in the five principal cities
of the Philistines, mention’d i Sam. VI. 17.
Azotus or Ashdod where he had a temple as
we read in i Sam. V. Gath, and Ascalon, and
Accaron, or Ekron, and Gaza where they had
sacrifices and feastings in honor of him. Judg.
XVI. Gaza’s frontier bounds, says the poet, as
it was the southern extremity of the promis’d
land toward Egypt. It is mention’d by Moses
as the southern point of the land of Canaan.
Gen. X. 19.

467. Him follow’d Rimmon, &c.] Rimmon
was a God of the Syrians, but it is not certain
what he was, or why so call’d. We only know
that he had a temple at Damascus, 2 Kings V.
18. the most celebrated city of Syria, on the
banks of Abana and Pharphar, rivers of Da-
mascus, as they are called 2 Kings V. 12. A le-
per once he left, Naaman the Syrian who was
cur’d of his leprosy by Elifia, and who for
that reason resolved thenceforth to offer neither
burnt-offering nor sacrifice to any other God, but
unto the Lord, 2 Kings V. 17. And gain’d a
king, Abaz his fottish conqu’ror, who with the
assistance of the king of Assyria having taken
Damascus, saw there an altar, and sent a pat-
ttern of it to Jerusalem to have another made
by it, directly contrary to the command of
God, who had appointed what kind of altar he
would have (Exod. XXVII. 1, 2, &c.) and
had order’d that no other should be made of
any matter or figure whatsoever. Ahaz how-
ever upon his return remov’d the altar of the
Lord
PARADISE LOST. Book I.

Was fair Damascus, on the fertile banks
Of Abbana and Pharpar, lucid streams.
He also' against the house of God was bold:
A leper once he lost, and gain'd a king,
Ahaz his sottish conqu'ror, 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 vanquish'd. After these appear'd
A crew who under names of old renown,
Osiris, Isis, Orus, and their train,

Lord from its place, and set up this new altar
in its stead, and offer'd thereon, 2 Kings XVI.
10. &c. and thenceforth gave himself up to
idolatry, and instead of the God of Israel be
sacrificed unto the Gods of Damascus, 2 Chron.
XXVIII. 23. whom he had subdued.

478. Osiris, Isis, Orus, and their train, &c.] Osiris and Isis were the principal deities of the
Egyptians, by which it is most probable they
originally meant the sun and moon. Orus was
the son of Osiris and Isis, frequently confound-
ed with Apollo: and these and the other Gods
of the Egyptians were worshipped in monstrous
shapes, bulls, cats, dogs, &c. and the reason
allledged for this monstrous worship is deriv'd
from the fabulous tradition, that when the
giants invaded Heaven, the Gods were so af-
frigated that they fled into Egypt, and there
concealed themselves in the shapes of various
animals; and the Egyptians afterwards out of
gratitude worshipped the creatures, whose
shapes the Gods had assum'd. Ovid. Met. V.
319. &c. where is an account of their tran-
formations: and therefore Milton here calls
them

Their wandering Gods disguis'd in brutifh forms
Rather than human.

482. — Nor did Israel escape
The infection, &c.] The Israelites by dwell-
ing so long in Egypt were infected with the
superstitions of the Egyptians, and in all pro-
bability made the golden calf, or ox (for so it
is differently call'd, Psal. CVI. 19, 20.) in imita-
tion of that which represented Osiris, and
out of the golden carings, which it is most
likely they borrow'd of the Egyptians, Exod.
XII. 35. The calf in Oreb, and so the Psalms.
With monstrous shapes and sorceries abus’d
Fanatic Egypt and her priests, to seek
Their wand’ring Gods disguis’d in brutish forms
Rather than human. Nor did Israel ’scape
Th’ infection, when their borrow’d gold compos’d
The calf in Oreb; and the rebel king
Doubled that sin in Bethel and in Dan,
Likening his Maker to the grazed ox,
Jehovah, who in one night when he pass’d
From Egypt marching, equal’d with one stroke
Both her first-born and all her bleating Gods.

Belial

They made a calf in Horeb, Psal. CVI. 19. while
Moses was upon the mount with God. And
the rebel king, Jeroboam made king by the Is-
raelites who rebelled against Rehoboam, 1 Kings
XII. doubled that sin by making two golden
calves, probably in imitation of the Egyptians with whom he had conversed, who had
a couple of oxen which they worshipped, one
called Apis at Memphis the metropolis of the
upper Egypt, and the other Mnevis at Hier-
apolis the chief city of the lower Egypt: and
he set them up in Bethel and in Dan, the two
extremities of the kingdom of Israel, the
former in the south, the latter in the north.
Likening his Maker to the grazed ox, alluding
to Psal. CVI. 20. Thus they changed their glory
into the similitude of an ox that eateth gras;
Jehovah, who in one night when he pass’d from
Egypt marching, for the children of Israel not
only pass’d from Egypt, but march’d in a war-
like manner, and the Lord brought them out,
the Lord went before them: equal’d with one
stroke both her first-born and all her bleating
Gods, for the Lord slew all the first-born in the
land of Egypt both man and beast, and upon
their Gods also the Lord executed judgments.
Exod. XII. 12. Num. XXXIII. 4. and Mil-
ton means all their Gods in general, tho’ he
says bleating Gods in particular, borrowing the
metaphor from sheep, and using it for the cry
of any sort of beasts. Dr. Bentley says indeed
that the Egyptians did not worship sheep, they
only abstain’d from eating them: but (as
Dr. Pearce replies) was not Jupiter Ammon
worshipped under a ram, hence corniger Am-
mon? Clemens Alexandrinus tells us that the
people of Sais and Thebes worshipped sheep;
and R. Jarchi upon Gen. XLVI. 34. says that
Belial came last, than whom a Spirit more lewd
Fell not from Heaven, or more gross to love
Vice for itself: to him no temple stood
Or altar smok'd; yet who more oft than he
In temples and at altars, when the priest
Turns atheift, as did Eli's sons, who fill'd
With lust and violence the house of God?
In courts and palaces he also reigns
And in luxurious cities, where the noise

Of

a shepherd was therefore an abomination to the Egyptians, because the Egyptians worshipped sheep as Gods. We may farther add, that Onkelos, Jonathan, and several others are of the same opinion, and say that shepherds were an abomination to the Egyptians, because they had no greater regard to those creatures which the Egyptians worshipped, than to breed them up to be eaten. These authorities are sufficient to justify our poet for calling them bleating Gods; he might make use of that epithet as one of the most insignificant and contemptible, with the same air of disdain as Virgil says Æn. VIII. 698.

Omnigenûmque deûm monstra & latrator Arabis;

and so returns to his subject, and ends the passage as he began it, with the Gods of Egypt.

Belial came last, &c. The characters of Moloch and Belial prepare the reader's mind for their respective speeches and behaviour in the second and sixth book. Addison. And they are very properly made, one the first, and the other the last, in this catalogue, as they both make so great a figure afterwards in the poem. Moloch the first, as he was the fiercest Spirit that fought in Heaven, II. 44. and Belial the last, as he is represented as the most timorous and slothful, II. 117. It doth not appear that he was ever worshipped, but lewd profligate fellows, such as regard neither God nor Man, are called in Scripture the children of Belial, Deut. XIII. 13. So the sons of Eli are call'd 1 Sam. II. 12. Now the sons of Eli were sons of Belial, they knew not the Lord. So the men of Gibeah, who abus'd the Levite's wife, Judg. XIX. 22. are called likewise sons of Belial; which are the particular instances here given by our author.

--- flown with insolence and wine.] I have heard a conjecture of some body proposing to read blown instead of flown, blown with insolence and wine, as there is in Virgil insatius Iacobo, Ecl. VI. 15.

Insiatum hefterno venas, ut fperer, Iacobo.
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 
Expos’d a matron to avoid worse rape. 
These were the prime in order and in might; 
The rest were long to tell, though far renown’d, 
Th’ Ionian

But flown I conceive is a participle from the verb fly, and the meaning is that they were raised and highten’d with insolence and wine, insolence and wine made them fly out into these extravagances. Or as others think, it may be a participle from the verb flow, as overflow’d is sometimes used for overflow’d.

504. — when the hospitable door 
Expos’d a matron to avoid worse rape.] So Milton caus’d it to be printed in the second edition; the first ran thus,

---- when hospitable doors 
Yielded their matrons to prevent worse rape.

And Milton did well in altering the passage: for it was not true of Sodom, that any matron was yielded there; the women had not known man, Gen. XIX. 8. and as they were only offer’d not accepted, it is not proper to say that they were yielded. But observe that Milton in the second edition changed yielded into expos’d, becaufe in what was done at Gibeah, Judg. XIX. 25. the Levite’s wife was not only yield-
ed, but put out of doors and expos’d to the men’s lewdness. Why then does Dr. Bentley prefer Milton’s first reading to his second, when he alter’d the passage to make it more agreeable to the Scriptural story? Pearce.

506. These were the prime] It is observed by Macrobius and others, in commendation of Homer’s catalogue of ships and warriors, that he hath therein mention’d every body who doth, and no body who doth not afterwards make his appearance in the poem: whereas it is otherwise in Virgil; some have a place in the lift, who are never heard of in the battels, and others make a figure in the battels, who are not taken notice of in the lift. Neither hath Milton in this respect attain’d Homer’s excellence and beauty; but then it should be consider’d what was his intent and purpose in this catalogue. It was not possible for him to exhibit as complete a catalogue of the fallen Angels, as Homer hath given us of the Grecian and Trojan commanders; and as it was not possible or indeed proper, so neither was it at
Th' Ionian Gods, of Javan's issue held
Gods, yet confess'd later than Heav'n and Earth,
Their boasted parents; Titan Heav'n's first-born, 510
With his enormous brood, and birthright seiz'd
By younger Saturn; he from mightier Jove
His own and Rhea's son like measure found;
So Jove usurping reign'd: these first in Crete
And Ida known, thence on the snowy top
Of cold Olympus rul'd the middle air,
Their highest Heav'n; 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 th' Hesperian fields,
520

all his intention. He propos'd only to mention the chief, and such who were known in Palestine and the neighbouring countries, and had encroach'd upon the worship of the God of Israel: and what he propos'd he hath executed with wonderful learning and judgment. He hath inlarg'd very much upon each of these idols, as he drew most of his materials from Scripture: The rest were long to tell, the rest he slightly pass'd over, as our knowledge of them is deriv'd only from fabulous antiquity. 508. Th' Ionian Gods, of Javan's issue held

Gods, &c.] Javan, the fourth son of Japhet, and grandson of Noah, is supposed to have settled in the south-west part of Asia Minor, about Ionia, which contains the radical letters of his name. His descendents were the Ionians and Grecians; and the principal of their Gods were Heaven and Earth; Titan was their eldest son, he was father of the giants, and his empire was seiz'd by his younger brother Saturn, as Saturn's was by Jupiter son of Saturn and Rhea. These first were known in the island Crete, now Candia, in which is mount Ida, where Jupiter is said to have been born; thence pass'd over into Greece, and resided on mount Olympus in Thessaly, the snowy top of cold Olympus, as Homer calls it, Ολυμπον αγανων.
And o'er the Celtic roam'd the utmost iles.

All these and more came flocking; but with looks Down cast and damp, yet such wherein appear'd
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 count'nance cast
Like doubtful hue: but he his wonted pride
Soon recollecting, with high words, that bore
Semblance of worth not substance, gently rais'd
Their fainting courage, and dispell'd their fears.

Then strait commands that at the warlike found
Of trumpets loud and clarions be uprear'd
His mighty standard: that proud honor clam'd

Azazel
Azazel as his right, a Cherub tall;  
Who forthwith from the glittering staff unfurl'd  
Th'imperial ensign, which full high advance'd  
Shone like a meteor streaming to the wind,  
With gems and golden lustre rich imblaz'd,  
Seraphic arms and trophies; all the while  
Sonorous metal blowing martial sounds:  
At which the universal hoft up sent  
A shout, that tore Hell's concave, and beyond  
Frighted the reign of Chaos and old Night.  
All in a moment through the gloom were seen  
Ten thousand banners rise into the air  
With orient colors waving: with them rose  
not the scape-goat, as it is commonly call'd, but  
signifies some Demon, as the learned Dr. Spence hath abundantly proved in his dissertation  
De birco emissario. He shows that this name is  
used for some Demon or Devil by several ancient authors Jewish and Christian, and derives  
it from two Hebrew words Az and Azel signifying brave in retiring, a proper appellation  
for the standard-bearer to the fall'n Angels.  
We see Milton gives Azazel a right to be standard-bearer on account of his stature; he had  
no notion of a dapper ensign who can hardly carry his colors.

535. Who forthwith &c.] There are several other strokes in the first book wonderfully poetical, and instances of that sublime genius so peculiar to the author. Such is the description of Azazel's stature, and of the infernal standard which he unfurls; as also of that ghastly light, by which the fiends appear to one another in their place of torments: the shout of the whole hoft of fallen Angels when drawn up in battle array; the review which the leader makes of his infernal army: the flash of light which appear'd upon the drawing of their swords: the sudden production of the Pandemonium: and the artificial illuminations made in it. Addison.
A forest huge of spears; and thronging helms
Appear'd, and ferried shields in thick array
Of depth immeasurable: anon they move
In perfect phalanx to the Dorian mood
Of flutes and soft recorders; such as rais'd
To hight of noblest temper heroes old
Arming to battel, and instead of rage
Deliberate valor breath'd, firm and unmov'd
With dread of death to flight or foul retreat;
Nor wanting pow'r 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

543. *Frighted the reign of Chaos and old Night.*] Reign is used like the Latin regnum for kingdom; and so in Spenser's Fairy Queen, B. 2. Cant. 7. St. 21.

That strait did lead to Pluto's grisly reign.

548. *ferried shields*] Lock'd one within another, link'd and clasp'd together, from the French serrer, to lock, to shut close. Hume.

550. *to the Dorian mood &c.*] All accounts of the music of the Ancients are very uncertain and confus'd. There seem to have been three principal modes or measures among them, the Lydian, the Phrygian, and the Dorian. The Lydian was the most doleful, the Phrygian the most sprightly, and the Dorian the most grave and majestic. And Milton in another part of his works uses grave and Doric almost as synonymous terms. "If we think " to regulate printing, thereby to rectify " manners, we must regulate all recreations " and pastimes, all that is delightful to man. " No music must be heard, no song be set or " sung, but what is grave and Doric." (See his Speech for the liberty of unlicenc'd Printing, Vol. I. p. 149. Edit. 1738.) This therefore was the measure best adapted to the fall'n Angels at this juncture; and their instruments were flutes and
Breathing united force with fixed thought
Mov'd on in silence to soft pipes, that charm'd
Their painful steps o'er the burnt soil; and now
Advanc'd in view they stand, a horrid front
Of dreadful length and dazzling arms, in guise
Of warriors old with order'd spear and shield,
Awaiting what command their mighty chief
Had to impose: He through the armed files
Darts his experienc'd eye, and soon traverse
The whole battalion views, their order due,
Their visages and stature as of Gods,

and pipes and soft recorders, for the same reason
that Thucydides and other ancient historians
assign'd for the Lacedæmonians making use of
these instruments, because they inspir'd them
with a more cool and deliberate courage, where-
as trumpets and other martial music incited
and inflam'd them more to rage. See Aulus

560. Breathing united force with fixed thought
Mov'd on in silence] Thus Homer makes the
Grecians march on in silence breathing force,
Iliad. III. 8. •

Οι oν ἄπ ιταν εἰς τιν μεινα ανεισλυτε Ακαυις,
Εν ύπων εν τ. λ.

567. --- He through the armed files
Darts his experienc'd eye, ---] Not unlike that
in Shakespear, Anth. & Cleop. Aét I.
Their number last he sums. And now his heart
Distends with pride, and hard'ning in his strength
Glories: for never since created man,
Met such imbody'd force, as nam'd with these
Could merit more than that small infantry
Warr'd on by cranes; though all the giant brood
Of Phlegra with th' heroic race were join'd
That fought at Thebes and Ilium, on each side
Mix'd with auxiliar Gods; and what refounds
In fable or romance of Uther's son
Begirt with British and Armoric knights;

are romantically extoll'd by Geoffrey of Mon- mouth, begirt with British and Armoric knights, for he was often in alliance with the king of Armorica, since called Bretagne, of the Britons who settled there; and all who since joufted in Asframont or Montalban, romantic names of places mention'd in Orlando Furioso, the latter perhaps Montauban in France, Damasco or Morocco, Damascus or Morocco, but he calls them as they are call'd in romances, or Trebi- fend, a city of Cappadocia in the lesser Asia, all these places are famous in romances for jouftings between the baptiz'd and infidels; or whom Bizerta, formerly call'd Utica, sent from Afric shore, that is the Saracens who pas'd from Bizerta in Africa to Spain, when Charlemain with all his peerage fell by Fontarabbia, Charlemain king of France and emperor of Germany

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about the year 800 undertook a war against
the Saracens in Spain, and Mariana and the Spanish historians are Milton’s authors for saying that he and his army were routed in this manner at Fontarabbia (which is a strong town in Bisctay at the very entrance into Spain, and esteem'd the key of the kingdom): but Mezeray and the French writers give a quite different and more probable account of him, that he was at last victorious over his enemies and died in peace. And tho' we cannot agree with Dr. Bentley in rejecting some of these lines as spurious, yet it is much to be wish'd that our poet had not so far indulged his taste for romances, of which he professe's himself to have been fond in his younger years, and had not been oftentatious of such reading, as perhaps had better never have been read.

I
And all who since, baptiz’d or infidel, Jousted in Asframont or Montalban, Damasco, or Marocco, or Trebisond, Or whom Biserta sent from Afric shore, When Charlemain with all his peerage fell By Fontarabbia. Thus far these beyond Compare of mortal prowefs, yet observ’d Their dread commander: he above the rest In shape and gesture proudly eminent Stood like a tow’r; his form had yet not lost All her original brightness, nor appear’d Less than Arch-Angel ruin’d, and th’ excess Of glory’ obscur’d: as when the sun new risen Looks through the horizontal misty air Shorn of his beams, or from behind the moon

589. be above the rest, &c.] What a noble description is here of Satan’s person! and how different from the common and ridiculous representations of him, with horns and a tail and cloven feet! and yet Tasso hath so describ’d him, Cant. IV. The greatest masters in painting had not such sublime ideas as Milton, and among all their Devils have drawn no portrait comparable to this; as everybody must allow who hath seen the pictures or the prints of Michael and the Devil by Raphael, and of the same

598. and with fear of change
Perplexes monarchs.] It is said that this noble poem was in danger of being suppress’d by the Licencer on account of this simile, as if it contain’d some latent treason in it: but it is saying little more than poets have said under the most absolute monarchies; as Virgil

464. Ille etiam cacos infare tumultus

Sæpe
In dim eclipse disastrous twilight sheds
On half the nations, and with fear of change
Perplexes monarchs. Darken’d so, yet shone
Above them all th’ Arch-Angel: but his face
Deep scars of thunder had intrench’d, 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
The fellows of his crime, the followers rather
(Far other once beheld in bliss) condemn’d
For ever now to have their lot in pain,
 Millions of Spirits for his fault amerc’d
Of Heav’n, and from eternal splendors flung
For his revolt, yet faithful how they stood,

Their

Sæpe monet, fraudemque, et operta tumescere bella.

600. —— his face

Deep scars of thunder had intrench’d,] Had cut into, had made trenches there, of the French trencher to cut. Shakespear ues the same word speaking of a scar, It was this very word intrench’d it. All’s well that ends well, Act II.

609. —— amerc’d] This word is not ues here in its proper law-sense, of mul’d, fin’d, &c. but as Mr. Hume rightly observes has a strange affinity with the Greek αμερποω, to deprive, to take away, as Homer has ues it much to our purpose.

611. —— yet faithful bow they stood,] To see
Their glory wither'd: as when Heaven's fire
Hath scath'd the forest oaks, or mountain pines,
With singed top their stately growth though bare
Stands on the blasted heath. He now prepar'd 615
To speak; whereat their doubled ranks they bend
From wing to wing, and half inclose him round
With all his peers: attention held them mute.
Thrice he assay'd, and thrice in spite of scorn
Tears, such as Angels weep, burst forth: at last 620
Words interwove with sighs found out their way.

O Myriads of immortal Spirits, O Powers
Matchless, but with th' Almighty, and that strife
Was not inglorious, though th' event was dire,
As this place testifies, and this dire change 625
Hateful to utter: but what pow'r of mind

the true construction of this we must go back
to ver. 605 for the verb. The sense then is
this, to behold the fellows of his crime, con-
demned &c. yet how they stood faithful.

Richardson.

612. --- as when Heaven's fire
Had scath'd &c.] Hath hurt, hath damag'd;
a word frequently used in Chaucer, Spenser,
Shakespear, and our old writers. This is a
very beautiful and close simile; it represen-
ts the majestic stature, and wither'd glory of the

Angels; and the last with great propriety,
since their luftre was impair'd by thunder, as
well as that of the trees in the simile: and be-
fides, the blasted heath gives us some idea of
that singed burning foil, on which the Angels
were standing. Homer and Virgil frequently
use comparisons from trees, to express the sta-
ture or falling of a hero, but none of them
are apply'd with such variety and propriety of
circumstances as this of Milton. See An Essa
upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients, p. 24.

619. Thrice
Foreseeing or presaging, from the depth
Of knowledge past or present, could have fear'd,
How such united force of Gods, how such
As stood like these, could ever know repulse?
630
For who can yet believe, though after los's,
That all these puissant legions, whose exile
Hath emptied Heav'n, shall fail to re-ascend
Self-rais'd, and repossess their native seat?
For me be witness all the host of Heaven,
635
If counsels different, or danger shunn'd
By me, have lost our hopes. But he who reigns
Monarch in Heav'n, till then as one secure
Sat on his throne, upheld by old repute,
Consent or custom, and his regal state
Put forth at full, but still his strength conceal'd,
Which

619. *Thrice be assay'd, and thrice* — *Tears burst forth*] He had Ovid in his thought,
Metam. XI. 419.
Ter conata loqui, ter fletibus ora rigavit. Bentley.

*Tears such as Angels weep*, Like Homer's Ichor
Of the Gods which was different from the blood
Of mortals. This weeping of Satan on surveying
His numerous host, and the thoughts of
Their wretched state, puts one in mind of the
Story of Xerxes weeping on seeing his vast

623. *---- and that strife Was not inglorious*] Ovid. Met. IX. 6.

633. *Hath emptied Heav'n*] It is conceiv'd
That a third part of the Angels fell with Satan,
According:
Which tempted our attempt, and wrought our fall. Henceforth his might we know, and know our own,
So as not either to provoke, or dread New war, provok'd; 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 to rise There went a fame in Heav'n that he ere long Intended to create, and therein plant
A generation, whom his choice regard.
Should favor equal to the sons of Heaven:
Thither, if but to pry, shall be perhaps 655

according to Rev. XII. 4. And his tail drew the third part of the stars of Heaven, and cast them to the earth; and this opinion Milton hath express'd in several places, II. 692. V. 710. VI. 156: but Satan here talks big and magnifies their number, as if their exile had emptied Heaven.

642. Which tempted our attempt,] Words tho' well chosen and significative enough, yet of jingling and unpleasant sound, and like marriages between persons too near of kin, to be avoided. Hume. This kind of jingle was undoubtedly thought an elegance by Milton, and many instances of it may be shown not only in his works, but I believe in all the best poets both ancient and modern, tho' the latter I am afraid have been sometimes too liberal of them. 647. --- that be no less &c.] Satan had own'd juf't before, ver. 642. that they had been deceiv'd by God's concealing his strength; He now says, He also shall find himself mistaken in his turn; He shall find our cunning such as that tho' we have been overpower'd, we are not more than half subdued. Richardson. 662. understood] Not express'd, not openly declar'd,
Our first eruption, thither or elsewhere:
For this infernal pit shall never hold
Celestial Spirits in bondage, nor th’abyss
Long under darkness cover. But these thoughts
Full counsel must mature: Peace is despair’d,
For who can think submission? War then, War
Open or understood must be resolv’d.

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 illumin’d Hell: highly they rag’d
Against the High’est, and fierce with grasped arms
Clash’d on their founding shields the din of war,
Hurling defiance toward the vault of Heaven.

There

declare’d, and yet imply’d: as when we say that a substantive or verb is understood in a sentence.

Dr. Pearce approves the emendation; and
Dr. Pearson approves the emendation; and without doubt the wall or walls of Heaven is a common expression with our author. But may we not by the vault of Heaven understand convexa, our visible Heaven, which is often described as vaulted, the sphere of the fixed stars above which God and Angels inhabit? Hurling defiance toward the visible Heaven is in effect hurling defiance toward the invisible Heaven, the seat of God and Angels.
There stood a hill not far, whose grisly top
Belch'd fire and rolling smoke; the rest entire
Shone with a glossy scurf, undoubted sign
That in his womb was hid metallic ore,
The work of sulphur. Thither wing'd with speed
A numerous brigad haften'd: as when bands
Of pioneers with spade and pickax arm'd
Forerun the royal camp, to trench a field,
Or cast a rampart. Mammon led them on,
Mammon, the least erected Spirit that fell
From Heav'n, for e'en in Heav'n his looks and thoughts
Were

671. Belch'd] So Virgil, Æn. III. 576. says eruption of Ætna, from which, or from mount Vesuvius, or the like, our poet took the idea of this mountain.

673. That in his womb] A very great man was observing one day a little inaccuracy of expression in the poet's making this mountain a person and a male person, and at the same time attributing a womb to it: And perhaps it would have been better if he had written its womb; but womb is used in as large a sense as the Latin uterus, which Virgil applies to a stag, Æn. VII. 490.

Ille manum patiens, menfæque affuetus heril, but afterwards Ascanius wounds him, ver. 499. Perque uterum fonitu, perque ilia venit arundo. Virgil makes use of the same word again in speaking of a wolf, Æn. XI. 809.

674. The work of sulphur.] For metals are supposed to consist of two essential parts or principles; mercury, as the basis or metallic matter; and sulphur as the binder or cement, which fixes the fluid mercury into a coherent malleable mass. See Chambers's Dict. of Sulphur.

678. Mammon] This name is Syriac, and signifies riches. Ye cannot serve God and Mammon, says our Saviour, Mat. VI. 24. and bids us make to ourselves friends of the Mammon of unrighteousness, Luke XVI. 9. and ver. 11. If ye have not been faithful in the unrighteous Mammon, who will commit to your trust the true? Some look upon Mammon as the God of riches, and
Were always downward bent, admiring more
The riches of Heav'n's pavement, trodden gold,
Than ought divine or holy elfe enjoy'd
In vision beatific: by him first
Men also, and by his suggestion taught,
Ransack'd the center, and with impious hands
Rifled the bowels of their mother earth
For treasures better hid. Soon had his crew
Open'd into the hill a spacious wound,
And digg'd out ribs of gold. Let none admire
That riches grow in Hell; that foil may best

Deserve

and Mammon is accordingly made a perfon by
our poet, and was fo by Spenser before him,
whose description of Mammon and his cave our
poet seems to have had his eye upon in several
places.

682. The riches of Heav'n's pavement, trodden
gold.] So Homer speaks of the pave-
ment of Heaven, as if it was of gold, χρυσόν
in oíακίνο, Iliad. IV. 2. And fo the heavenly
Jerusalem is described by St. John, Rev. XXI.
21. and the street of the city is pure gold.

684. --- by him first
Men also, and by his suggestion taught, ]
Dr. Bentley says, the poet assigns as two caufes
him and his suggestion, which are one and the
same thing. This observation has the appear-
ance of accuracy. But Milton is exact, and
alludes in a beautiful manner to a superflitious
opinion, generally believed amongst the mi-
ners: That there are a sort of Devils which
converse much in minerals, where they are fre-
fently seen to busy and employ themselves in
all the operations of the workmen; they will
dig, cleanfe, melt, and separate the metals.
See G. Agricola de Animantibus subterraneis.
So that Milton poetically supposes Mammon
and his clan to have taught the sons of earth by
example and praftical instruction, as well as
precept and mental suggestion. Warburton.

687. Rifled the bowels of their mother earth]
--- Itum eft in viscera terrae,
Quasque reconsiderat, Stygiisque admovevat
umbbris,

688. For treasures better hid.] Hor. Od. III.
III. 49.
Aurum irrepertum, et sic meliùs situm.

K

694. --- and
Deserve the precious bane. And here let those
Who boast in mortal things, and wond'ring tell
Of Babel, and the works of Memphian kings,
Learn how their greatest monuments of fame,
And strength and art are easily out-done
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 prepar'd,
That underneath had veins of liquid fire
Sluc'd from the lake, a second multitude

694. — and the works of Memphian kings,] He seems to allude particularly to the famous Pyramids of Egypt, which were near Memphis.
Barbara Pyramidum fileat miracula Memphis.

695. Learn how their greatest monuments of fame,
And strength and art are easily out-done.

With

702. — a second multitude
With wondrous art founded the mafs' ore,] The first band dug the metal out of the mountain, a second multitude on the plain hard by founded or melted it; for founded it should be read as in the first edition, and not found out as it is in the subsequent ones, founded from fundere, to melt, to cast metal.

704. — and scumm'd the bullion dros:] Dr. Bentley says that bullion dros is a strange blunder to pass thro' all editions: He supposes that the author gave it, and scumm'd from bullion dros. But I believe that the common reading may be defended. The word bullion does not signify purify'd ore, as the Doctor says; but ore boiled or boiling; and when the dros is taken off,
With wondrous art founded the massy ore,
Severing each kind, and scumm'd the bullion drofs:
A third as soon had form'd within the ground
A various mold, and from the boiling cells
By strange conveyance fill'd each hollow nook,
As in an organ from one blast of wind
To many a row of pipes the sound-board breathes.
Anon out of the earth a fabric huge
Rose like an exhalation, with the sound
Of dulcet symphonies and voices sweet,
Built like a temple, where pilasters round

off, then it is purify'd ore. Agreeably to this Milton in his tract called Of the Reformation of England, says ----- to extract heaps of gold and silver out of the droffe bullion of the people's sins. And Milton makes bullion an adjective here, tho' commonly it is a substantive; just as in V. 140. we have ocean brim, and in III. 284. virgin seed. And so bullion drofs may signify the drofs that came from the metal, as Spenfer express'd it, or the drofs that swam on the surface of the boiling ore. The sense of the passage is this; They founded or melted the ore that was in the mass, by separating or severing each kind, that is, the sulphur, earth, &c. from the metal; and after that, they scumm'd the drofs that floated on the top of the boiling ore. Pearce.

Bullion drofs, as one would say gold-drofs or silver-drofs, the drofs which arose from the melted metal in refining it. Richardson.

708. As in an Organ &c.] This simile is as exact, as it is new. And we may observe, that our author frequently fetches his images from music more than any other English poet, as he was very fond of it, and was himself a performer upon the organ and other instruments.

711. Rose like an exhalation.] The sudden rising of Pandemonium is supposed, and with great probability, to be a hint taken from some of the moving scenes and machines invented for the stage by the famous Inigo Jones.

712. Of dulcet symphonies] This word is used likewise by Shakespear, Midsummer Night's Dream, Act II.

Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath.

713. ----- where pilasters round &c.] One of the greatest faults of Milton is his affection of showing his learning and knowledge upon every
Were set, and Doric pillars overlaid
With golden architrave; nor did there want
Cornice or freeze, with bossy sculptures graven;
The roof was fretted gold. Not Babylon,
Nor great Alcairo such magnificence
Equal’d in all their glories, to enshrine
Belus or Serapis their Gods, or seat
Their kings, when Egypt with Assyria strove
In wealth and luxury. Th’ ascending pile
Stood fix’d her stately highth, and strait the doors

Opening
every occasion. He could not so much as de-
scribe this structure without bringing in I know
not how many terms of architecture, which it
will be proper for the false of many readers to
explain. *Pilasters round,* pillars jutting out of
the wall, were set, and Doric pillars, pillars of
the Doric order; as their music was *to the Do-
rian mood,* ver. 550, so their architecture was
of the Doric order; *overlaid with golden archi-
trave,* that part of a column above the capi-
tal; *nor did there want cornice,* the uppermost
member of the intablature of the column, or
freeze, that part of the intablature of columns
between the architrave and cornice, so deno-
minated of the Latin *phrygio* an embroiderer,
because it is commonly adorn’d with sculptures
in basso relievo, imitating embroidery, and
therefore the poet adds, *with bosily sculptures
graven; the roof was freted gold,* fret-work
is fillets interwoven at parallel distances. This
kind of work has usually flowers in the spaces,
and must glitter much especially by lamp-light,
as Mr. Richardson observes.

717. *Nor Babylon, &c.*] It must be confessed
there is some weight in Dr. Bentley’s objection,
that in this same narration the author had chal-
leng’d Babylon and Memphis, ver. 694. Ba-
bylon the capital of Assyria, and Memphis of
old Egypt; and now as quite forgetful he re-
iterates it, *Babylon and Alcairo:* and this latter
the worfe; because Alcairo is the modern name
of Memphis, and not so fit to join with *Belus
or Serapis.* But tho’ these lines may possibly
be faulty, yet that is not authority sufficient
for an editor to reject them as spurious.

720. *Belus or Serapis*] Belus the son of Nim-
rod, second king of Babylon, and the first
man worshipp’d for a God, by the Chaldeans
styled Bel, by the Phoenicians Baal. Serapis
the same with Apis the God of the Egyp-
tians.
Opening their brazen folds discover wide
Within, her ample spaces, o'er the smooth
And level pavement: from the arched roof
Pendent by subtle magic many a row
Of starry lamps and blazing cressets fed
With Naphtha and Asphaltus yielded light
As from a sky. The hafty multitude
Admiring enter'd, and the work some praise
And some the architect: his hand was known'
In Heav'n by many a towred structure high,

Where

tians. Hume. Dr. Bentley objects, that Sérapis has the accent upon the first syllable, whereas he quotes authorities to show that it should have it upon the second, as Martial,

Vincebat nec quæ turbæ Seræpin amat,
and another from Callimachus. But there are other authorities, which may serve to justify Milton; for we read in Martianus Capella, Te Sérapin Nilus &c. and in Prudentius Ibis enim et Sérapis &c. Pearce.

725. Within,] An adverb here and not a preposition: and therefore Milton puts a comma after it, that it may not be join'd in construction with her ample spaces. So Virgil Æn. II. 483.

Apparat domus intus, et atra longa patefacta.

726. --- from the arched roof &c.] How much superior is this to that in Virgil Æn. I. 726.

--- dependent lychni laqueariibus aureis
Incensū, et noctem flammas funalia vincunt.
From gilded roofs depending lamps display
Nocturnal beams, that emulate the day.
Dryden.

728. --- and blazing cressets fed
With Naphtha and Asphaltus] A cresset is any great blazing light, as a beacon. Naphtha is of so unctuous and fiery a nature, that it kindles at approaching the fire, or the sun-beams. Asphaltus or bitumen, another pitchy substance. Richardson. And the word cresset I find used likewise in Shakespeare,

--- at my nativity
The front of Heav'n was full of fiery shapes,

738. Nor
Where scepter'd Angels held their residence,  
And fat as princes, whom the supreme King  
Exalted to such pow'r, and gave to rule,  
Each in his hierarchy, the orders bright.  
Nor was his name unheard or unador'd  
In ancient Greece; and in Ausonian land  
Men call'd him Mulciber; and how he fell  
From Heav'n, they fabled, thrown by angry Jove  
Sheer o'er the crystal battlements; from morn  
To noon he fell, from noon to dewy eve,  

738. Nor was his name unheard &c.] Dr. Bentley says, "This is carelessly express'd. " Why does he not tell his name in Greece, " as well as his Latin name? and Mulciber " was not so common a name as Vulcan." I think it is very exactly express'd. Milton is here speaking of a Devil exercising the founder's art: and says he was not unknown in Greece and Italy. The poet has his choice of three names to tell us what they called him in the classic world, Hephaestos, Vulcan, and Mulciber, the last only of which designing the office of a founder, he has very judiciously chosen that. Warburton.  

740. --- and how he fell  
From Heav'n, &c.] Alluding to these lines in Homer's Iliad. I. 590.  

It is worth observing how Milton lengthens out the time of Vulcan's fall. He not only says with Homer, that it was all day long, but we are led through the parts of the day, from morn to noon, from noon to evening, and this a summer's day. There is a similar passage in the Odyssey, where Ulysses describes his sleeping twenty four hours together, and to make the time seem the longer, divides it into several parts,
A summer’s day; and with the setting sun
Dropt from the zenith like a falling star,
On Lemnos th’ Ægean ile: thus they relate,
Erring; for he with this rebellious rout
Fell long before; nor ought avail’d him now
To have built in Heav’n high tow’rs; nor did he ’scape
By all his engins, but was headlong sent
With his industrious crew to build in Hell.

Mean while the winged heralds by command
Of sovereign pow’r, with awful ceremony

And

parts, and points them out distinctly to us,
Odyss. VII. 238.

Eυδοκην σωματου€ως, και επ’ ομο, και μεστον ημαρ,
Δυστο τ’ ἐλεύθερην, και με γλυκόν υπος ανθρωπ.

746. *On Lemnos th’ Ægean ile:*) Dr. Bentley reads, *On Lemnos thence bis ile,* and calls it a scandalous fault, to write Ægean with a wrong accent for Ægian. But Milton in the same manner pronounces Thyestean for Thyestean in X. 688. and in Paradise Regain’d, IV. 238, we read in the first edition, which Dr. Bentley pronounces to be without faults,

Where on the Æ’gean shore a city stands.
And Fairfax led the way to this manner of pronouncing the word, or rather to this poetical liberty; for in his translation of Tasso, C. I.
St. 60. he says
O’er Æ’gean seas thro’ many a Greekish hold;
and in C. 12. St. 63.

*As Ægean seas &c.* Pearce.

748. *nor ought avail’d him now &c.*]
Hom. Iliad. V. 53.

’Αλλ’ ε σοι τοτε γε χείσας’ Αρτέμις ιογειάς,
‘Ομνι εν κόλατοια.

Virg. Æn. XI. 843.

Nec tibi defertae in dumis coluiffe Dianam
Profuit.

750. *By all his engins,]* An ingenious gentleman observes that this word was often used for devices, wit, contrivance, so in the glossary to Chaucer and in the Statute of Mortmain, 7 Edw. I. the words aut alio quovis modo, arte, vel ingenio, are English’d in our statute books, or by any other craft or engin.

752. *the winged heralds]* He has given them wings not only as Angels, but to express their speed. Hume. *Herald* is spelt like the French herault, the Danish herold, and the Spanish
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 call'd
From every band and squared regiment
By place or choice the worthiest; they anon
With hundreds and with thousands trooping came
Attended: all access was throng'd, the gates
And porches wide, but chief the spacious hall
(Though like a cover'd field, where champions bold
Wont ride in arm'd, and at the Soldan's chair
Defy'd

Spanish heraldo, but Milton spells it harald after the Italian araldo.

763. Though like a cover'd field,] Cover'd here signifies inclos'd; Champ clos; the field for combat, the lists. The hall of Pandemonium, one room only is like a field for martial exercises on horseback. Richardson.

764. and at the Soldan's chair &c.] Milton frequently affects the use of uncommon words, when the common ones would suit the measure of the verse as well, believing I suppose that it added to the dignity of his language. So here he says the Soldan's chair instead of the Sultan's chair, and Panim chivalry instead of Pagan chivalry; as before he said Rhine or the Danaw, ver. 353. when he might have said the Rhine or Danube. Spenser likewise uses the words Soldan and Panim. See Fairy Queen, B. 5. C. 8. St. 26. and other places.

768. As bees &c.] An imitation of Homer, who compares the Grecians crouding to a swarm of bees, Iliad. II. 87.

Milton has very well express'd the force of βατραχον by in clusters, as Pope has done by clift'ring, tho' in the rest of his translation he has by no means equal'd the beauties of the original.

As from some rocky cliff the shepherd sees
Clift'ring in heaps on heaps the driving bees,
Rolling, and black'ning, swarms succeeding swarms,
With deeper murmurs and more hoarse alarms;
Dusky
Defy’d the best of Panim chivalry
To mortal combat, or carreer with lance)
Thick swarm’d, both on the ground and in the air
Brush’d 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 rubb’d with balm, expatiate and confer
Their state affairs. So thick the aery crowd

Dusky they spread, a close imbody’d crowd,
And o’er the vale descends the living cloud.
There are such similes likewise in Virgil, Æn. I. 430.
Qualis apes æstatis novâ per florea rura
Exercet sub solâ labor; cum gentis adultos
Educent seclusus, &c.
Such is their toil, and such their busy pains,
As exercise the bees in flow’ry plains;
When winter past, and summer scarce begun
Invites them forth to labor in the sun:
Some lead their youth abroad, &c. Dryden.
And again, Æn. VI. 707.
\[ Ac veluti in pratis, ubi apes æstatis serena \]
\[ Floribus infidunt variis &c. \]
But our poet carries the similitude farther than
either of his great masters, and mentions the
bees conferring their state affairs, as he is going

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to give an account of the consultations of the
Devils.

769. In spring time, when the sun with Taurus rides,
Candidus auratis aperit cum cornibus annum
Dr. Bentley reads in Taurus rides, and says,
Does Taurus ride too, a constellation fix’d?
Yes, or else Ovid is wrong throughout his
whole Faæt, where he describes the rising and
setting of the signs of the zodiac: See what
he says of the rising of Taurus, V. 603. and
our author in X. 663, speaking of the fix’d
stars says, Which of them rising with the sun or
falling, &c. Pearce.

770. Pour forth their populous youth about the
--- Cum prima novi ducent examina reges
Vere suo, ludetque favis emisit juventus.
L

777. Behold
Swarm'd and were straiten'd; till the signal given,
Behold a wonder! they but now who seem'd
In bigness to surpass earth's giant sons,
Now less than smallest dwarfs, in narrow room
Throng numberless, like that pygmean race

777. Behold a wonder! &c.] The passage in the catalogue, explaining the manner how Spirits transform themselves by contractions or enlargement of their dimensions, is introduced with great judgment, to make way for several surprising accidents in the sequel of the poem. There follows one, at the very end of the first book, which is what the French critics call marvelous, but at the same time probable by reason of the passage last mention'd. As soon as the infernal palace is finished, we are told the multitude and rabble of Spirits immediately shrank themselves into a small compass, that there might be room for such a numberless assembly in this capacious hall. But it is the poet's refinement upon this thought which I most admire, and which is indeed very noble in itself. For he tells us, that notwithstanding the vulgar, among the fallen Spirits, contracted their forms, those of the first rank and dignity still preserved their natural dimensions.

Addison.

Monfieur Voltaire is of a different opinion with regard to the contrivance of Pandemonium and the transformation of the Devils into dwarfs; and possibly more may concur with him than with Mr. Addison. I dare affirm, says he, that the contrivance of the Pandemonium would have been entirely disapproved of by critics like Boileau, Racine, &c. That feat built for the parliament of the Devils seems very proper; since Satan hath summoned them altogether, and harangued them just before in an ample field. The council was necessary; but where it was to be held, 'twas very indifferent. --- But when afterwards the Devils turn dwarfs to fill their places in the house, as if it was impracticable to build a room large enough to contain them in their natural size; it is an idle story, which would match the most extravagant tales. And to crown all, Satan and the chief Lords preferring their own monstrous forms, while the rabble of the Devils shrink into pygmies, heightens the ridicule of the whole contrivance to an unexpressible degree. Methinks the true criterion for discerning what is really ridiculous in an epic poem, is to examine if the same thing would not fit exactly the mock-heroic. Then I dare say that nothing is so adapted to that ludicrous way of writing, as the metamorphosis of the Devils into dwarfs. See his Essay on epic poetry, p. 113, 114.

780. ---- like that pygmean race &c.] There are also several noble similes and allusions in the first book of Paradise Lost. And here I must observe, that when Milton alludes either to things or persons, he never quits his simile till it refers to some very great idea, which is often foreign to the occasion that gave birth to it. The resemblance does not, perhaps, last above a line or two, but the poet runs on with the hint till he has raised out of it some glorious image or sentiment, proper to inflame the mind of the reader, and to give it that sublime kind of entertainment, which is suitable to the nature
Beyond the Indian mount, or faery elves,
Whose midnight revels by a forest side
Or fountain some belated peasant fees,
Or dreams he sees, while over-head the moon
Sits arbitress, and nearer to the earth

nature of an heroic poem. Those, who are acquainted with Homer's and Virgil's way of writing, cannot but be pleas'd with this kind of structure in Milton's similitudes. I am the more particular on this head, because ignorant readers, who have formed their taste upon the quaint similes and little turns of wit, which are so much in vogue among modern poets, cannot relish these beauties which are of a much higher nature, and are therefore apt to cenfure Milton's comparisons in which they do not see any surprising points of likenesses. Monsieur Perrault was a man of this vitiated relish, and for that very reason has endeavor'd to turn into ridicule several of Homer's similitudes, which he calls comparaisons a longue queue, long-tail'd comparisons. I shall conclude this paper on the first book of Milton with the answer, which Monsieur Boileau makes to Perrault on this occasion. "Comparisons, says he, in odes and epic poems, are not introduced only to illustrate and embellish the discourse, but to amuse and relax the mind of the reader, by frequently disengaging him from too painful an attention to the principal subject, and by leading him into other agreeable images. Homer, says he, excell'd in this particular, whose comparisons abound with such images of nature as are proper to relieve and diversify his subjects. He continually instructs the reader, and makes him take notice, even in objects which are every day before our eyes, of such circumstances as we should "not otherwise have observed." To this he adds as a maxim universally acknowledged, "That it is not necessary in poetry for the points of the comparison to correspond with one another exactly, but that a general resemblance is sufficient, and that too much nicety in this particular favors of the rhetoric and epigrammatist." In short, if we look into the conduct of Homer, Virgil, and Milton, as the great fable is the soul of each poem, so to give their works an agreeable variety, their episodes are so many short fables, and their similes so many short episodes; to which you may add, if you please, that their metaphors are so many short similes. If the reader considers the comparisons in the first book of Milton, of the fun in an eclipse, of the sleeping Leviathan, of the bees swarming about their hive, of the faery dance, in the view wherein I have here placed them, he will easily discover the great beauties that are in each of those passages. _Addison._

783. — _sees._

Aut videt, aut vidisse putat ----

785. _Sits arbitress._] Arbitress here signifies witness, spectatress. So Hor. Epod. V. 49.

O rebus meis :
Non insidieles arbitre

Nox et Diana. _Heylin._

785. — _and nearer to the earth._] There is the same thought of the moon's stooping towards L. 2.
Wheels her pale course, they on their mirth and dance
Intent, with jocond music charm his ear;
At once with joy and fear his heart rebounds.
Thus incorporeal Spirits to smallest forms
Reduc'd their shapes immense, and were at large,
Though without number still amidst the hall
Of that infernal court. But far within,
And in their own dimensions like themselves,
The great Seraphic Lords and Cherubim
In close recess and secret conclave sat
A thousand Demi-gods on golden seats,
Frequent and full. After short silence then
And summons read, the great consult began.

the earth, in the Penferofo, one of our author's
juvenile poems,

The wandring moon.
Riding near her highest noon,
Like one that had been led aftray
Through the Heav'n's wide pathlefs way;
And oft, as if her head she bow'd,
Stooping through a fleecy cloud.

Richardfon.

790. Reduc'd their fhares immense, and were
at large, &c.] Tho' numberles they
had fo contracted their dimensions, as to have
room enough to be Au large (French) A largo
(I Italian) and be yet in the hall. So XI. 626,
Ere long to swim at large. Richardson.

795. In close refees and secret conclave fat] It
is not improbable that the poet might allude
here to what is strictly and properly call'd the
conclave; for it is certain that he had not a
much better opinion of the one than of the
other of these assemblies.

797. Frequent and full.] So we have in Latin
frequens fenatus, a full house. And he makes use
of the fame expression in English prose, "The
"assembly was full and frequent according to
"summons." See his History of England in
the reign of Edward the Confeflor.

The end of the First Book.
THE ARGUMENT.

The consultation begun, Satan debates whether another battel be to be hazarded for the recovery of Heaven: some advise it, others dissuade: A third proposal is preferr'd, mention'd before by Satan, to search the truth of that prophecy or tradition in Heaven concerning another world, and another kind of creature equal or not much inferior to themselves, about this time to be created: Their doubt who shall be sent on this difficult search: Satan their chief undertakes alone the voyage, is honor'd 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 open'd, 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 fight of this new world which he fought.
Hgh on a throne of royal state, which far
Outshone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,
Or where the gorgeous east with richest hand

Show'rs

1. *High on a throne &c.* I have before observed in general, that the persons, whom Milton introduces into his poem, always discover such sentiments and behaviour, as are in a peculiar manner conformable to their respective characters. Every circumstance in their speeches and actions is with great justness and delicacy adapted to the persons who speak and act. As the poet very much excels in this constancy of his characters, I shall beg leave to consider several passages of the second book in this light. That superior greatness and mock-majesty, which is ascribed to the prince of the fallen Angels, is admirably preferred in the beginning of this book. His opening and closing the debate; his taking on himself that great enterprise at the thought of which the whole infernal assembly trembled; his encountering the hideous phantom, who guarded the gates of Hell and appeared to him in all his terrors, are instances of that proud and daring mind, which could not brook submission even to omnipotence. The same boldness and intrepidity of behaviour discovers itself in the several adventures which he meets with during his passage through the regions of unformed matter, and particularly in his address to those tremendous Powers who are described as presiding over it. **Addison.**

2. *the wealth of Ormus and of Ind.* That is diamonds, a principal part of the wealth of *India* where they are found, and of the island *Ormus* (in the Persian gulf) which is the mart for them. **Pearce.**

3. *Or where the gorgeous east &c.* Not that *Ormus* and *Ind* were in the west, but the sense is that the throne of Satan outshone diamonds, or pearl and gold, the choicest whereof are produced in the east. Spenser expresses the same thought thus, *Fairy Queen*, B. 3. C. 4. St. 23.

**** that it did pass
The wealth of th' east, and pomp of Persian kings.

And the east is said to show' r them with richest hand by an excellent metaphor to express the great plenty and abundance of them, and to show' r them on her kings, because there the kings have the principal share of property; or this might be said, as Dr. Pearce conceives, in allusion to the custom us'd at the coronation of some kings in the east, of show'ring gold and precious stones upon their heads.

And
Show'rs on her kings barbaric pearl and gold,
Satan exalted fat, by merit rais'd
To that bad eminence; and from despair
Thus high uplifted beyond hope, aspires
Beyond thus high, infatiate to pursue
Vain war with Heav'n, and by success untaught
His proud imaginations thus display'd.

Pow'rs and Dominions, Deities of Heaven,
For since no deep within her gulf can hold
Immortal vigor, though oppress'd and fall'n,
I give not Heav'n 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 fix'd laws of Heaven
Did

And the same sort of metaphor is used in
Shakespear, Ant. & Cleop. Act II.
I'll set thee in a show'r of gold, and hail
Rich pearls upon thee.

And this pearl and gold is called barbaric pearl
and gold, after the manner of the Greeks and
Romans, who accounted all other nations bar-
barous; as Virgil said, Æn. II. 504.

Barbarico postes auro spoliisque superbi.
and Æn. VIII. 685.

Hinc òpe barbarica variisque Antonius armis
Victor ab auroræ populis

11. Pow'rs and Dominions.] As St. Paul calls
the Angels, Thrones or Dominions or Principa-
litics or Powers, Col. I. 16.

18. Me though just right, &c.] Me is rightly
placed first in the sentence, being the empha-
tical word and the accusative case govern'd by
the two verbs which follow, create and esta-
blisht. Me though just right, &c. did first
create
Book II.  

Did first create your leader, next free choice,  
With what besides, in counsel or in fight,  
Hath been achiev’d of merit, yet this loss  
Thus far at least recover’d, hath much more  
Establish’d in a safe unenvied throne  
Yielded with full consent. The happier state  
In Heav’n, which follows dignity, might draw  
Envy from each inferior; but who here  
Will envy whom the highest place exposes  
Foremost to stand against the Thund’rer’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  
From faction; for none sure will clame in Hell  
Precedence, none, whose portion is so small

create your leader, yet this loss hath much more establish’d in a safe unenvied throne.

21. — achiev’d,] We spell it as we pronounce it achiev’d; but Milton writes it achiev’d, like the French achever, from whence it is deriv’d.

24. — The happier state  
In Heav’n, which follows dignity, &c.] He means that the higher in dignity any being was in Heaven, the happier his state was; and that therefore inferiors might there envy superiors, because they were happier too.  

33. — none, whose portion &c.] Here seems to be some obscurity and difficulty in the syntax. Dr. Bentley and Dr. Heylin would read and point the passage thus:

* — for none sure will clame in Hell Precedence, none. Whose portion is so small Of present pain, that with ambitious mind He’ll covet more?

M  

40. — and
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 Heav'n, we now return
To claim our just inheritance of old,
Surer to prosper than prosperity
Could have assur'd us; and by what best way,
Whether of open war or covert guile,
We now debate; who can advise, may speak.

He ceas'd; and next him Moloch, scepter'd king,
Stood up, the strongest and the fiercest Spirit
That fought in Heav'n, now fiercer by despair:

40. — and by what best way,] Smoother and more emphatical thus,

Bentley.

43. — next him Moloch,] The part of Moloch is likewise in all its circumstances full of that fire and fury which distinguishes this Spirit from the rest of the fallen Angels. He is described in the first book, as besmeared with the blood of human sacrifices, and delighted with the tears of parents and the cries of children. In the second book he is marked out as the fiercest Spirit that fought in Heaven: and if we consider the figure which he makes in the sixth book, where the battle of Angels is described, we find it every way answerable to the fame furious enraged character. It may be worth while to observe, that Milton has represented this violent impetuous Spirit, who is hurried on by such precipitate passions, as the first that rises in that assembly, to give his opinion upon their present posture of affairs. Accordingly he declares himself abruptly for war, and appears incensed at his companions, for losing so much time as even to deliberate upon it. All his sentiments are rash, audacious and desperate. Such is that of arming themselves with their tortures, and turning their punishments upon him who inflicted them. His preferring annihilation to shame or misery is also highly suitable to his character; as the comfort he draws from their disturbing the peace of Heaven,
His trust was with th' Eternal to be deem'd
Equal in strength, and rather than be less
Car'd not to be at all; with that care loft
Went all his fear: of God, or Hell, or worse
He reck'd not, and these words thereafter spake. 50

My sentence is for open war: of wiles,
More unexpert, I boast not: them let those
Contrive who need, or when they need, not now.
For while they fit contriving, shall the rest,
Millions that stand in arms, and longing wait
The signal to ascend, fit ling'ring here
Heav'n's fugitives, and for their dwelling place
Accept

Heaven, that if it be not victory it is revenge, is a sentiment truly diabolical, and becoming the bitterness of this implacable Spirit.

Addison.

43. --- scepter'd king,] As Homer says Σκυάλος βασιλ. Iliad. I. 279.
47. --- and rather than be less
Car'd not to be at all; ] Dr. Bentley reads He rather than &c. because at present the construction is and his trust car'd not &c. But such small faults are not only to be pardoned but overlook'd in great geniuses. Fabius VIII. 3.

fays of Cicero, In vitium scape incidit securus tam parvae observationis: and in X. 1. Neque id statim legenti persuasum sit omnia, que

magni auétores dixerint, esse perfecta; nam et labuntur aliquando, et oneri cedunt &c.

Pearce.

50. He reck'd not,] He made no account of.
To reck much the same as to reckon. And
spake thereafter, that is accordingly, as one who made no account of God or Hell or any thing.

56. --- fit ling'ring here] Dr. Bentley reads stay ling'ring here, because we have before stand in arms: but stand does not always signify the posture; see an instance of this in John I. 26.
To stand in arms is no more than to be in arms. So in XI. 1. it is said of Adam and Eve that they stood repentant, that is we're repentant; for a little before it is said that they prostrate

fell.
Accept this dark opprobrious den of shame,
The prison of his tyranny who reigns
By our delay? no, let us rather choose,
Arm'd with Hell flames and fury, all at once
O'er Heav'n's high tow'rs to force resistless way,
Turning our tortures into horrid arms
Against the torturer; when to meet the noise
Of his almighty engin he shall hear
Infernal thunder, and for lightning see
Black fire and horror shot with equal rage
Among his Angels, and his throne itself
Mix'd 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
Of that forgetful lake benumm not still,

fell. That *is* right here, may appear from ver. 164, 420, 475. Pearce. *Sit ling'ring* to answer *fit contriving* before. While they *sit contriving,* shall the rest *sit ling'ring*?

69. *Mix'd with Tartarean sulphur,* ] *Mix'd* signifies *fill'd with,* it is an imitation of what Virgil says in *Æn.* II. 487.

At domus interior gemitu miseroque tumultu
*Miscentur.* Pearce.

89. *Must exercise us*] He uses the word like the Latin *exerceo,* which signifies to vex and trouble as well as to practice and employ: as in Virg. *Georg.* IV. 453.

*Non te nullius exerceont numinis iræ.*
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? Th’ ascent is easy then;
Th’ event is fear’d; 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 destroy’d: what can be worse
Than to dwell here, driv’n out from bliss, condemn’d
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

90. The vassals of his anger,] The Devils are the vassals of the Almighty, thence Mammon says, Il. 252, Our state of splendid vassalage. And the vassals of anger is an expression confirm’d by Spence in his Tears of the Muses.

Ah, wretched world, and all that are therein, The vassals of God’s wrath, and slaves of sin.

But yet when I remember St. Paul’s words, Rom. IX. 22. The vessels of wrath fitted to destruction, Στφυχος, I suspect that Milton here, as perpetually, kept close to the Scripture stile, and leave it to the reader’s choice, vassals or vessels. Bentley.

91. Inexorably,] In the first editions it is Inexorably;
Calls us to penance? More destroy'd than thus
We should be quite abolish'd and expire.
What fear we then? what doubt we to incense
His utmost ire? which to the highth enrag'd,
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 pow'r sufficient to disturb his Heaven,
And with perpetual inroads to alarm,

Though

exorably, in others Inexorable: and it may be either, the scourge inexorable or inexorably
calls.

92. *Calls us to penance?* To punishment.
Our poet here supposes the sufferings of the
damned Spirits not to be always alike intense,
but that they had some intermissions. Hume.

97. --- happier far
Than miserable to have eternal being: That
it is better not to be than to be eternally miserable,
our Saviour himself hath determin'd,

100. --- we are at worst] We are in the worst
condition we can be.

104. --- his fatal throne: That is upheld by
fate, as he elsewhere expresses it, I. 133.

108. *To less than Gods.* He gave it *To less
than God.* For it was dangerous to the Angels.

Bentley.

This emendation appears very probable at first
view: but the Angels though often called Gods,
yet sometimes are only compar'd or said to be
like the Gods, as in I. 570.

Their visages and stature as of Gods:
and of the two chief, Michael and Satan, it is
said VI. 301, that

--- likest Gods they seem'd:

and of two others we read VI. 366.

Two potent Thrones, that to be less than Gods
Disdain'd:

and in another place a manifest distinction is
made
Though inaccessible, his fatal throne:
Which if not victory is yet revenge.

He ended frowning, and his look denounc'd
Desperate revenge, and battle dangerous
To less than Gods. On th' other side up rose
Belial, in act more graceful and humane;
A fairer person lost not Heav'n; he seem'd
For dignity compos'd and high exploit:
But all was false and hollow; though his tongue
Dropt Manna, and could make the worse appear
The better reason, to perplex and dash
Maturest counsels: for his thoughts were low;

made between Gods and Angels who are called
Demi-Gods, IX. 937.

But to be Gods, or Angel Demi-Gods:
and therefore the present reading To less than
Gods may be justify'd.

109. Belial, in act more graceful and humane;]
Belial is described in the first book as the idol
of the lewd and luxurious. He is in the se-
cond book, pursuant to that description, cha-
acterized as timorous and slothful; and if we
look in the sixth book, we find him celebrated
in the battle of Angels for nothing but that
 scoffing speech which he makes to Satan, on
their supposed advantage over the enemy. As
his appearance is uniform and of a piece in
these three several views, we find his sen-
timents in the infernal assembly every way con-
formable to his character. Such are his appre-
ensions of a second battle, his horrors of an-
nihilation, his preferring to be miserable rather
than not to be. I need not observe, that the
contrast of thought in this speech, and that
which precedes, gives an agreeable variety to
the debate. *Addison.*

113. *Dropt Manna,*] The same expression,
but apply'd differently, in Shakespeare. Mer-
chant of Venice, Act V.

Fair ladies, you *drop Manna* in the way
Of starved people.

113. --- and could make the worse appear
*The better reason,*] Word for word, from
the known profession of the ancient Sophists,
*Tou logon tou etiow krepicw wenvw.* *Bentley.*
To vice industrious, but to nobler deeds
Timorous and slothful: yet he pleas'd the ear,
And with persuasive accent thus began.

I should be much for open war, O Peers,
As not behind in hate; if what was urg'd
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 tow'rs of Heav'n are fill'd
With armed watch, that render all access
Impregnable; oft on the bord'ring deep
Incamp their legions, or with obscure wing
Scout far and wide into the realm of night.

124. — in fact of arms,] Dr. Heylin says it
is from the Italian Fatto d'arme a battel; or
else we should read here feats of arms, as in
ver. 537.

138. — would

From either end of Heav'n the welkin burns.
Or possibly the author might have given it in
facts of arms, such errors of the press being
very common and easy.
Scorning surprise. Or could we break our way
By force, and at our heels all Hell should rise
With blackest insurrection, to confound
Heav’n’s purest light, yet our great enemy
All incorruptible would on his throne
Sit unpolluted, and th’ ethereal mold
Incapable of stain would soon expel
Her mischief, and purge off the baser fire
Victorious. Thus repuls’d, our final hope
Is flat despair: we must exasperate
Th’ 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, swallow’d up and lost
In the wide womb of uncreated night,
Devoid of sense and motion? and who knows,

Let

138. --- would on his throne
Sit unpolluted,] 'Tis a reply to that part of Moloch’s speech, where he had threaten’d to mix the throne itself of God with infernal sulphur and strange fire.

151. Devoid of sense and motion?] Dr. Bentley reads Devoid of sense and action: but motion includes action. Mr. Warburton is of opinion, and so likewise is the learned Mr. Upton in his Critical Observations upon Shakespeare, that
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,
Reserv’d, and destin’d to eternal woe;
Whatever doing, what can we suffer more,
What can we suffer worse? Is this then worst,
Thus sitting, thus consulting, thus in arms?
What when we fled amain, pursued and struck

With

it should be read Devoid of sense and notion: but the common reading seems better, as it is stronger and expresses more; they should be depriv’d not only of all sense but of all motion, not only of all the intellectual but of all vital functions.

156. impotence.] ’Tis here meant for the opposit to wisdom, and is used frequently by the Latin authors to signify a weakness of mind, an unsteadiness in the government of our passions, or the conduct of our designs. In this sense Cicero in Epist. ad Fam. IX. 9. says Victoria ferociores impotentioresque reddidit. and in Tusc. Disp. IV. 23. we read Impotentia dictorum et factorum: hence we often meet with impotens animi, irae, doloris &c. and Horace in Od. I. XXXVII. 10. has Quidlibet impotens sperare. Pearce.

159. Wherefore cease we then? &c.] Belial is here proposing what is urged by those who counsel war; and then replies to it, Is this then worse &c. and shows that they had been in a worse
With Heav'n's afflicting thunder, and besought
The deep to shelter us? this Hell then seem'd
A refuge from those wounds: or when we lay
Chain'd on the burning lake? that sure was worse.
What if the breath that kindled those grim fires,
Awak'd should blow them into sev'nfold 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 open'd, and this firmament
Of Hell should spout her cataracts of fire,
Impendent horrors, threatening hideous fall
One day upon our heads; while we perhaps
Designing or exhorting glorious war,

Caught

worse condition 165—169. that sure was worse; and might be so again 170—186. this would be worse.

170. What if the breath that kindled those grim fires, ] If. XXX. 33. For Tophet is ordained of old, the pile thereof is fire and much wood, the breath of the Lord, like a stream of brimstone, doth kindle it.

174. His red right hand] So Horace says of Jupiter rubente dextera. But being spoken of Vengeance, it must be her right hand, as in the next line her stores. Bentley. There is something plausible and ingenious in this observation: but by his seems to have been meant God's, who is mention'd so often in the course of the debate, that he might very well be understood without being nam'd; and by her stores in the next line, I suppose, are meant Hell's, as mention is made afterwards of her cataracts of fire.
Caught in a fiery tempest shall be hurl'd
Each on his rock transfixed, the sport and prey
Of wracking whirlwinds, or for ever funk
Under yon boiling ocean, wrapt in chains;
There to converse with everlasting groans,
Unresisted, unpitied, unretrieved,
Ages of hopeless end? this would be worse.
War therefore, open or conceal'd, 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 Heav'n's hight
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 expell'd to suffer here
Chains and these torments? better these than worse

180. Caught in a fiery tempest shall be hurl'd
   Each on his rock transfixed,] Borrow'd of Virgil in his description of the fate of Ajax Oileus,
   Æn. I. 44, 45.
   Illum exspirantem transfixo pectore flammas
   Turbine corripuit, scopuloque infixo acuto. [Hume.

181. the sport and prey
   Of wracking whirlwinds,] Virg. Æn. VI. 75.
   rapidis ludibria ventis.

190. be from Heav'n's hight
   All these our motions vain sees and derides;] Alluding to Psal. II. 4. He that setteth in the Heavens.
By my advice; since fate inevitable
Subdues us, and omnipotent decree,
The victor’s will. To suffer, as to do,
Our strength is equal, nor the law unjust
That so ordains: this was at first resolv’d,
If we were wise, against so great a foe
Contending, and so doubtful what might fall.
I laugh, when those who at the spear are bold
And ventrous, 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 conqu’ror: 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 remov’d
Not mind us not offending, satisfy’d
With what is punish’d; whence these raging fires

199. To suffer, as to do;] Et facere, et pati.
So Scævola boasted that he was a Roman, and
knew as well how to suffer as to act. Et fa-
cere et pati fortia Romanum est. Liv. II. 12.
So in Horace, Od. III. XXIV. 43. Quidvis et
facere et pati.

220. This
Will slacken, if his breath stir not their flames.
Our purer essence then will overcome
Their noxious vapor, or inur'd not feel,
Or chang'd at length, and to the place conform'd
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
For happy though but ill, for ill not worst,
If we procure not to ourselves more woe.

Thus Belial with words cloth'd in reason's garb
Counsel'd ignoble ease, and peaceful floth,
Not peace: and after him thus Mammon spake.

Either

220. This horror will grow mild, this darkness light,] 'Tis quite too much as Dr. Bentley says, that the darkness should turn into light: but light, I conceive, is an adjective here as well as mild; and the meaning is, This darkness will in time become easy, as this horror will grow mild. It is not well express'd, and the worse as it rimes with the following line.


228. Mammon spake.] Mammon's character is so fully drawn in the first book, that the poet adds nothing to it in the second. We were before told, that he was the first who taught mankind to ranfack the earth for gold and silver, and that he was the architect of Pandemonium, or the infernal palace, where the evil Spirits were to meet in council. His speech in this book is every way suitable to so depraved
Either to disinthrone 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
Toickle Chance, and Chaos judge the strife:
The former vain to hope argues as vain
The latter: for what place can be for us
Within Heav'n's bound, unless Heav'n's Lord supreme
We overpow'r? 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 impos'd, to celebrate his throne
With warbled hymns, and to his Godhead sing
Forc'd Halleluiah's; while he lordly fits

— This deep world
Of darkness do we dread? How oft amidst, &c.
Addison.

233. — and Chaos judge the strife: ] Between the king of Heaven and us, not between Fate and Chance, as Dr. Bentley supposes.
Pearce.

234. The former vain to hope] That is to unthrone the king of Heaven, argues as vain the latter, that is to regain our own lost right.
245. — and
Our envied fovran, and his altar breathes
Ambrosial odors and ambrosial flowers,
Our servile offerings? This must be our task
In Heav'n, 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 obtain'd
Unacceptable, though in Heav'n, 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

244. — and his altar breathes
    Ambrosial odors and ambrosial flowers,]
Dr. Bentley would read from for and,
Ambrosial odors from ambrosial flowers,
and asks how an altar can breathe flowers, especialy when flowers are, as here, distinguisht'd from odors? But when the altar is said to breathe, the meaning is that it smells of, it throws out the smell of; or (as Milton expresses it IV. 265.) it breathes out the smell of &c. In this senfe of the word breathe, an altar may be said to breathe flowers, and odors too as a distint thing; for by odors here Milton means the smells of gums and sweet spicy shrubs, see VIII. 517. Not unlike is what we read in Fairfax's Tasso, C. 18. St. 20.

Flowers and odors sweetly smell'd. Pearce.

254. Live
We can create, and in what place so e'er
Thrive under ev'Il, and work ease out of pain
Through labor and indurance. This deep world
Of darkness do we dread? How oft amidst
Thick clouds and dark doth Heav'n's all-ruling fire
Choose to reside, his glory unobscur'd,
And with the majesty of darkness round
Covers his throne; from whence deep thunders roar
Must'ring their rage, and Heav'n 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 Heav'n show more?
Our torments also may in length of time
Become our elements, these piercing fires

254. Liv'e to ourselves; ] Hor. Epift. I.
XVIII. 107. — Ut mihi vivam
Quod superefl ævi.
and Persius, Sat. IV. 52.
Tecum habita.

263. — How oft amidst
Thick clouds and dark &c.] Imitated from
Vol. I. Psal. XVIII. 11, 13. He made darkness his se-
cret place; his pavilion round about him were
dark waters, and thick clouds of the skies —
The Lord also thund'ed in the Heavens, and the
Highest gave his voice, hailstones and coals of fire.
And from Psal. XCVII. 2. Clouds and darkness
are round about him, &c.

254. Our torments also may in length of time
Become our elements, &c.] Enforcing the same
argument
As soft as now severe, our temper chang'd
Into their temper; which must needs remove
The sensible of pain. All things invite
To peaceful counsels, and the 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 finish'd, when such murmurs fill'd
Th' assembly, as when hollow rocks retain

The argument that Belial had urged before, ver.
217; and indeed Mammon's whole speech is
to the same purpose as Belial's; the argument
is improved and carried farther, only with such
difference as is suitable to their different char-
acters.

278. _The sensible of pain._] The sense of pain.
To sensible, the adjective used for a substanti-
tive. *Hume.*

279. _To peaceful counsels._] There are some
things wonderfully fine in these speeches of the
infernal Spirits, and in the different arguments
so suited to their different characters: but they
have wander'd from the point in debate, as is
too common in other assemblies. Satan had
declar'd in I. 660.

— Peace is despair'd,
For who can think submission? War then, war
Open or understood must be resolv'd.
Which was approv'd and confirm'd by the
whole host of Angels. And accordingly at
the opening of the council he propos'd for the
subject of their consideration, which way they
would make choice of, II. 41.

Whether of open war or covert guile,
We now debate:

Moloch speaks to the purpose, and declar'd for
open war, ver. 51.

My sentence is for open war: of wiles,
More unexpert, I boast not, &c.

But Belial argues alike against war open or
conceal'd, ver. 187.

War therefore, open or conceal'd, alike
My voice diffuades; for what can force or
guile &c.

Mammon carries on the same arguments, and
is for dismissing quite all thoughts of war. So
that the question is changed in the course of the
The sound of blust’ring winds, which all night long
Had rous’d the sea, now with hoarse cadence lull
Sea-faring men o’erwatch’d, whose bark by chance
Or pinnace anchors in a craggy bay
After the tempest: Such applause was heard
As Mammon ended, and his sentence pleas’d,
Advising peace: for such another field
They dreaded worse than Hell: so much the fear
Of thunder and the sword of Michaël
Wrought still within them; and no less desire
To
the debate, whether thro’ the inattention or
intention of the author it is not easy to say.

281. — with regard
Of what we are and where,] It is thus in the
first edition: in the second edition it is, with
regard of what we are and were: and it is var-
ied sometimes the one and sometimes the
other in the subsequent editions. If we read
with regard of what we are and were, the sen-
se is, with regard to our present and our past
condition; if we read with regard of what we
are and where, the sense is, with regard to our
present condition and the place where we are;
which latter seems much better.

285. — as when hollow rocks retain &c.] Virg-
il compares the ascent given by the assem-
bly of the Gods to Juno’s speech, Æn. X. 96.
to the rising wind, which our author assimilates
to its decreasing murmurs,
— cunctique fremebant
Cælicolæ affensu vario: ceu flamina prima,
Cum deprenfa fremunt sylvis, et cæca voltant
Murmura, venturos nautis prodentia ventos.

Hume.
The conduct of both poets is equally just and
proper. The intent of Juno’s speech was to
rouse and inflame the assembly of the Gods,
and the effect of it is therefore properly com-
pared by Virgil to the rising wind: but the de-
sign of Mammon’s speech is to quiet and com-
pose the infernal assembly, and the effect of
this therefore is as properly compared by Mil-
ton to the wind falling after a tempest.

294. — the sword of Michaël] The words
Michael, Raphael, &c. are sometimes pro-
nounced as of two syllables, and sometimes
they are made to consist of three. When they
are to be pronounced as of three syllables, we
shall take care to distinguish them in print,
thus, Michaël, Raphæl,
To found this nether empire, which might rise
By policy, and long process of time,
In emulation opposit to Heaven.
Which when Beelzebub perceiv'd, than whom,
Satan except, none higher sat, with grave
 Aspect he rose, and in his rising seem'd
A pillar of state; deep on his front ingraven
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

302. A pillar of state; } Pillar is to be pronounced contrarily as of one syllable, or
two short ones; and again in Book XII. 202, 203. The metaphor is plain and easy enough
to be understood; and thus James, and Peter, and John are called pillars in Gal. II. 9. And
we have the same expression in Shakespear,
2 Hen. VI. Act I.


305. Majestic though in ruin: } It is amazing
how even the greatest critics, such as Dr. Bentley, can sometimes mistake the most obvious
passages. These words are to be join'd in construc tion with his face, and not with princely counsel, as the Doctor imagin'd.

306. With Atlantean shoulders } A metaphor
to express his vast capacity. Atlas was so great
an astronomer, that he is said to have borne Heaven on his shoulders. The whole picture
from ver. 299. to the end of the paragraph is admirable! Richardson.

309. Or summer's noon-tide air, } Noon-tide is
the same as noon-time, when in hot countries
there is hardly a breath of wind stirring, and
men and beasts, by reason of the intense heat,
retire to shade and rest. This is the custom
of Italy particularly, where our author liv'd
some time.

309. — while thus he spake. } Beelzebub,
who is reckon'd the second in dignity that fell,
and is, in the first book, the second that
awakens out of the trance, and confers with
Satan upon the situation of their affairs, main tains his rank in the book now before us.

There:
The weight of mightiest monarchies; his look
Drew audience and attention still as night
Or summer's noon-tide air, while thus he spake.

Thrones and Imperial Pow'rs, Offspring of Heaven,
Ethereal Virtues; or these titles now
Must we renounce, and changing style be call'd
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 Heav'n hath doom'd
This place our dungeon, not our safe retreat

There is a wonderful majesty described in his
rising up to speak. He acts as a kind of mo-
derator between the two opposit parties, and
proposes a third undertaking, which the whole
assembly gives into. The motion he makes of
detaching one of their body in search of a new
world is grounded upon a project devis'd by
Satan, and curiously proposed by him in the
following lines of the first book,

Space may produce new worlds, &c. ver. 650.
It is on this project that Beelzebub grounds his
proposal
--- What if we find
Some easier enterprise? &c.

The reader may observe how just it was not to
omit in the first book the project upon which
the whole poem turns: as also that the prince
of the fallen Angels was the only proper per-
fon to give it birth, and that the next to him
in dignity was the fittest to second and support
it. There is besides, I think, something won-
derfully beautiful, and very apt to affect the
reader's imagination in this ancient prophecy
or report in Heaven, concerning the creation
of Man. Nothing could show more the dig-
nity of the species, than this tradition which
ran of them before their existence. They are
represented to have been the talk of Heaven,
before they were created. Virgil, in compli-
ment to the Roman commonwealth, makes
the heroes of it appear in their state of pre-
existence; but Milton does a far greater honor
to mankind in general, as he gives us a glimpse
of them even before they are in being.

Addison.
327 — and
Beyond his potent arm, to live exempt
From Heav'n's high jurisdiction, in new league
Banded against his throne, but to remain
In strictest bondage, though thus far remov'd,
Under th' inevitable curb, reserv'd
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 scepter rule
Us here, as with his golden those in Heaven.
What fit we then projecting peace and war?
War hath determin'd us, and foil'd with loss
Irreparable; terms of peace yet none
Vouchsaf'd or fought; for what peace will be given
To us inflav'd, but custody severe,
And stripes, and arbitrary punishment
Inflicted: and what peace can we return.

327. — and with iron scepter rule
Us here, as with his golden those in Heaven.] The iron scepter is in allusion to Phil. II. 9. as that of gold to Esther V. 2. Hume.
329. What fit we then projecting peace and war?] Dr. Bentley reads peace or war: Dr. Pearce says, perhaps better peace in war: But there seems to be no necessity for an alteration. It was a debate of peace and war. Peace as well as war was the subject of their debate.
And
But to our pow’r hostility and hate,
Untam’d reluctance, and revenge though low,
Yet ever plotting how the conqu’ror 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
Heav’n, whose high walls fear no assault or siege,
Or ambush from the deep. What if we find
Some easier enterprize? There is a place,
(If ancient and prophetic fame in Heaven
Err not) another world, the happy seat
Of some new race call’d Man, about this time
To be created like to us, though less
In pow’r and excellence, but favor’d more
Of him who rules above; so was his will
Pronounc’d among the Gods, and by an oath,
That shook Heav’n’s whole circumference, confirm’d.
Thither

And what seems to be used here like the Latin Quid, which signifies both what and why.

332. Vouchsaf’d] Milton constantly writes this verb vouchsafè; and this is rather of a softer
found, but the other seems more agreeable to the etymology of the word.

352. — and by an oath,
That shook Heav’n’s whole circumference, confirm’d.] He confirm’d it by an oath are

the
Thither let us bend all our thoughts, to learn
What creatures there inhabit, of what mold
Or substance, how indued, and what their power,
And where their weakness, how attempted best,
By force or subtlety. Though Heav’n be shut,
And Heav’n’s high arbitrator sit secure
In his own strength, this place may lie expos’d,
The utmost border of his kingdom, left
To their defense who hold it: here perhaps
Some advantageous act may be achiev’d
By sudden onset, either with Hell fire
To waste his whole creation, or possesse
All as our own, and drive, as we were driven,
The puny habitants, or if not drive,

Seduce

the very words of St. Paul, Heb. VI. 17. and
this oath is said to shake Heav’n’s whole circum-
ference in allusion to Jupiter’s oath in Virgil,
Aen. IX. 104.

Dixerat: idque ratum Stygii per flumina fratris,
Per pice torrentes atraque voragine ripas
Annuit, et totum nutu tremefcit Olympum.
To seal his sacred vow, by Styx he swore,
The lake with liquid pitch, the dreary shore,
And Phlegethon’s innavigable flood,
And the black regions of his brother God:
He said; and shook the skies with his impe-
rial nod.

As Virgil had imitated Homer, Iliad. I. 528.

H, και κυιανεσιν ετι ὀρφυι νυσίς Κροινων
Αμβροσία ὕμα ταυ εἰπεροπανίο ἀναξις
Κραντι: αν απανατεν μεγαν δ’ ηλιζεν
Ολυμπον.

He spoke, and awful bends his fable brows;
Shakes his ambrosial curls, and gives the nod,
The stamp of fate, and sanction of the God;
High Heav’n with trembling the dread signal
took,
And all Olympus to the center shook. Pope.

All the three poets, we see, mention the shaking of
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,
Hurl'd headlong to partake with us, shall curse
Their frail original, and faded bliss,
Faded so soon. Advise if this be worth
Attempting, or to sit in darkness here
Hatching vain empires. Thus Beelzebub
Pleaded his devilish counsel, first devis'd
By Satan, and in part propos'd: for whence,
But from the author of all ill, could spring

of Heaven, only Milton attributes that ef-
fect to the oath, which Homer and Virgil
ascribe to the nod of Jupiter: but the circum-
stance of the nod seems to be rightly omitted
in this place, because God is not here giving
his assent to any one's petition, which is the
cafe in Homer and Virgil, but only pro-
nouncing his will among the Angels.

362. — here perhaps] Dr. Bentley says that
Milton must have given it there perhaps: but
I think not; in ver. 360 it is this place, and
therefore Milton gave it here, that is in the
place which I am speaking of. Milton fre-
quently uses now and here, not meaning a time
or place then present to him or his speakers
when they are speaking; but that time and that
place, which he or they are speaking of.

367. The puny habitants.] It is possible that
the author by puny might mean no more than
weak or little; but yet if we reflect how fre-
quently he uses words in their proper and pri-
mary significations, it seems probable that he
might include likewise the sense of the French
(from whence it is deriv'd) puis mi, born since,
created long after us.
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
Pleas'd highly those infernal States, and joy
Sparkled in all their eyes; with full assent
They vote: whereat his speech he thus renewes.

Well have ye judg'd, well ended long debate,
Synod of Gods, and like to what ye are,
Great things resolv'd, 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 neigh'ring
And opportune excursion we may chance
Re-enter Heav'n; or else in some mild zone
Dwell not unvisited of Heav'n's fair light

406. — the palpable obscure] It is remarkable in our author's style, that he often uses adjectives as substantives, and substantives again as adjectives. Here are two adjectives, the latter of which is used for a substantive, as again in ver. 409, the vast abrupt. And sometimes there are two substantives, the former of which is used for an adjective, as the ocean stream, I. 202. the bullion dross, I. 704. Milton often enriches his language in this manner.

409. — ere he arrive
The happy isle?] The earth, hanging in the
sea.
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 wand'ring feet
The dark unbottom’d 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 fenteries and stations thick
Of Angels watching round? Here he had need
All circumpection, and we now no less
Choice in our suffrage; for on whom we send,

sea of air, like a happy, or fortunate island, as
the name is. Ere he arrive the happy isle; so
the word arrive is used by our author in the
Preface to the Judgment of Martin Bucer,
p. 276. Edit. 1738. “And he, if our things here
as below arrive him where he is &c:” and again
in his Treatise of civil power in ecclesiastical
causes, p. 553, “Let him also forbear force—
“left a worse woe arrive him.” And Shakespeare
expresses himself in the same manner 3 Hen. VI.
Act. V. --- those powers, that the Queen
Hath rais’d in Gallia, have arriv’d our coast.

P 2

420. --- but
The weight of all and our last hope relies.

This said, he sat; and expectation held
His look suspense, awaiting who appear'd
To second, or oppose, or undertake
The perilous attempt: but all sat mute,
Pond'ring the danger with deep thoughts; and each
In others count'nance read his own dismay
Astonish'd: none among the choice and prime
Of those Heav'n-warring champions could be found
So hardy as to proffer or accept
Alone the dreadful voyage; till at last
Satan, whom now transcendent glory rais'd
Above his fellows, with monarchal pride:
Conscious of highest worth, unmov'd thus spake.
Book II.  

PARADISE LOST.

O Progeny of Heav’n, empyreal Thrones,
With reason hath deep silence and demur
Seis’d us, though undismay’d: 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
Barr’d over us prohibit all egress.
These pass’d, if any pass, the void profound
Of unessential Night receives him next
Wide gaping, and with utter loss of being
Threatens him, plung’d in that abortive gulf.
If thence he scape into whatever world,
Or unknown region, what remains him less
Than

\[ \text{mam, he alludes to what Virgil says in the same book, of Styx flowing nine times round the damn’d, and of the gates of Hell.} \]

--- novies Styx interfusa coercet. ver. 439.
Porta adverfa ingens solidoque adamante co-
lumne. ver. 552.

434. — \textit{this huge convex of fire,} This huge vault of fire, bending down on all sides round us. \textit{Convex} is spoken properly of the exterior surface of a globe, and \textit{concave} of the interior surface which is hollow: but the poets do not always speak thus exactly, but use them promiscuously; and hence in Virgil \textit{cali convexa and supera convexa} in several places. And what is here the \textit{convex of fire} is afterwards call’d \textit{the fiery concave,} ver. 635.

438. — \textit{the void profound} \textit{Inane profundum,}
as Lucretius has it in several places.

439. \textit{Of unessential Night} \textit{Unessential, void of being; darkness approaching nearest to,}
and being the best resemblance of non-entity.

\[ \text{Hume.} \]

450. — \textit{Where-}
Than unknown dangers, and as hard escape?
But I should ill become this throne, O Peers,
And this imperial sovranity, adorn’d
With splendor, arm’d with pow’r, if ought propos’d
And judg’d of public moment, in the shape
Of difficulty or danger could deter
Me from attempting. Wherefore do’ I assume
These royalties, and not refuse to reign,
Refusing to accept as great a share
Of hazard as of honor, due alike
To him who reigns, and so much to him due
Of hazard more, as he above the rest
High honor’d fits? Go therefore mighty Powers,
Terror of Heav’n, though fall’n; intend at home,
While here shall be our home, what best may eafe
The present misery, and render Hell

More
More tolerable; if there be cure or charm
To respite, or deceive, or flack the pain
Of this ill mansion: intermit no watch
Against a wakeful foe, while I abroad
Through all the coasts of dark destruction seek
Deliverance for us all: this enterprise
None shall partake with me. Thus saying rose
The Monarch, and prevented all reply,
Prudent, left from his resolution rais'd
Others among the chief might offer now
(Certain to be refus'd) what erst they fear'd;
And so refus'd might in opinion stand
His rivals, winning cheap the high repute
Which he through hazard huge must earn. But they
Dreaded not more th'adventure than his voice
Forbidding; and at once with him they rose;

Unles great acts superior merit prove,
And vindicate the bounteous pow'rs above.
'Tis our's, the dignity they give, to grace;
The first in valor, as the first in place. &c.
Pope.

This is one of the noblest and best-spirited
speeches in the whole Iliad: but (as Mr. Hume
says) is as much exalted in the imitation, as a
Seraphim is superior to a Man. And is it not
a probable presumption, that Milton (whose
dislike to kings is very well known) by putting
these sentiments into the mouth of the king
of Hell intended an oblique satir upon the
kings of the Earth, whose practice is so often
directly contrary to them?

None shall partake with me.] The abruptness
of Satan's conclusion is very well express'd by
the speech breaking off in the middle of the
verse.
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 Hi'shef in Heaven:
Nor fail'd they to express how much they prais'd,
That for the general safety he despis'd
His own: for neither do the Spirits damn'd
Lose all their virtue; left bad men should boast
Their specious deeds on earth, which glory' excites,
Or close ambition varnish'd o'er with zeal.
Thus they their doubtful consultations dark

476. Their rising all at once was as the sound
Of thunder heard remote.] The rising of this
great assembly is described in a very sublime
and poetical manner. Addison.

483. --- left bad men should boast &c.] Here
Dr. Bentley asks, whether the Devils retain
some of their virtue, on purpose left any man
should boast &c. This being an absurdity, he
reads left should bad men boast &c. But there is
no occasion for the alteration. To take the
force of the word left, we must suppose the
author to have left his reader to supply some
such expression as this. This remark (of the
Devils not losing all their virtue) I make, left
bad men should boast &c. Dr. Bentley knows
that μὲ in Greek, and ne in Latin are often
thus used. Milton here seems to have had in
view Eph. II. 8, 9. By grace ye are saved,
through faith --- not of works, left any man

should boast. Not, that they were saved not of
works, on purpose left any man should boast;
but St. Paul puts them in mind of that, and
made that remark to prevent their boasting.

As our author has drawn Satan with some re-
 mains of the beauty, so he represents him like-
wise with some of the other perfections of an
Arch-Angel; and herein he has follow'd the
rule of Aristotle in his Poetics, chap. 15. that
the manners should be as good as the nature of
the subject will possibly admit. A Devil
all made up of wickedness would be too shock-
ing to any reader or writer.

489. --- while the north-wind sleeps,] So
Homer express'd it, Iliad. V. 524.

--- ὃπερ συνεξε ὑμῖν, Epoc, ---
that wind generally clearing the sky, and dis-
perasing
 Ended rejoicing in their matchless chief:
As when from mountain tops the dusky clouds
Ascending, while the north-wind sleeps, o'er-spread
Heav'n's cheerful face, the louring element
Scowls o'er the darken'd landscape snow, or shower;
If chance the radiant sun with farewell sweet
Extend his evening beam, the fields revive,
The birds their notes renew, and bleating herds
Attest their joy, that hill and valley rings.
O shame to men! Devil with Devil damn'd
Firm concord holds, men only disagree

perfing the clouds. Every body must be won-
derfully delighted with this similitude. The
images are not more pleasing in nature, than
they are refreshing to the reader after his at-
tention to the foregoing debate. We have a
simile of the same kind in Homer, but ap-
ply'd upon a very different occasion, Iliad. XVI. 297.

So when thick clouds inwrap the mountain's
head,
O'er Heav'n's expanse like one black cieling
spread;
Sudden, the Thund'rer with a flashing ray,
Bursts thro' the darknes, and lets down the day:
Of creatures rational, though under hope
Of heav'nly grace: and God proclaming 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 dissolv'd; and forth
In order came the grand infernal peers:
Midst came their mighty paramount, and seem'd
Alone th' antagonist of Heav'n, nor less
Than Hell's dread emperor with pomp supreme,
And God-like imitated state; him round
A globe of fiery Seraphim inclos'd
With bright imblazonry, and horrent arms.

Then

512. A globe of fiery Seraphim] A globe signifies here a battalion in circle surrounding him, as Virgil says, Æn. X. 373.

— qua globus ille virum densissimus urget.

513. — horrent arms.] Horrent includes the idea both of terrible and prickly, set up like the bristles of a wild boar.

Horrentia Martis arma.  Virg. Æn. I,
— denfos acie atque horrentibus hastis.
Æn. X. 178.

517. — the founding alchemy] Dr. Bentley reads orichalc; but since he allows that gold and silver coin, as well as brass and pewter, are alchemy, being mix'd metals, for that reason alchemy will do here; especially being join'd to the epithet
Then of their session ended they bid cry
With trumpets regal found the great result:
Towards the four winds four speedy Cherubim
Put to their mouths the sounding alchemy
By heralds voice explain'd; the hollow' abyss
Heard far and wide, and all the host of Hell
With deafning shout return'd them loud acclame.

Thence more at ease their minds, and somewhat rais'd
By false presumptuous hope, the ranged Powers
Disband, and wand'ring, each his several way
Pursues, as inclination or sad choice
Leads him perplex'd, 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,

epithet sounding, which determines it to mean a trumpet, made perhaps of the mix'd metals of brass, silver, &c. Pearce. Alchemy, the name of that art which is the sublimer part of chemistry, the transmutation of metals. Milton names no particular metal, but leaves the imagination at large, any metal possible to be produced by that mysterious art; 'tis a metonymy, the efficient for the effect; vastly poetical! Richardson. Alchemy is in short what is corruptly pronounc'd Ockamy, that is any mix'd metal.

527. — till his great chief return.] So it is in the first edition; but in the second and some others it is, till this great chief return; which is manifestly an error of the press.

528. Part on the plain, &c.] The diversions of the fallen Angels, with the particular accoun
As at th' 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
Wag'd in the troubled sky, and armies rush
To battle in the clouds, before each van
Prick forth the airy knights, and couch their spears.
Till thickest legions close; with feats of arms
From either end of Heav'n the welkin burns.

Others

count of their place of habitation, are described with great pregnancy of thought and copiousness of invention. The diversions are every way suitable to beings, who had nothing left them but strength and knowledge misapplied. Such are their contentions at the race and in feats of arms, with their entertainments in the following lines,

Others with vast Typhcean rage more fell &c.

Their music is employ'd in celebrating their own criminal exploits, and their discourse in founding the unfathomable depths of fate, free-will, and fore-knowledge. Addišen.
Part contend on the plain in running, or in the air in flying, as at the famous Olympian or Pythian games in Greece, while another part contend on horseback or in chariot races,
Part curb their fiery steeds, &c. These warlike diversions of the fall'n Angels during the absence of Satan seem to be copied from the military exercises of the Myrmidons during the absence of their chief from the war, Homer's Iliad. II. 774. &c. only the images are rais'd in proportion to the nature of the beings who are here described. We may suppose too that the author had an eye to the diversions and entertainments of the departed heroes in Virgil's Elysium, Æn. VI. 642.

Pars in gramineis exercent membra palæstris,
Contendunt ludo, et fulvá lúcitantur arenā:
Pars pedibus plaudunt choreas, et carmina dicunt, &c.
Their airy limbs in sports they exercise,
And on the green contend the wrestler's prize.
Some in heroic verse divinely sing;
Others in artful measures lead the ring. &c.

Dryden.

531. or shun the goal

Metaque fervidis evitata rotis.

But with good judgment he says rapid not servid: because in these Hell-games both the wheels and the burning marle they drove on were servid even before the race. Bentley.
Others with vast Typhoean 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 Oechalia crown’d
With conquest, felt th’envenom’d robe, and tore
Through pain up by the roots Thessalian pines,
And Lichas from the top of Oeta threw
Into th’Euboic sea. Others more mild,
Retreated in a silent valley, sing

With

534. Wag’d in the troubled sky,] So Shakespeare in 1 Hen. IV. Act I. calls these appearances
— the meteors of a troubled Heaven.

536. — and couch their spears] Fix them in their refts. Couch from coucheur (French) to place. A reft was made in the breast of the armour, and was call’d a reft from arrêter (French) to stay. Richardson.

539. Others with vast Typhoean rage &c.] Others with rage like that of Typhœus or Typhon, one of the giants who warred against Heaven, of whom see before I. 199. The contrast here is very remarkable. Some are employ’d in sportsive games and exercitcs, while others rend up both rocks and hills, and make wild uproar. Some again are singing in a valley, while others are discoursing and arguing on a hill; and these are represented as sitting, while others march different ways to discover that infernal world. Every company is drawn in contrast both to that which goes before, and that which follows.

542. As when Alcides, &cc.] As when Hercules named Alcides from his grandfather Alcœus, from Oechalia crown’d with conquest, after his return from the conquest of Oechalia a city of Bœotia, having brought with him from thence Iole the king’s daughter, felt th’envenom’d robe, which was sent him by Deianira in jealousy of his new mistress, and stuck so close to his skin that he could not pull off the one without pulling off the other, and tore through pain up by the roots Thessalian pines, and Lichas who had brought him the poison’d robe, from the top of Oeta, a mountain in the borders of Thessaly, threw into th’Euboic sea, the sea near Eubœa an island in the Archipelago. The madness of Hercules was a subject for tragedy among the Ancients (Hercules furiosus by Euripides, Hercules furiosus by Seneca) but our author has comprised the principal circumstances in this similitude, and seems more particularly to have copied Ovid, Met. IX. 136.

Victor ab Oechalia — &cc.
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 inthrall 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
The thronging audience. In discourse more sweet
(For eloquence the soul, song charms the sense,)
Others apart sat on a hill retir’d,
In thoughts more elevate, and reason’d high
Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,

550. — and complain that fate
Free virtue should inthrall to force or chance.]  
This is taken from the famous distich of Euripides, which Brutus used, when he flew himself;

\[ \text{E'en from the depths of Hell the damn’d advance,} \]
The infernal mansions nodding seem to dance;
The gaping three-mouth’d dog forgets to snarl,
The Furies hearken, and their snakes uncurl;
Ixion seems no more his pain to feel,
But leans attentive on his standing wheel.

554. Suspended Hell.] The effect of their singing is somewhat like that of Orpheus in Hell, Virg. Georg. IV. 481.

Quin ipsae stupuere domus, atque intima lethi
Tartara, ceruleofque implexae crinibus angues
Eumenides, tenuntique inhians tria Cerberus ora,
Atque Ixionii vento rota constitit orbis.

555. — in

The harmony suspended Hell; but is it not much better with the parenthesis coming between? which suspends as it were the event, raises the reader’s attention, and gives a greater force to the sentence.

But the harmony
(What could it less when Spirits immortal sing?)
Suspended Hell, &c.
Book II.  

**PARADISE LOST.**

Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute,  
And found no end, in wand'ring 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 forcery could charm  
Pain for a while or anguish, and excite  
Fallacious hope, or arm th' obdured breast  
With stubborn patience as with triple steel.  
Another part in squadrons and gross bands,  
On bold adventure to discover wide

That
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;
Cocytus, nam'd of lamentation loud
Heard on the rueful stream; fierce Phlegethon,
Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage.

572. That dismal world,] The several circumstances in the description of Hell are finely imagin'd; as the four rivers which disgorge themselves into the sea of fire, the extremes of cold and heat, and the river of oblivion. The monstrous animals produced in that infernal world are represented by a single line, which gives us a more horrid idea of them, than a much longer description of them would have done. This episode of the fallen Spirits and their place of habitation comes in very happily to unbend the mind of the reader from its attention to the debate. An ordinary poet would indeed have spun out so many circumstances to a great length, and by that means have weaken'd, instead of illustrated, the principal fable. Addison.

577. Abhorred Styx, &c.] The Greeks reckon up five rivers in Hell, and call them after the names of the noxious springs and rivers in their own country. Our poet follows their example both as to the number and the names of these infernal rivers, and excellently describes their nature and properties with the explanation of their names. Styx so named of a Greek word στυγή that signifies to hate and abhor, and therefore called here, Abhorred Styx, the flood of deadly hate, and by Virgil palus inamabilis, Æn. VI. 438. Acheron has its name from αχή dolor and φεω fluo, flowing with grief; and is represented accordingly Sad Acheron, the river of sorrow as Styx was of hate, black and deep, agreeable to Virgil's character of it
— tenebrofa palus Acheronte refufo. Æn. VI. 107.

Cocytus, nam'd of lamentation, because derived from a Greek word παγετώς signifying to weep and lament; as Phlegethon is from another Greek word φλεγή signifying to burn; and therefore rightly described here fierce Phlegethon, whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage, as it is by Virgil, Æn. VI. 550.
— rapidus
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,

— rapidus flammis torrentibus amnis
Tartareus Phlegethon.

We know not what to say as to the situation of these rivers. Homer, the most ancient poet, represents Cocytus as branching out of Styx, and both Cocytus and Phlegethon (or Pyriphlegethon) as flowing into Acheron, Odysseus X. 513.

Εὐθα μὲν ὡς Ἀχέρωνα Πυρὶπληκτον τε ρέειν
Κοκυτος Ἔτ' ος ὁ Στύγος γενομενες εκιν απερρέφη.

and perhaps he describes their situation as it really was in Greece; but Virgil and the other poets frequently confound them, and mention their names and places without sufficient difference or distinction. Our poet therefore was at liberty to draw (as I may say) a new map of these rivers; and he supposes a burning lake agreeably to Scripture that often mentions the lake of fire; and he makes these four rivers to

flow from four different quarters and empty themselves into this burning lake, which gives us a much greater idea than any of the Heathen poets. Besides these there is a fifth river called Lethe, which name in Greek signifies forgetfulness, and its waters are said to have occasion'd that quality, Æn. VI. 714.

Lethae ad fluminis undam
Securos latices, et longa oblivia potant:

and Milton attributes the same effect to it, and describes it as a flow and silent stream, as Lucan had done before him, IX. 355.

Quam juxta Lethes tacitus prælabitur amnis.

The river of oblivion is rightly plac'd far off from the rivers of hatred, sorrow, lamentation, and rage; and divides the frozen continent from the region of fire, and thereby completes the map of Hell with its general divisions.
A gulf profound as that Serbonian bog
Betwixt Damiata and mount Casius old,
Where armies whole have sunk: the parching air
Burns frore, and cold performs th’effect of fire. 595
Thither by harpy-footed furies hal’d,
At certain revolutions all the damn’d
Are brought; and feel by turns the bitter change
Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more fierce,
From beds of raging fire to starve in ice 600

592. — *that Serbonian bog*] Serbonis was a
lake 200 furlongs in length and 1000 in compas between the ancient mountain Cafius and
Damiata a city of Egypt on one of the more eastern mouths of the Nile. It was surrounded on all sides by hills of loofe sand, which car-
ed into the water by high winds to thicken’d the lake, as not to be distinguish’d from part of the continent, where whole armies have been swallow’d up. Read Herodotus, L. 3. and
Luc. Phar. VIII. 539. &c.

Perfida qua tellus Cafii excurrit arenis,
Et vada teantur junctas Ægyptia Syrtes, &c. Hume.

595. *Burns frore,] Frore an old word for frost.
The parching air burns with frost. So we have in Virg. Georg. I. 93.

— Boreæ penetrabile frigus adurat:

and in Ecclus. XLIII. 20, 21. *When the cold north-wind bloweth—it devoureth the mountains,
and burneth the wilderness, and consumeth the grass as fire.* And is not the expression used by the Pfalmist of the like nature? The sun shall not burn thee by day, nor the moon by night, Pfal. CXXI. 6. in the old translation and the Septuagint?

596. — *by harpy-footed furies hal’d,] The
word hal’d in this line is deriv’d from the Belgic balen or the French baler, and therefore should be spelt as it is here, and not bail’d as in Milton’s own editions. Spenser uses the word, Fairy Queen, B. 5. C. 2. St. 26.

Who rudely bal’d her forth without remorse:

and we meet with it several times in Shakespeare.

603. — *thence hurried back to fire.*] This circumstance of the damned’s suffering the extremes of heat and cold by turns is finely in-
vented to aggravate the horror of the description, and seems to be founded upon Job XXIV. 19. but not as it is in the English translation, but in the Vulgar Latin version, which Milton frequently used. *Ad nimium calorem transept ab aquis nivium;* *Let him pass to exceffive
Their soft ethereal warmth, and there to pine
Immoveable, infix'd, and frozen round,
Periods of time, thence hurried back to fire.
They ferry over this Lethean found
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

excessive heat from waters of snow. And so Jerom and other commentators understand it. There is a fine passage likewise in Shakespear, where the punishment after death is supposed to consist in extreme heat or extreme cold; but these extremes are not made alternate, and to be suffered both in their turns, as Milton has describ'd them, and thereby has greatly refined and improv'd the thought. Measure for measure, Act. III.

Ay, but to die, and go we know not where:
To lie in cold obstruction, and to rot;
This sensible warm motion to become
A kneaded clot; and the delighted spirit
To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
In thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice, &c.

609. — and so near the brink; ] This is added as a farther aggravation of their misery, that tho' they were so near the brink, so near the brim and surface of the water, yet they could not taste one drop of it. But the reasons follow, fate withstands, fata obstant as it is in

Virgil, Æn. IV. 440. and Medusa with Gorgonian terror guards the ford. Medusa was one of the Gorgon monsters, whose locks were serpents so terrible that they turned the beholders into stone. Ulysses in Homer was desirous of seeing more of the departed heroes, but I was afraid, says he, Odyss. XI. 633.

Μη μαί Γοργον καλυτοί δέντοι ωτίλωροι
Εξ Αίτιδες πνεύματα αγώνον Πενελόποια.

Left Gorgon rising from th' infernal lakes,
With horrors arm'd, and curls of hissing snakes,
Should fix me, stiffen'd at the monstrous sight,
A stony image, in eternal night! Brrome.

So frightful a creature is very properly sign'd by our poet to guard this water. And besides of itself the water flies their taste, and serves only to tantalize them. This is a fine allegory to shew that there is no forgetfulness in Hell. Memory makes a part of the punishment of the damn'd, and reflection but increases their misery.

R 2 628. Gorgons,
But fate withstands, and to oppose th' 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 confus'd march forlorn, th' adventurous bands With shudd'ring horror pale, and eyes aghast View'd first their lamentable lot, and found No rest: through many a dark and dreary vale They pass'd, and many a region dolorous, O'er many a frozen, many a fiery Alp, Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and shades of death, A universe of death, which God by curse Created ev'Il, for evil only good,

Where

Qui mille immonde Arpie vedresti, e mille Centauri, e Sfingi, e pallide Gorgoni, &c. There were Celæno's soul and loathsome rout, There Sphinges, Centaurs, there were Gorgons fell, There howling Scyllas, yawling round about, There serpents hiss, there sev'n-mouth'd Hydra's yell, Chimæra there spues fire and brimstone out. Fairfax.

But how much better has Milton comprehended them in one line?

634. Now

628. Gorgons, and Hydra's, and Chimæra's dire.] Our author fixeth all these monsters in Hell in imitation of Virgil, Æn. VI. 287.

bellua Lernæ
Horrendum stridens, flamminque armata Chimæra,
Gorgones &c.
Quinquaginta atris immanis hiatus Hydra. ver. 576.

Tasso has likewise given them a place in his description of Hell, or rather he copies Virgil's description, Cant. 4. St. 5.
Where all life dies, death lives, and nature breeds,
Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,
Abominable, inutterable, and worse
Than fables yet have feign'd, or fear conceiv'd,
Gorgons, and Hydra's, and Chimæra's dire.

Mean while the Adversary' of God and Man,
Satan with thoughts inflam'd of hig'hest 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 towring high.
As when far off at sea a fleet descry'd
Hangs in the clouds, by equinoctial winds

625. Where all. life dies, death lives, and nature breeds,
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635. Now shaves with level wing the deep, then soars
636. Up to the fiery concave towring high.
637. As when far off at sea a fleet descry'd
638. Hangs in the clouds, by equinoctial winds

634. Now shaves with level wing the deep,]
Virg. Æn. V. 217.
Radit iter liquidum, celeres neque commovet alas.
636. As when far off at sea &c. ] Satan searing high is here compar'd to a fleet of Indiamen discover'd at a distance, as it were, hanging in the clouds, as a fleet at a distance seems to do. This is the whole of the comparison; but (as Dr. Pearce observes) Milton in his similitudes (as is the practice of Homer and Virgil too) after he has show'd the common resemblance, often takes the liberty of wand'ring into some unrefembling circumstances; which have no other relation to the comparison, than that it gave him the hint, and as it were set fire to the train of his imagination. But Dr. Bentley asks, why a fleet when a first rate man of war would do? And Dr. Pearce answers, Because a fleet gives a nobler image than a single ship. And it is a fleet of Indiamen, because coming from so long a voyage it is the fitter to be compar'd to Satan in this expedition; and these exotic names (as Dr. Bentley calls them) give a less vulgar cast to the similitude than places in our own channel and
Close failing from Bengala, or the iles
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 seem'd
Far off the flying Fiend: at last appear

and in our own seas would have done. This
fleet is describ'd, by equinoctial winds, the trade-
winds blowing about the equinoctial, close
failing, and therefore more proper to be com-
pard to a single person, from Bengala, a king-
dom and city in the East Indies subject to the
great Mogul, or the iles of Ternate and Tidore,
two of the Molucca lamps in the East Indian
sea, whence merchants bring their spicy drugs, the
most famous spices are brought from thence
by the Dutch into Europe: they on the trading
flood, as the winds are call'd trade-winds, so he
calls the flood trading, through the wide Ethi-
pian sea to the Cape of Good Hope, ply stem-
mimg nightly toward the pole, that is by night
they sail northward, and yet (as Dr. Pearce
says) by day their fleet may be defecty'd hanging
in the clouds. So seem'd far off the flying Fiend:
Dr. Bentley asks, whom Satan appear'd to far
off, in this his solitary flight? But what a cold
phlegmatic piece of criticism is this? It may
be answer'd, that he was seen by the Muse,
and would have seem'd so to any one who had
seen him. Poets often speak in this manner,
and make themselves and their readers present
to the most retir'd scenes of action.

645. And thrice threelfold the gates;] The
gates had nine folds, nine plates, nine linings;
as Homer and the other poets make their her-
oes shields, to have several coverings of var-
ious materials for the greater strength: Ovid,
Met. XIII. 2.

— clypei dominus septemplicis Ajax.

Bentley.

647. — impal'd with circling fire.] Inclosed,
paled in as it were. So the word is used in
Spenser's Mniopotmos,
And round about, her work she did impale
With a fair border wrought of fundry flowers.
It is commonly applied to that kind of execu-
tion, when a pale or stake is drove through a
malefactor's body.

648. — Before the gates there sat &c.] Here
begins the famous allegory of Milton, which
is a sort of paraphrase on that text of the
Apostle St. James, I. 15. Then when Lust hath
conceived it bringeth forth Sin, and Sin when it
is finish'd bringeth forth Death. The first part
of the allegory lays only, that Satan's intended
voyage was dangerous to his being, and that
he resolved however to venture. Richardson.
The flight of Satan to the gates of Hell is
finely imaged. I have already declared my
opinion of the allegory concerning Sin and
Death, which is however a very finish'd piece
in its kind, when it is not considered as a part
of an epic poem. The genealogy of the seve-
ral persons is contrived with great delicacy;
Sin is the daughter of Satan, and Death the
offspring of Sin. The incestuous mixture be-
tween Sin and Death produces those monsters
and Hell-hounds, which from time to time
enter into their mother, and tear the bowels of
her
Hell bounds high reaching to the horrid roof,
And thrice threefold the gates; three folds were brass,
Three iron, three of adamantin rock,
Impenetrable, impal’d with circling fire,
Yet unconfum’d. Before the gates there sat
On either side a formidable shape;

her who gave them birth. These are the terrors of an evil conscience, and the proper fruits of Sin, which naturally rise from the apprehensions of Death. This last beautiful moral is, I think, clearly intimated in the speech of Sin, where complaining of this her dreadful issue, she adds,

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 involv’d.

I need not mention to the reader the beautiful circumstance in the last part of this quotation. He will likewise observe how naturally the three persons concerned in this allegory are tempted by one common interest to enter into a confederacy together, and how properly Sin is made the portrait of Hell, and the only being that can open the gates to that world of tortures. The descriptive part of this allegory is likewise very strong, and full of sublime ideas. The figure of Death, the regal crown upon his head, his menace of Satan, his advancing to the combat, the outcry at his birth, are circumstances too noble to be past over in silence, and extremely suitable to this king of terrors. I need not mention the justness of thought which is observed in the generation of these several symbolical persons; that Sin was produced upon the first revolt of Satan, that

Death appear’d soon after he was cast into Hell, and that the terrors of conscience were conceived at the gate of this place of torments. The description of the gates is very poetical, as the opening of them is full of Milton’s Spirit.

Addison.

But tho’ Mr. Addison censures this famous allegory, as improper for an epic poem; yet Bishop Atterbury, whose taste in polite literature was never question’d, seems to be much more affected with this than any part of the poem, as I think we may collect from one of his letters to Mr. Pope. “I return you your Milton, says He, and — I protest to you, this last perusal of him has given me such new degrees, I will not say of pleasure, but of admiration and astonishment, that I look upon the sublimity of Homer and the majesty of Virgil with somewhat less reverence than I us’d to do. I challenge you, with all your partiality, to show me in the first of these any thing equal to the allegory of Sin and Death, either as to the greatnes and justnes of the invention, or the height and beauty of the coloring. What I looked upon as a rant of Barrow’s, I now begin to think a serious truth, and could almost venture to set my hand to it,

Hæc quicunque leget, tantum cecinisse putabir,
Mænonidem ranas, Virgilium culices.

649. On either side a formidable shape;] The figure
The one seem'd woman to the waste, and fair, 650
But ended foul in many a scaly fold
Voluminous and vast, a serpent arm'd
With mortal sting: about her middle round
A cry of Hell hounds never ceasing bark'd
With wide Cerberean mouths full loud, and rung 655
A hideous peal; yet, when they lift, would creep,
If ought disturb'd their noife, into her womb,
And kennel there, yet there still bark'd and howl'd,
Within unseen. Far less abhorr'd than these
Vex'd Scylla bathing in the sea that parts 660
Calabria

figure of *Death* is pretty well fix'd and agreed
upon by poets and painters: but the descrip-
tion of *Sin* seems to be an improvement upon
that thought in Horace, De Art. Poet. 4.

Definit in piscem mulier formosa superne.
And it is not improbable, that the author might
have in mind too Spenser's description of Er-
ror in the mix'd shape of a woman and a ser-
Half like a serpent horribly display'd,
But th' other half did woman's shape retain, &c.
And alfo the image of Echidna, B. 6. C. 6.
St. 10.
Yet did her face, and former parts profefs
A fair young maiden, full of comely glee;
But all her hinder parts did plain expres
A monstrous dragon, full of tearful ugliness.

The addition of the Hell hounds about her
middle is plainly copied from Scylla, as ap-
ppears from the following simile.

654. *A cry of Hell-bounds never ceasing bark'd*
Dr. Bentley reads *A crew of Hell-hounds &c.*
but Milton's *cry of Hell-hounds* is of much
the same poetical stamp as Virgil's *ruunt equites
et odora canum vis*, Æn. IV. 132. where what
is proper to the *canes* is said of the *vis*; as here
what is proper to the *Hell-bounds* is said of the
*cry.* We have the same way of speaking in
VI. 212. VII. 66. and elfewere. *Pearce.*

660. *Vex'd Scylla bathing in the sea*] For
Circe having poison'd that part of the sea
where Scylla used to bathe, the next time
Scylla bathed, her lower parts were changed
into dogs, in *the sea that parts Calabria*, the
farthest part of Italy towards the Mediterranean,
from the hoarse Trinacrian shore, that is from
Calabria from the hoarse Trinacrian shore:
Nor uglier follow the night-hag, when call’d
In secret, riding through the air she comes,
Lur’d with the smell of infant blood, to dance
With Lapland witches, while the lab’ring moon
Eclipses at their charms. The other shape,
If shape it might be call’d that shape had none
Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb,
Or substance might be call’d that shadow seem’d,
For each seem’d either; black it stood as Night,
Fierce as ten Furies, terrible as Hell,

And

from Sicily, which was formerly called Trinacria from its three promontories lying in the form of a triangle: and this shore may well be called hoarse not only by reason of a tempestuous sea breaking upon it, but likewise on account of the noises occasion’d by the eruptions of mount Etna; and the number of r’s in this verse very well express the hoarseness of it. You have the story of Scylla in the beginning of the 14th book of Ovid’s Metamorphosis, ver. 59. &c.

Scylla venit, mediaque tenus descenderat alvo;
Cum sua foedari latrantibus inguina monstris
Ascipit: ac primo non creden proximas illas
Esse suæ partes, refugitque, abigitque, timetque
Ora protorna canum; fed quos fugit, attrahit una.
Et corpus quœrens femorum, crurumque, pedumque,

Cerbereos rictus pro partibus invenit illis.
Statque canum rabies; subjec­tœque terga fer-
rarum
Inguinibus truncis uteroque extante cohaerent.
The Cerbereal mouths in Milton is plainly after the Cerberes rictus in Ovid.

665. — the lab’ring moon] The Ancients believed the moon greatly affected by magical practices, and the Latin poets call the eclipses of the moon labores lune. The three foregoing lines, and the former part of this contain a short account of what was once believ’d, and in Milton’s time not so ridiculous as now.

Richardson.

670. — black it stood as Night, &c. ] Like the ghost described in Homer, OdySS. XI. 605.

S
And shook a dreadful dart; what seem'd his head
The likeness of a kingly crown had on.
Satan was now at hand, and from his seat
The monster moving onward came as fast
With horrid strides, Hell trembled as he strode.
Th'undaunted Fiend what this might be admir'd,
Admir'd, not fear'd; God and his Son except,
Created thing nought valued he nor shunn'd;
And with disdainful look thus first began.

Whence and what art thou, execrable shape,
That dar'ft, though grim and terrible, advance
Thy miscreated front athwart my way
To yonder gates? through them I mean to pass,
That be assur'd, without leave ask'd of thee:  

Retire,

— o δ' ερυμη νυκτι εικων,
Γυμνον τοξον εχων, και επι νεφριν οίσον,
Δειην παπλουων, αι παλαιοι τεικων.

Gloomy as night he stands, in act to throw
Th' aerial arrow from the twanging bow.

Broome.

678. — God and his Son except,
Created thing nought valued he nor shunn'd; }
This appears at first sight to reckon God and
his Son among created things, but except is
used here with the same liberty as but ver. 333
and 336, and Milton has a like passage in his
prose works, p. 277. Edit. Tol. No place in
Heaven and Earth, except Hell—Richardson.
683. — miscreated] We have been told that
Milton first coin'd the word miscreated, but
Spenser used it before him, as Fairy Queen,
B. 1. Cant. 2. St. 3.
Eftsoons he took that miscreated fair.

and B. 2. Cant. 7. St. 42.
Nor mortal steel empierce his miscreated mold.
Bentley.

684. — through
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 reply'd.
Art thou that traitor Angel, art thou He,
Who first broke peace in Heav'n and faith, till then
Unbroken, and in proud rebellious arms

Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's sons
Conjur'd against the High'lest, for which both thou
And they, outcast from God, are here condemn'd
To waste eternal days in woe and pain?

And reckon'st thou thyself with Spirits of Heaven,
Hell-doom'd, and breath'st defiance here and scorn
Where I reign king, and to enrage thee more,
Thy king and lord? Back to thy punishment,

False

684. — *through them I mean to pass, &c.*
Spenfer, Fairy Queen, B. 3. Cant. 4. St. 15.

I mean not thee intreat
To pass; but mauger thee will pass, or die.

692. *Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's Sons*] An opinion, as we noted before,
grounded on Rev. XII. 3, 4. *Behold a great red dragon — and his tail drew the third part of the stars of Heaven and cast them to the earth.*

693. *Conjur'd against the High'lest; ] Banded and leagued together against the most High.

Of the Latin *conjurare* to bind one another by
oath to be true and faithful in a design undertaken,

*Et conjuratos cælum rescindere fratres.*


*Aut conjurato descendens Dacus ab Istro.*

Georg. II. 497. *Hume.*

697. *Hell-doom'd,*] As Satan had called Death

*Hell-born,* ver. 687, Death returns it by calling

Satan *Hell-doom'd.*

S 2

700. *False*
Falfe fugitive, and to thy speed add wings,
Left with a whip of scorpions I pursue
Thy lingring, or with one stroke of this dart
Strange horror feife thee', and pangs unfelt before.

So spake the grisly terror, and in shape,
So speaking and so threatning, grew tenfold
More dreadful and deform: on th' other side
Incens'd with indignation Satan stood
Unterrify’d, and like a comet burn’d,
That fires the length of Ophiuchus huge
In th’ arctic sky; and from his horrid hair
Shakes pestilence and war. Each at the head
Level’d his deadly aim; their fatal hands
No second stroke intend, and such a frown

Each

700. *Falfe fugitive,*] He is here called *falfe*
because he had called himself *a Spirit of Hea-


708. — and like a comet burn’d, &c.*] The
ancient poets frequently compare a hero in his
shining armour to a comet; as Virg. *Æn.*
X. 272.

Non fucus ac liquida si quando nocte cometae
Sanguinei lugubre rubent —

But this comet is so large as to *fire the length* of
the constellation *Ophiuchus* or *Anguiterens*,
or *Serpentarius* as it is commonly call’d, a

length of about 40 degrees, *in th’ arctic sky*, or
the northern hemisphere, and *from his horrid hair*
shakes pestilence and war. Poetry delights
in omens, prodigies, and such wonderful
events as were supposed to follow upon the ap-
pearance of comets, eclipses, and the like.
We have another instance of this nature in
I. 598. and *Tasso* in the same manner com-
parcs Argantes to a comet, and mentions the
like fatal effects, *Cant.* 7. St. 52.

Qual con le chiome sanguinoce horrende
Splender cometa suol per l’aria aduerta,
Each cast at th’ other, as when two black clouds, 
With Heav’n’s artillery fraught, come rattling on—
Over the Caspian, then stand front to front 
Hovering a space, till winds the signal blow 
To join their dark encounter in mid air:
So frown’d the mighty combatants, that Hell 
Grew darker at their frown, so match’d they stood; 
For never but once more was either like 
To meet so great a foe: and now great deeds 
Had been achiev’d, whereof all Hell had rung, 
Had not the snaky forceress that sat 
Fast by Hell gate, and kept the fatal key, 
Ris’n, and with hideous outcry rush’d between.

O Father, what intends thy hand, she cry’d,

Che i regni muta, e i feri morbi adduce, 
A i purpurei tiranni infaufa luce.
As when a comet far and wide descried, 
In scorn of Phoebus midst bright Heav’n doth shine,
And tidings sad of death and mischief brings 
To mighty lords, to monarchs, and to kings.
Fairfax.

Quicquid habent telorum armamentaria coeli. 
Hame.
716. Over the Caspian,] That sea being par-
ticularly noted for storms and tempests. So
Horace, Od. II. IX. 2.
Non mare Caspium Vexant inæquales procellæ
Usque —
And so Fairfax, in Tasso, Cant. 6. St. 38.
Or as when clouds together crush’d and bruised,
Pour down a tempest by the Caspian shore.

722. — so great a foe:] Jesus Christ who (as it follows ver. 734.) will one day destroy both Death and him that has the power of death that is the Devil, Heb. II. 14.

730. — and
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; 730
For him who sits above and laughs the while
At thee ordain’d 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 735
Forbore, then these to her Satan return’d.

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-form’d, and why
In this infernal vale first met thou call’st
Me Father, and that phantasm call’st my Son;

730.—and know’st for whom;] These words are read with a semicolon in Milton’s own editions, and not with a note of interrogation, as in some others: and the meaning is, at the same time that thou knowest for whom; Cum nōris bene cui facias hoc; as Dr. Trapp translates it. If this is not the sense of the words, they must be read with a note of interrogation.

737. So strange thy outcry, and thy words so strange] The change in the position of the words so strange in this verse has a peculiar beauty in it, which Dr. Bentley’s alteration of the latter strange into new utterly destroys.

So strange thy outcry, and thy words so new.
I know thee not, nor ever saw till now
Sight more detestable than him and thee. 745

T'whom thus the portress of Hell gate reply'd.
Haft thou forgot me then, and do I seem
Now in thine eye so foul: once deem'd so fair
In Heav'n, when at th'assembly, and in sight
Of all the Seraphim with thee combin'd
In bold conspiracy against Heav'n's king,
All on a sudden miserable pain
Surpris'd 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 count'nance bright,
Then shining heav'nly fair, a Goddess arm'd
Out of thy head I sprung: amazement seiz'd
All th'host of Heav'n; back they recoil'd afraid

How flat, lifeless, and unharmonious, com-
par'd with the common reading!
758. Out of thy head I sprung:] Sin is rightly
made to spring out of the head of Satan, as
Wisdom or Minerva did out of Jupiter's: and
Milton describes the birth of the one very
much in the same manner, as the ancient poets
have that of the other, and particularly the-
author of the hymn to Minerva vulgarly
ascribed to Homer. And what follows seems
to be an hint improv'd upon Minerva's being
ravish'd soon after her birth by Vulcan, as we
may learn from Lucian. Dial. Vulcani & Jovis,
& De Domo.

771. —abe
At first, and call'd me Sin, and for a sign
Portentous held me; but familiar grown,
I pleas'd, and with attractive graces won
The most averse, thee chiefly, who full oft
Thyself in me thy perfect image viewing
Becam'lt enamour'd, and such joy thou took'lt
With me in secret, that my womb conceiv'd
A growing burden. Mean while war arose,
And fields were fought in Heav'n; wherein remain'd
(For what could else?) to our almighty foe
Clear victory, to our part loss and rout
Through all the empyrëan: down they fell
Driv'n headlong from the pitch of Heaven, down
Into this deep, and in the general fall
I also; at which time this pow'rful key

771. — *the empyrëan:* It is somewhat remark- 
able that tho' the words *empyreal* and *emp- 
pyrean* are both spelt in the same manner, yet 
Milton constantly pronounces *empyreal* with 
the accent upon the third syllable from the 
end, and *empyrean* with the accent upon the 
second. I once imagin'd that he did it, to 
distinguish the substantive from the adjective; 
but I find one instance where he uses the word 
*empyrean* as an adjective, and yet gives it the 
same accent as when he makes it a substantive, 
X. 321.

The confines met of empyrëan Heaven.

There is no way of solving the difficulty, un-
less we suppose with Dr. Heylin that the word 
*empyreal* is false spelt, and that it ought to be 
written *empyrïal* in Greek, and the 
other *empyrean* *μπυριαν.*

786. — *bran-
Into my hand was giv’n, 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
Transform’d: but he my inbred enemy

Forth issued, brandishing his fatal dart
Made to destroy: I fled, and cry’d out Death;
Hell trembled at the hideous name, and sigh’d
From all her caves, and back resounded Death.
I fled, but he pursued, (though more, it seems, 790
Inflam'd with lust than rage) and swifter far,
Me overtook his mother all dismay'd,
And in embraces forcible and foul
Ingendring with me, of that rape begot
These yelling monsters, that with ceaseless cry 795
Surround me, as thou saw'rt, hourly conceiv'd
And hourly born, with sorrow infinite
To me; for when they lift, into the womb
That bred them they return, and howl and gnaw
My bowels, their repast; then bursting forth 800
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 805
For want of other prey, but that he knows
His

His adjungit, Hylan nautæ quo fonte reliquit
Clamalent; ut littus, Hyla, Hyla, omne sónaret.
796. — as thou saw'rt,] One would think it should be as thou seest; but we must suppose that now at this time these monsters were crept into her womb, and lay there unseen.
809. — so fate pronounce'd.] The Heathen poets make Jupiter superior to fate: the will of Jupiter was perform'd, says Homer, Iliad. 1. 5. Δις τ' ἐμνυμίτο βολη. Sic fata Deum rex
His end with mine involv'd; and knows that I
Should prove a bitter morsel, and his bane,
Whenever that shall be; so fate pronounc'd.
But thou, O Father, I forewarn thee, shun
His deadly arrow; neither vainly hope
To be invulnerable in those bright arms,
Though temper'd heav'nly, for that mortal dint,
Save he who reigns above, none can resist.

She finish'd, and the subtle Fiend his lore
Soon learn'd, now milder, and thus answer'd smooth.
Dear Daughter, since thou clam'rt me for thy fire,
And my fair son here show'st me, the dear pledge
Of dalliance had with thee in Heav'n, and joys
Then sweet, now fad to mention, through dire change
Befall'n us unforeseen, unthought of; know
I come no enemy, but to set free
From out this dark and dismal house of pain

Both

**Book II. PARADISE LOST.**

817. *Dear Daughter,*] Satan had now learned
his lesson, and the reader will observe how artfully he changes his language; he had
said before, ver. 745, that he had never seen
such more detestable; but now it is dear daugh-
ter, and my fair son.

842. *Wing*
Both him and thee, and all the heav’nly hoft
Of Spirits, that in our just pretences arm’d
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
Th’ unfounded deep, and through the void immense
To search with wand’ring quest a place foretold
Should be, and, by concurring signs, ere now
Created vast and round, a place of blifs
In the pourlieus of Heav’n, and therein plac’d
A race of upstart creatures, to supply
Perhaps our vacant room, though more remov’d,
Left Heav’n surcharg’d with potent multitude
Might hap to move new broils: Be this or ought
Than this more secret now design’d, I hafté
To know, and this once known, shall soon return,
And bring ye to the place where Thou and Death
Shall

842. Wing silently the buxom air, J Buxom, as
when we say a buxom lafs, is vulgarly understood for merry, wanton; but it properly signifies flexible, yielding, from a Saxon word signifying to bend. It is likewise made the epithet of the air by Spenser, Fairy Queen, B. 1. C. 11. St. 37.

And therewith scourge the buxom air so sore.
And he shows plainly how he understood the word by his use of it in his View of the state of Ireland, “Thinking thereby to make them “ more tractable and buxom to his govern- ment.”

855. Fearles
Shall dwell at ease, and up and down unseen
Wing silently the buxom air, imbalm’d
With odors; there ye shall be fed and fill’d
Immeasurably, all things shall be your prey.

He ceas’d, for both seem’d highly pleas’d, and Death
Grinn’d horrible a ghastly smile, to hear
His famin shou’d be fill’d, and blest his maw
Destin’d to that good hour: no less rejoic’d
His mother bad, and thus bespake her fire.

The key of this infernal pit by due,
And by command of Heav’n’s all-pow’rful king
I keep, by him forbidden to unlock
These adamantin gates; against all force
Death ready stands to interpose his dart,
Fearless to be o’ermatch’d by living might.

But what owe I to his commands above
Who hates me, and hath hither thrust me down

But God himself must necessarily be excepted here; for it was by his command that Sin and Death sat to guard the gates, and therefore living might cannot possibly be understood of God, but of any one else who should endeavor to force a passage.
Into this gloom of Tartarus profound,
To sit in hateful office here confin’d,
Inhabitant of Heav’n, and heav’nly-born,
Here in perpetual agony and pain,
With terrors and with clamors compass’d 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 eafe, where I shall reign
At thy right hand voluptuous, 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,
Forth-

868. The Gods who live at eafe.] Word for
word from Homer, ὃντες ἐπι γεωσίν. Bentley.
'Tis Sin who speaks here, and she speaks as an
Epicurean. Richardson.

873. And towards the gate rolling her bestial
train.] A modern ryming poet would perhaps have said
And rolling towards the gate her bestial train,
and no bad line neither: but how much better
doth Milton’s express the rolling of her
serpentine train, and how well the sound agrees
with the sense!

881. — and on their hinges grate
Harsh thunder,] How much stronger
and more poetical is this than Virgil’s, Æn.
I. 449.

—foribus cardo stridebat aēnis:
Forthwith the huge portcullis high up drew,
Which but herself, not all the Stygian Powers
Could once have mov’d; then in the key-hole turns
Th’ 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
Th’ infernal doors, and on their hinges grate
Harsh thunder, that the lowest bottom shook
Of Erebus. She open’d, but to shut
Excell’d her pow’r; the gates wide open stood,
That with extended wings a banner’d host
Under spread ensigns marching might pass through
With horse and chariots rank’d in loose array;
So wide they stood, and like a furnace mouth
Cast forth redounding smoke and ruddy flame.

or Æn. VI. 573.
—— horrisono stribentes cardine facræ
Panduntur portæ?

The ingenious author of the Miscellaneous Observations on the Tragedy of Macbeth remarks
that this expression is copied from the History of Don Bellianis, where, when one of the knights approaches the castle of Brandezar, the gates are laid to open grating harb’s thunder

upon their brazen hinges. And it is not improbable that Milton might take it from thence, as he was a reader of all kinds of romances.

882. — the lowest bottom shook

894. — where
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 hight,
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 maft’ry, and to battel bring
Their embryo atoms; they around the flag
Of each his faction, in their several clans,

Light-
Book II.  PARADISE LOST.

Light-arm'd or heavy, sharp, smooth, swift or slow,
Swarm populous, un-number'd as the sands
Of Barca or Cyrene's torrid soil,
Levied to side with warring winds, and poise Their lighter wings. To whom these most adhere,
He rules a moment; Chaos umpire sits,
And by decision more embroils the fray
By which he reigns: next him high arbiter
Chance governs all. Into this wild abyss,
The womb of nature and perhaps her grave,
Of neither sea, nor shore, nor air, nor fire,
But all these in their pregnant causes mix'd

Con-
Confus'dly, and which thus must ever fight,
Unless th' 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 look'd a while,
Pond'ring his voyage; for no narrow frith
He had to cross. Nor was his ear less peal'd
With noises loud and ruinous (to compare
Great things with small) than when Bellona storms,
With all her battering engins bent to rase
Some capital city; or less than if this frame
Of Heav'n were falling, and these elements

917. Into this wild abyss the wary Fiend
Stood on the brink of Hell and look'd a while, [Dr. Bentley reads Look'd from the brink of Hell and stood a while: and he calls the common reading an absurd and ridiculous blunder, because into this wild abyss relates not to stood but to look'd, which is the verb at the farthest distance. But if this be a blunder, Milton is elsewhere guilty of it; we may rather suppose that he could not but see it, and therefore that he thought it an allowable liberty in writing: for thus in V. 368. he says

— what the garden choicest bears
To fit and taste —
where fit and taste is us'd for fitting taste; as here stood and look'd for standing look'd.

920. Here is a remarkable transposition of the words, the sense however is very clear: The wary Fiend stood on the brink of Hell, and look'd awhile into this wild abyss, pondering his voyage. 'Tis observable the poet himself seems to be doing what he describes, for the period begins at 910, then he goes not on directly, but lingers, giving an idea of Chaos before he enters into it. 'Tis very artful! If his file is somewhat abrupt, after such pondering, it better paints the image he intended to give.  Richardson.

921. (to compare

And what an idea doth this give us of the noises of Chaos, that even those of a city besieged,
In mutiny had from her axle torn
The stedfast earth. At last his fail-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 feat soon failing, meets
A vast vacuity: all unawares
Fluttering his pennons vain plumb down he drops
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

siegèd, and of Heaven and Earth running
from each other are but small in comparison?
And tho' both the similitudes are truly excel-
lent and sublime, yet how surprizingly doth the
latter rise above the former!

927. — *bis fail-broad vans*] As the air
and water are both fluids, the metaphors taken
from the one are often applied to the other,
and flying is compared to failing, and failing
to flying.

Velorum pandimus alas,
says Virgil, Æn. III. 520. And Æn. I. 300.
— volat ille per aera magnum
Remigio alarum.
The same manner of speaking has prevail'd
likewise among the modern poets, and in
Spenser, as well as in the passage before us,
wings are liken'd to fails, Fairy Queen, B. i.
Cant. 11. St. 10.

His flaggy wings when forth he did display,
Were like two fails.
And afterwards, St. 18.
— he cutting way
With his broad fails, about him soared round.

933. — *pennons*] This word is vulgarly
spelt *pinions*, and so Dr. Bentley has printed
it: but the author spells it *pennons* after the
Latin *penna*. The reader will observe the
beauty of the numbers here without our point-
ing it out to him.

935. — *had not by ill chance*] An ill chance
for mankind, that he was thus speeded on his
journey so far. Pearce.
As many miles aloft: that fury stay'd,
Quench'd in a boggy Syrtis, neither sea,
Nor good dry land: nigh founder'd on he fares,
Treading the crude consistence, half on foot,
Half flying; behoves him now both oar and fail.
As when a gryphon through the wilderness With winged course, o'er hill or moory dale,
Pursues the Arimaspian, who by stealth
Had from his wakeful custody purloin'd
The guarded gold: So eagerly the Fiend

O'er

938. — *that fury stay'd, &c.* That fiery rebuff ceased, quenched and put out by a soft quicksand: Syrtis is explain'd by neither sea nor good dryland, exactly agreeing with Lucan. Pha. IX. 304.

Syrtes — in dubio pelagi terraque reliquit. 
*Hume.*

941. — *half on foot, half flying,*] Spenser, Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 11. St. 8.

Half flying, and half footing in his haft.

Our author seems to have borrow'd several images from the old dragon describ'd by Spenser.

942. — *behoes him now both oar and fail.*] It behoveth him now to use both his oars and his fails, as galleys do; according to the proverb Remis velifque, with might and main. 
*Hume.*

943. *As when a gryphon &c.* Satan half on foot, half flying, in quest of the new world, is here compar'd to a gryphon with winged course both flying and running in pursuit of the Arimaspian who had stol'n his gold. Gryphons are fabulous creatures, in the upper part like an eagle, in the lower resembling a lion, and are said to guard gold mines. The Arimaspian were a one-ey'd people of Scythia who adorn'd their hair with gold, Lucan. III. 280.

Hinc et Sithonii gentes, auroque ligatas Substringens Arimalpe comas.

Herodotus and other authors relate, that there were continual wars between the gryphons and Arimaspians about gold, the gryphons guarding it and Arimaspians taking it whenever they had opportunity. See Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 7. cap. 2. Arimalpi, quos diximus, uno oculo in fronte media insignes: quibus affidue bellum esse circa metalla cum gryphis, fera-
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: 950
At length a universal hubbub wild
Of stunning sounds and voices all confus'd,
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

O'er hills, o'er dales, o'er crags, o'er rocks they go;
Jumping, high o'er the shrubs of the rough ground,
Rattle the clattering cars, and the shockt axles bound.

956. —— the nethermost abyss] Dr. Bentley rejects nethermost here, and again in ver. 969, and charges Milton's blindness as the cause of his forgetting himself here and being inconsistent. But it is the Doctor that mistakes, and not the Poet: for tho' the throne of Chaos was above Hell, and consequently a part of the abyss was so, yet a part of that abyss was at the same time far below Hell; so far below, as that, when Satan went from Hell on his voyage, he fell in that abyss 10000 fathom deep, ver. 934. and the poet there adds, that if it had not been for an accident, he had been falling down there to this hour: nay it was so deep as to be illimitable, and where height is left.

rum voluci genere, quale vulgo traditur, eruente ex cuniculis aurum, mira cupiditate et feris cuftodientibus, et Arimaηπis rapientibus, multi, sed maxime illustres Herodotus et Aristaeas Proconnefius scribunt.

948. O'er bog, or steep, &c.] Dr. Bentley's reading is not amis O'er bog, o'er steep, &c. The difficulty of Satan's voyage is very well express'd by so many monosyllables as follow, which cannot be pronounced but slowly, and with frequent pauses. There is a memorable instance of the roughness of a road admirably describ'd by a single verse in Homer, Iliad. XXIII. 116.

Πᾶλα δ' αναλαναται, ταραμινα τε, ειχυμια τ', ἡλιον.

which Mr. Pope has been oblig'd to translate paraphrastically to give us some idea of the beauty of the numbers, and he has made use of several monosyllables, as Milton has done.
Which way the nearest coast of darkness lies
Bord'ring on light; when strait behold the throne
Of Chaos, and his dark pavilion spread
Wide on the wasteful deep; with him enthron'd

Erichtho is introduced threatening the infernal
Powers for being too slow in their obedience
by Lucan, Phal. VI. 744.

Sat

Paretis? an ille
Compellandus erit, quo nunquam terra vocato
Non concussa tremit, qui Gorgona cernit apertam,
Verberibusque suis trepidam castigat Erinnyn,
Indespecta tenet vobis qui Tartara; cujus
Vos estis superi; Stygias qui pejerat undas?

Yet, am I yet, ye fullen fiends, obey'd?
Or must I call your master to my aid?
At whose dread name—the trembling furies
quake,
Hell stands abash'd, and earth's foundations
shake?

Who views the Gorgons with intrepid eyes,
And your inviolable flood defies? Rowe.

And likewise Tirefias by Statius, Thebaid,
IV. 514.

Scimus enim et quicquid dici noscique timetis,
Et turbare Hecaten, ni te, Thymbraeae, vererer,
Et triplicos mundi summum quem scire nefatum est,
Illum fed taceo.

And Ifmen threatens in the fame strain in Tasso,
Cant. 1. St. 10.

Per lungo diffusar gia non si scorda, &c.

I have not yet forgot for want of use,
What dreadful terms belong this sacred feat,
Sat fable-vested Night, eldest of things,  
The consort of his reign; and by them flood  
Orcus and Ades, and the dreaded name  
Of Demogorgon; Rumor next and Chance,  

My tongue (if still your stubborn hearts refuse)  
That so much dreaded name can well repeat,  
Which heard great Dis cannot himself excuse,  
But hither run from his eternal feat. Fairfax.

The name of this deity is Demogorgon, which  
some think a corruption of Demiurgus; others  
imagine him to be so call'd, as being able  
to look upon the Gorgon, that turned all other  
spectators to stone, and to this Lucan seems to  
allude, when he says:

— qui Gorgona cernit apertam.

Spenser too mentions this infernal deity, Fairy  
Queen, B. i. Cant. 5. St. 22.

Which waft begot in Demogorgon's hall,  
And saw 't the secrets of the world unmade:

and places him likewise in the immense abys  
with Chaos, B. 4. Cant. 2. St. 47.

Down in the bottom of the deep abys,  
Where Demogorgon in dull darknes pent,  
Far from the view of Gods and Heaven's bliss,  
The hideous Chaos keeps, their dreadful dwelling is:

and takes notice also of the dreadful effects of  

A bold bad man, that dar'd to call by name  
Great Gorgon, prince of darknes and dead night,  
At which Cocytus quakes, and Styx is put to flight.

Well therefore might Milton distinguish him  
by the dreaded name of Demogorgon; and the  
name of Demogorgon is as much as to say De-  

mogorgon himself, as in Virgil Æn. VI. 763.  
Albanum nomen is a man of Alba, Æn. XII.  
515. Nomen Echionium, id est Thebanum, is  
a Theban; and we have a memorable instance  
of this way of speaking in Rev. XI. 13. And  
in the earthquake were slain oemata et nomen  
names of men seven thousand, that is seven thou-

— Rumor next and Chance.] In Satan's voyage through the Chaos there are several  
imaginary persons described, as residing in that  
immenfe waft of matter. This may perhaps be  
conformable to the taste of those critics  
who are pleased with nothing in a poet which  
has not life and manners ascribed to it; but for  
my own part, I am pleased most with those pas-
fages in this description which carry in them a  
greater measure of probability, and are such as  
might possibly have happen'd. Of this kind is  
his first mounting in the smoke that rises  
from the infernal pit, his falling into a cloud of
And Tumult and Confusion all embroil’d,
And Discord with a thousand various mouths.

’T’whom Satan turning boldly, thus. Ye Powers
And Spirits of this nethermost abyfs,
Chaos and ancient Night, I come no spy,
With purpose to explore or to disturb
The secrets of your realm, but by constraint
Wand’ring this darksome desert, as my way
Lies through your spacious empire up to light,
Alone, and without guide, half lost, I seek

What

of nitre and the like combustible materials,
that by their explosion still hurried him forward in his voyage; his springing upward like a pyramid of fire, with his laborious passage through that confusion of elements which the poet calls

The womb of nature, and perhaps her grave.

Mr. Addison seems to disapprove of these fictitious beings, thinking them I suppose (like Sin and Death) improper for an epic poem: but I see no reason why Milton may not be allow’d to place such imaginary beings in the regions of Chaos, as well as Virgil describe the like beings, Grief, and Fear, and Want, and Sleep, and Death, and Discord likewise within the confines of Hell; and why what is accounted a beauty in one should be deemed a fault in the other. See Æn. VI. 273. &c.

Vestibulum ante ipsum, primisque in faucibus Orci,
Luétus, et ultrices posuere cubilia Curæ:

Vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis.

Juft in the gate, and in the jaws of Hell,
Revengeful Cares, and fullen Sorrows dwell;
And pale Difeases, and repining Ages;
Want, Fear, and Famin’s unrefilled rage;
Here Toils, and Death, and Death’s half-brother Sleep,
Forms terrible to view, their fentry keep;
With anxious Pleasures of a guilty mind,
Deep Frauds before, and open Force behind;
The Furies iron beds, and Strife that shakes
Her hissing tresses, and unfolds her snakes.

Dryden,
What readiest path leads where your gloomy bounds
Confine with Heav'n; or if some other place,
From your dominion won, th' ethereal king
Possessed 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 expell'd, reduce
To her original darkness and your sway
(Which is my present journey) and once more

Directed no mean recompense it brings

Every reader, I believe, has been pleased with
this description; and it is impossible to be
pleased with Virgil, and to be displeased with
Milton. We may observe both in Virgil and
Milton that Discord is made the lait of these
imaginary beings, but how much greater an
idea have we of Discord with a thousand var-
rious mouths than with snaky hair,
Vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis!

972. The secrets of your realm,] This passage
has been objected to without any reason. He
means probably secret places, as in ver. 891.
Secrets is used here as secreta sometimes in
Virgil:
In secreta fenis ducam: Georg. IV. 403.
— Horrendaque procul secreta Sibyllae,
Antrum immante petit: Æn. VI. 10.

And likewise in Spenser, Fairy Queen, B. 6.

And searched all their cells and secrets near.

Or if we understand by secrets secret counsels
and transactions, the word disturb will be pro-
per enough as in I. 167.

— and disturb

His inmost counsels from their destin'd aim.
and the word explore will be very proper, as in
VII. 95.

What we, not to explore the secrets ask
Of his eternal empire.

981. Directed no mean recompense it brings &c.]
My course directed may bring no little recomp-
 pense and advantage to you, if I reduce that
lost region, all usurpation being thence expell'd,
to her original darkness and your sway
(Which is the purport of my present journey) and once more erect the standard there of an-
cient Night.

X

999. — if
Erect the standard there of ancient Night; 
Yours be th’ advantage all, mine the revenge.

Thus Satan; and him thus the Anarch old, 
With faltring speech and visage incompos’d, 
Answer’d. I know thee, stranger, who thou art, 999
That mighty leading Angel, who of late 
Made head against Heav’n’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 Heav’n gates
Pour’d

999. — if all I can will serve
That little which is left so to defend, &c.] Dr. Bentley makes great alterations here, and would have us read
— if all I can will serve
That little which is left us to defend
Encroach’d on by creations old and new
Straitning the bounds of ancient Night:

For so in the second verse he reads us: but so
is right, and signifies by keeping residence on my
frontiers and doing all I can. Again, he finds
fault with our inteslin broils, and says that
Chaos’s or Night’s scepter is not weaken’d, but
is strengthen’d and sublifts by them. So far
he is right, and therefore Milton, if he wrote
our inteslin broils, could never mean the broils
within the realm of Chaos. It appears from
the following verses, that the encroachments
which Chaos means were the creation of Hell

first, and then of the new world, the creation
of both which was the effect not of any broils
in Chaos’s realm, but of the broils in Heaven
between God and Satan, the good Angels and
the bad, called inteslin war and broils in VI,
259, 277. So that the passage as it stands
seems to be faulty; but without so great an al-
teration as Dr. Bentley makes, we may clear
it of all difficulty. We must remember that
it is Satan, to whom Chaos here speaks, and
therefore we may suppose that Milton gave it
through your inteslin broils. In the first editions
there is no comma after broils; and there
should be none, because broils is the substan-
tive with which the participle weaken agrees:
It was their broils which weaken’d Night’s
scepter, because the consequences of them left-
zen’d her kingdom. Pearce. This change
of our into your is so just and necessary, that
we thought it best to admit it into the text.

1005 — link’d.
Pour'd out by millions her victorious bands
Pursuing. I upon my frontiers here
Keep residence; if all I can will serve
That little which is left so to defend,
Encroach'd on still through your intevent broils
Weakning the scepter of old Night: first Hell
Your dungeon stretching far and wide beneath;
Now lately Heav'n and Earth, another world,
Hung o'er my realm, link'd in a golden chain
To that side Heav'n from whence your legions fell:
If that way be your walk, you have not far;

Let down our golden, everlast'ning chain,
Whose strong embrace holds Heav'n, and earth
and main:
Strive all of mortal or immortal birth,
To drag by this the Thund'r'er down to earth:
Ye strive in vain! If I but stretch this hand,
I heave the Gods, the ocean, and the land,
I fix the chain to great Olympus' height,
And the vast world hangs trembling in my sight.

League all your forces then, ye Pow'rs above,
Join all, and try th' omnipotence of Jove:

It is most probably and ingeniously conjectur'd,
that by this golden chain may be understood
the superior attractive force of the sun, where-
by he continues unmov'd, and draws all the
rest of the planets toward him. But what-
ever is meant by it, it is certain that our poet
took from hence the thought of hanging the
world by a golden chain.
So much the nearer danger; go and speed;
Havoc and spoil and ruin are my gain.

He ceas'd; and Satan stay'd not to reply,
But glad that now his sea should find a shore,
With fresh alacrity and force renew'd
Springs upward like a pyramid of fire
Into the wild expanse, and through the shock
Of fighting elements, on all sides round

Environ'd
called in Greek Symplegades, and by Juvenal
concurrentia saxa, Sat. XV. 19. which Milton
very well translates the jousting rocks, because
they were so near, that at a distance they
seemed to open and shut again, and joust one
another, as the ship varied its course this way
and that as usual. In Ponto due Cyanee, ab
aliis Symplegades appellatae, traditaque fabu-
lis inter se concursisse: quoniam parvo discre-
tae intervalllo, ex adverso intransitus geminae
cernebantur, paulumque deflexa acie, coeunt-
Cap. 13. The reader may see a farther ac-
count of these rocks, and the passage betwixt
them in Apollonius, Argonaut. II. 317, &c.
In short Satan's voyage through the fighting
elements was more difficult and dangerous than
that of the Argonauts through narrow seas be-
twixt joustling rocks.

1019. Or when Ulysses on the larboard ship'm'd
Charybdis, and by th' other whirlpool steer'd.]
These two verses Dr. Bentley would throw
quite away. Larboard (he says) is abominable
in heroic poetry; but Dryden (as the Doctor
owns) thought it not unfit to be employ'd
there: and Milton in other places has used
nautical
Environ'd wins his way; harder beset
And more indanger'd, than when Argo pass'd
Through Bosporus betwixt the justling rocks:
Or when Ulysses on the larbord shunn'd
Charybdis, and by th' other whirlpool steer'd.
So he with difficulty and labor hard
Mov'd on, with difficulty and labor he;
But he once past, soon after when man fell,

Strange
Strange alteration! Sin and Death amain
Following his track, such was the will of Heaven, 1025
Pav’d after him a broad and beaten way
Over the dark abyss, whose boiling gulf
Tamely indur’d a bridge of wondrous length
From Hell continued reaching th’utmoft orb
Of this frail world; by which the Spirits perverse 1030
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 1035
Shoots far into the bosom of dim Night
A glimmering dawn; here Nature first begins
Her farthest verge, and Chaos to retire

nor propriety, unless it be added (as it is in these verses) that some others afterwards went this way with more ease.

It is evident that these lines are Milton’s, and cannot be an interpolation of the editor. But yet I am afraid we cannot so easily get over the Doctor’s other objection that this same bridge is describ’d in Book X. for several lines together poetically and pompously, as a thing untouch’d before and an incident to surprize the reader; and therefore the poet should not have anticipated it here. Let the lines themselves be approv’d; yet it must be allow’d, it is wrong conduct and want of oeconomy for the whole poem. And we cannot recollect a parallel instance in Homer or Virgil, or any authoriz’d poet.

1025.—such was the will of Heaven, ] ἦ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἔσχεν. Hom. Iliad. I. 5.
1039. As from her utmost works] Dr. Bentley reads his instead of her: but the meaning is not that Chaos retires as from his own utmost
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,
Weighs his spread wings, at leisure to behold
Far off th' empyreal Heav'n, extended wide
In circuit, undetermin'd square or round,
With opal tow'rs and battlements adorn'd.
Of living saphir, once his native seat;
And fast by hanging in a golden chain
This pendent world, in bigness as a star
Of smalletest magnitude close by the moon.

most works, but retires as from the outmost
works of Nature mentioned before.

1049. With opal tow'rs] With towers of
precious stones. Opal is a stone of diverse co-
lors, partaking of the carbuncles faint fire, the
amethysts bright purple, and the emeralds cheer-
ing green. Hume and Richardson.

1052. This pendent world, in bigness as a star
Of smalletest magnitude close by the moon.] By
this pendent world is not meant the Earth; but
the new creation, Heaven and Earth, the whole
orb of fix'd stars immensely bigger than the
Earth, a mere point in comparison. This is
sure from what Chaos had lately said, v. 1004.

Now lately Heav'n and Earth, another world,
Hung o'er my realm, link'd in a golden chain.

Befides, Satan did not see the Earth yet; he
was afterwards surpris'd at the sudden view of all
this world at once, III. 542. and wander'd long
on the outside of it; till at last he saw our sun,
and learned there of the Arch-Angel Uriel,
Thither full fraught with mischievous revenge,
Accurs'd, and in a cursed hour he hies.

where the Earth and Paradise were. See III. 722. This pendent world therefore must mean the whole world, the new created universe, and beheld for off it appear'd in comparison with the empyreal Heaven no bigger than a star of smallest magnitude; nay not so large, it appear'd no bigger than such a star appears to be when it is close by the moon, the superior light where-of makes any star that happens to be near her disk, to seem exceedingly small and almost disappear. Dr. Bentley has strangely mistaken the sense of this passage, understanding that the Earth was meant, and yet arguing very justly that the Earth could not be meant: and Mr. Addison has fallen into the like mistake, as appears from his words; “The glimmering light which shot into the Chaos from the utmost verge of the creation, with the distant discovery of the Earth that hung close by the moon, are wonderfully beautiful and poetical.” But how much more wonderful is the imagination of such prodigious distance, that after Satan had traveled so far, and comes within view of the whole world, it should still appear in comparison with the empyreal Heaven no bigger than the smallest star, and that star appearing yet smaller by its proximity to the moon! and how much more beautiful and poetical is it to open the scene thus by degrees! Satan at first descries the whole world at a distance in book the second, and then in book the third he discovers our planetary system and the sun, and afterwards by the direction of Uriel the earth and neighbouring moon.

The end of the Second Book.
THE ARGUMENT.

God sitting on his throne sees Satan flying towards this world, then newly created; shows him to the Son who sat at his right hand; foretells the success of Satan in perverting mankind; clears his own justice and wisdom from all imputation, having created Man free and able enough to have withstood his tempter; yet declares his purpose of grace towards him, in regard he fell not of his own malice, as did Satan, but by him seduc'd. The Son of God renders praises to his Father for the manifestation of his gracious purpose towards Man; but God again declares, that Grace cannot be extended towards Man without the satisfaction of divine justice; Man hath offended the majesty of God by aspiring to God-head, and therefore with all his progeny devoted to death must die, unless some one can be found sufficient to answer for his offence, and undergo his punishment. The Son of God freely offers himself a ransom for Man: the Father accepts him, ordains his incarnation, pronounces his exaltation above all names in Heaven and Earth; commands all the Angels to adore him; they obey, and hymning to their harps in full quire, celebrate the Father and the Son. Mean while Satan alights upon the bare convex of this world's outermost orb; where wand'ring he first finds a place, since call'd The Limbo of Vanity; what persons and things fly up thither; thence comes to the gate of Heaven, describ'd ascending by stairs, and the waters above the firmament that flow about it: His passage thence to the orb of the sun; he finds there Uriel the regent of that orb, but first changes himself into the shape of a meaner Angel; and pretending a zealous desire to behold the new creation, and Man whom God had plac'd here, inquires of him the place of his habitation, and is directed; alights first on mount Niphates.
PARADISE LOST.

BOOK III.

HAIL holy Light, offspring of Heav’n first-born,
Or of th’ Eternal coeternal beam
May I express thee’ unblam’d? since God is light,
And never but in unapproached light
Dwelt from eternity, dwelt then in thee,

Horace advises a poet to consider thoroughly the nature and force of his genius. Milton seems to have known perfectly well, wherein his strength lay, and has therefore chosen a subject entirely conformable to those talents, of which he was master. As his genius was wonderfully turned to the sublime, his subject is the noblest that could have entered into the thoughts of man. Everything that is truly great and astonishing has a place in it. The whole system of the intellectual world; the Chaos and the Creation; Heaven, Earth, and Hell, enter into the constitution of his poem. Having in the first and second books represented the infernal world with all its horrors, the thread of his fable naturally leads him into the opposite regions of bliss and glory.

Addison.

1. Hail holy Light, &c.] Our author’s address to Light, and lamentation of his own blindness may perhaps be censured as an excess or digression not agreeable to the rules of epic poetry; but yet this is so charming a part of the poem, that the most critical reader, I imagine, cannot wish it were omitted.

One is even pleased with a fault, if it be a fault, that is the occasion of so many beauties, and acquaints us so much with the circumstances and character of the author.

2. Or of th’ Eternal coeternal beam
May I express thee’ unblam’d?] Or may I without blame call thee, the coeternal beam of the eternal God? The Ancients were very cautious and curious by what names they addressed their deities, and Milton in imitation of them questions whether he should address the Light as the first-born of Heaven, or as the coeternal beam of the eternal Father, or as a pure ethereal stream whose fountain is unknown: But as the second appellation seems to ascribe a proper eternity to Light, Milton very justly doubts whether he might use that without blame.

3. —— since God is light,
And in unapproached light
Dwell ———] From 1 John I. 5. God is light, and in him is no darkness at all. And 1 Tim. VI. 16. Who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light, which no man can approach unto.
Bright effluence of bright essence increate.
Or hear'st thou rather pure ethereal stream,
Whose fountain who shall tell? before the sun,
Before the Heav'n's thou wert, and at the voice
Of God, as with a mantle didst invest
The rising world of waters dark and deep,
Won from the void and formless infinite.
Thee I re-visit now with bolder wing,
Escap'd the Stygian pool, though long detain'd
In that obscure sojourn, while in my flight.

6. Bright effluence of bright essence increate.] What the Wisdom of Solomon says of Wisdom, he applies to Light, VII. 25, 26. She is a pure influence flowing from the glory of the Almighty;—she is the brightness of the everlasting light.

7. Or hear'st thou rather] Or dost thou rather hear this address, dost thou delight rather to be call'd, pure ethereal stream? An excellent Latinism, as Dr. Bentley observes, Hor. Sat. II. VI. 20.

Matutine pater feu Jane libentius audis?
And we have an expression of the same kind in Spenfer, Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 5. St. 23.

If old Aveugle's sons so evil hear.

Whose fountain who shall tell? As the question is ask'd in Job XXXVIII. 19. Where is the way where light dwelleth?

11. The rising world of waters dark and deep,

For the world was only in a state of fluidity, when the light was created; as Moses says, The Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters; and God said Let there be light, and there was light, Gen. I. 2, 3.

12. Won from the void and formless infinite.] Void must not here be understood as emptiness, for Chaos is described full of matter; but void, as destitute of any form'd being, void as the earth was when first created. What Moses says of that is here applied to Chaos, without form and void. A short but noble description of Chaos, which is said to be infinite, as it extended underneath, as Heaven above, infinitely. Richardson.

16. Through utter and through middle darkness] Through Hell which is often call'd utter darkness, and through the great gulf between Hell and Heaven, the middle darkness.

17. With
Through utter and through middle darkness borne
With other notes than to th’Orphëan lyre
I sung of Chaos and eternal Night,
Taught by the heav’nly Muse to venture down
The dark descent, and up to re-ascend,
Though hard and rare: thee I revisit safe,
And feel thy sovran vital lamp; but thou
Revisit’st not these eyes, that roll in vain
To find thy piercing ray, and find no dawn;
So thick a drop serene hath quench’d their orbs,

17. With other notes than to th’Orphëan lyre &c.] Orpheus made a hymn to Night, which is still extant; he also wrote of the creation out of Chaos. See Apoll. Rhodius, I. 493. Orpheus was inspīrd by his mother Calliope only, Milton by the heav’nly Muse; therefore he boasts he sung with other notes than Orpheus, tho’ the subjects were the same. Richardson.

19. Taught by the heav’nly Muse &c.] He was not only taught by the Muse to venture down, which indeed was not very hard and difficult, but also up to reascend, tho’ hard and rare, which is manifestly an allusion to Virgil, Æn. VI. 128.

Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras
Hoc opus, hic labor est; pauci, quos æquus amavit
Jupiter, aut ardens evexit ad æthera virtus,
Diis geniti potuerō.

But to return, and view the cheerful skies,
In this the task, and mighty labor lies:
To few great Jupiter imparts this grace,
And thofe of shining worth and heav’nly race.

Dryden.

25. So thick a drop serene hath quench’d their orbs,
Or dim suffusion veil’d.] Drop serene or Gutta serena. It was formerly thought that that sort of blindness was an incurable extinction or quenching of sight by a transparent, watry, cold humor distilling upon the optic nerve, tho’ making very little change in the eye to appearance, if any; ’tis now known to be most commonly an obstruction in the capillary vef- fels of that nerve, and curable in some cases. A catarrh for many ages, and till about thirty years ago, was thought to be a film externally growing over the eye, intercepting or veiling the sight, beginning with dimness, and so increasing till vision was totally obstructed: but the
Or dim suffusion veil'd. Yet not the more
Cease I to wander, where the Muses haunt
Clear spring, or shady grove, or funny hill,
Smit with the love of sacred song; but chief
Thee, Sion, and the flowry brooks beneath,
That wash thy hallow'd feet, and warbling flow,

Nightly

Ecl. VII. 10. We may understand cease here in the sense of forbear; Yet not the more forbear I to wander: I do it as much as I did before I was blind.

29. Smit with the love of sacred song;] So Virgil. Georg. II. 475.

Dulces ante omnia Muse,
Quarum sacra fero ingenti perculfus amore.

30. — the flowry brooks beneath,] Kedron and Siloah. He still was pleas'd to study the beauties of the ancient poets, but his highest delight was in the songs of Sion, in the holy Scriptures, and in these he meditated day and night. This is the sense of the passage straft of its poetical ornaments.

32. — nor sometimes forget] 'Tis the same as and sometimes not forget. Nec et neque in Latin are frequently the same as et non.

Pearce.

33. Those other two &c.] It has been imagin'd that Milton dictated those other too, which tho' different in sense, yet is not distinguishable in sound, so that they might easily be mistaken the one for the other. In strictnesses of speech perhaps we should read others instead of other, Those others too: but those other may be admitted as well as these other in IV. 783. — these other wheel the north: but then it must be acknowledged that too is a forry
Nightly I visit: nor sometimes forget
Those other two equall’d with me in fate,
So were I equal’d with them in renown,
Blind Thamyris and blind Maenides,
And Tirefias and Phineus prophets old:
Then feed on thoughts, that voluntary move

Harmonious

forry botch at best. The most probable ex-
planation of this passage I conceive to be this. 
Tho’ he mentions four, yet there are but two
whom he particularly desires to resemble, and
those he distinguishes both with the epithet
blind to make the likenes the more striking,

Blind Thamyris and blind Maenides.

Maenides is Homer, so call’d from the name
of his father Maen: and no wonder our poet
desires to equal him in renown, whose writings
he so much studied, admir’d and imitated.
The character of Thamyris is not so well known
and established: but Homer mentions him in
the Iliad. II. 595; and Euftathius ranks him
with Orpheus and Museus, the most celebra-
ted poets and musicians. That luftrous chal-
lenge of his to the nine Muses was probably
nothing more than a fable invented to express
his violent love and affection for poetry. Plato
mentions his hymns with honor in the begin-
ing of his eighth book of Laws, and towards
the conclusion of the last book of his Re-
public reigns, upon the principles of transmi-
gration, that the soul of Thamyris paffed into
a nightingale. He was a Thracian by birth,
and invented the Doric mood or meaufure, ac-
cording to Pliny, L. 7. c. 57. Plutarch in his
treatise of Music says that he had the finest
voice of any of his time, and wrote a poem
of the war of the Titans with the Gods: and
from Suidas we learn that he compos’d like-
wife a poem of the generation of the world,
which being subjects near of kin to Milton’s
might probably occasion the mention of him
in this place. Thamyris then and Homer are
those other two whom the poet principally de-
sires to resemble: And it seems as if he had
intended at first to mention only those two,
and then currente calamo had added the two
others, Tirefias and Phineus, the one a Theban,
the other a king of Arcadia, famous blind
prophets and poets of antiquity, for the word
prophet sometimes comprehends both characters
as vates doth in Latin.

And Tirefias and Phineus prophets old.

Dr. Bentley is totally for rejecting this verse,
and objects to the bad accent of Tirefias: but
as Dr. Pearce observes, the accent may be
mended by suppressing that the interlin’d copy
intended this order of the words,

And Phineus and Tirefias prophets old.

And the verse appears to be genuine by
Mr. Marvel’s alluding to it in his verses pre-
fix’d to the second edition;

Juft Heav’n Thee, like Tirefias, to requite,
Rewards with prophecy thy los’d of fight.

37. — that voluntary move

Harmonious numbers; &c.] And the reader
will
Paradise Lost.  Book III.

Harmonious numbers; as the wakeful bird
Sings darkling, and in shadiest covert hid
Tunes her nocturnal note.  Thus with the year
Seasons return, but not to me returns
Day, or the sweet approach of ev'n or morn,
Or sight of vernal bloom, or summer's rose,
Or flocks, or herds, or human face divine;
But cloud instead, and ever-during dark
Surrounds me, from the cheerful ways of men
Cut off, and for the book of knowledge fair
Presented

will observe the flowing of the numbers here
with all the ease and harmony of the finest vo-
luntary.  The words seem of themselves to
have fall'n naturally into verse almost without
the poet's thinking of it.  And this harmony
appears to greater advantage for the roughnes-
of some of the preceding verses, which is an
artifice frequently practic'd by Milton, to be
careless of his numbers in some places, the
better to set off the musical flow of those
which immediately follow.

39. — darkling.] It is said that this word
was coin'd by our author, but I find it used
several times in Shakspear and the authors of
that age.  Lear's fool says, Act. I.  So out went
the candle, and we were left darkling.

41. Seasons return, but not to me returns]  This beautiful turn of the words is copied from
the beginning of the third act of Guariini's Pa-
tor Fido.  Mirtillo addresseth the spring.

Tu torni ben, ma teco
Non tornano &c.
Tu torni ben, tu torni,
Ma teco altro non torna &c.

Thou art return'd; but the felicity
Thou brought'st me last is not return'd with
thee:
Thou art return'd; but nought returns with
thee
Save my last joys regretful memory.  Fanfhaue.

49. Of Nature's works &c.] Dr. Bentley
reads All Nature's map &c. because (he says)
a blank of works is an unphilosophical expres-
sion.  If so, and if the sentence must termi-
nate at blank, why may we not read?

Presented with an universal blank;
All Nature's works to me expung'd and ras'd,
that is, all Nature's works being, in respect to
the universal blank, or absence of light from
me, expung'd to me and ras'd.

Pearce.
Presented with a universal blank
Of Nature’s works to me expung’d and ras’d,
And wisdom at one entrance quite shut out.
So much the rather thou, celestial Light,
Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers
Irradiate, there plant eyes, all mist from thence
Purge and disperse, that I may see and tell
Of things invisible to mortal sight.

Now had th’ almighty Father from above,
From the pure empyréan where he sits

It is to be wish’d that some such emendation as
this was admitted. It clears the syntax, which
at present is very much embarass’d. All Na-
ture’s works being to me expung’d and ras’d, and
wisdom at one entrance quite shut out is plain and
intelligible; but otherwise it is not easy to say
what the conjunction And copulates wisdom to;
And wisdom at one entrance quite shut out.

49. — Ras’d,] Of the Latin radere; the
Romans who writ on waxed tables with iron
ftiles, when they struck out a word, did tabu-
lam radere rase it out. Light and the blessings
of it were never drawn in more lively colors
and finer strokes; nor was the sad loss of it
and them ever so passionately and so patiently
lamented. They that will read the most ex-
cellent Homer, bemoaning the same misfor-
tune, will find him far short of this. Her-
dotus in his life gives us some verses, in which
he bewailed his blindness. Hume.

52. Shine inward,] He has the same kind
of thought more than once in his prose works.
See his Epift. to Emeric Bigot. Orbitatem
certe luminis quidni leniter feram, quod non
tam amissum quam revocatum intus atque re-
traëtum, ad acuendam potius mentis aciem
quam ad hebetandam, sperem? Epift. Fam. 21.
See also his Defenfio Secunda, p. 325. Edit.
1738. Sim ego debilissimus, dummodo in
mea debilitate immortalis ille et melior vigor
eò fe efficacius exerat; dummodo in meis te-
nebris divini vultus lumen eò clarius eluceat;
tum enim infirmissimus ero simul et validiffi-
mus, cæcus eodem tempore et perfpicacifi-
mus; hac possem ego infirmitate confummari,
hac perfeci, possem in hac obscuritate sic ego ir-
radiari. Et fane haud ultima Dei cura cæci
sumus; — nec tam ocularum hebetudine,
quam cæleffium alarum umbra haec nobis fecifi-
tenebras videtur, faétas illustrare ruribus interiore
ae longe præstabiliore lumine haud raro folët.

56. Now had th’ almighty Father &c.] The
survey
High thron’d above all highth, bent down his eye,
His own works and their works at once to view:
About him all the Sanctities of Heaven
Stood thick as stars, and from his sight receiv’d
Beatitude past utterance; on his right
The radiant image of his glory sat,
His only Son; on earth he first beheld
Our two first parents, yet the only two
Of mankind, in the happy garden plac’d,
Reaping immortal fruits of joy and love,
Uninterrupted joy, unrival’d love
In blissful solitude; he then survey’d

Hell

survey of the whole creation, and of every thing
that is transacted in it, is a prospect worthy
of omniscience; and as much above that, in
which Virgil has drawn his Jupiter, as the
Christian idea of the supreme Being is more
rational and sublime than that of the Heathens.
The particular objects, on which he is
described to have cast his eye, are represented in
the most beautiful and lively manner. Addison.

59. — and their works] That is the works
of his own works, the operations of his own
creatures, Angels, Men, Devils.

62. — on his right
The radiant image of his glory sat,
His only Son; ] According to St. Paul, Heb.
I. 3. His Son — who being the brightness of his
glory, and the express image of his person — sat
down on the right hand of the majesty on high.

Let the discerning linguist compare the pre-
ceding description of God with that by Tasso,
Cant. 9. Stan. 55, 56, 57. Hume.

75. Firm land imbesom’d, without firmament, &c.] The universe appear’d to
Satan to be a solid globe, incompas’d on all
sides but uncertain whether with water or air,
but without firmament, without any sphere of
fixed stars over it, as over the earth. The
sphere of fixed stars was itself comprehended
in it, and made a part of it.

79. Thus to his only Son foreseeing, spoke.] If
Milton’s majesty forfakes him any where, it is
in those parts of his poem, where the divine
Persons are introduced as speakers. One may,
I think, observe that the author proceeds with
a kind of fear and trembling, whilst he de-
scribes
Hell and the gulf between, and Satan there
Coasting the wall of Heav’n on this side Night
In the dun air sublime, and ready now
To stoop with wearied wings and willing feet
On the bare outside of this world, that seem’d
Firm land imbosom’d, without firmament,
Uncertain which, in ocean or in air.
Him God beholding from his prospect high,
Wherein past, present, future he beholds,
Thus to his only Son foreseeing spake.

Only begotten Son, feest thou what rage
Transports our Adversary? whom no bounds

scribes the sentiments of the Almighty. He
dares not give his imagination its full play,
but chooseth to confine himselv to such thoughts
as are drawn from the books of the most ortho-
dox divines, and to such expressions as may
be met with in Scripture. The beauties there-
fore, which we are to look for in these speeches,
are not of a poetical nature, nor so proper to
fill the mind with sentiments of grandeur, as
with thoughts of devotion. The passions,
which they are design’d to raise, are a divine
love and religious fear. The particular beauty
of the speeches in the third book consists in
that shortness and perspicuity of style, in which
the poet has couch’d the greatest mysteries of
Christianity, and drawn together in a regular
scheme the whole dispensation of Providence
with respect to Man. He has represented all
the abstruse doctrines of predestination, free-
will and grace, as also the great points of in-
carnation and redemption (which naturally
grow up in a poem that treats of the fall of
Man) with great energy of expression, and in
a clearer and stronger light than I ever met
with in any other writer. As these points are
dry in themselven to the generality of readers,
the concise and clear manner, in which he has
treated them, is very much to be admired, as is
likewise that particular art which he has made
use of in the interpersing of all those graces of
poetry, which the subject was capable of re-
ceiving. Satan’s approach to the confines of the
creation is finely imaged in the beginning of the
speech, which immediately follows. Addison.
Prescrib'd, no bars of Hell, nor all the chains
Heap'd on him there, nor yet the main abyss
Wide interrupt can hold; so bent he seems
On desperate revenge, that shall redound
Upon his own rebellious head. And now
Through all restraint broke loose he wings his way
Not far off Heav'n, in the precincts of light,
Directly towards the new created world,
And Man there plac'd, with purpose to assay
If him by force he can destroy, or worse,
By some false guise pervert; and shall pervert,
For Man will hearken to his glozing lies,
And easily transgress the sole command,
Sole pledge of his obedience: So will fall,
He and his faithless progeny: Whose fault?
Whose but his own? Ingrate, he had of me
All he could have; I made him just and right,
Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall.

Such

101. — both them who stood and them who fail'd; ] Both the antitheton and the repetition in the next line show that the author gave it,

108. — (reason also is choice)] The author had
Such I created all th' ethereal Powers
And Spirits, both them who stood and them who fail'd;
Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell.
Not free, what proof could they have giv'n sincere
Of true allegiance, constant faith or love,
Where only what they needs must do appear'd,
Not what they would: what praise could they receive?
What pleasure I from such obedience paid,
When will and reason (reason also is choice)
Useless and vain, of freedom both despoil'd,
Made passive both, had serv'd necessity,
Not me? They therefore as to right belong'd,
So were created, nor can justly accuse
Their maker, or their making, or their fate,
As if predestination over-rul'd
Their will, dispos'd by absolute decree
Or high foreknowledge; they themselves decreed
Their own revolt, not I; if I foreknew,
Fore-

had express'd the same sentiment before in prose. "Many there be that complain of dis-
" vine Providence for sufferings Adam to transf-
" gress. Foolish tongues! when God gave
" him reason, he gave him freedom to choose,
 " for reason is but choosing: he had been else
 " a mere artificial Adam, &c. See his Speech
 for the liberty of unlicenc'd printing, p. 149,
 and 150. Edit. 1738.
117. —— if I foreknew.] If here does not imply
Foreknowledge had no influence on their fault, Which had no less prov'd certain unforeknown.
So without least impulse or shadow' of fate, Or ought by me immutably foreseen,
They trespass, authors to themselves in all
Both what they judge and what they choose; for so
I form'd them free, and free they must remain,
Till they in thrall themselves; I else must change
Their nature, and revoke the high decree
Unchangeable, eternal, which ordain'd
Their freedom, they themselves ordain'd their fall.
The first by their own suggestion fell,
Self-tempted, self-deprav'd: Man falls, deceiv'd
By th' other first: Man therefore shall find grace,
The other none: in mercy' and justice both,

Or ought by me immutable foreseen,
where ought immutable may signify any event
that cannot be chang'd or alter'd.  Pearce.
Immutably foreseen seems to mean so foreseen as
to be immutable. If Milton had dictated immutable, he would probably have said

Or ought immutable by me foreseen.

135. Thus while God spoke, &c.] The effects of
this speech in the blessed Spirits, and in the
divine Person to whom it was address'd, can-
Through Heav'n and Earth, so shall my glory excel,
But mercy first and last shall brightest shine.

Thus while God spake, ambrosial fragrance fill'd All Heav'n, and in the blessed Spirits elect Sense of new joy ineffable diffus'd:
Beyond compare the Son of God was seen Most glorious; in him all his Father shone Substantially express'd; and in his face Divine compassion visibly appear'd,
Love without end, and without measure grace,
Which uttering thus he to his Father spake.

O Father, gracious was that word which clos'd Thy sovran sentence, that Man should find grace; For which both Heav'n and Earth shall high extol Thy praises, with th' innumerable sound
Of hymns and sacred songs, wherewith thy throne
Incompass'd shalt resound thee ever blest.
For should Man finally be lost, should Man,
Thy creature late so lov'd, thy youngest son,
Fall circumvented thus by fraud, though join'd
With his own folly? that be from thee far,
That far be from thee, Father, who art judge
Of all things made, and judgest only right.
Or shall the Adversary thus obtain
His end, and frustrate thine? shall he fulfil
His malice, and thy goodness bring to nought,
Or proud return, though to his heavier doom,
Yet with revenge accomplish'd, and to Hell
Draw after him the whole race of mankind,
By him corrupted? or wilt thou thyself
Abolish thy creation, and unmake

I. 441, 442. we read *songs unfung*. And we
have the very thing which the Doctor finds
fault with in *VII.* 558.

Follow'd with acclamation and the *sound*
Symphonious of ten thoufand harps that tun'd
Angelic harmonies: the earth, the air,
*Refound*ed. Pearce.

153. — *that be from thee far, &c.*] An
imitation of Genesis, XVIII. 25. *That be far
from thee to do after this manner, to slay
the righteous with the wicked; and that the
righteous should be as the wicked, that be far
from thee: shall not the judge of all the earth do
right?*

158. — *nought,*]
For him, what for thy glory thou hast made?
So should thy goodness and thy greatness both
Be question'd and blasphem'd without defense.

To whom the great Creator thus reply'd.
O Son, in whom my soul hath chief delight,
Son of my bosom, Son who art alone
My word, my wisdom, and effectual might,
All hast thou spoken as my thoughts are, all
As my eternal purpose hath decreed:
Man shall not quite be lost, but fav'd who will,
Yet not of will in him, but grace in me
Freely vouchsaf'd; once more I will renew
His laps'd pow'rs, though forfeit and inthrall'd
By sin to soul exorbitant desires;
Upheld by me, yet once more he shall stand
On even ground against his mortal foe,

158. — naught,) This word and ought our
author most usually spells naught and ought,
and they may be spelt either way; but this is
grown obsolete, and the other may be justify'd
as well from the Saxon.

168. O Son, &c.) The Son is here address'd
by several titles and appellations borrow'd from
Scripture. O Son, in whom my soul hath chief
delight, from Mat. III. 17. My beloved Son in
whom I am well pleased. Son of my bosom, from
John I. 18. The only begotten Son which is in
the bosom of the Father. My word, from Rev.
XIX. 13. And his name is called the word of
God. My wisdom and effectual might, from
1 Cor. I. 24. Christ the power of God and the
wisdom of God.

A 2
By me upheld, that he may know how frail
His fall’n condition is, and to me owe
All his deliverance, and to none but me.
Some I have chosen of peculiar grace
Elect above the rest; so is my will:
The rest shall hear me call, and oft be warn’d
Their sinful state, and to appease betimes
Th’incensed Deity, while offer’d grace
Invites; for I will clear their senses dark,
What may suffice, and soften stony hearts
To pray, repent, and bring obedience due.
To pray’r, repentance, and obedience due,
Though but endevor’d with sincere intent,
Mine ear shall not be flow, mine eye not shut.
And I will place within them as a guide
My umpire Conscience, whom if they will hear,
Light after light well us’d they shall attain,
And to the end persisting, safe arrive.

This

180. By me upheld,] It was before, ver. 178. Upheld by me. The turn of the words is remarkable. And we have the oftner taken notice of these turns of the words, because it has been objected by Dryden and others, that there were no turns of the words in Milton.
183. Some I have chosen of peculiar grace &c.] Our author did not hold the doctrin of rigid predestination; he was of the sentiments of the more moderate Calvinists, and thought that some indeed were elected of peculiar grace, the rest might be saved complying with
This my long sufferance and my day of grace;
They who neglect and scorn, shall never taste;
But hard be harden’d, blind be blinded more,
That they may stumble on, and deeper fall;
And none but such from mercy I exclude.
But yet all is not done; Man disobeying,
Disloyal breaks his fealty, and sins
Against the high supremacy of Heaven,
Affecting God-head, and so losing all,
To expiate his treason hath nought left,
But to destruction sacred and devote,
He with his whole posterity must die,
Die he or justice must; unless for him
Some other able, and as willing, pay
The rigid satisfaction, death for death.
Say heav’ly Pow’rs, where shall we find such love?
Which of ye will be mortal to redeem
Man’s mortal crime, and just th’ unjust to save?

Dwells with the terms and conditions of the Gospel.

192. — *endeavor’d*] So Milton spells this word, and it is most agreeable to our pronunciation of it, as well as to its derivation from the French *en* and *devoir.*

197. And to the end persevering, safe arrive.] He that endureth to the end shall be saved, Mat. X. 22.

215. — *and just th’ unjust to save?*] That is, Which of ye will be so just as to save the unjust? Which of ye will be righteous enough to
Dwells in all Heaven charity so dear?
He ask'd, but all the heav'ly quire stood mute,
And silence was in Heav'n: on Mans behalf
Patron or intercessor none appear'd,
Much less that durst upon his own head draw
The deadly forfeiture, and ransomse set.
And now without redemption all mankind
Must have been lost, adjudg'd to Death and Hell
By doom severe, had not the Son of God,
In whom the fulness dwells of love divine,
His dearest mediation thus renew'd.

Father, thy word is past, Man shall find grace;
And shall grace not find means, that finds her way,
The speedieth of thy winged messengers,

To supply the defects of others righteousnes?
It is plainly an allusion to 1 Pet. III. 18. For
Christ also hath once suffer'd for sins, the just
for the unjust.

217. — flood mute,] I need not point out
the beauty of that circumstance, wherein the
whole host of Angels are represented as standing mute, nor show how proper the occasion
was to produce such a silence in Heaven.
Addison.

This beautiful circumstance is raised upon Rev.
VIII. 1, where upon a certain occasion it is
said, There was silence in Heaven. And so, as
there was silence in Hell, when it was propos'd who should be sent on the dangerous expedi-
tion to destroy mankind, there is likewise
silence in Heaven, when it is ask'd who would
be willing to pay the price of their redemption. Satan alone was fit to undertake the
one, as the Son of God the other. But tho' the
silence is the same in both places, the dif-
ference of the expression is remarkable. In
Hell it is said all was mute, II. 420, as there
the infernal peers were sitting in council; but
here
To visit all thy creatures, and to all
Comes unprevented, unimplor'd, unsought?
Happy for Man, so coming; he her aid
Can never seek, once dead in sins and lost;
Atonement for himself or offering meet,
Indebted and undone, hath none to bring:
Behold me then; me for him, life for life
I offer; on me let thine anger fall;
Account me Man; I for his sake will leave
Thy bosom, and this glory next to thee
Freely put off, and for him lastly die
Well pleas'd; on me let Death wreck all his rage;
Under his gloomy pow'r I shall not long
Lie vanquish'd; thou hast giv'n me to possess

Life

here it is said they stood mute, as the good
Angels were standing round about the throne
of God.

231. *Comes unprevented,*] *Prevent* from *prevenire* to come before. This grace is not pre-
ceded by merit or supplication; itself prevents or goes before; *tis a free gift, as XI. 3. *Pre-
venient grace descending,* &c. 2 Tim. I. 9. Not according to our works, but according to his own
purposes and grace. Psal. LXXXVIII. 13. *But unto thee have I cry'd, O Lord,* and in the morn-
ing shall my prayer prevent thee. Here the favor
if it comes, comes not unprevented; prayer.prevents or goes before God's goodnea.

Richardson.

236. *Behold me then; me for him, life for life*
*I offer; on me let thine anger fall;*
*Account me Man;*] The frequent and vehement repetition of *me* here is very like that in
Virgil, Æn. IX. 427.

Me, *me:* adsam qui feci: in *me convertite*
ferrum:
and a little afterwards,

Figite
Life in myself for ev’r; by thee I live,
Though now to Death I yield, and am his due
All that of me can die; yet that debt paid,
Thou wilt not leave me in the loathsome grave
His prey, nor suffer my unspotted soul
For ever with corruption there to dwell;
But I shall rise victorious, and subdue
My vanquisher, spoil’d of his vaunted spoil;
Death his death’s wound shall then receive, and stoop
Inglorious, of his mortal sting disarm’d.
I through the ample air in triumph high
Shall lead Hell captive maugre Hell, and shew
The Pow’rs of darkness bound. Thou at the sight
Pleas’d, out of Heaven shalt look down and smile,
While by thee rais’d I ruin all my foes,
Death last, and with his carcass glut the grave:

Then

244. Life in myself for ev’r;] For as
the Father hath life in himself, so hath he
given to the Son to have life in himself, John
V. 26.

249. — with corruption there to dwell; ]
According to the Pfalmist, For thou wilt not
leave my soul in Hell, neither suffer thine Holy
One to see corruption, Pfal. XVI. 10. applied
to our Saviour’s resurrection by St. Peter, Acts
II. 20, 21, &c.

254. I through the ample air in triumph
high &c.] Thou best ascended on high,
then
Then with the multitude of my redeem’d Shall enter Heav’n long absent, and return, Father, to see thy face, wherein no cloud Of anger shall remain, but peace assur’d And reconcilement; wrath shall be no more Thenceforth, but in thy presence joy entire.

His words here ended, but his meek aspect Silent yet spake, and breath’d immortal love To mortal men, above which only shone Filial obedience: as a sacrifice Glad to be offer’d, he attends the will Of his great Father.  
Admiration seis’d All Heav’n, what this might mean, and whither tend Wond’ring; but soon th’ Almighty thus reply’d.

O thou in Heav’n and Earth the only peace Found out for mankind under wrath, O thou

thou hast led captivity captive, Psal. LXVIII. 18. And having spoold Principalties and Powers, be made a shew of them openly, triumbling over them in it, Col. II. 15.

259. Death last.] According to St. Paul, The last enemy that shall be destroy’d is death, 1 Cor. XV. 26.

269. — as a sacrifice &c.] An allusion to Psal. XL. 6. and the following verses, Sacrifice and offering thou didst not desire, mine ears hast thou opened; burnt-offering and sin-offering hast thou not required: Then said I, Lo I come; in the volume of the book it is written of me: I delight to do thy will, O my God; yea, thy law is within my heart.
My sole complacency! well thou know'st how dear
To me are all my works, nor Man the least,
Though last created; that for him I spare
Thee from my bosom and right hand, to save,
By losing thee awhile, the whole race lost.

Thou therefore, whom thou only canst redeem,
Their nature also to thy nature join;
And be thyself Man among men on earth,
Made flesh, when time shall be, of virgin seed,
By wondrous birth: be thou in Adam's room
The head of all mankind, though Adam's son.

As in him perish all men, so in thee,
As from a second root, shall be restor'd
As many as are restor'd, without thee none.

--- nor Man the least,] The least dear,
Though last created; somewhat like Shakespear's
Lear to Cordelia, Act I.

--- Now our joy,
Although our last, not least.

--- whom thou only canst redeem,
Their nature] That is, the nature of them,
whom thou only canst redeem. A manner of
speaking very usual with our author.

--- As in him perish all men, &c.] For as
in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be
made alive, 1 Cor. XV. 22.

--- Giving to death, and dying to redeem,] The
love of the Father in giving the Son to
death, and the love of the Son in submitting
to it and dying to redeem mankind. Mr. War-
burton thus explains it. "Milton's system of
"divinity taught, says he, not only that Man
"was redeemed, but likewise that a real price
"was paid for his redemption; dying to re-
deem therefore signifying only redemption
"in a vague uncertain sense, but imperfectly
"represents his system; so imperfectly that it
"may as well be called the Socinian; the
"price paid (which implies a proper redecmp-
His crime makes guilty all his sons; thy merit
Imputed shall absolve them who renounce
Their own both righteous and unrighteous deeds,
And live in thee transplanted, and from thee
Receive new life. So Man, as is most just,
Shall satisfy for Man, be judg’d and die,
And dying rise, and rising with him raise
His brethren, ransom’d with his own dear life.
So heav’nly love shall outdo hellish hate,
Giving to death, and dying to redeem,
So dearly to redeem what hellish hate
So easily destroy’d, and still destroys,
In those who, when they may, accept not grace.
Nor shalt thou, by descending to assume,

Man’s

Messiah, where the fall is spoken of as a thing past; perhaps because all things, even future ones, are present to the divine Mind. Thus we read in ver. 151.

Thy creature late so lov’d:
and ver. 181.

— that he may know how frail
His fall’n condition is: —

And yet these two passages, with others of the same kind, Dr. Bentley has suffer’d to stand uncensur’d. 

Pearce.

Vol. I.

317. — a
Man’s nature, lessen or degrade thine own.
Because thou hast, though thron’d in highest bliss
Equal to God, and equally enjoying
God-like fruition, quitted all to save
A world from utter loss, and hast been found
By merit more than birthright Son of God,
Found worthiest to be so by being good,
Far more than great or high; because in thee
Love hath abounded more than glory’ abounds,
Therefore thy humiliation shall exalt
With thee thy manhood also to this throne;
Here shalt thou sit incarnate, here shalt reign
Both God and Man, Son both of God and Man,
Anointed universal king; all power
I give thee; reign for ever, and assume
Thy merits; under thee as head supreme

Thrones,

317. — all power
318. — and assume
321. All knees to thee shall bow, &c.] That

at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in Heaven, and things in Earth, and things under the Earth, Philip. II. 10.
334. The world shall burn, &c.] The Heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat; nevertheless we, according to his promise, look for new Heavens, and a new Earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness,
Thrones, Princedoms, Pow'rs, Dominions I reduce:
All knees to thee shall bow, of them that bide
In Heav'n, or Earth, or under Earth in Hell.
When thou attended gloriously from Heaven
Shalt in the sky appear, and from thee send
The summoning Arch-Angels to proclame
Thy dread tribunal; forthwith from all winds
The living, and forthwith the cited dead
Of all past ages, to the general doom
Shall hasten, such a peal shall rouse their sleep.
Then all thy saints assembled, thou shalt judge
Bad men and Angels; they arraign'd shall sink
Beneath thy sentence; Hell, her numbers full,
Thenceforth shall be for ever shut. Mean while
The world shall burn, and from her ashes spring
New Heav'n and Earth, wherein the just shall dwell,
And

335. New Heav'n and Earth,] Dr. Bentley reads Heav'ns; for (he says) Heav'n is the seat of God, Heav'ns are the visible ones, all not beyond the fixed stars: but I find Milton almost always using the known Jewish phrase of Heaven and Earth to express the whole creation by. See instances in VII. 62, 167, 232, 256, 617. VIII. 15, 70. X. 638, c.47. XI. 66, 901. Pearce. The last verse cited by Dr. Pearce is almost the same as this we are here considering.

New Heav'n and Earth, wherein the just shall dwell.
Both Heav'n and Earth, wherein the just shall dwell.

We may add too, that tho' St. Peter says new Heavens and a new Earth, yet St. John, Rev. XXI. 1, makes use of the phrase of Heaven and
And after all their tribulations long
See golden days, fruitful of golden deeds,
With joy and love triumphing, and fair truth.
Then thou thy regal scepter shalt lay by,
For regal scepter then no more shall need,
God shall be all in all. But all ye Gods,
Adore him, who to compass all this dies;
Adore the Son, and honor him as me.

No sooner had th' Almighty ceas'd, but all
The multitude of Angels, with a shout
Loud as from numbers without number, sweet
As

and Earth. And I saw a new Heaven and a
new Earth, for the first Heaven and the first
Earth were passed away.

337. See golden days, fruitful of golden deeds,]
Hume.

341. God shall be all in all.] According to
1 Cor. XV. 28. And when all things shall be
subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself
be subjected unto him that put all things under him,
that God may be all in all.

341. — But all ye Gods,
Adore him.] From Psal. XCVII. 7. Worship
him, all ye Gods, that is all ye Angels; and so
it is translated by the Seventy, and so it is cited
by St. Paul, Hebr. I. 6. And let all the Angels
of God worship him.

343. Adore the Son, and honor him as me.] That all men should honor the Son, even as they
honor the Father. John V. 23.

344. No sooner had th' Almighty ceas'd, &c.] The close of this divine colloquy, with the
hymn of Angels that follows upon it, are so
wonderfully beautiful and poetical, that I
should not forbear inferring the whole, if the
bounds of my paper would give me leave.

Addison.

If the reader pleases to compare this divine
dialogue with the speeches of the Gods in
Homer and Virgil, he will find the Christian
poet to transcend the Heathen, as much as the
religion of the one surpasses that of the others.
Their deities talk and act like men, but Mil-
ton's divine Persons are divine Persons indeed,
and talk in the language of God, that is in
the language of Scripture. He is so very scrup-
ulous and exact in this particular, that perhaps
As from blest voices, uttering joy, Heav'n rung With jubilee, and loud Hosanna's fill'd Th' eternal Regions: lowly reverent Towards either throne they bow, and to the ground With solemn adoration down they cast 

Their crowns inwove with amaranth and gold; Immortal amaranth, a flow'r which once In Paradise, fast by the tree of life, Began to bloom; but soon for man's offense To Heav'n remov'd, where first it grew, there grows, And flow'rs aloft shading the fount of life,

haps there is not a single expression, which may not be justify'd by the authority of holy Writ. We have taken notice of several, where he seems to have copied the letter of Scripture, and the spirit of Scripture breathes in all the rest.

345. The multitude of Angels, &c.] The Construction is this, All the multitude of Angels uttering joy with a shout loud as &c. Heav'n rung, &c. where the first words are put in the ablative case absolutely. Pearce.

351. — down they cast Their crowns] So they are represented Rev. IV. 10. The four and twenty elders fall down before him that sat on the throne, and worship him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne.

353. Immortal amaranth.] Amaranth Αμαραντος & Greek, for unfading, that decayeth not; a flower of a purple velvet color, which tho' gather'd, keeps its beauty, and when all other flowers fade, recovers its lustre by being sprinkled with a little water, as Pliny affirms, Lib. 21. c. 11. Our author seems to have taken this hint from 1 Pet. I. 4. To an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away, αμαραντος: and 1 Pet. V. 4. Ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away, αμαραντος: both relating to the name of his everlasting amaranth, which he has finely set near the tree of life. Amaranthus flos, σύμβολον εις immortalitatis. Clem. Alexand. Hume.

357. — the fount of life, and river of bliss] The abundant happiness and immortal joys of Heaven are in Scripture generally express'd by the fountain of life and rivers of pleasure: So, They shall make them drink of the river of thy pleasures.
And where the river of bliss through midst of Heaven
Rolls o'er Elysian flow'rs her amber stream;
With these that never fade the Spirits elect
Bind their resplendent locks inwreathe'd with beams,
Now in loose garlands thick thrown off, the bright
Pavement, that like a sea of jasper stone,
Impurpled with celestial roses smil'd.
Then crown'd again, their golden harps they took,
Harps ever tun'd, that glittering by their side
Like quivers hung, and with preamble sweet
Of pleasures, for with thee is the fountain of life,
Psal. XXXVI. 8, 9. For the Lamb which is in
the midst of the throne shall feed them, and shall
lead them unto living fountains of waters, Rev.
VII. 17. and Rev. XXII. 1. He showed me a
pure river of water of life. Hume.

359. Rolls o'er Elysian flow'rs her amber stream;] Dr. Bentley reads Rolls o'er relucent gems &c. because (he says) it is not well conceiv'd that flow'rs grow at the bottom of a river. But (as Dr. Pearce replies) Milton's words don't necessarily imply so much; the river might only sometimes roll over them, to water them. And yet (says Dr. Pearce) I am rather inclin'd to think, that the poet here by over means through or among. So Mr. Jortin understands Rolls o'er for rolls through or by; and observes that Horace uses the verb pra
terire in much the same manner, Od. IV.
VII. 3.

— et decrescentia ripas
Flumina praeterunt,
roll by and within their banks. But if we un-
derstand the passage as it is express'd, there is
no kind of absurdity in it; for we frequently
see grass and weeds and flowers growing under
water; and we may therefore suppose the
finest flowers to grow at the bottom of the
river of bliss, or rather the river to roll over
them sometimes, to water them. The author
seems to intend much the same thing that he
has express'd in IV. 240. where speaking of the
brooks in Paradise he says they
Ran nectar, visiting each plant, and fed
Flow'rs worthy of Paradise.
And as there they are flow'rs worthy of Para-
dise, so here they are worthy of Elysium, the
region of the Blessed: and he makes use of
the same expression in his poem call'd L’Al-
legro,
Of charming symphony they introduce
Their sacred song, and waken raptures high;
No voice exempt, no voice but well could join
Melodious part, such concord is in Heaven.

Thee, Father, first they sung Omnipotent,
Immutable, Immortal, Infinite,
Eternal King; thee Author of all being,
Fountain of light, thyself invisible

Amidst the glorious brightness where thou sittst
Thron'd inaccessible, but when thou shad'st

The

From golden flumber on a bed
Of heap'd Elysian flow'rs.

And then as to his calling it amber stream, it is
only on account of its clearness and transparency, and not at all on account of its color,
that he compares it to amber. The clearness of amber was proverbial among the Ancients;
Callimachus in his hymn to Ceres, ver. 29. has Ἀλάσκετος ὅταν; and in like manner Virgil
says of a river, Geor. III. 522.

Purior electro campum petit amnis.

360. With these that never fade] Dr. Bentley
reads with these that never fades, that is amaran. But these is right, and refers to crowns spoken
of in ver. 352. all the intermediate verses being in a parenthesis. Milton alludes here to
1 Pet. V. 4. Ye shall receive a crown of glory
that faileth not away. Pearce. Or perhaps
these may more probably refer to Elysian flow'rs
mention'd in the verse preceding. It is more
natural and easy, and agrees better with what
follows, with their being throwen off in loose
garlands, which it is better to understand of
flow'rs than of crowns, which are themselves
garlands: but then there must be no paren-
thesis, as there is none in Milton's own ed-
tions.

363. — like a sea of jasper stone,] Jasper is
a precious stone of several colors, but the
green is most esteem'd, and bears some simili-
tude and resemblance to the sea.

372. Thee, Father, first they sung &c.] This
hymn seems to be composed somewhat in the
spirit and manner of the hymn to Hercules in
the 8th book of the Æneid; but is as much
superior as the subject of the one transcends that
of the other.

377. Thron'd inaccessible, but when thou shad'st] The word but here is the same as except, un-
less; inaccessible but when thou shad'st, that is then
The full blaze of thy beams, and through a cloud
Drawn round about thee like a radiant shrine,
Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appear,
Yet dazle Heav’n, that brightest Seraphim
Approach not, but with both wings veil their eyes.
Thee next they sang of all creation first,
Begotten Son, Divine Similitude,
In whose conspicuous count’nance, without cloud
Made visible, th’ almighty Father shines,
Whom else no creature can behold; on thee
Impress’d th’ effulgence of his glory abides,
Transfus’d on thee his ample Spirit rests.
He Heav’n of Heav’ns and all the Pow’rs therein
By thee created, and by thee threw down

Th’ aspiring

then only accessible, when thou had’st &c.
Perhaps Milton had in view what Ovid says of
Phœbus when his son Phaeton came to him,
Met. II. 39.
— circum caput omne micantes
Deposuit radios, propiusque accedere jussit.

Richardson.

380. Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appear,] Milton has the same thought
of darkness occasion’d by glory, V. 599.
Brightness had made invisible. This also ex-
plains his meaning here; the excess of bright-
ness had the effect of darkness, invisibility.
What an idea of glory! the skirts only not
to be look’d on by the beings nearest to God,
but when doubly or trebly shaded by a cloud
and both wings. What then is the full blaze!

Richardson.

382. Approach not,] So Ovid Met. II. 22.
Confusitque procul, neque enim proprias
ferebat
Lumina,
but with both wings veil their eyes. So they are
reprefented in Isaiah’s vifion of the throne of
God: Above it stood the Seraphims, each one
Th’ aspiring Dominations: thou that day
Thy Father’s dreadful thunder didst not spare,
Nor stop thy flaming chariot wheels, that shook
Heav’n’s everlasting frame, while o’er the necks
Thou drov’st of warring Angels disarray’d.
Back from pursuit thy Pow’rs with loud acclamation
Thee only extoll’d, Son of thy Father’s might,
To execute fierce vengeance on his foes,
Not so on Man: Him through their malice fall’n, 400
Father of mercy and grace, thou didst not doom
So strictly, but much more to pity incline:
No sooner did thy dear and only Son
Perceive thee purpos’d not to doom frail Man
So strictly, but much more to pity inclin’d,

He had six wings; with twain he cover’d his face,
&c. Isa. VI. 2.

393. — of all creation first.] So in Col. I. 15. the first-born of every creature or of all creation, ως πρωτος τιμωρευς; and Rev. III. 14. the beginning of the creation of God.

394. Whom else no creature can behold.] No creature can otherwise behold the Father but in and through the Son. No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him, John I. 18. But He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father, John XIV. 9.

398. Thee only extoll’d,] We must not understand it thus, Thy Powers returning from pursuit extoll’d, &c. but Thy Powers extoll’d thee returning from pursuit, and thee only; for he was the sole victor, all the rest stood silent eye-witnesses of his almighty acts, VI. 880. &c. So perfectly doth this hymn of the good Angels agree with the account given by Raphael in Book VI. and whenever mention is made of the good Angels joining in the pursuit, it is by the evil Angels, the reason of which see before in the note upon I. 169.
He to appease thy wrath, and end the strife
Of mercy’ and justice in thy face discern’d,
Regardless of the bliss wherein he sat
Second to thee, offer’d himself to die

For Man’s offense. O unexampled love,
Love no where to be found less than Divine!
Hail Son of God, Saviour of Men, thy name
Shall be the copious matter of my song

Henceforth, and never shall my harp thy praise
Forget, nor from thy Father’s praise disjoin.

Thus they in Heav’n, above the starry sphere,
Their happy hours in joy and hymning spent.

Mean while upon the firm opacious globe


406. He to appease thy wrath.] As an ingenuous person observes, than or but must be understood before He to complete the sense. Such omissions are frequent in poetry, and this may have a beauty here, as it expresses the readiness of the Son to interpose on Man’s behalf immediately upon perceiving the Father’s gracious purpose.

412. Hail Son of God.] So in the conclusion of the hymn to Hercules mention’d before. \(\text{En. VIII. 301.}\)

Salve vera Jovis proles, decus addite Divis.

413. — the copious matter of my song ] Dr. Bentley reads here our song; but why may not Milton take the liberty us’d in the ancient chorus, where sometimes the plural, and sometimes the singular number is used? Or it may be said that Milton speaks in his own person, or rather narrates than gives us the words as the words of the Angels. If we read it over, we shall see this plainly; \(\text{Thee first they sung, ver. 372. and again, Thee next they sang, ver. 383;}\) and this accounts for what Dr. Bentley objects to ver. 381. that Seraphim are mention’d. \(\text{Pearce.}\) It is to be noted that the ending of this hymn is in imitation of the hymns of Homer and Callimachus, who always promise to return in future hymns.

Richardson.

418. Mean
Of this round world, whose first convex divides
The luminous inferior orbs inclos'd
From Chaos and th' inroad of Darkness old,
Satan alighted walks: a globe far off
It seem'd, now seems a boundless continent
Dark, waste, and wild, under the frown of Night
Starless expos'd, and ever-threatening storms
Of Chaos blust'ring round, inclement sky;
Save on that side which from the wall of Heaven,
Though distant far, some small reflection gains
Of glimmering air less vex'd with tempest loud:
Here walk'd the Fiend at large in spacious field.

As when a vultur on Imaus bred,
Whose

418. *Mean while upon the firm &c.*] Satan's walk upon the outside of the universe, which at a distance appeared to him of a globular form, but upon his nearer approach looked like an unbounded plain, is natural and noble: as his roaming upon the frontiers of the creation between that mass of matter, which was wrought into a world, and that shapeless unformed heap of materials, which still lay in Chaos and confusion, strikes the imagination with something astonishingly great and wild.

*Addison.*

431. *As when a vultur &c.*] This simile is very apposite and lively, and corresponds exactly in all the particulars. Satan coming from Hell to Earth in order to destroy mankind, but lighting first on the bare convex of this world's outermost orb, a sea of land as the poet calls it, is very fitly compared to a vultur flying, in quest of his prey, tender lambs or kids new-lean'd, from the barren rocks to the more fruitful hills and streams of India, but lighting in his way on the plains of Sericana, which were in a manner a sea of land too, the country being so smooth and open that carriages were driven (as travelers report) with sails and wind. *Imaus* is a celebrated mountain in Asia; its name signifies *snowy* in the language of the inhabitants according to Pliny, Lib. 6. cap. 21. *inctularum lingua nivofum significante*.
Whose snowy ridge the roving Tartar bounds,  
Dislodging from a region scarce of prey  
To gorge the flesh of lambs or yearling kids  
On hills where flocks are fed, flies toward the springs  
Of Ganges or Hydaspes, Indian streams;  
But in his way lights on the barren plains  

significant; and therefore it is said here whose snowy ridge. It is the boundary to the east of the Western Tartars, who are called roving, as they live chiefly in tents, and remove from place to place for the convenience of pasturage, their herds of cattel and what they take in hunting being their principal subsistence. Ganges and Hydaspes are famous rivers of India; and Serica is a region betwixt China to the east and the mountain Imaus to the west: and what our author here says of the Chineses, he seems to have taken from Heylin's Cosmography, p. 867. where it is said, "Agreeable unto the observation of modern writers, the country is so plain and level, that they have carts and coaches driven with sails, as ordinarily as drawn with horses, in these parts." Our author supposes these carriages to be made of cane, to render the thing somewhat more probable. It may be thought the less incredible, as there was a man lately at Bath who attempted something of the same nature, and could really drive his machine without horses by the help of wind and sail upon Marlborough Downs, but it would not serve upon the road; it did well enough upon the plain, but he could not make it go up hill.

442. — in this place] I have before spoken of the Limbo of Vanity, which the poet places upon the outermost surface of the universe, and shall here explain myself more at large on that, and other parts of the poem, which are of the same shadowy nature. Aristotle observes, that the fable of an epic poem should abound in circumstances that are both credible and astounding; or as the French critics choose to phrase it, the fable should be filled with the probable and the marvelous. This rule is as fine and just as any in Aristotle's whole art of poetry. If the fable is only probable, it differs nothing from a true history; if it is only marvelous, it is no better than a romance. The great secret therefore of heroic poetry is to relate such circumstances, as may produce in the reader at the same time both belief and astonishment. This is brought to pass in a well-chosen fable, by the account of such things as have really happen'd, or at least of such things as have happen'd according to the received opinions of mankind. Milton's fable is a master-piece of this nature; as the war in Heaven, the condition of the fallen Angels, the state of innocence, the temptation of the Serpent and the fall of Man, though they are very astounding in themselves, are not only credible, but actual points of faith. The next method of reconciling miracles with credibility, is by a happy invention of the poet; as in particular, when he introduces agents of a superior nature, who are capable of effecting what is wonderful, and what is not to be met with in the ordinary course of things. Ulysses's ship being turned into a rock, and Aeneas's fleet into a shoal of Water-nymphs, though they are very surprizing accidents, are nevertheless
Of Sericana, where Chineses drive
With sails and wind their cany waggons light:
So on this windy sea of land, the Fiend
Walk’d up and down alone, bent on his prey;
Alone, for other creature in this place
Living or lifeless to be found was none;

nevertheles probable, when we are told that
they were the Gods who thus transformed
them. It is this kind of machinery which fills
the poems both of Homer and Virgil with
such circumstances as are wonderful, but not
impossible, and so frequently produce in the
reader the most pleasing passion that can rise
in the mind of man, which is admiration. If
there be any instance in the Æneid liable to
exception upon this account, it is in the be-
ginning of the third book, where Æneas is
represented as tearing up the myrtle that drob-
bed blood. To qualify this wonderful cir-
cumstance, Polydorus tells a story from the
root of the myrtle, that the barbarous inhabi-
tants of the country having pierced him with
spears and arrows, the wood which was left
in his body took root in his wounds, and gave
birth to that bleeding tree. This circumstance
seems to have the marvelous without the pro-
bable, because it is represented as proceeding
from natural causes, without the interposition
of any God, or other supernatural power cap-
able of producing it. The spears and arrows
grow of themselves, without so much as the
modern help of an enchantment. If we look
into the fiction of Milton’s fable, though we
find it full of surprizing incidents, they are ge-
cerally suited to our notions of the things and
persons describ’d, and tempered with a due
measure of probability. I must only make an
exception to the Limbo of Vanity, with his
episode of Sin and Death, and some of the
imaginary persons in his Chaos. These paff-
gages are astonishing, but not credible; the
reader cannot so far impose upon himself, as
to see a possibility in them; they are the de-
scription of dreams and shadows, not of things
or persons. I know that many critics look
upon the stories of Circe, Polyphemus, the Si-
rens, nay the whole Odyssey and Iliad, to be
allegories; but allowing this to be true, they
are fables, which considering the opinions of
mankind that prevailed in the age of the poet,
might possibly have been according to the let-
ter. The persons are such as might have acted
what is ascrib’d to them, as the circumstances
in which they are represented, might possibly
have been truths and realities. This appear-
ance of probability is so absolutely requisite in
the greater kinds of poetry, that Aristotle ob-
serves the ancient tragic writers made use of
the names of such great men as had actually
lived in the world, tho’ the tragedy proceeded
upon adventures they were never engaged in,
on purpose to make the subject more credible.
In a word, besides the hidden meaning of an
epic allegory, the plain literal sense ought to
appear probable. The story should be such
as an ordinary reader may acquiesce in, what-
ever natural, moral, or political truth may be
discovered in it by men of greater penetration.

Addison.

443. — lifeless] Milton writes it liveless; but I conceive the word to be compounded of
life and the substantive life, and not of the verb
None yet, but store hereafter from the earth
Up hither like aereal vapors flew
Of all things transitory and vain, when sin
With vanity had fill’d the works of men;
Both all things vain, and all who in vain things
Built their fond hopes of glory or lasting fame,
Or happiness in this or th’other life;
All who have their reward on earth, the fruits
Of painful superstition and blind zeal,
Nought seeking but the praise of men, here find

verb live; lifeless without life, as fearless without fear, lifeless without lift or desire, peerless, ruthless, shapeless, &c.

444. None yet, &c.] Dr. Bentley is for rejecting this verfe and fifty four more which follow as an insertion of the editor; but I think there can be no doubt of their genuineness, whatever there may be of their goodness. Mr. Richardson thinks the Paradise of fools is finely imagin’d, but it must be own’d that it is formed more upon the taste of the Italian poets than of the Ancients.

447. and in vain.] To wander in vain as commonly understood would be a weak expression, but it has the force of the Greek ως τω, the Latin frustra, temere, fortuito, nullo confilio, at random. Richardson.

459. Not in the neighbor’ing moon, as some have dream’d;] Ariosto particularly, who in his Orlando Furioso, Cant. 34. St. 70,

&c. gives a much larger description of things lost upon earth and treasur’d up in the moon, than our poet here makes of the Limbo of Vanity. The reader may have a taste of it in the following stanza’s of Harrington’s translation,

A store-house strange, that what on earth is lost
By fault, by time, by fortune, there is found;
And like a merchandize is there ingroft,
In stranger sort than I can well expound:
Nor speak I fole of wealth, or things of cost,
In which blind fortune’s pow’r doth most abound,
But c’en of things quite out of fortune’s pow’r,
Which wilfully we waste each day and hour.

The precious time that fools mispend in play,
The vain attempts that never take effect,
The vows that finners make and never pay,
The counsels wise that careless men neglect,
The fond desires that lead us oft afhay,
The prais’d that with pride the heart infect,

And
Fit retribution, empty as their deeds;
All th’ unaccomplish’d works of Nature’s hand,
Abortive, monstrous, or unkindly mix’d,
Dissolv’d on earth, fleet hither, and in vain,
Till final dissolution, wander here,
Not in the neighbor’ ring moon, as some have dream’d;
Those argent fields more likely habitants,
Translating Saints, or middle Spirits hold
Betwixt th’ angelical and human kind.
Hither of ill-join’d sons and daughters born

And all we lose with folly and mispending,
May there be found unto this place ascending.
And so he proceeds in enumerating other particulars, the vanity of titles, false flatteries, fond loves, great men’s promises, court-services, death-bed alms, &c. and men’s wits kept in jars like oil. Our late great English poet has likewise made fine use of this notion in his Rape of the Lock, Cant. 5, as indeed it seems to be fitter for a mock-heroic poem than for the true epic.

Some thought it mounted to the lunar sphere,
Since all things lost on earth are treasure’d there.
There hero’s wits are kept in pond’rous vases,
And beau’s in snuff-boxes and tweezer-cafes.
There broken vows, and death-bed alms are found,
And lover’s hearts with ends of ribband bound,
The courtier’s promises, and sick man’s pray’rs,
The smiles of harlots, and the tears of heirs,
Cages for gnats, and chains to yoke a flea,
Dry’d butterflies, and tomes of caufuiftry.

460. Those argent fields &c.] There is no question I believe now among philosophers, that the moon is inhabited; but it is greatly to be question’d whether this notion of our author be true, that the inhabitants there are translated Saints or Spirits of a middle nature between Angels and Men; for as the moon is certainly less considerable in itself than our earth, it is not likely that its inhabitants should be so much more considerable.

463. Hither of ill-join’d sons and daughters born &c.] He means the sons of God ill join’d with the daughters of men, alluding to that text of Scripture, Gen. VI. 4. There were giants in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of God came in unto the daughters of men, and they bore children to them; the same became mighty men, which were of old, men
First from the ancient world those giants came  
With many a vain exploit, though then renown'd: 465  
The builders next of Babel on the plain  
Of Sennaar, and still with vain design  
New Babels, had they wherewithal, would build:  
Others came single; he who to be deem'd  
A God, leap'd fondly into Ætna flames,  
Empedocles; and he who to enjoy

Plato's

Deus immortalis haber
Dum cupit Empedocles, ardentem frigidus
Ætnam
Infiluit.  

473. Cleombrotus;] The name is rightly placed the last word in the sentence, as Empedocles was before. He was called Ambraciota of Ambracia, a city of Epirus in Greece. Having read over Plato's book of the Soul's immortality and happiness in another life, he was so ravish'd with the account of it, that he leap'd from a high wall into the sea, that he might immediately enjoy it. His death is celebrated by Callimachus in one of his epigrams, Ep. 29. which we will subjoin with Frischlinus his translation.

Εἰπάς ἡλικάρης, Κλεόμερσιν οὐκ ἐρρηχώμεν,  
Δυστὸν ὑπʼ ἤλιον τὴν ἔρημον οὐκ ἐρρηχώμεν.  
Ἄρτιος ὑπερμένθε τὸν Κλεομήκην τοῦ Πλάτωνος  
Ἐν τῷ περὶ ἡμᾶς γραμμὸν ἀναλύομεν.  

Phebe vale dicens, de rupe Clembroutus alta  
Ambraciota, Stygis vivus adivit aquas.  
Funere nil dignum paflus: solūmque Platonis  
De vita mentis perpete legit opus.  

And
Plato's Elysium, leap'd into the sea, 
Cleombrotus; and many more too long, 
Embryo's and idiots, eremits and friers 
White, black, and gray, with all their trumpery. 

And from hence other authors seem to have taken his story, as Cicero TusC. Difp. I. 34. Callimachi quidem epigramma in Ambraciotam Cleombrotum el: quem ait, cum ei nihil accidisset adversus, e muro se in mare abjecisset lecto Platonis libro: and Ovid Ibis. ver. 493.

Vel de praecipiti venias in Tartara faxo, 
Ut qui Socraticum de nece legit opus.

473. — and many more too long,] Poorly and deficiently express'd for, and more too long to name. Bentley. It seems as if a line were by mistake of the printer left out here; for (as Dr. Bentley says) it is deficiently express'd. Besides Milton had been mentioning those who came single; and therefore he could not fall upon the mention of embryo's, idiots, eremits, and friers without some other verse interpos'd, which should finish the account of those who came single, and contain a verb for the nominative cales embryo's, idiots, &c. which at present is wanting. 

Pearce. A very ingenious person questions, whether Milton by this appearance of inaccuracy and negligence did not design to express his contempt of their trumpery as he calls it, by huffling it all together in this disorder and confusion.

475. White, black, and gray,] So named according to their habits, white friers or Carmelites, black friers or Dominicans, gray friers or Franciscans, of their founders St. Francis, St. Dominic, and mount Carmel where that order pretend they were first instituted. Our author here, as elsewhere, shows his dislike and abhorrence of the church of Rome, by placing the religious orders with all their trumpery, cowls, hoods, reliques, beads, &c. in the Paradise of Fools, and not only placing them there, but making them the principal figures.

476. Here pilgrims &c.] Those who had gone upon pilgrimages to the Holy Land, to visit our Lord's sepulchre: but to such persons that may be said, which was to the women after his resurrection, Luke XXIV. 5, 6. Why seek ye the living among the dead? He is not here; but is risen; to which text our author seems to allude in this passage.
Or in Franciscan think to pass disguis'd;  
They pass the planets sev'n, and pass the fix'd,  
And that crystallin sphere whose balance weighs  
The trepidation talk'd, and that first mov'd;  
And now Saint Peter at Heav'n's wicket seems  
To wait them with his keys, and now at foot  
Of Heav'n's ascent they lift their feet, when lo  
A violent cross wind from either coast  
Blows them transverse ten thousand leagues awry  
Into the devious air; then might ye see  
Cowls, hoods, and habits with their wearers toft  
And flutter'd into rags, then reliques, beads,

482. And that crystallin sphere &c. ] He speaks here according to the ancient astrology, adopted and improv'd by Ptolomy. They pass the planets sev'n, our planetary or solar system, and beyond this pass the fix'd, the firmament or sphere of the fix'd stars, and beyond this that crystallin sphere, the crystallin Heaven, clear as crystal, to which the Ptolemaics attributed a sort of liberation or shaking (the trepidation so much talk'd of) to account for certain irregularities in the motion of the stars, and beyond this that first mov'd, the primum mobile, the sphere which was both the first mov'd and the first mover, communicating its motions to all the lower spheres; and beyond this was the empyrean Heaven, the feat of God and the Angels. And when the poet mentions Heav'n's wicket, he does it the better to ridicule the notions of those whom he places here in the Paradize of Fools. This passage may receive some farther light and illustration from another of the same nature in Tasso, where he describes the descent of the Arch-Angel Michael from Heaven, and mentions this crystallin and all the other spheres but only inverting the order, as there the motion is downwards, and here it is upwards, Cant. 9. St. 60, 61.

Paffa il foco, e la luce &c.

He pass'd the light, and shining fire assign'd
The glorious feat of his felested crew,
Indulgences, dispenses, pardons, bulls,
The sport of winds: all these upwhirl’d aloft
Fly o’er the backside of the world far off
Into a Limbo large and broad, since call’d
The Paradise of Fools, to few unknown
Long after, now unpeopled, and untrod.
All this dark globe the Fiend found as he pass’d,
And long he wander’d, till at last a gleam
Of dawning light turn’d thither-ward in haste
His travel’d steps: far distant he descries
Ascending by degrees magnificent
Up to the wall of Heav’n a structure high;

The mover first, and circle crystalline,
The firmament where fixed stars all shine.

Unlike in working then in shape and show,
At his left hand, Saturn he left and Jove,
And those untruly errant call’d I trow,
Since he errs not who them doth guide and move.

489. — *Then might ye see*] This is one of
the passages which furnishes Dr. Bentley here
with objections against fifty-five verses of Mil-	on. To the words *might ye see* he says, how
could any one of his readers *see* them, unless
he is himself suppos’d a fool? But was not
Satan there? and he is no fool in this poem: it is one thing to be there as an inhabitant, and
another as a spectator. Milton means if any
body was present there so as to be able to see
what pass’d, he would see cowls, hoods, &c. It
is very common among poets to talk thus to
their readers; *Then might you see* is no more
than *Then might be seen*. See Virgil, Æn.
VIII. 676. Pearce.

493. *The sport of winds:*] Ludibria ventis,
Virg. Æn. VI. 75.

495. *Into a Limbo large and broad,*] The
Limbus patrum as it is call’d, is a place that the
Schoolmen suppos’d to be in the neighbour-
hood of Hell, where the souls of the pa-
triarchs were detain’d, and those good men who
died before our Saviour’s resurrection. Our
author gives the same name to his Paradise of
D d 2

Fools,
At top whereof, but far more rich appear'd
The work as of a kingly palace gate,
With frontispiece of diamond and gold
Embellish'd; thick with sparkling orient gems
The portal shone, inimitable on earth
By model, or by shading pencil drawn.
The stairs were such as whereon Jacob saw
Angels ascending and descending, bands
Of guardians bright, when he from Esau fled
To Padan-Aram, in the field of Luz
Dreaming by night under the open sky,

Fools, and more rationally places it beyond
the backside of the world.

506. With frontispiece of diamond and gold
Imitated from Ovid, Met. II. 1.
Regia folis erat sublimibus alta columnis,
Clara micante auro, flammasque imitante py-
ropo.
The sun's bright palace, on high columns rais'd,
With burnish'd gold and flaming jewels blaz'd.

507.—with sparkling orient gems] Dr. Bent-
ley would read ardent gems, because orient is
proper to say upon earth only: but sparkling
and ardent are too near akin to be both used
together, and since (as the Doctor allows) the
best gems come from the East Indies, it may
be allow'd to Milton to mean by orient gems
no more than the best and most precious ones.

Milton very frequently uses the word orient in
such a sense as this, and Dr. Bentley generally
corrects it, tho' he has made no objection to
the expression in I. 546.

With orient colors waving.

Poets, who write of things out of this world,
must use epithets and metaphors drawn from
things in this world, if they would make them-

510. The stairs, the degrees mention'd
before, ver. 502. were such as whereon Ja-
ocb saw &c. ] A comparison fetch'd from
Gen. XXVIII. 12, 13. And he dreamed, and
behold a ladder set upon the earth, and the top of
it reached to Heaven, and behold the Angels of
God ascending and descending on it; and behold,
the Lord stood above it. &c. But this line
And waking cry'd, This is the gate of Heaven.
Each stair mysteriously was meant, nor stood
There always, but drawn up to Heav'n sometimes
Viewless; and underneath a bright sea flow'd
Of jasper, or of liquid pearl, whereon
Who after came from earth, failing arriv'd
Wafted by Angels, or flew o'er the lake
Rapt in a chariot drawn by fiery steeds.
The stairs were then let down, whether to dare
The Fiend by easy' ascent, or aggravate
His sad exclusion from the doors of bliss:

To Padan-Aram in the field of Luz,
Must not be understood as if Padan-Aram was
in the field of Luz; but he was flying to Padan-
Aram or the country of Aram, that is Syria;
and by the way refted and dreamed this dream
in the field of Luz, for so the adjoining city
was called at the firft: Jacob upon this occa-
sion gave it the name of Bethel, by which it
was better known afterwards. The paffage
was wrong pointed in all the editions, for there
should be no comma after Luz: the comma
should be after Padan-Aram, in the field of Luz
being to be join'd on to dreaming in the next
verfe.

521. Wafted by Angels, &c.] As Lazarus was
carried by Angels, Luke XVI. 22; and Elijah
was rapt up in a chariot of fire and horses of
fire, 2 Kings II. 11.

525. — doors] Milton writes this word dore
and dores except only in one instance in I. 504.
of the second edition, which he alter'd from
the first edition: but the other approaches
nearer in sound to the original word, if it be
deriv'd from the Saxon duru, the German dure,
dura, turia; and all as Janius says from the
Greek ἱπάτα, janua. And yet I think we com-
monly pronounce it dore tho' we constantly
write it door. But in all such cases we want
an advantage, that the French have enjoy'd,
of an Academy to fix and settle our language.
Some proposals were made for erecting such
an Academy to the Lord Treasurer Oxford at
the latter end of the reign of Queen Anne; and
Direct against which open’d from beneath,  
Just o’er the blissful seat of Paradise,  
A passage down to th’ Earth, a passage wide,  
Wider by far than that of after-times  
Over mount Sion, and, though that were large,  
Over the Promis’d Land to God so dear,  
By which, to visit oft those happy tribes,  
On high behelds his Angels to and fro  
Pass’d frequent, and his eye with choice regard  
From Paneas the fount of Jordan’s flood  
To Beer’saba, where the Holy Land  
Borders on Egypt and th’ Arabian shore;  
So wide the opening seem’d, where bounds were set  
To darkness, such as bound the ocean wave.  
Satan from hence, now on the lower stair  
That

and it is a pity they were never carried into execution.

534. — and his eye with choice regard]  
Dr. Pearce thinks that after regard a verse  
seems to be wanting to describe what his eye  
did with choice regard; but it may be under-  
stood thus, his eye pass’d frequent, as well as  
his Angels to and fro on high behelds or com-  
mands, and survey’d from Paneas, a city at the  
foot of a mountain of the same name, part of  
mount Libanus where the river Jordan has its  
source, to Beer’saba or Beer’sheba, that is the  
whole extent of the Promis’d Land from Pa-  
neas in the north to Beer’saba in the south,  
where the Holy Land is bounded by Egypt  
and Arabia. The limits of the Holy Land  
are thus express’d in Scripture, from Dan even  
unto Beer’sheba, Dan at the northern and Beer-  
sheba at the southern extremity; and the city  
that was called Dan was afterwards named Pa-  
neas. So wide the opening seem’d, that is so  
wide as I have represented it, wider than the  
passage over mount Sion and the Promis’d  
Land; So wide the opening seem’d, where the
That scal’d by steps of gold to Heaven gate,
Looks down with wonder at the sudden view
Of all this world at once. As when a scout
Through dark and desert ways with peril gone
All night, at last by break of chearful dawn
Obtains the brow of some high-climbing hill,
Which to his eye discovers unaware
The goodly prospect of some foreign land
First seen, or some renown’d metropolis
With glif’ring spires and pinnacles adorn’d,
Which now the rising sun gilds with his beams:
Such wonder feis’d, though after Heaven seen,
The Spirit malign, but much more envy feis’d,
At sight of all this world beheld so fair.
Round he surveys (and well might, where he stood
fame divine power fixed the limits of darkness,
that said to the proud ocean Hitberto shalt thou
come and no farther.
540. Satan from hence, &c.] Satan, after
having long wander’d upon the surface, or
outmost wall of the universe, discovers at last
a wide gap in it, which led into the creation,
and is described as the opening through which
the Angels pass to and fro into the lower
world upon their errands to mankind. His
fitting upon the brink of this passage, and
taking a survey of the whole face of nature
that appeared to him new and fresh in all its
beauties, with the simile illustrating this cir-
cumstance, fills the mind of the reader with as
surprising and glorious an idea as any that arises
in the whole poem. He looks down into that
vaft hollow of the universe, with the eye, or
(as Milton calls it) with the ken of an Angel.
He surveys all the wonders in this immense
amphitheatre that lie between both the poles of
Heaven, and takes in at one view the whole
round of the creation. Addison.
555. Round he surveys &c.] Satan is here re-
presented
So high above the circling canopy
Of night’s extended shade,) from eastern point
Of Libra to the fleecy star that bears
Andromeda far off Atlantic seas
Beyond th’horizon; then from pole to pole
He views in breadth, and without longer pause
Down right into the worlds first region throws
His flight precipitant, and winds with ease

Through

prefented as taking a view of the whole creation from east to west, and then from north to south; but poetry delights to say the most common things in an uncommon manner. Round be surveys, as well he might in his present situation, so high above the circling canopy of night’s extended shade. Dr. Bentley objects to the expression of circling canopy, when the shade of night must needs be a cone: but as Dr. Pearce replies, to Satan who look’d down upon it from such an highth, it appear’d not a cone as it really was, but a circle. In this situation then be surveys from eastern point of Libra, one of the twelve signs exactly oppofit to Aries, to the fleecy star, Aries or the Ram, that is from east to west, for when Libra rifes in the east, Aries sets full west; and Aries is said to bear Andromeda, because that constellation represented as a woman is placed just over Aries, and therefore when Aries sets he seems to bear Andromeda far off Atlantic seas, the great western ocean, beyond th’horizon; then from pole to pole he views in breadth, that is from north to south, and that is said to be in breadth, because the Ancients knowing more of the earth from east to west than from north to south, and so having a much greater journey one way than the other, one was called length or longitude, the other breadth or latitude. It is fine, as it is natural, to represent Satan as taking a view of the world before he threw himself into it.

562. Downright into the world’s &c.] Satan after having survey’d the whole creation, immediately without longer pause throws himself into it, and is describ’d as making two different motions. At first he drops down perpendicularly some way into it, downright into the world’s first region throws his flight precipitant, and afterwards winds his oblique way, turns and winds this way and that, if he might any where efpay the seat of Man; for tho’ in ver. 527 it is said that the passage was just over Paradise, yet it is evident that Satan did not know it, and therefore as it was natural for him to do, winds about in search of it through the pure marble air. The first epithet pure determines the fene of the second, and shows why the air
Through the pure marble air his oblique way
Amongst innumerable stars, that shine
Stars distant, but nigh hand seem’d other worlds;
Or other worlds they seem’d, or happy iles,
Like those Hesperian gardens fam’d of old,
Fortunate fields, and groves, and flow’ry vales,
Thrice happy iles, but who dwelt happy there
He stay’d not to inquire: above them all

And a famous poet of our own (Waller) has
said in his verses upon his mistress’s passing
through a crowd of people:

The yielding marble of a snowy breast.

And what is nearer to our purpose, Othello in
Shakespeare is represented as swearing Act III.

Now by yond marble Heaven.

It is common with the Ancients, and those
who write in the spirit and manner of the Ancients, in their metaphors and simile’s, if they
agree in the main circumstance, to have no regard to lesser particulars.

565. — that shining
Stars distant,] They appeared by their shining
to be stars. ’Tis a Greek expression, as Plato
in an epigram on his friend Stella preserved by
Diogenes Laertius. You shone whilst living a
morning star, but dead you now shine Hesperus
among the shades. Richardson.

568. Like those Hesperian gardens] So call’d

The
The golden sun in splendor likest Heaven
Allur’d his eye: thither his course he bends
Through the calm firmament, (but up or down,
By center, or eccentric, hard to tell,
Or longitude,) where the great luminary
Aloof the vulgar constellations thick,
That from his lordly eye keep distance due,
Dispenses light from far; they as they move
Their starry dance in numbers that compute
Days months and years, towards his all-cheering lamp

Turn

of Hesperus, Vesper, because placed in the west under the evening star. These famous gardens were the iles about Cape Verd in Africa, whose most western point is still call’d Hesperium cornu. Others will have 'em the Canaries. Hume.

573. — thither his course he bends &c.] His flight between the several worlds that shined on every side of him, with the particular description of the sun, are set forth in all the wantonness of a luxuriant imagination. His shape, speech, and behaviour upon his transforming himself into an Angel of light, are touch’d with exquisite beauty. The poet’s thought of directing Satan to the sun, which in the vulgar opinion of mankind is the most conspicuous part of the creation, and the placing in it an Angel, is a circumstance finely contrived, and the more adjusted to a poetical probability, as it was a received doctrine among the most famous philosophers, that every orb had its Intelligence, and as an Apostle in sacred Writ is said to have seen such an Angel in the sun. Addison.

574. — (but up or down,
By center, or eccentric, hard to tell,
Or longitude,) These words (as Dr. Pearce observes) should be included in a parenthesis, and then the construction of the rest will be plain and easy. Satan had now pass’d the fix’d stars, and was directing his course towards the sun; but it is hard to tell (says the poet) whether his course was up or down, that is north or south, for so up and down signifies in IX. 78 and X. 675, the north being uppermost in our globes,
Turn swift their various motions, or are turn'd
By his magnetic beam, that gently warms
The universe, and to each inward part
With gentle penetration, though unseen,
Shoots invisible virtue ev'n to the deep;
So wondrously was set his station bright.
There lands the Fiend, a spot like which perhaps
Astronomer in the sun's lucent orb
Through his glaz'd optic tube yet never saw.
The place he found beyond expression bright,

Compar'd

— hic vertex nobis semper sublimis:

or whether it was by center, or eccentric, towards
the center, or from the center, it not being de-
termin’d whether the sun is the center of the
world or not; or whether it was by longitude,
that is in length, east or west, as appears from
IV. 539. and VII. 373.

580. — in numbers] That is in measures.
Richardson.

586. Shoots invisible virtue ev'n to the deep;]
Dr. Bentley says invisible makes mere tautology
with though unseen; but I think not; the
words though unseen relate to penetration, and
invisible is the epithet to virtue, which is a
distinct thing from the penetration before men-
tion’d, and which might have been visible,
though the other was not so. But the Doctor
says that invisible spoils the measure of the
verse. Milton seems to have thought this no
blemish to his poem, for he frequently in the
beginning of a verse chooses this artificial
negligence of measure: So in II. 302, 380.
III. 358. XI. 79, 377. There is no need there-
fore of reading with Dr. Bentley Shoots vital
virtue, &c. Pearce. The number of
syllables in this verse seems not ill contriv’d to
express the depth to which the sun’s beams pe-
netrated.

590. Through his glaz’d optic tube] The spots
in the sun are visible with a telescope: but
astronomer perhaps never yet saw through his
glaz’d optic tube, that is his telescope, such a
spot as Satan now he was in the sun’s orb. The
poet mentions this glas the oftner in honor
of Galileo, whom he means here by the
astronomer.

E e 2

592. — metal
Compar'd with ought on earth, metal or stone;
Not all parts like, but all alike inform'd
With radiant light, as glowing iron with fire;
If metal, part seem'd gold, part silver clear;
If stone, carbuncle most or chrysolite,
Ruby or topaz, to the twelve that stone
In Aaron's breast-plate, and a stone besides
Imagin'd rather oft than elsewhere seen,

That

592. — metal or stone;] In the first editions it is metal or stone, and Mr. Richardson justifies it, as the repetition of the same word immediately after is avoided: but for that very reason it appears that this is an error of the press, and that it ought to be read metal or stone, as both metal and stone are repeated afterwards; ver. 595. If metal, so and so; and ver. 596. If stone, so and so.

593. Not all parts like, &c.] Ovid has given us a description of the palace of the sun, but few have described the sun himself: and I know not whether our author has shown more fancy or more judgment in the description. An ordinary poet would in all probability have insinuated chiefly upon its excessive heat; but that was nothing to Satan who was come from the hotter region of Hell; and therefore Milton judiciously omits it, and enlarges upon the riches of the place, the gold and silver and precious stones which abounded therein, and by these means exhibits a pleasing picture instead of a disagreeable one.

597. — to the twelve that stone &c. ] A friend of Dr. Pearce's observing that carbuncle and topaz were two of the twelve stones placed in Aaron's breast-plate, thinks that Milton wrote

Ruby or topaz, two o'th' twelve that stone, &c. o'th' for of the is not unfrequent in Milton: in XI. 432. we read i'th' midst, and in the Mask Queen o'th' wood. But it is not very likely that the poet should say two o'th' twelve, and not intend the two last mentioned of the four, but the first and the last. And there is very good reason to think that not two only, but four of the twelve stones in Aaron's breast-plate are here mentioned. For what we translate the sardius, Exod. XXVIII. 17. is render'd in the margin of our Bibles the ruby: and what we call the beryl, Exod. XXVIII. 20. the Seventy, the Vulgate, and most of the versions, and Josephus, and many others take for a chrysolite. This alteration therefore of Dr. Pearce's friend cannot be admitted, and Mr. Fenton's reading is much worse, or the twelve, which cannot be said after some of the twelve have been already mentioned. The passage may be understood thus without any alteration, Ruby or
That stone, or like to that which here below
Philosophers in vain so long have sought,
In vain, though by their pow’rful art they bind
Volatil Hermes, and call up unbound
In various shapes old Proteus from the sea,
Drain’d through a limbec to his native form.
What wonder then if fields and regions here
Breathe forth Elixir pure, and rivers run

or topaz to the twelve, that is, and all the rest reckoning to the twelve, that stone in Aaron’s breast-plate. The poet had particularly mention’d some of the stones in Aaron’s breast-plate, and now he includes all the rest to the number twelve. Such a concise manner of speaking is not unusual with our author.

602. — though by their pow’rful art they bind &c.] Tho’ by their powerful art they bind and fix quicksilver, and change their matter, unbound, unfixed, into as many various shapes as Proteus, till it be reduced at last to its first original form. Hermes, another word for Mercury or quicksilver, which is very fluid, and volatil, and hard to be fixed. Proteus, a Sea-God, who could transform himself into various shapes, till being closely pressed’d he return’d to his own proper form. By this the Ancients understand the first principle of things and the subject matter of nature; and our poet therefore very fitly employs this metaphor or similitude to express the matter, which the chemists make experiments upon thro’ all its mutations, and which they drain thro’ their limbeccs or stills, till it resume its native and original form.

606. What wonder then &c.] And if chemists can do so much, what wonder then if in the sun itself is the true philosopher’s stone, the grand Elixir, and rivers of liquid gold; when the sun, the chief of chemists, tho’ at so great a distance, can perform such wonders upon earth, and produce so many precious things? The thought of making the sun the chief chemist or alchemist seems to be taken from Shakespear, King John, Act. III.

To solemnize this day, the glorious sun
Stays in his course, and plays the alchemist;
Turning with splendor of his precious eye
The meager cloddy earth to glittering gold.

606. — and regions here] Dr. Bentley reads there in this place and two others which follow in the next page: but is it likely that the same mistake should creep into three different places? Is it not more probable that Milton speaking of the sun said here, because he was then describing it, and expressing its nature? This is poetical and common with Milton, as may
Potable gold, when with one virtuous touch
Th’arch-chemic sun, so far from us remote,
Produces, with terrestrial humor mix’d,
Here in the dark so many precious things
Of color glorious and effect so rare?
Here matter new to gaze the Devil met
Undazled; far and wide his eye commands;
For sight no obstacle found here, nor shade,
But all sun-shine, as when his beams at noon
Culminate from th’equator, as they now
Shot upward still direct, whence no way round
Shadow from body’ opaque can fall; and th’air,
No where so clear, sharpen’d his visual ray
To objects distant far, whereby he soon

may be seen in many instances. See my note on II. 362, where I show that Milton frequently uses the word here, not meaning thereby a place present to him when he is speaking, but that place only which he is then speaking of. Pearce.

616. — as when his beams at noon
Culminate from th’equator, as they now
Shot upward still direct.] The first as is used by way of similitude, in the sense of like as; there was no shadow but all sun-shine, like
as when his beams at noon culminate from

th’equator, that is are vertical and shoot directly from the equator, which is the reason why those who live under the equator, under the line, are called Ascii, and at noon cast no shadows. The other as is used by way of reason, in the sense of for as much as; there was no shadow but all sun-shine, for as much as his beams shot now directly upward.

623. The same whom John saw also in the sun:]
And I saw an Angel standing in the sun. Rev. XIX. 17.

625. — a golden tiar] A golden coronet of
Saw within ken a glorious Angel stand,
The same whom John saw also in the sun:
His back was turn'd, but not his brightness hid;
Of beaming sunny rays a golden tiar
Circled his head, nor less his locks behind
Illustrious on his shoulders fledge with wings:
Lay waving round; on some great charge employ'd
He seem'd, or fix'd in cogitation deep.
Glad was the Spirit impure, as now in hope
To find who might direct his wand'ring flight
To Paradise the happy seat of Man,
His journey's end and our beginning woe.
But first he casts to change his proper shape,
Which else might work him danger or delay:

And

of shining rays circled his head, yet neverthe-}
less did not hinder his lovely locks, that hung
behind over his shoulders adorn'd with wings,
from waving themselves into curls and rings.
Tiar of Tiara, the Peruvian word for a round
cap, high and ending in a point, the usual
covering and ornament the eastern princes wore
on their heads. Hume.

627. — fledge with wings] We now commonly say fledg'd, but our author ues fledg
again in VII. 420. but feather'd soon and fledg &c. He prefers it doubtlefs as of a softer
found; and there are several such words that
want mollifying in our language.

628. — employ'd] Milton constantly spells
this word imploy'd, but the French word from
whence it is deriv'd is employer.

634. But first he casts &c.] He considers.
The metaphor seems to be taken from casting
the eye around every way. Spenfer has the
same expression, Fairy Queen, B. I. Cant. 11.
St. 40.

He
And now a stripling Cherub he appears, 
Not of the prime, yet such as in his face 
Youth simi’d celestial, and to every limb 
Suitable grace diffus’d, so well he feign’d: 
Under a coronet his flowing hair 
In curls on either cheek play’d; wings he wore 
Of many a color’d plume sprinkled with gold, 
His habit fit for speed succinct, and held 
Before his decent steps a silver wand. 
He drew not nigh unheard; the Angel bright, 
Ere he drew nigh, his radiant visage turn’d, 
Admonish’d by his ear, and strait was known 
Th’ Arch-Angel Uriël, one of the seven 
Who in God’s presence, nearest to his throne, 
Stand

He cast at once him to avenge for all. 
And Milton himself again, XII. 43. 
. Richardson.

636. — a stripling Cherub] The evil Spirit, 
the better to disguise his purpose, assumes the 
appearance of a stripling Cherub, not of one 
of those of the prime order and dignity, for 
such could not so well be supposed to be igno-
rant of what Satan wanted now to be inform’d. 
And a finer picture of a young Angel could 
not be drawn by the pencil of Raphael than by 
the pen of Milton. In Tasso likewise, when 
the Angel Gabriel is sent to rouse the Christian 
army, he appears as a stripling, Cant. 1. St. 13. 
Tra giovane, e fanciullo età confine 
Prefè, et ornò di raggi il biondo crine. 
A stripling seem’d he thrice five winters old, 
And radiant beams adorn’d his locks of gold. 
Fairfax.

But there doth not seem to be any particular 
reason for it in that place, as there is in the 
passage before us. 
643. His habit fit for speed succinct.] If the 
author meant that Satan had clothes on as well 
23
Stand ready at command, and are his eyes
That run through all the Heav’ns, or down to th’ Earth
Bear his swift errands over moist and dry,
O’er sea and land: him Satan thus accosts.

Uriel, for thou of those sev’n Spiri’ts that stand
In fight of God’s high throne, gloriously bright,
The first art wont his great authentic will
Interpreter through highest Heav’n to bring,
Where all his sons thy embassy attend;
And here art likeliest by supreme decree
Like honor to obtain, and as his eye
To visit oft this new creation round;
Unspeakable desire to see, and know
All these his wondrous works, but chiefly Man,

as wings, it is contrary to his usual manner of
representing the Angels; but I rather understand it that the wings be wore were his habit, and they were certainly a habit fit for speed succinît, but succinît I understand with Dr. Pearce, not in its first and literal sense girded or tuck’d up; but in the metaphorical sense, ready and prepar’d; as Fabius in Inft. Orat. II. 2. says Proni succinîtique &c.

650. — and are his eyes &c.] An expression borrow’d from Zech. IV. 10. Those seven, they are the eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro through the whole earth. The Jews therefore believed there were seven principal Angels, who were the captains and leaders as it were of the heavenly host. See Tobit XII. 15. Rev. I. 4. V. 6. VIII. 2.

654. Uriel.] His name is derived from two Hebrew words which signify God is my light. He is mention’d as a good Angel in the second book of Esdras, chapters 4 and 5; and the Jews and some Christians conceive him to be an Angel of light according to his name, and therefore he has properly his station in the sun.

663. — but chiefly Man,
His chief delight and favor, him for whom &c.]
His chief delight and favor, him for whom
All these his works so wondrous he ordain'd,
Hath brought me from the quires of Cherubim
Alone thus wand'ring. Brightest Seraph, tell
In which of all these shining orbs hath Man
His fixed seat, or fixed seat hath none,
But all these shining orbs his choice to dwell;
That I may find him, and with secret gaze
Or open admiration him behold,
On whom the great Creator hath bestow'd
Worlds, and on whom hath all these graces pour'd;
That both in him and all things, as is meet,
The universal Maker we may praise;
Who justly hath driv'n out his rebel foes
To deepest Hell, and to repair that loss

Created

Dr. Bentley reads and favourite whom, and says that Man bis chief favor is not English. But, as Dr. Pearce replies, by favor surely may be meant the object of his favor; as by delight is plainly meant not his delight itself, but the object of his delight. And as Mr. Upton observes, it is only using the abstract for the concrete. So Terence uses sceleus for scelefus, Andria, Aet. V. Scelus quem hic laudat. And Virgil, Æn. V. 541.

Nec bonus Eurytio prælato invidit honori: honoris is the honorable person, prælato which was preferr'd before him.

678. — that los] This is Milton's own reading
Created this new happy race of Men
To serve him better: wise are all his ways.

So spake the false dissembler unperceiv'd;
For neither Man nor Angel can discern
Hypocrisy, the only evil that walks
Invisible, except to God alone,
By his permissive will, through Heav'n and Earth:
And oft though wisdom wake, suspicion sleeps
At wisdom's gate, and to simplicity
Resigns her charge, while goodness thinks no ill
Where no ill seems: Which now for once beguil'd
Uriel, though regent of the sun, and held
The sharpest sighted Spirit of all in Heaven;
Who to the fraudulent impostor soul
In his uprightness answer thus return'd.

Fair reading in both his editions. Dr. Bentley and Mr. Fenton read not so well *their los*.

683. *Hypocrify, &c.* What is said here of hypocrisy is cenfur'd as a digression, but it seems no more than is absolutely necessary; for otherwise it might be thought very strange, that the evil Spirit should pass undiscover'd by the Arch-Angel Uriel, the regent of the sun, and the sharpest-sighted Spirit in Heaven, and therefore the poet endeavors to account for it by saying, that hypocrisy cannot be discern'd by Man or Angel, it is invisible to all but God, &c. But yet the evil Spirit did not pass wholly undiscover'd, for though Uriel was not aware of him now, yet he found rea-
Fair Angel, thy desire which tends to know
The works of God, thereby to glorify
The great Work-Master, leads to no excess
That reaches blame, but rather merits praise
The more it seems excess, that led thee hither
From thy empyreal mansion thus alone,
To witness with thine eyes what some perhaps
Contented with report hear only' in Heaven:
For wonderful indeed are all his works,
Pleasant to know, and worthiest to be all
Had in remembrance always with delight;
But what created mind can comprehend
Their number, or the wisdom infinite

That
That brought them forth, but hid their causes deep?
I saw when at his word the formless mass,
This world's material mold, came to a heap:
Confusion heard his voice, and wild uproar
Stood rul'd, stood vast infinitude confin'd;
Till at his second bidding darkness fled,
Light shone, and order from disorder sprung:
Swift to their several quarters hasted then
The cumbersome elements, earth, flood, air, fire;
And this ethereal quintessence of Heaven
Flew upward, spirited with various forms,
That roll'd orbicular, and turn'd to stars
Numberless, as thou seest, and how they move;

Each

ley's, Fenton's, and some other editions. For the Angel who speaks is in the sun, and therefore says this, as the sun was a part of this ethereal quintessence. And this notion our author borrow'd from Aristotle and others of the ancient philosophers, who supposed that besides the four elements there was likewise an ethereal quintessence or fifth essence, out of which the stars and Heavens were formed, and its motion was orbicular: \( \text{omnia sic avido complexu cætera iepit.} \)
Each had his place appointed, each his course; The rest in circuit walls this universe.

Look downward on that globe, whose hither side
With light from hence, though but reflected, shines;
That place is Earth the seat of Man, that light
His day, which else as th' other hemisphere
Night would invade; but there the neighb'ring moon
(So call that opposit fair star) her aid
Timely' interposes, and her monthly round
Still ending, still renewing, through mid Heaven,
With borrow'd light her countenance triform
Hence fills and empties to inlighten th' Earth,
And in her pale dominion checks the night.
That spot to which I point is Paradise,
Adam's abode, those lofty shades his bower.
Thy way thou canst not miss, me mine requires.

Thus said, he turn'd; and Satan bowing low,
As to superior Spirits is wont in Heaven,
Where honor due and reverence none neglects,

730. — her countenance triform] Increasing with horns towards the east, decreasing with horns towards the west, and at the full.
Took leave, and toward the coast of earth beneath,  
Down from th’ ecliptic, sped with hop’d success,  
Throws his steep flight in many an aery wheel,  
Nor stay’d, till on Niphates top he lights.

741. — in many an aery wheel,] This sportive motion is attributed to Satan for joy, that he was now so near his journey’s end: and it is very properly taken notice of here, as it is said to have been observed by the Angel Uriel afterwards in IV. 567.

I describ’d his way,  
Bent on all speed, and mark’d his aery gate.
So beautifully do not only the greater, but even the minuter parts of this poem hang together.

742. — on Niphates top he lights.] A mountain in the borders of Armenia, not far from the spring of Tigris, as Xenophon affirms upon his own knowledge. The poet lands Satan on this mountain, because it borders on Mesopotamia, in which the most judicious describers of Paradise place it. Hume.

I must not conclude my reflections upon this third book of Paradise Lost, without taking notice of that celebrated complaint of Milton with which it opens, and which certainly deserves all the praises that have been given it; tho’ as I have before hinted, it may rather be looked upon as excrescence, than as an essential part of the poem. The same observation might be apply’d to that beautiful digression upon hypocrisy, in the same book. Addison.

The end of the Third Book.
The Argument.

Satan now in prospect of Eden, and nigh the place where he must now attempt the bold enterprize which he undertook alone against God and Man, falls into many doubts with himself, and many passions, fear, envy, and despair; but at length confirms himself in evil, journeys on to Paradise whose outward prospect and situation is described, overlaps the bounds, fits in the shape of a cormorant on the tree of life, as higheft in the garden, to look about him. The garden describ'd; Satan's first sight of Adam and Eve; his wonder at their excellent form and happy state, but with resolution to work their fall; overhears their discourse, thence gathers that the tree of knowledge was forbidden them to eat of, under penalty of death; and thereon intends to found his temptation, by seducing them to transgress: then leaves them a while, to know further of their state by some other means. Mean while Uriel descending on a sun-beam warns Gabriel, who had in charge the gate of Paradise, that some evil Spirit had escap'd the deep, and pass'd at noon by his sphere in the shape of a good Angel down to Paradise, discovered after by his furious gestures in the mount. Gabriel promises to find him ere morning. Night coming on, Adam and Eve discourse of going to their rest: their bower describ'd; their evening worship. Gabriel drawing forth his bands of night-watch to walk the round of Paradise, appoints two strong Angels to Adam's bower, left the evil Spirit should be there doing some harm to Adam or Eve sleeping; there they find him at the ear of Eve, tempting her in a dream, and bring him, though unwilling, to Gabriel; by whom question'd, he scornfully answers, prepares resistance, but hinder'd by a sign from Heaven, flies out of Paradise.
PARADISE LOST.

BOOK IV.

O For that warning voice, which he who saw Th' Apocalyps heard cry in Heav'n aloud,

Then

Those, who know how many volumes have been written on the poems of Homer and Virgil, will easily pardon the length of my discourse upon Milton. The Paradise Lost is looked upon, by the best judges, as the greatest production, or at least the noblest work of genius in our language, and therefore deserves to be set before an English reader in its full beauty. For this reason, tho' I have endeavor'd to give a general idea of its graces and imperfections in my six first papers, I thought myself obliged to bestow one upon every book in particular. The three first books I have already dispatched, and am now entring upon the fourth. I need not acquaint my reader that there are multitudes of beauties in this great author, especially in the descriptive parts of his poem, which I have not touched upon, it being my intention to point out those only, which appear to me the most exquisite, or those which are not so obvious to ordinary readers. Every one that has read the critics who have written upon the Odyssey, the Iliad, and the Æneid, knows very well, that though they agree in their opinions of the great beauties in those poems, they have nevertheless each of them discovered several master-strokes, which have escaped the observation of the rest. In the same manner, I question not, but any writer who shall treat of this subject after me, may find several beauties in Milton, which I have not taken notice of. I must likewise observe, that as the greatest masters of critical learning differ among one another, as to some particular points in an epic poem, I have not bound myself scrupulously to the rules which any one of them has laid down upon that art, but have taken the liberty sometimes to join with one, and sometimes with another, and sometimes to differ from all of them, when I have thought that the reason of the thing was on my side. Addison.

1. O for that warning voice, &c.] The poet opens this book with a wish in the manner of Shakespear, O for a Muse of fire &c. Prolog. to Henry V. O for a salkner's voice &c. Romeo and Juliet, Act. II. and in order to raise the horror and attention of his reader, introduces his relation of Satan's adventures upon earth by wishing that the same warning voice had been utter'd now at Satan's first coming, that St. John, who in a vision saw the Apocalyps or Revelation of the most remarkable events which were to befall the Christian Church to the end of the world, heard when the Dragon (that old Serpent, called the Devil and Satan) was put to second rout. Rev. XII. 12. Wise to the inhabitants of the earth and of the sea, for the Devil is come down unto you, having great wrath.

G g 2
Then when the Dragon, put to second rout,
Came furious down to be reveng’d on men,
Woe to th’ inhabitants on earth! that now,
While time was, our first parents had been warn’d
The coming of their secret foe, and fcap’d,
Haply so fcap’d his mortal snare: for now
Satan, now first inflam’d with rage, came down,
The tempter ere th’ accuser of man-kind,
To wreck on innocent frail man his loss
Of that first battel, and his flight to Hell:
Yet not rejoicing in his speed, though bold
Far off and fearless, nor with cause to boast,
Begins his dire attempt, which nigh the birth
Now rolling boils in his tumultuous breast,
And like a devilish engin back recoils

10. — {th’ accuser of man-kind,] As he is represented in that same chapter of the Revelation, which the poet is still alluding to. For the accuser of our brethren is cast down, which accused them before our God day and night, ver. 10.

24. — the memory
Of what he was, what is, and what must be] Dr. Bentley reads theory instead of memory: because he does not understand what is the memory of a thing present or future. But if the Doctor will allow that it is sense to say μνημήνως ανθρώπων, or remember that you must die, we may keep the word memory here, and prefer it to his theory. Memory is recordatio, or the thinking and reflecting upon any thing, as well present and future as past. Pearce.

Thus Virgil says of his bees, that remembering the winter coming on they lay by provisions in the summer, Georg. IV. 156.

Venturaque byemis memoris aëstate laborem
Experiuntur, et in medium quæsita repoununt.

30. — meridian
Upon himself; horror and doubt distract
His troubled thoughts, and from the bottom stir
The Hell within him; for within him Hell
He brings, and round about him, nor from Hell
One step no more than from himself can fly
By change of place: now conscience wakes despair
That slumber'd, wakes the bitter memory
Of what he was, what is, and what must be
Worse; of worse deeds worse sufferings must ensue.
Sometimes towards Eden, which now in his view
Lay pleasant, his griev'd look he fixes sad;
Sometimes towards Heav'n and the full-blazing sun,
Which now sat high in his meridian tower:
Then much revolving, thus in sighs began.

O thou that with surpassing glory crown'd,

30. — meridian tower.] At noon the sun is lifted up as in a tower. The metaphor is used by Virgil in his Culex, ver. 41.

Igneus æthereas jam sol penetrât arces.

Spenfer in his admirable translation of that poem has follow'd him punctually.
The fiery sun was mounted now on highth Up to the heav'nly tow'rs. Richardson.

32. O thou &c.] Satan being now within prospect of Eden, and looking round upon the glories of the creation, is filled with sentiments different from those which he discover'd while he was in Hell. The place inspires him with thoughts more adapted to it: He reflects upon the happy condition from whence he fell, and breaks forth into a speech that is soften'd with several transient touches of remorse and self-accusation: but at length he confirms himself in impenitence, and in his design of drawing Man into his own state of guilt and misery.

This
Look'ft from thy sole dominion like the God
Of this new world; at whose sight all the stars
Hide their diminish'd heads; to thee I call,
But with no friendly voice, and add thy name
O Sun, to tell thee how I hate thy beams,
That bring to my remembrance from what state
I fell, how glorious once above thy sphere;
Till pride and worse ambition threw me down
Warring in Heav'n against Heav'n's matchless king:
Ah wherefore! he deserv'd no such return
From me, whom he created what I was
In that bright eminence, and with his good
Upbraided none; nor was his service hard.
What could be less than to afford him praise,

This conflict of passions is rais'd with a great
deal of art, as the opening of his speech to
the Sun is very bold and noble. This speech
is, I think, the finest that is ascrib'd to Satan
in the whole poem. Addison. When Milton
design'd to have made only a tragedy of the
Paradise Lost, it was his intention to have begun
it with the first ten lines of the following
speech, which he shew'd to his nephew Ed-
ward Philips and others, as Philips informs us
in his account of the life of his uncle. And
what a noble opening of a play would this
have been! The lines were certainly too good
to be loft, and the author has done well to em-
ploy them here, they could not have been bet-
ter employ'd any where. Satan is made to ad-
dress the Sun, as it was the most conspicuous
part of the creation; and the thought is very
natural of addressing it like the God of this
world, when so many of the Heathen nations
have worshipp'd and adored it as such.

40. Till pride and worse ambition] Pride is a
kind of excesive and vicious self-esteem, that
raifes men in their own opinions above what is
just and right: but ambition is that which
adds fuel to this flame, and claps spurs to
these.
The easiest recompense, and pay him thanks,  
How due! yet all his good prov'd ill in me,  
And wrought but malice; lifted up so high  
I finde subjection, and thought one step higher  
Would set me high'est, and in a moment quit.  
The debt immense of endless gratitude,  
So burdensome still paying, still to owe,  
Forgetful what from him I still receiv'd,  
And understood not that a grateful mind  
By owing owes not, but still pays, at once  
Indebted and discharg'd; what burden then?  
O had his pow'rful destiny ordain'd  
Me some inferior Angel, I had stood  
Then happy; no unbounded hope had rais'd  

Ambition.

these furious and inordinate desires that break forth into the most execrable acts to accomplish their haughty designs; which makes our author stigmatize ambition as a worse sin than pride. Hume. Dr. Bentley reads and curs'd ambition, because he thinks it hard to say whether pride or ambition is worse: but Milton seems to mean by pride the vice consider'd in itself, and only as it is the temper of the proud man; and by ambition the vice that carry'd him to aim at being equal with God: and was not this vice the worst of the two? I observe that Satan always lays the blame on his ambition, as in ver. 61 and 92. Pearce.  

50. I finde] For disdain'd; an imitation of the Italian sfdegnare. Hume. The same word is used by Spenser, Fairy Queen, B. 5. Cant. 5. St. 44. and other places.  

55. And understood not] This verb is to be connected with the other verbs in ver. 50. I finde and thought.  

55. —— a grateful mind  
By owing owes not, but still pays.] Satan here has anticipated a sentence, afterwards us'd by Cicero; Gratiam autem et qui retulerit, habere, et qui habeat, retulisce. Bentley.
Ambition. Yet why not? some other Power
As great might have aspir'd, and me though mean
Drawn to his part; but other Pow'rs as great
Fell not, but stand unshaken, from within
Or from without, to all temptations arm'd.
65 Hadst thou the same free will and pow'r to stand?
Thou hadst: whom hast thou then or what to accuse,
But Heav'n's free love dealt equally to all?
Be then his love accru'sd, since love or hate,
To me alike, it deals eternal woe.
70 Nay curs'd be thou; since against his thy will
Chose freely what it now so justly rues.
Me miserable! which way shall I fly
Infinite wrath, and infinite despair?
Which way I fly is Hell; myself am Hell;
75 And in the lowest deep a lower deep
Still threatening to devour me opens wide,
To which the Hell I suffer seems a Heaven.

79. O then at last relent: ] There is no fault
to be found with this reading, but I am some-
times inclin'd to think that the author might
have given it
O then at last repent:

because of what follows,

is there no place

Left for repentance,

and
O then at last relent: is there no place
Left for repentance, none for pardon left? 80
None left but by submission; and that word
Disdain forbids me, and my dread of shame
Among the Spirits beneath, whom I seduc'd
With other promises and other vaunts
Than to submit, boasting I could subdue 85
Th' Omnipotent. Ay me, they little know
How dearly I abide that boast so vain,
Under what torments inwardly I groan,
While they adore me on the throne of Hell.
With diadem and scepter high advanc'd,
The lower still I fall, only supreme
In misery; such joy ambition finds.
But say I could repent and could obtain
By act of grace my former state; how soon
Would highth recall high thoughts, how soon unfay 95
What feign'd submission swore? ease would recant
Vows

and again, ver. 93. Try, what repentance: what can it not?
But say I could repent, &c. Yet what can it, when one cannot repent?
And it is not improbable, that he had Shake- 81. —— and that word
spair in his thoughts, Hamlet, Act. III. Difdain forbids me,] Difdain forbids me that
Vows made in pain, as violent and void.
For never can true reconcilement grow
Where wounds of deadly hate have pierc’d so deep:
Which would but lead me to a worse relapse
And heavier fall: so should I purchase dear
Short intermission bought with double smart.
This knows my punisher; therefore as far
From granting he, as I from begging peace:
All hope excluded thus, behold in stead
Of us out-cast, exil’d, his new delight,
Mankind created, and for him this world.
So farewell hope, and with hope farewell fear,
Farewell remorse: all good to me is lost;
Evil be thou my good; by thee at least
Divided empire with Heav’n’s king I hold,

112. By thee, and more than half perhaps will reign; this passage has occasion’d much perplexity and confusion, but it may easily be understood thus. Evil be thou my good; be thou all my delight, all my happiness; by thee I hold at least divided empire with Heav’n’s king at present, I ruling in Hell as God in Heaven: by thee I say; he is made to repeat it with emphasis, to add the greater force to his diabolical sentiment, and to mark it more strongly to the reader: and in a short time will reign perhaps more than half, in this new world as well as in Hell; as Man ere long and this new world shall know. And he is very properly made to conclude his speech with this, as this was now his main business and the end of his coming hither.

114. — each passion dimm’d his face
Thrice changing’d with pale, ire, envy, and despair; each passion, ire, envy, and despair, dimm’d his countenance which was thrice chang’d with pale through the successive agitations of these three
By thee, and more than half perhaps will reign; 
As Man ere long, and this new world shall know.

Thus while he spake, each passion dimm'd his face 
Thrice chang'd with pale, ire, envy, and despair; 
Which marr'd his borrow'd visage, and betray'd 
Him counterfeit, if any eye beheld.

For heav'nly minds from such distempers soul 
Are ever clear. Whereof he soon aware, 
Each perturbation smooth'd with outward calm, 
Artificer of fraud; and was the first 
That practic'd falsehood under faintly show, 
Deep malice to conceal, couch'd with revenge: 
Yet not enough had practic'd to deceive 
Uriel once warn'd; whose eye pursu'd him down 
The way he went, and on th' Assyrian mount

three passions. For that paleness is the proper
hue of envy and despair every body knows,
and we always reckon that sort of anger the
most deadly and diabolical, which is accom
panied with a pale livid countenance. It is re
markable that in the argument to this book
we read, instead of ire, fear, envy, and despair;
and as fear may be justify'd by ver. 18. horror
and doubt distrait, and other places; so is anger
warranted by ver. 9. and by his cursing God
and himself, and by his threatening of Man in
the close of his speech.

126. — on th' Assyrian mount] Dr. Bentley
reads Armenian mount: but Niphates is by
Pliny reckon'd between Armenia and Assyria,
and therefore may be called Assyrian. It is
plain from Milton's account of the situation
of Eden, ver. 210, 285, that Eden was in
Assyria; and it is plain from comparing III.
742. with IV. 27. that Niphates was not far
from Eden; so that Milton must have plac'd
it in Assyria, at least on the borders of it.

Pearce.
Saw him disfigur'd, more than could befall
Spirit of happy fort: his gestures fierce
He mark'd and mad demeanour, then alone,
As he suppos'd, all unobserv'd, unseen.
So on he fares, and to the border comes
Of Eden, where delicious Paradise,
Now nearer, crowns with her inclosure green,
As with a rural mound, the champain head
Of a steep wilderness, whose hairy sides
With thicket overgrown, grottesque and wild,
Access deny'd; and over head up grew
Insuperable highth of loftiest shade,
Cedar, and pine, and fir, and branching palm,

132. — _where delicious Paradis[e, &c._] Satan is now come to the border of Eden, where he has a nearer prospect of Paradis[e, which the poet represents as situated in a champain country upon the top of a steep hill, called the Mount of Paradis[e. The sides of this hill were overgrown with thickets and bushes, so as not to be passable; and over-head above these, on the sides of the hill likewise, grew the loftiest trees, and as they ascended in ranks shade above shade, they formed a kind of na-
tural theatre, the rows of trees rising one above another in the same manner as the benches in the theatres and places of public shows and spectators. And yet higher than the higheft of these trees grew up the verdurous wall of Paradis[e, a green inclosure like a rural mound, like a bank fet with a hedge, but this hedge grew not up fo high as to hinder Adam's prospect into the neighbouring country below, which is called his _empire_, as the whole earth was his _dominion_, V. 751. But above this hedge or green wall grew a circling row of the finest fruit trees; and the only entrance into Paradis[e was a gate on the eastern fide. This ac-
count in prose may perhaps help the reader the better to understand the description in verfe.

140. _A fylvan scene,_) So Virgil, _En._ I. 164.
A sylvan scene, and as the ranks ascend
Shade above shade, a woody theatre
Of stateliest view. Yet higher than their tops
The verd’rous wall of Paradise up sprung:
Which to our general fire gave prospect large
Into his nether empire neighb’ring round.
And higher than that wall a circling row
Of goodliest trees loaden with fairest fruit,
Blossoms and fruits at once of golden hue,
Appear’d, with gay enamel’d colors mix’d:
On which the sun more glad impress’d his beams
Than in fair evening cloud, or humid bow,
When God hath show’d the earth; so lovely seem’d

That

Tum sylvis scena coruscis
Desuper, horrentique artrum neminet umbra.

147. — with fairest fruit,
Blossoms and fruits at once of golden hue,]
Dr. Bentley reads fruits in the first Verfe, be-
cause fruits follows in the next; but I should
choose to read fruit in both places; because I
observe that when Milton speaks of what is
hanging on the tree, he calls it fruit in the
singular number (when gather’d, in the plural)
as in V. 341. fruit of all kinds. See also VIII.
307. and IV. 422. and in IV. 249. he repeats
this very thought again thus,

Others whose fruit burnish’d with golden
rind & c.
and in the Mask we have
To save her blossoms, and defend her fruit.

We may add another instance from the Para-
dise Lost, VII. 324.

and spread
Their branches hung with copious fruit, or
gemmed
Their blossoms.

151. Than in fair evening cloud,] Dr. Bentley
reads Than on fair evening cloud.

152. — so lovely seem’d
That landscape: ] And now if we compare

out
That landscape: And of pure now purer air
Meets his approach, and to the heart inspires
Vernal delight and joy, able to drive
All sadness but despair: now gentle gales
Fanning their odoriferous wings dispense
Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole
Those balmy spoils. As when to them who fail
Beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are past
Mozambic, off at sea north-east winds blow
Sabean odors from the spicy shore
Of Araby the blest; with such delay
Well pleas'd they slack their course, and many a league
Chear'd

Our poet's topography of Paradise with Hom-
er's description of Alcinous's gardens, or
with that of Calypso's shady grotto, we may
without affectation affirm, that in half the
number of verses that they consist of, our au-
thor has outdone them. But to make a com-
parison more obvious to most understandings,
read the description of the bower of bliss by a
poet of our own nation and famous in his
time; but 'tis impar congrueus, and rime fet-
ter'd his fancy. Spenser's Fairy Queen, B. 2.

This fine passage is undoubtedly taken from as fine a one in Shake-
spear's Twelfth Night at the beginning

— like the sweet south
That breathes upon a bank of violets,
Stealing and giving odor.

Well pleas'd they slack their course,] The
north-east winds blowing contrary to those who
have doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and are
past the island Mozambic on the eastern coast of
Africa near the continent, and are failing for-wards, they must necessarily slack their course; but yet they are well enough pleas'd with such delay, as it gives them the pleasure of smelling such delicious odors, Sabean odors, from Saba, a city and country of Arabia Felix Araby the blest, the most famous for frankincense. Sabaei
Arabum
Chear'd with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles: 165
So entertain'd those odorous sweets the Fiend
Who came their bane, though with them better pleas'd
Than Asmodeus with the fishy fume.
That drove him, though enamour'd, from the spouse
Of Tobit's son, and with a vengeance sent
From Media post to Egypt, there fast bound.

Now to th' ascent of that steep savage hill
Satan had journey'd on, pensive and slow;
But further way found none, so thick intwin'd,
As one continued brake, the undergrowth
Of shrubs and tangling bushes had perplex'd.
All path of man or beast that pass'd that way:
One gate there only was, and that look'd east
On th' other side: which when th' arch-felon saw,
Duc entrance he disdain'd, and in contempt,
At one flight bound high over leap'd all bound
Of hill or highest wall, and sheer within
Lights on his feet. As when a prowling wolf,
Whom hunger drives to seek new haunt for prey,
Watching where shepherds pen their flocks at eve
In hurdlec cotes amid the field secure,

Leaps

177. All path of man or beast that pass'd that way: ] Satan is now come to the ascent of the hill of Paradise, which was so overgrown with thicket and underwood, that neither man nor beast could pass that way. That pass'd that way, that would have pass'd that way, a remarkable manner of speaking, somewhat like that in II. 642. So seem'd far off the flying Fiend, that is (speaking strictly) would have seem'd if any one had been there to have seen him. And the like manner of speaking we may observe in the best classic authors, as in Virg. Æn. VI. 467.

Talibus Æneas ardentem et torva tuentem
Lenibat diétis animum, lacrimaque ciebat.

Lenibat animum, did appease her mind, that is would have appeas'd her mind, for what he said was without the desir'd effect. So Euripides in Ion. 1326.

178. — As when a prowling wolf, ] A wolf is often the subject of a simile in Homer and Virgil, but here is consider'd in a new light, and perhaps never furnish'd out a stronger resemblance; and the hint of this and the additional simile of a thief seems to have been taken from those words of our Saviour in St. John's gospel, X. 1. He that entereth not by the door into the sheep-fold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber.

183. — lewd hirelings ] The word lewd was formerly understood in a larger acceptation than it is at present, and signified profane, impious, wicked, vicious, as well as wanton: and in this larger sense it is employ'd by Milton
Leaps o'er the fence with ease into the fold:  
Or as a thief bent to unhord the cash  
Of some rich burgher, whose substantial doors,  
Cross-barr'd and bolted fast, fear no assault,  
In at the window climbs, or o'er the tiles:
So clomb this first grand thief into God's fold;  
So since into his church lewd hirelings climb.  
Thence up he flew, and on the tree of life,  
The middle tree and highest there that grew,  
Sat like a cormorant; yet not true life

Milton in the other places where he uses it, as well as here; I. 490.
— than whom a Spirit more lewd:
and VI. 182.
Yet lewdly dar'st our ministring upbraid.

195. The middle tree and highest there that grew,] The tree of life also in the midst of the garden, Gen. II. 9. In the midst is a Hebrew phrase, expressing not only the local situation of this inlivening tree, but denoting its excellency, as being the most considerable, the tallest, goodliest, and most lovely tree in that beauteous garden planted by God himself: So Scotus, Duran, Valefius, &c. whom our poet follows, affirming it the highest there that grew. To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the Paradise of God, Rev. II. 7. Hume.  

196. Sat like a cormorant; ] The thought of Satan's transformation into a cormorant, and placing himself on the tree of life, seems raised upon that passage in the Iliad, where two deities are described, as perching on the top of an oak in the shape of vultures.  

196. — yet not true life &c. ] The poet here moralizes, and reprehends Satan for making no better use of the tree of life. He sat upon it, but did not thereby regain true life to himself, but sat devising death to others who were alive. Neither did he think at all on the virtues of the tree, but used it only for the convenience of prospect, when it might have been used so as to have been a pledge of immortality.
Thereby regain’d, but fast devising death
To them who liv’d; nor on the virtue thought
Of that life-giving plant, but only us’d
For prospect, what well us’d had been the pledge
Of immortality. So little knows
Any, but God alone, to value right
The good before him, but perverts best things
To worst abuse, or to their meanest use.
Beneath him with new wonder now he views
To all delight of human sense expos’d

...
In narrow room Nature's whole wealth, yea more,
A Heav'n on Earth: for blissful Paradise
Of God the garden was, by him in th' east
Of Eden planted; Eden stretch'd her line
From Auran eastward to the royal towers
Of great Seleucia, built by Grecian Kings,
Or where the sons of Eden long before
Dwelt in Telassar: in this pleasant soil
His far more pleasant garden God ordain'd;
Out of the fertile ground he caus'd to grow

215. His far more pleasant garden] In the
description of Paradise, the poet has observed
Aristotle's rule of lavishing all the ornaments
of diction on the weak unactive parts of the
fable, which are not supported by the beauty
of sentiments and characters. Accordingly
the reader may observe, that the expressions
are more florid and elaborate in these descrip-
tions, than in most other parts of the poem.
I must farther add, that tho' the drawings of
gardens, rivers, rainbows, and the like dead
pieces of nature, are justly cenfur'd in an he-
roic poem, when they run out into an unne-
cessary length; the description of Paradise
would have been faulty, had not the poet been
very particular in it, not only as it is the scene
of the principal action, but as it is requisite to
give us an idea of that happiness from which
our first parents fell. The plan of it is won-
derfully beautiful, and formed upon the short
sketch which we have of it in holy Writ. Mil-
ton's exuberance of imagination has poured
forth such a redundancy of ornaments on this
feat of happiness and innocence, that it would
be endless to point out each particular. I must
not quit this head without further observing,
that there is scarce a speech of Adam and Eve
in the whole poem, wherein the sentiments
and allusions are not taken from this their de-
lightful habitation. The reader, during their
whole course of action, always finds himself
in the walks of Paradise. In short, as the cri-
tics have remarked that in those poems, where-
in shepherds are actors, the thoughts ought al-
ways to take a tincture from the woods, fields,
and rivers; so we may observe, that our first
parents seldom lose sight of their happy sta-
tion in any thing they speak or do; and, if
the reader will give me leave to use the expres-
sion, that their thoughts are always Paradisi-
cal. Addison.
All trees of noblest kind for sight, smell, taste;
And all amid them stood the tree of life,
High eminent, blooming ambrosial fruit
Of vegetable gold; and next to life,
Our death the tree of knowledge grew fast by,
Knowledge of good bought dear by knowing ill.
Southward through Eden went a river large,
Nor chang'd his course, but through the shaggy hill
Pass'd underneath ingulf'd; for God had thrown
That mountain as his garden mold high rais'd
Upon the rapid current, which through veins
Of porous earth with kindly thirst up drawn,
Rose a fresh fountain, and with many a rill
Water'd the garden; thence united fell
Down the steep glade, and met the nether flood,

223. Southward through Eden went a river large,] This is most probably the river formed by the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris, which flows southward, and must needs be a river large by the joining of two such mighty rivers. Upon this river it is supposed by the best commentators that the terrestrial Paradise was situated. Milton calls this river Tigris in [X. 71.

233. And now divided into four main streams,] This is grounded upon the words of Moses, Gen. II. 10. And a river went out of Eden to water the garden, and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads. Now the most probable account that is given of these four rivers we conceive to be this. The river that water'd the garden of Eden was, as we think, the river formed by the junction of Euphrates and Tigris; and this river was parted into four other main streams or rivers; two above...
Which from his darksome passage now appears,
And now divided into four main streams,
Runs diverse, wand’ring many a famous realm
And country, whereof here needs no account;
But rather to tell how, if Art could tell,
How from that saphir fount the crisped brooks,
Rolling on orient pearl and sands of gold,
With mazy error under pendent shades
Ran nectar, visiting each plant, and fed
Flow’rs, worthy of Paradise, which not nice Art
In beds and curious knots, but Nature boon
Pour’d forth profuse on hill and dale and plain,
Both where the morning sun first warmly smote
The open field, and where the unpierc’d shade
Imbrown’d the noontide bow’rs: Thus was this place

the garden, namely Euphrates and Tigris before they are join’d, and two below the garden, namely Euphrates and Tigris after they are parted again; for Euphrates and Tigris they were still called by the Greeks and Romans, though in the time of Moses they were named Pison and Gihon. Our poet expresseth it as if the river had been parted into four other rivers below the garden; but there is no being certain of these particulars, and Milton, sensible of the great uncertainty of them, wisely avoids giving any farther description of the countries thro’ which the rivers flow’d, and says in the general that no account needs to be given of them here.

238. Rolling on orient pearl and sands of gold.] Pactolus, Hermus, and other rivers are described by the poets as having golden sands; but the description is made richer here, and the water rolls on the choicest pearls as well as sands.
A happy rural feat of various view;
Groves whose rich trees wept odorous gums and balm,
Others whose fruit burnish’d with golden rind
Hung amiable, Hesperian fables true,
If true, here only, and of delicious taste:
Betwixt them lawns, or level downs, and flocks
Grazing the tender herb, were interpos’d,
Or palmy hillocj; or the flow’ry lap
Of some irriguous valley spread her store,

The first and most proper sense of the word *fabula*, as all the dictionaries inform us, is something commonly talked of, whether true or false: and if Milton us’d the word *fable* so here, the sense is clear of the objection. But the Doctor would rather throw out the words *Hesperian apples* (or *fables*) true, *If true, here only,* because (says he) the *Hesperian apples* are represented by the poets as of solid gold, far from being of delicious taste. This objection is answer’d by reading, as I think we ought to do, the whole passage thus,

Others, whose fruit burnish’d with golden rind
Hung amiable, (Hesperian fables true,
*If true, here only*) and of delicious taste.

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*If true, here only*) and of delicious taste.

---

*Fables*, stories as XI. 11. What is said of the Hesperian gardens is true here only; if all is not pure invention, this garden was meant: and moreover these fruits have a delicious taste, those there had none. *Richardson.*

---

*irriguous valley* Well-water’d, full
Flow'rs of all hue, and without thorn the rose:
Another side, umbrageous grots and caves
Of cool recesses, o'er which the mantling vine
Lays forth her purple grape, and gently creeps
Luxuriant; mean while murm'ring waters fall
Down the slope hills, dispers'd, or in a lake,
That to the fringed bank with myrtle crown'd
Her crystal mirror holds, unite their streams.
The birds their quire apply; airs, vernal airs,

Breathing

full of springs and rills: it is the epithet of a
garden in Horace, Sat. II. IV. 16.

Irriguo nihil eft elutius horto. Hume.

256. Flow'rs of all hue, and without thorn
the rose;] Dr. Bentley rejects this verfe,
because he thinks it a jejune identity in the poet
to fay The flow'ry lap—spread flow'rs: but, as
Dr. Pearce observes, tho' the expreffion be not
very exact, it is not fo bad as Dr. Bentley re-
prefents it; for the construction and fenfe is,
The flow'ry lap of fome valley spread her store,
which store was what? why flow'rs of every
color or hue. Dr. Bentley objects too to the
latter part of the verfe, and without thorn the
rose, and calls it a puerile fancy. But it fhould
be remember'd, that it was part of the curfe
denounced upon the earth for Adam's trans-
greffion, that it fhould bring forth thorns and
thistles, Gen. III. 18. and from hence the ge-
eral opinion has prevailed that there were
no thorns before; which is enough to juftify a
poet in faying the rose was without thorns or
prickles.

257. Another fide, umbrageous grots and caves]
Another fide of the garden was umbrageous
grots and caves &c. Or on another fide were
shady grots and caves &c. the prepartion be-
ing omitted as is not unufual with our author.
See I. 282 and 723. On one fide were groves of
aromatics, others of fruit, and betwixt them
lawns or downs. On another fide were shady
grotto's and caves of cool recesses. Our author
indeed has not mention'd one fide before, but
without that he often makes ufe of the expreffion,
on th' other fide, as you may fee in II.
108, 706. IV. 985. IX. 888. as Virgil fre-
quently fays in parte alia, in another part,
though he has not faid expressly in one part be-
fore, AEn. I. 474. VIII. 682. IX. 521.

261. — dispers'd, or in a lake,] The wa-
ters fall dispers'd, or unite their streams in a
lake, that prefents her clear looking-glafs, holds
her crystal mirror to the fringed bank crown'd
with myrtle. He makes the lake we may ob-
ferve a perfon, and a critic like Dr. Bentley
may find fault with it; but it is ufual with the
poets to perfonify lakes and rivers, as Homer
does
Breathing the smell of field and grove, attune
The trembling leaves, while universal Pan
Knit with the Graces and the Hours in dance
Led on th’ eternal spring. Not that fair field
Of Enna, where Proserpin gathering flowers,
Herself a fairer flow’r by gloomy Dis
Was gather’d, which cost Ceres all that pain
To seek her through the world; nor that sweet grove
Of Daphne by Orontes, and th’ inspir’d
castalian spring, might with this Paradise
Of

does the river Scamander and Virgil the Tib-
er; and Milton himself makes a person of
the river of bliss, and a female person too,
III. 359. as he does here of the lake. This
language is certainly more poetical; and I sup-
pose he thought Her crystal mirror founded
smoother and better than Its crystal mirror, or
even His crystal mirror.

266. — while universal Pan &c.] While
universal Nature link’d with the graceful sea-
fons danc’d a perpetual round, and throughout
the earth yet unpolluted led eternal spring.
All the poets favor the opinion of the world’s
creation in the spring, Virg. Georg. II. 338.

Ver āud erat, ver magnus agebat
Orbis, et hibernis parcebant flatibus Euri,
Cum primum lucem pecudes hausere &c.

Ver erat æternum, placidique tepentibus auris
Mulcebant Zephyri natos sine femine flores.

That the Graces were taken for the beautiful
seasons in which all things seem to dance and
smile in an universal joy is plain from Horace,
Od. IV. VII. 1.

Diffugere nives, redeunt jam gramina campis--
Gratia cum nymphis geminisque fororibus
auder
Ducere nuda choros.

And Homer joins both the Graces and Hours
hand in hand with Harmony, Youth, and Ve-

nus in his Hymn to Apollo.

The Ancients personiz’d every thing. Pan is
nature, the Graces are the beautiful seasons,
and the Hours are the time requisite for the
production and perfection of things. Milton

only says in a most poetical manner (as Homer
in his hymn to Apollo had done before him)
that now all nature was in beauty, and every
hour produc’d something new, without any
change for the worse. Richardson.

268. — No
Of Eden strive; nor that Nyfeian ile
Girt with the river Triton, where old Cham,
Whom Gentiles Ammon call and Lybian Jove,
Hid Amalthea and her florid son
Young Bacchus from his stepdame Rhea's eye;
Nor where Abaffin kings their issue guard,
Mount Amara, though this by some suppos'd
True Paradise under the Ethiop line
By Nilus head, inclos'd with shining rock,
A whole day's journey high, but wide remote
From

268. — Not that fair field &c.] Not that fair field of Enna in Sicily, celebrated so much by Ovid and Claudian for its beauty, from whence Proserpin was carried away by the gloomy God of Hell Dis or Pluto, which occasion'd her mother Ceres to seek her all the world over; nor that sweet grove of Daphne near Antioch, the capital of Syria, seated on the banks of the river Orontes, together with the Cæsalian spring there, of the same name with that in Greece, and extoll'd for its prophetic qualities; nor the island Nyfa, incomparable with the river Triton in Africa, where Cham or Ham the son of Noah, therefore called old, (who first peopled Egypt and Lybia, and among the Gentiles goes by the name of Ammon or Lybian Jove) hid his mistres Amalthea and her beautiful son Bacchus (therefore called Dionysus) from his stepdame Rhea's eye, the stepdame of Bacchus and wife of the Lybian Jove according to some authors, particularly Diodorus Siculus, Lib. 3. and Sir Walter Raleigh's Hist. B. 1. ch. 6. sect. 5. tho' different from others; nor Mount Amara, where the kings of Abaffinia or Abyssinia (a kingdom in the upper Ethiop) keep their children guarded, a place of most delightful prospect and situation, inclos'd with alabaster rocks, which it is a day's journey to ascend, suppos'd by some (tho' so far distant from the true Paradise) to be the seat of Paradise under the Ethiopian or equinoctial line near the springs of the river Nile: Not any nor all of these could vy with this Paradise of Eden; this exceeded all that historians have written or poets have feign'd of the most beautiful places in the world. By the way we should observe his manner of pronouncing Proserpin with the accent upon the second syllable, like the Latin, and as Spenser and the old English authors pronounce it, Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 2. St. 2.

K k
And
From this Assyrian garden, where the Fiend
Saw undelighted all delight, all kind
Of living creatures new to fight and strange.
Two of far nobler shape erect and tall,
Godlike erect, with native honor clad
In naked majesty seem’d lords of all,
And worthy seem’d; for in their looks divine
The image of their glorious Maker fhone,
Truth, wisdom, sanctitude severe and pure,

(Severe

Whence true authority in men;) The middle
verse ought to have been put thus in a paren-
thesis; for the true authority in men arifes not
from filial freedom, but from their having truth,
wisdom, and sanctitude severe and pure, that is
strict holiness; which are qualities that give to
magistrates true authority, that proper author-
ity which they may want who yet have legal
authority. This is Milton’s meaning: and
for explaining the word severe, he inverts a
verse to show that he does not mean such a
sanctitude or holiness as is rigid and austere,
but such as is plac’d in filial freedom; alluding
to the scriptural expressions, which represent
good Christians as free and as the sons of God:
on which foundation our obedience (from
whence our sanctitude arifes) is a filial, and
not a slavish one; a reverence rather than a
fear of the Deity. From hence we may see
that Dr. Bentley had no sufficient reason to
change severe in the first verse into serene, and
to throw out the second verse entirely.

Addison.

293. Truth, wisdom, sanctitude severe and
pure,
(Severe but in true filial freedom plac’d)
(Severe but in true filial freedom plac'd)
Whence true authority in men; though both
Not equal, as their sex not equal seem'd;
For contemplation he and valor form'd,
For softness she and sweet attractive grace,
He for God only, she for God in him:
His fair large front and eye sublime declar'd
Absolute rule; and hyacinthin locks
Round from his parted forelock manly hung

Clustering,

297. For contemplation he and valor form'd,
   For softness she and sweet attractive grace.]
The curious reader may please to observe upon
these two charming lines, how the numbers
are varied, and how artfully he and she are
placed in each verse, so as the tone may fall
upon them, and yet fall upon them differently.
The author might have given both exactly the
same tone, but every ear must judge this alter-
tation to be much for the worse.

For valor he and contemplation form'd,
For softness she and sweet attractive grace.

299. He for God only, she for God in him:]
The author gave it thus, says Dr. Bentley,
He for God only, she for God and him.
The opposition demonstrates this, and ver. 440,
Eve speaks to Adam,
   — O thou for whom
   And from whom I was form'd ——
Dr. Pearce approves this reading of Dr. Bent-
ley, and to the proof which he brings, adds
X. 150.

   — made of thee
   And for thee.
And indeed, tho' some have endeavor'd to ju-
ify the common reading, yet this is so much
better, that we cannot but wish it was admitted
into the text.

301. — hyacinthin locks] Thus Minerva in
Homer gives Ulysses hyacinthin locks to make
him more beautiful,

   Ὄδυσσ. VI. 231.

Back from his brows a length of hair unsurls,
His hyacinthin locks descend in wavy curls.
Broome.

Eustathius interprets hyacinthin locks by black
locks; and Milton in like manner means dark
or black locks, distinguishing Adam's hair
K k 2
Clustering, but not beneath his shoulders broad:
She as a veil down to the slender waist
Her unadorned golden tresses wore
Dishevel'd, but in wanton ringlets wav'd
As the vine curls her tendrils, which imply'd
Subjection, but requir'd with gentle sway,
And by her yielded, by him best receiv'd,
Yielded with coy submission, modest pride,
And sweet reluctant amorous delay.

Nor

from Eve's in the color as well as in other particulars. It is probable the hyacinth among the Ancients might be of a darker color than it is among us.

303. Clustering.] His hair hung clustering, or like bunches of grapes, as her's was like the young shoots or tendrils of the vine. They are oppos'd, you see, the one to the other.

303. — his shoulders broad.] Broad shoulders are always assign'd to the ancient heroes; in Homer they have υπερακωματις, in Virgil latos humeros. But I wonder that Milton has given no indication that Adam had a beard; not the least down or blossom on his chin, the first access to manhood; which the Greek and Latin poets dwell on, as the principal part of manly beauty: and our Spenser, B. 2. Cant. 12. St. 79. and B. 3. Cant. 5. St. 29. Bentley. His beard is a particular that the poet could not have forgot, but I suppose he purposely omitted it, because Raphael and the principal painters always represent him without one; I believe no one remembers ever to have seen a good print or picture of him with one, and Milton frequently fetches his ideas from the works of the greatest masters in painting.

305. — golden tresses.] This sort of hair was most admir'd and celebrated by the Ancients, I suppose as it usually betokens a fairer skin and finer complexion. It would be almost endless to quote passages to this purpose in praise of Helen and the other famous beauties of antiquity. Venus herself, the Goddess of beauty, is described of this color and complexion; and therefore is styled golden Venus, χρυση Αφροδιτη by Homer, and Venus aurea by Virgil. As Milton had the taste of the Ancients in other things, so likewise in this particular. He must certainly have preferred this to all other colors, or he would never have bestowed it upon Eve, whom he design'd as a pattern of beauty to all her daughters. And possibly he might at the same time intend a compliment to his wife; for I remember to have heard from a gentleman who had seen his widow in Cheshire, that she had red hair.
Nor those mysterious parts were then conceal'd,
Then was not guilty shame, dishonest shame
Of nature's works, honor dishonorable,
Sin-bred, how have ye troubled all mankind
With shows instead, mere shows of seeming pure,
And banish'd from man's life his happiest life,
Simplicity and spotless innocence!
So pass'd they naked on, nor shunn'd the sight
Of God or Angel, for they thought no ill:

It is the more probable, that he intended a
compliment to his wife in the drawing of Eve;
as it is certain, that he drew the portrait of
Adam not without regard to his own person,
of which he had no mean opinion.

307. — which imply'd

Subjeftion.] The poet manifestly alludes to
St. Paul's first Epiftle to the Corinthians, Chap.
XI. Doth not even nature itself teach you (fays
the Apostle) that if a man have long hair, it is
a shame unto him? And therefore Milton gives
Adam locks, that hung down, but not beneath his shoulders broad. But if a woman have
long hair (continues the Apostle) it is a glory to her, for her hair is given her for a covering
or veil as it is render'd in the margin: and therefore our author gives Eve very long hair,
for were her golden tresses as a veil down to the
lender wafe, and this long hair the Apostle
confiders as an argument and token of her sub-
jeftion, a covering, a veil, in sign that she is un-
der the power of her husband; and for the fame
reason the poet fays that it imply'd Subjeftion:
such excellent use doth he make of the sacred
Writings. The poet adds that this Subjeftion
or dishonorableness was requir'd by him with gentle fway, and
yielded by her, but it was left receiv'd by him,
when yielded with coy Submiflion, modet pride,
and fiweet reluctant amorous delay, which is ex-
press'd with more elegance than that admir'd
passage in Horace, which no doubt Milton
had in his thoughts, Od. II. XII. 26.

— facili sevittia negat
Quae postente magis gaudeat eripi,
Interdum rapere occupat.

314. — honor dishonorable.] He alludes to
1 Cor. XII. 23. And those members of the body
which we think to be less honorable, upon these
we bestow more abundant honor. But the honor
paid to those parts is really a dishonor, a token
of our fall, and an indication of our guilt.
Innocent nature made no such distinction. Sin-
bred, bow have ye troubled &c. Should we not read,

Sin-bred, how have you troubled —
for what is he speaking to besides Shame?

323. Adam.
So hand in hand they pass’d, the loveliest pair
That ever since in love’s embraces met;
Adam the goodliest man of men since born
His sons, the fairest of her daughters Eve.
Under a tuft of shade that on a green
Stood whispering soft, by a fresh fountain side
They sat them down; and after no more toil
Of their sweet gard’ning labor than suffic’d
To recommend cool Zephyr, and made ease
More easy, wholesome thirst and appetite
More grateful, to their supper fruits they fell,
Nectarin fruits which the compliant boughs
Yielded them, side-long as they sat recline
On the soft downy bank damask’d with flowers:

323. Adam the goodliest man of men &c.] These two lines are cenfur’d by Mr. Addison, and are totally rejected by Dr. Bentley, as implying that Adam was one of his sons, and Eve one of her daughters; but this manner of expression is borrow’d from the Greek language, in which we find sometimes the superlative degree used instead of the comparative. The meaning therefore is, that Adam was a goodlier man than any of his sons, and Eve fairer than her daughters. So Achilles is said to have been ὀνυμέρυστον ἄλλων Iliad. I. 505. that is more short-liv’d than others. So Nireus is said to have been the handsomest of the other Grecians, Iliad. II. 673.

--- τὸν ἀλλὰν Δαναοῦν.

And the same manner of speaking has pass’d from the Greeks to the Latins. So a freed woman is call’d in Horace, Sat. I. I. 100. fortiiifima Tyndaridarum, not that she was one of the Tyndaridae, but more brave than any of them. And as Dr. Pearce observes, so Diana is said by one of the poets to have been comitum pulcherrima, not one of her own companions, but more
The savory pulp they chew, and in the rind
Still as they thirfted scoop the brimming stream;
Nor gentle purpose, nor indearing smiles
Wanted, nor youthful dalliance as beseems
Fair couple, link'd in happy nuptial league,
Alone as they. About them frisking play'd
All beasts of th'earth, since wild, and of all chase
In wood or wilderness, forest or den;
Sporting the lion ramp'd, and in his paw
Dandled the kid; bears, tigers, ounces, pards,
Gambol'd before them; th'unwieldy elephant
To make them mirth us'd all his might, and wreath'd
His lithe proboscis; close the serpent fly
Insinuating, wove with Gordian twine

345. Insinuating, wove with Gordian twine
His breaded train, &c. Insinuating, wrapping, or rolling up, and as it were imboloming himself. Virgil frequently uses the words sinuatus and sinuare to express the winding motions of this animal. With Gordian twine, with many intricate turnings and twirlings, like the famous Gordian knot, which no body could untie, but Alexander cut it with his sword. His breaded train,
His breaded train, and of his fatal guile
Gave proof unheeded; others on the grass
Couch'd, and now fill'd with pasture gazing fat,
Or bedward ruminating; for the sun
Declin'd was hast'ning now with prone carreer
To th'ocean iles, and in th' ascending scale
Of Heav'n the stars that usher evening rose:
When Satan still in gaze, as first he stood,
Scarce thus at length fail'd speech recover'd sad.

O Hell! what do mine eyes with grief behold!

351. Couch'd,] Let the reader observe how
artfully the word couch'd is placed, so as to
make the sound expressive of the sense,
--- others on the grass
Couch'd. ---

Such a rest upon the first syllable of the verse
is not very common, but is very beautiful
when it is so accommodated to the sense. The
learned reader may observe a beauty of the
like kind in these verses of Homer, Iliad. I. 51.

And if so, others on the grass.

350. Gave proof unheeded; That intricate
form into which he put himself was a sort of
symbol or type of his fraud, tho' not then re-

garded.

Hume and Richardson.
We may observe that the poet is larger in the
description of the serpent, than of any of the
other animals, and very judiciously as he is
afterwards made the instrument of so much
mischief; and at the same time an intimation
is given of his fatal guile, to prepare the reader
for what follows.

Ainus epiro' awoi otem 6el.97 e'tepumous e'eics
Ball': ame o' te wuiez1 vewon xavofio Tamiuxi.
and Iliad. V. 146.

Tov o' etepov 8iefei megalon xplida war' omon
Pi7e'.
and again, ver. 156.

--- Patirej o' grov xai xepai auyes
Aeip'. and in several other places.

And the English reader may see similar in-
fances in our Englisli Homer. Pope's Homer,

Chariots on chariots roll; the clashing spokes
Shock; while the madding steeds break
short their yokes.

And
Into our room of bliss thus high advanc'd
Creatures of other mold, earth-born perhaps,
Not Spirits, yet to heav'nly Spirits bright
Little inferior; whom my thoughts pursue
With wonder, and could love, so lively shines
In them divine resemblance, and such grace
The hand that form'd them on their shape hath pour'd.
Ah gentle pair, ye little think how nigh
Your change approaches, when all these delights
Will vanish and deliver ye to woe,

And in the Temple of Fame, ver. 85.
Amphion there the loud creating lyre
Strikes, ] and behold a sudden Thebes aspire!
And it is observable that this pause is usually
made upon the verb, to mark the action more
strongly to the reader.
352. Or bedward ruminating: ] Chewing the
cud before they go to rest. Hume.
354. To th' ocean iles.] The islands in the
western ocean; for that the sun set in the sea,
and rose out of it again, was an ancient poetic
notion, and is become part of the phraseology
of poetry. And in th' ascending scale of Heav'n.
The balance of Heaven or Libra is one of the
twelve signs, and when the sun is in that sign,
as he is at the autumnal equinox, the days and
nights are equal, as if weigh'd in a balance:

Libra diei fœmnique pares ubi fecerit horas:

and from hence our author seems to have bor-
row'd his metaphor of the scales of Heaven,
weighing night and day, the one ascending as
the other sink's.
357. Scarce thus at length fail'd speech re-
cover'd fad.] Tho' Satan came in quest
of Adam and Eve, yet he is struck with such
astonishment at the sight of them, that it is a
long time before he can recover his speech,
and break forth into this soliloquy: and at the
same time this dumb admiration of Satan gives
the poet the better opportunity of enlarging
his description of them. This is very beau-
tiful.
362. Little inferior: ] For this there is the
authority of Scripture. Thou hast made him
a little lower than the Angels, Pfal. VIII. 5.
Heb. II. 7.

VOL. I.
More woe, the more your taste is now of joy;
Happy, but for so happy ill secur'd
Long to continue, and this high feat your Heaven
Ill fenc'd for Heav'n to keep out such a foe
As now is enter'd; yet no purpos'd foe
To you, whom I could pity thus forlorn,
Though I unpitied: League with you I seek,
And mutual amity so strait, so close,
That I with you must dwell, or you with me
Henceforth; my dwelling haply may not please,
Like this fair Paradize, your sense, yet such
Accept your Maker's work; he gave it me,
Which I as freely give; Hell shall unfold,
To entertain you two, her widest gates,
And send forth all her kings; there will be room,
Not like these narrow limits, to receive

Your

389. — *yet public reason just, &c.*] Public reason compels me, and that public reason is honor and empire inlarg'd with revenge, by conquering this new world. And thus Satan is made to plead *public reason just,* and necessity, to excuse his devilish deeds; the tyrant's plea, as the poet calls it, probably with a view to his own times, and particularly to the plea for ship-money.

395. *Then from his lofty stand on that high tree &c.*] The tree of life, higher than the rest, where he had been perching all this while from ver. 196. And then for the transformations which follow, what changes in Ovid's *Metamorphosis* are so natural, and yet so surprizing as these? He is well liken'd to the fiercest beasts, the lion and the tiger, and Adam.
Your numerous offspring; if no better place, 385
Thank him who puts me loath to this revenge
On you who wrong me not for him who wrong'd.
And should I at your harmless innocence
Melt, as I do, yet public reason just,
Honor and empire with revenge inlarg'd,
By conqu'ring this new world, compels me now
To do what else though damn'd I should abhor.

So spake the Fiend, and with necessity,
The tyrant's plea, excus'd his devilish deeds.
Then from his lofty stand on that high tree
Down he alights among the sportful herd
Of those four-footed kinds, himself now one,
Now other, as their shape serv'd best his end
Nearer to view his prey, and unespy'd
To mark what of their state he more might learn 400

Adam and Eve in their native innocence to
two gentle fawns.

400. To mark what of their state he more might learn
By word or action mark'd; ] Tho' the poet
uses mark and mark'd too, yet such repetitions
of the same word are common with him; so
common that we may suppose he did not do it
for want of attention, and that it was not
merely the effect of his blindness. See in-
fances of it in my note on III. 147. and we
have another following here, ver. 405.

Strait couches close, then rising changes oft
His couchant watch.  

Pearce.
By word or action mark'd: about them round
A lion now he stalks with fiery glare;
Then as a tiger, who by chance hath spy'd
In some purblind two gentle fawns at play,
Strait couches close, then rising changes oft
His couchant watch, as one who chose his ground,
Whence rushing he might surest seise them both
Grip'd in each paw: when Adam first of men
To first of women Eve thus moving speech,
Turn'd him all ear to hear new utterance flow.

Sole partner, and sole part, of all these joys,
Dearer thyself than all; needs must the Power
That made us, and for us this ample world,
Be infinitely good, and of his good

As

410. Turn'd him all ear &c.] A pretty expression borrow'd from the Latin,
Totum te cupias, Fabulle, nafum. Bentley.
So in the Mask, I was all ear. Richardson.
411. Sole partner, &c.] The speeches of these two first lovers flow equally from passion and sincerity. The proffessions they make to one another are full of warmth, but at the same time founded upon truth. In a word they are the gallantries of Paradise. Addison.
Sole partner, and sole part, of all these joys,
So the passage ought to be read (I think) with a comma after part; and of here signifies among. The sentence is, among all these joys Thou alone art my partner, and (what is more) Thou alone art part of me, as in ver. 487.
Part of my soul I seek thee, and thee clame
My other half.
Of in Milton frequently signifies among. The want of observing this made Dr. Bentley read best part for sole part, thinking that sole part is a contradiction, and so it is as he understands of
As liberal and free as infinite;  
That rais'd us from the dust and plac'd us here  
In all this happiness, who at his hand  
Have nothing merited, nor can perform  
Ought whereof he hath need, he who requires  
From us no other service than to keep  
This one, this easy charge, of all the trees  
In Paradise that bear delicious fruit  
So various, not to taste that only tree  
Of knowledge, planted by the tree of life;  
So near grows death to life, whate'er death is,  
Some dreadful thing no doubt; for well thou know'st  
God hath pronounc'd it death to taste that tree,  
The only sign of our obedience left

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*— dominion given  
Over all other creatures that possess  
Earth, air, and sea,  
it is taken from the divine commission, Gen.  
I. 28. Have dominion over the fishes of the sea,  
and over the fowls of the air, and over every  
living thing that moveth upon the earth. These  
things are so evident, that it is almost super-  
fluous to mention them. If we take notice  
of them, it is that every reader may be sensible  
how much of Scripture our author hath  
wrought into this divine poem.*

449. That
Among so many signs of pow’r and rule
Conferr’d upon us, and dominion given
Over all other creatures that possess
Earth, air, and sea. Then let us not think hard
One easy prohibition, who enjoy
Free leave so large to all things else, and choice
Unlimited of manifold delights:
But let us ever praise him, and extol
His bounty, following our delightful task
To prune these growing plants, and tend these flowers,
Which were it toilsome, yet with thee were sweet.

To whom thus Eve reply’d. O thou for whom
And from whom I was form’d flesh of thy flesh,
And without whom am to no end, my guide

449. That day I oft remember, &c.] The remaining part of Eve’s speech, in which she gives an account of herself upon her first creation, and the manner in which she was brought to Adam, is I think as beautiful a passage as any in Milton, or perhaps in any other poet whatsoever.* These passages are all work’d off with so much art, that they are capable of pleasing the most delicate reader without offending the most severe. A poet of less judgment and invention than this great author would have found it very difficult to have filled these tender parts of the poem with sentiments proper for a state of innocence; to have described the warmth of love and the professions of it without artifice or hyperbole; to have made the man speak the most incurring things without descendng from his natural dignity, and the woman receiving them without departing from the modesty of her character; in a word, to adjust the prerogatives of wisdom and beauty, and make each appear to the other in its proper force and lovelines. This mutual subordination of the two sexes is wonderfully kept up in the whole poem, as particularly in this speech of Eve, and the lines following
And head, what thou hast said is just and right.
For we to him indeed all praises owe,
And daily thanks; I chiefly who enjoy
So far the happier lot, enjoying thee
Præeminent by so much odds, while thou
Like consort to thyself canst no where find.
That day I oft remember, when from sleep
I first awak'd, and found myself repos'd
Under a shade on flow'rs, much wond'ring where
And what I was, whence thither brought, and how.
Not distant far from thence a murm'ring sound
Of waters issued from a cave, and spread
Into a liquid plain, then stood unmov'd
Pure as th' expanse of Heav'n; I thither went

lowing it. The poet adds, that the Devil
turned away at the sight of so much happiness.

*Addison.*

*That day I oft remember.* From this as well as
several other passages in the poem it appears,
that the poet supposes Adam and Eve to have
been created, and to have lived many days in
Paradise before the fall. See IV. 639, 680, 712.
V. 31. &c.

450. *I first awak'd,*] As death is often com-
par'd to *sleep,* so our coming into life may well
be liken'd to *waking*; and Adam speaks in the
same figure, VIII. 253.

As new wak'd from foundeft *sleep,* &c.
If we compare his account of himself upon his
creation with this here given by Eve, the
beauty and propriety of each will appear to
greater advantage.

451. *Under a shade on flow'rs,*] The first
edition has *under a shade on flow'rs,* the second
*under a shade of flow'rs;* and the subsequent
editions vary in like manner, some exhibiting
*on flow'rs,* others of *flow'rs,* but repos'd *on
flow'rs* under a shade seems to be much better
than a shade of *flow'rs.*
With unexperienc'd thought, and laid me down
On the green bank, to look into the clear
Smooth lake, that to me seem'd another sky.
As I bent down to look, just opposit
A shape within the watry gleam appear'd,
Bending to look on me: I started back,
It started back; but pleas'd I soon return'd,
Pleas'd it return'd as soon with answ'ring looks
Of sympathy and love: there I had fix'd
Mine eyes till now, and pin'd with vain desire,
Had not a voice thus warn'd me, What thou seeft,
What there thou seeft, fair Creature, is thyself;
With thee it came and goes: but follow me,
And I will bring thee where no shadow stays
Thy coming, and thy soft embraces, he

458. to look into the clear
Smooth lake,[] It has been asked, sarcastically
enough, (Spectator, Vol. 5. No 325.) whether
some moral is not couch'd under this place,
where the poet lets us know, that the first wo-
man immediately after her creation ran to a
looking-glass, and became so enamour'd of
her own face, that she had never removed to
view any of the other works of nature, had
not she been led off to a man. However that
be, this account that Eve gives of her coming
to a lake, and there falling in love with her
own image, when she had seen no other hu-
man creature, is much more probable and na-
tural, as well as more delicate and beautiful,
than the famous story of Narcissus in Ovid,
from whom our author manifestly took the
hint, and has expressly imitated some passages,
but has avoided all his puerilities without losing
any of his beauties, as the reader may easily
observe by comparing both together, Met. III.
457.
Whose image thou art; him thou shalt enjoy
Inseparably thine, to him shalt bear
Multitudes like thyself, and thence be call'd
Mother of human race. What could I do,
But follow strait, invisibly thus led?
Till I espy'd thee, fair indeed and tall,
Under a platan; yet methought less fair,
Less winning soft, less amiably mild,
Than that smooth watry image: back I turn'd;
Thou following cry'dst aloud, Return fair Eve,
Whom fly'st thou: whom thou fly'st, of him thou art,
His flesh, his bone; to give thee being I lent
Out of my side to thee, nearest my heart
Substantial life, to have thee by my side
Henceforth an individual solace dear;

Part

Spem mihi nescio quam vultu promittis amico:
Cumque ego porrexi tibi brachia, porrigos ultro:
Cum risi, arrides: lacrymas quoque fæpe notavi
Me lacrymante tuas.

Ista repercuñse, quam cernis, imaginis umbra eft:
Nil habet ifta su: tecum veniique manetque;
Tecum difcedet, fi tu difcedere poffis.

478. Under a platan; ] The plane tree so
named from the breadth of its leaves, Platanus,
Greek, broad; a tree useful and delightful for
Vol. I.

its extraordinary shade, Virg. Georg. IV. 146.
Jamque ministrantem platanum potantibus
umbram. Hume.

483. His fleph, his bone; ] The Scripture ex-
pression; bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh,
Gen. II. 23, as afterwards when he calls her
Part of my soul — my other half, it is from
Horace,


M m
Part of my soul I seek thee, and thee clame
My other half: with that thy gentle hand
Seis'd mine; I yielded, and from that time see
How beauty is excell'd by manly grace
And wisdom, which alone is truly fair.

So spake our general mother, and with eyes
Of conjugal attraction unreprou'd,
And meek surrender, half embracing lean'd
On our first father; half her swelling breast
Naked met his under the flowing gold
Of her loose tresses hid: he in delight
Both of her beauty and submissive charms

494. — *embracing*] Milton sometimes spells
the word *embrace* after the French *embrasser*,
and sometimes *imbrace* after the Italian *embracciare*; but the former has now prevail'd uni-
versally.

499. — *as Jupiter &c.*] As the Heaven
smiles upon the air, when it makes the clouds
and every thing fruitful in the spring. This
seems to be the meaning of the allegory; for
Jupiter is commonly taken for the Heaven or
æther, and Juno for the air, th'o' some under-
stand by them the air and earth. However
that be, the congress of Jupiter and Juno was
accounted the great cause of fruitfulnes. Ho-
mer in the fourteenth book of the Iliad in-
larges much upon the story of their loves,
more than enough to give occasion to this

|m simile, and describes the earth putting forth
her fairest flowers as the immediate effect of
them. And Virgil likewise in describing the
spring employs the same kind of images, and
represents Jupiter operating upon his spouse for
the production of all things, Georg. II. 325.

Tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbibus
æther
Conjugis in gremium laetæ descendent, et omnes
Magnus alti, magno commixtus corpore, foetus.
For then almighty Jove descends, and pours
Into his buxom bride his fruitful show'rs;
And mixing his large limbs with her's, he feeds
Her births with kindly juice, and fosters teem-
ing seeds.

That expression of *the clouds shedding show'rs* is

Dryden.
Smil’d with superior love, as Jupiter
On Juno smiles, when he impregnns the clouds
That shed May flow’rs; and press’d her matron lip
With kisses pure: aside the Devil turn’d
For envy, yet with jealous leer malign
Ey’d them askance, and to himself thus plain’d.

Sight hateful, sight tormenting! thus these two
Imparadis’d in one another’s arms,
The happier Eden, shall enjoy their fill
Of bliss on bliss; while I to Hell am thrust,
Where neither joy nor love, but fierce desire,
Among our other torments not the least,

very poetical, and not unlike that fine one in
the Psalms of the clouds dropping fatness, Psal.
LXXV. 12. and it is said May flow’rs to signify
that this is done in the spring, as Virgil
describes it. And then follows and press’d her
matron lip, where the construction is Adam
Smil’d with superior love, and press’d her matron
lip, the simile being to be understood as in-
cluded in a parenthesis. Her matron lip evi-
dently signifies her married lip, in distinction
from a maiden or a virgin lip, as Ovid Fast.
II. 528. speaking of Lucretia then married,
says matron cheeks,

Et matronales erubuere genæ.

It implies that she was married to him; and
that therefore their kisses were lawful and in-
nocent. It was the innocence of their loves
that made the Devil turn aside for envy.

506. Imparadis’d in one another’s arms,] Im-
paradis’d has been remark’d as a word first
coin’d by Milton. But Sir Philip Sidney has
it in Arcadia, p. 109. So this imparadis’d
neighbourhood made Zelmeal’s soul cleave unto
her. And the Italians had prior possession Im-
paradisato. Bentley.

509. Where neither joy nor love,] This sen-
tence has no exit, unless you’ll say without
sense, where neither joy nor love pines. He
gave it therefore

Where’s neither joy nor love,
Where’s contracted for where is. Bentley.

M m 2

But
Still unfulfill'd with pain of longing pines.
Yet let me not forget what I have gain'd
From their own mouths: all is not theirs it seems;
One fatal tree there stands of knowledge call'd,
Forbidden them to taste: Knowledge forbidden? 515
Suspicious, reasonless. Why should their Lord
Envy them that? can it be sin to know?
Can it be death? and do they only stand
By ignorance? is that their happy state,
The proof of their obedience and their faith?
O fair foundation laid whereon to build
Their ruin! Hence I will excite their minds
With more desire to know, and to reject
Envious commands, invented with design
To keep them low whom knowledge might exalt 525
Equal with Gods: aspiring to be such,

But Milton often leaves out the word is, as in
VIII. 621. and without love no happiness.

Pearce.

515. — Knowledge forbidden?] This is
artfully perverted by Satan, as if some useful
and necessary knowledge was forbidden:
whereas our first parents were created with
perfect understanding, and the only knowledge
that was forbidden was the knowledge of evil
by the commission of it.

530. A chance but chance may lead] Dr. Bent-
ley censures this jingle, and thinks it unbecom-
ing Satan at so serious a juncture to catch at
puns; therefore proposest to read some lucky
chance may lead &c. Dr. Pearce says that with-
out any alteration or any pun we may read
They taste and die: what likelier can ensue?
But first with narrow search I must walk round
This garden, and no corner leave unspy'd;
A chance but chance may lead where I may meet 530
Some wand'ring Spirit of Heav'n by fountain side,
Or in thick shade retir'd, from him to draw
What further would be learn'd. Live while ye may,
Yet happy pair; enjoy, till I return,
Short pleasures, for long woes are to succeed. 535

So saying, his proud step he scornful turn'd,
But with fly circumspection, and began [roam.
Through wood, through waste, o'er hill, o'er dale his
Mean while in utmost longitude, where Heaven
With earth and ocean meets, the setting sun
Slowly descended, and with right aspect
Against the eastern gate of Paradise

Level'd

A chance (but chance) may lead &c
that is a chance, and it can be only a chance,
may lead &c. But this sort of jingle is but too
common with Milton. This here is not much
unlike the ferte fortuna of the Latins. 539.
in utmost longitude.] At the utmost
length, at the farthest distance. Longitude is
length, as in V. 754.

from one entire globose
Stretch'd into longitude;
and it is particularly apply'd to the distance
from east to west. See the notes upon III. 555,
574. 541. Slowly descended.] Dr. Bentley objects
to this verse for a frivolous reason, and reads
Had slow descended, because the sun passes equal
spaces
PARADISE LOST.

Level'd his evening rays: it was a rock
Of alabaster, pil'd up to the clouds,
Conspicuous far, winding with one ascent
Accessible from earth, one entrance high;
The rest was craggy cliff, that overhung
Still as it rose, impossible to climb.
Betwixt these rocky pillars Gabriel sat,

Chief

spaces in equal times. This is true (as Dr. Pearce replies) in philosophy, but in poetry it is usual to represent it otherwise. But I have a stronger objection to this verse, which is that it seems to contradict what is said before, ver. 353.

The sun—was basting now with prone carreer
To th' ocean iles,

and to reconcile them I think we must read 
Had low descended, or perhaps Lowly descended, or understand it as Dr. Pearce explains it, that the sun descended Lowly at this time, because Uriel its Angel came on a sun-beam to Paradise, and was to return on the same beam; which he could not well have done, if the sun had mov'd on with its usual rapidity of course.

549. — Gabriel] One of the Arch-Angels, sent to show Daniel the vision of the four monarchies and the seventy weeks, Dan, VII. and IX. and to the Virgin Mary to reveal the incarnation of our Saviour, Luke I. His name in the Hebrew signifies the man of God, or the strength and power of God; well by our author pofted as chief of the angelic guards placed about Paradise. Hume.

551. — heroic games] They were not now upon the watch, they awaited night; but their arms were ready. The Angels would not be idle, but employ'd themselves in these noble exercises. So the soldiers of Achilles during his quarrel with Agamemnon, and to the infernal Spirits, when their chief was gone in search of the new creation, II. 528.

Richardson.

555. — gliding through the even] That is thro' that part of the hemisphere, where it was then evening. Evening (says Dr. Bentley) is no place of space to glide thro': no more is day or night, and yet in the sense, which I have given to even, Milton says in the next verse but one towards the night, and elsewhere speaks of the confines of day. Pearce.

In ver. 792. Uriel is said to be arriv'd from the sun's decline, which is no more a place than the evening, but beautifully poetical; and justify'd by Virgil, Georg. IV. 59. where a swarm of bees falls thro' the glowing summer:

Nare per æstatem liquidam suspexeris agmen.

Richardson.

556. On a sun beam.] Uriel's gliding down to the earth upon a sun-beam, with the poet's device to make him descend, as well in his return
Chief of th’ angelic guards, awaiting night; 550
About him exercis’d heroic games
Th’ unarmed youth of Heav’n, but nigh at hand
Celestial armoury, shields, helms, and spears,
Hung high with diamond flaming, and with gold.
Thither came Uriel, gliding through the even
On a sun beam, swift as a shooting star

In like manner compares Minerva’s descent
from Heaven to a shooting star, Iliad. IV. 74.

Where Dr. Clarke says, Non \( \pi \gamma \omega \mu \varepsilon \nu \nu \) νο-
μην, ut Scholiafites male (and so likewise Mr. Pope translates it) fed stella trajectionem.
The fall of Phaeton is illustrated with the same
comparison by Ovid, Met. II. 320.

As Uriel was coming from the sun to the earth, his coming upon a sun-beam was the
most direct and level course that he could
take; for the sun’s rays were now pointed
right against the eastern gate of Paradise, where
Gabriel was sitting, and to whom Uriel was
going. And the thought of making him glide
on a sun beam, I have been inform’d, is taken
from some capital picture of some great Ita-
lian master, where an Angel is made to descend
in like manner.
In autumn thwarts the night, when vapors fir’d
Impress the air, and shows the mariner
From what point of his compass to beware
Impetuous winds: he thus began in haste.

Gabriel, to thee thy course by lot hath given
Charge and strict watch, that to this happy place
No evil thing approach or enter in.

This day at hight of noon came to my sphere
A Spirit, zealous, as he seem’d, to know
More of th’ Almighty’s works, and chiefly Man,
God’s latest image: I describ’d his way
Bent all on speed, and mark’d his aery gate;
But in the mount that lies from Eden north,
Where he first lighted, soon discern’d his looks
Alien from Heav’n, with passions foul obscure’d:

as Virgil himself has noted long ago, Georg.
I. 365.

Sæpe etiam stellas vento impendente videbis
Precipites coelo labi, noctifque per umbram
Fammarum longos a tergo albececre tractus.

And oft before tempestuous winds arise,
The seeming stars fall headlong from the skies;
And shooting through the darkness gild the night
With sweeping glories, and long trails of light.
Dryden.

560. — be thus began in haste.] This abrupt-
ness is here very elegant and proper to express
the haste that he was in.

561. — thy course by lot] He speaks as if
the Angels had their particular courses and of-
fices assign’d by lot, as the priests had in the
service of the temple. See 1 Chron. XXIV.

563. No evil thing approach or enter in.] Dr. Bentley objects, that the natural order is
inverted,
Mine eye pursued him still, but under shade
Lost sight of him: one of the banish’d crew,
I fear, hath ventur’d from the deep, to raise
New troubles; him thy care must be to find.

To whom the winged warrior thus return’d.
Uriel, no wonder if thy perfect sight,
Amid the sun’s bright circle where thou sit’st,
See far and wide: in at this gate none pass
The vigilance here plac’d, but such as come
Well known from Heav’n; and since meridian hour
No creature thence: if Spirit of other sort,
So minded, have o’erleap’d these earthy bounds
On purpose, hard thou know’st it to exclude
Spiritual substance with corporeal bar.

But if within the circuit of these walks,

inverted, enter after approach; for if the very approach was stop’d, the entrance was impossible. But the order seems rightly observed in the common reading, if we allow the sense to be this, Not to suffer any evil thing to approach, or at least to enter in. Pearce.

567. God’s latest image: For the first was Christ, and before Man were the Angels. So in III. 151. Man is called God’s youngest son.

567. — I describ’d his way] Some read describ’d, but describ’d is properest. He describ’d to Satan or shou’d him the way to Paradise, as it is said he did in III. 722, 733. and mark’d his aery gate; For it was sportive in many an aery wheel, as we read in the conclusion of the third book; and it was well taken notice of there, as such use is made of it here. And the same we may observe of the turbulent passions discover’d in him on mount Niphates in this book, ver. 125—130. Uriel mark’d them then, and reports them now.
In whatsoever shape he lurk, of whom
Thou tell'st, by morrow dawning I shall know.

So promis'd he; and Uriel to his charge
Return'd on that bright beam, whose point now rais'd
Bore him slope downward to the sun now fall'n
Beneath th' Azores; whether the prime orb,
Incredible how swift, had thither roll'd

Diurnal,

590. Return'd on that bright beam, whose point now rais'd] He supposes, that he slides back on the same beam that he came upon; which sun-beam he considers not as a flowing punctum of light, but as a continued rod extending from sun to earth. The extremity of this rod, while Uriel was discoursing, and the sun gradually descending, must needs be raised up higher than when he came upon it; and consequently the rod bore him slope downward back again. This has been represented as a pretty device, but below the genius of Milton, [See Mr. Addison's remark on ver. 556.] To make Uriel descend, for more ease and expedition, both in his way from the sun, and to the sun again. But Milton had no such device here: he makes Uriel come from the sun, not on a descending, but on a level ray, ver. 541, from the sun's right aspect to the east in the very margin of the horizon. Here's no trick then or device; but perhaps a too great affectation to show his philosophy; as in the next lines, on this common occasion of the sun's setting, he starts a doubt whether that is produc'd in the Ptolemaic or Copernican way. But this little foible he makes ample amends for. Bentley.

592. Beneath th' Azores; ] They are islands in the great Atlantic or western ocean; nine in number; commonly call'd the Terceras, from one of them. Some confound the Canaries with them. Hume and Richardjon.

592. — whether the prime orb, &c.] The sun was now fall'n beneath th' Azores, with three syllables, for so it is to be pronounce'd: whether, not whether as in Milton's own editions, the prime orb, the sun, had roll'd thither diurnal, that is in a day's time, with an incredible swift motion; or this left volubilis earth, with the second syllable long as it is in the Latin volubilis,

Impubesque manus mirata volubile buxum.
Virg. AEn. VII. 382.

he writes it volubile when he makes the second syllable short as in IX. 436. by shorter flight to the east, had left him there at the Azores, it being a left motion for the earth to move from west to east upon its own axis according to the system of Copernicus, than for the Heavens and heavenly bodies to move from east to west according to the system of Ptolemy. Our author in like manner, III. 575. questions whether the sun was in the center of the world or not,
Diurnal, or this less volúbil earth,
By shorter flight to th' east, had left him there
Arraying with reflected purple' and gold
The clouds that on his western throne attend.
Now came still evening on, and twilight gray
Had in her sober livery all things clad;
Silence accompanied; for beast and bird,
They

not, so scrupulous was he in declaring for any
system of philosophy.

598. Now came still evening on, &c.] This
is the first evening in the poem; for the action
of the preceding books lying out of the
sphere of the sun, the time could not be com-
puted. When Satan came first to the earth,
and made that famous soliloquy at the begin-
ing of this book, the sun was high in his me-
ridian tower; and this is the evening of that
day; and surely there never was a finer even-
ing; words cannot furnish out a more lovely
description. The greatest poets in all ages
have as it were vy'd one with another in their
descriptions of evening and night; but for the
variety of numbers and pleasing images I
know of nothing parallel or comparable to this
to be found among all the treasures of ancient
or modern poetry. There is no need to point
out the beauties of it; it must charm every
body, who does but read it or hear it. I can
recollect only one description fit to be men-
tion'd after this, and that is of a fine moon-
shiny night by way of similitude in Homer,
IIiad VIII. 551. where Mr. Pope has taken
more than ordinary pains to make the transla-
tion excellent as the original.

As when the moon, refulgent lamp of night,
O'er Heav'n's clear azure spreads her sacred
light,
When not a breath disturb'd the deep serene,
And not a cloud o'ercafts the solemn scene;
Around her throne the vivid planets roll,
And stars unnumber'd gild the glowing pole,
O'er the dark trees a yellower verdure thred,
And tip with silver every mountain's head;
Then shine the vales, the rocks in prospect rise,
A flood of glory bursts from all the skies:
The conscious swains, rejoicing in the sight,
Eye the blue vault, and bless the useful light.
Milton's description, we see, leaves off, where
Homer's begins; and tho' the quotation is
somewhat long, yet I am perfuaded the reader
cannot but be pleas'd with it, as it is a sort of
continuation of the same beautiful scene.
They to their grassy couch, these to their nests
Were slunk, all but the wakeful nightingale;
She all night long her amorous descant sung;
Silence was pleas’d: now glow’d the firmament
With living saphirs: Hesperus, that led
The starry host, rode brightest, till the moon
Rising in clouded majesty, at length
Apparent queen unveil’d her peerless light,
And o’er the dark her silver mantle threw.

When Adam thus to Eve. Fair Confort, th’ hour
Of night, and all things now retir’d to rest
Mind us of like repose, since God hath set
Labor and rest, as day and night, to men
Successive; and the timely dew of sleep
Now falling with soft slumbrous weight inclines
Our eye-lids: other creatures all day long
Rove idle unemploy’d, and less need rest;
Man hath his daily work of body’ or mind
Appointed.

627. Our walk ] In the first edition it was our walks, in the second and all following our walk.

628. That mock our scant manuring,] Manuring is not here to be understood in the common sense, but as working with hands, as the French manœuvre; ’tis, as immediately after, to lop, to rid away what is scatter’d.

Richardson.

635. My Author and Disposer,] For whom and
Appointed, which declares his dignity,
And the regard of Heav'n on all his ways;
While other animals unactive range,
And of their doings God takes no account.
To morrow ere fresh morning streak the east
With first approach of light, we must be risen,
And at our pleasant labor, to reform
Yon flow'ry arbors, yonder alleys green,
Our walk at noon, with branches overgrown,
That mock our scant manuring, and require
More hands than ours to lop their wanton growth:
Those blossoms also, and those dropping gums,
That lie bestrown unsightly and unsmooth,
Ask riddance, if we mean to tread with ease;
Mean while, as Nature wills, night bids us rest.

To whom thus Eve with perfect beauty' adorn'd.

My Author and Disposer, what thou bidst
Unargued I obey; so God ordains;

and from whom I was form'd in our poet's own words, ver. 440. My Author, the author of my being, out of whom I was made. Hume. We have another view of our first parents in their evening discourses, which is full of pleasing images and sentiments suitable to their condition and characters. The speech of Eve in particular is dressed up in such a soft and natural turn of the words, as cannot be sufficiently admired, Addison.
God is thy law, thou mine: to know no more

Is woman’s happiest knowledge and her praise.

With thee conversing I forget all time;

All seasons and their change, all please alike.

Sweet is the breath of morn, her rising sweet,

With charm of earliest birds; pleasant the sun,

When first on this delightful land he spreads

His orient beams, on herb, tree, fruit, and flower,

Glist’ring with dew; fragrant the fertile earth

After soft showers; and sweet the coming on

Of grateful evening mild; then silent night

With this her solemn bird, and this fair moon,

And these the gems of Heav’n, her starry train:

But

640. All seasons and their change,] We should understand here the seasons of the day, and not of the year. So in VIII. 69. we read

His seasons, hours, or days, or months, or years:

and in IX. 200. he says Adam and Eve partake the season prime for sweetest songs, that is the morning. It was now an eternal spring, ver. 268. and we shall read in X. 677. of the changes made after the fall,

—— to bring in change

Of seasons to each clime, else had the spring

Perpetual smil’d on earth with vernant flowers.

And we may farther observe, that Eve in the following charming lines mentions morning, evening, night, the times of the day, and not the seasons of the year.

641. Sweet is the breath of morn, &c.] Mr. Dryden in his preface to Juvenal has observed upon our author, that he could not find any elegant turns in him either on the words or on the thoughts. But Mr. Addison in one of the Tatlers (N° 114.) quotes this delightful passage in vindication of Milton, and remarks that the variety of images in it is infinitely pleasing, and the recapitulation of each particular image, with a little varying of the expression,
But neither breath of morn, when she ascends
With charm of earliest birds; nor rising sun
On this delightful land; nor herb, fruit, flower,
Glist'ring with dew; nor fragrance after showers;
Nor grateful evening mild; nor silent night
With this her solemn bird, nor walk by moon,
Or glittering star-light without thee is sweet.
But wherefore all night long shine these? for whom
This glorious sight, when sleep hath shut all eyes?
To whom our general ancestor reply'd.
Daughter of God and Man, accomplish'd Eve,
These have their course to finish round the earth,
By morrow evening, and from land to land

pression, makes one of the finest turns of words
he had ever seen. He further observes, that
tho' the sweetness of these verses has something
in it of a pastoral, yet it excels the ordinary
kind, as much as the scene of it is above an
ordinary field or meadow.

648. With this her solemn bird, The nightingale, most musical, most melancholy, as he says
elsewhere. She is call'd the solemn nightingale,
VII. 435.

660. Daughter of God and Man, accomplish'd
Eve, Mr. Pope in his excellent notes
upon Homer, B. i. ver. 97. observes, that
those appellations of praise and honor, with
which the heroes in Homer so frequently salute
each other, were agreeable to the style of the
ancient times, as appears from several of the
like nature in Scripture. Milton has not been
wanting to give his poem this cast of antiquity,
throughout which our first parents almost al-
ways accord each other with some title, that
expresses a respect to the dignity of human
nature.

661. These have their course? I have pre-
sum'd to make a small alteration here in the
text, and read These, though in most other
editions and even in Milton's own I find These;
because it is said before, ver. 657.
In order, though to nations yet unborn,
Ministring light prepar’d, they set and rise;
Left total darkness shou’d by night regain
Her old possession, and extinguish life
In nature and all things, which these soft fires
Not only inlighten, but with kindly heat
Of various influence foment and warm,
Temper or nourish, or in part shed down
Their stellar virtue on all kinds that grow
On earth, made hereby apter to receive
Perfection from the sun’s more potent ray.
These then, though unbeheld in deep of night,
Shine not in vain; nor think, though men were none,
That Heav’n would want spectators, God want praise:
Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth
Unseen,

But wherefore all night long shine these?
and afterwards, ver. 674.
These then, though unbeheld in deep of night,
Shine not in vain;
both which passages evince that These here is
an error of the prefs.

671. Their stellar virtue] As Milton was an
universal scholar, so he had not a little affectation of showing his learning of all kinds, and makes Adam discourse here somewhat like an
adept in astrology, which was too much the philosophy of his own times. What he says afterwards of numberless spiritual creatures walking the earth unseen, and joining in praises to their great Creator, is of a nobler strain, more agreeable to reason and revelation, as well as more pleasing to the imagination, and seems to be an imitation and improvement of old Hesiod’s notion of good geniufes, the guardians of mortal men, clothed with air, wand’ring every where through the earth. See Hesiod, I. 120—125.

682. Celestial
Unseen, both when we wake, and when we sleep:
All these with ceaseless praise his works behold
Both day and night: how often from the steep
Of echoing hill or thicket have we heard
Celestial voices to the midnight air,
Sole, or responsive each to others note,
Singing their great Creator? oft in bands
While they keep watch, or nightly rounding walk
With heav’ny touch of instrumental sounds
In full harmonic number join’d, their songs
Divide the night, and lift our thoughts to Heaven.

Thus talking hand in hand alone they pass’d
On to their blissful bow’r; it was a place
Chos’n by the sovran Planter, when he fram’d
All things to Man’s delightful use; the roof

682. Celestial voices to the midnight air,]
Singing to the midnight air. So in Virg. Ecl.
I. 57.

Quorum noctivago strepitu, ludoque jocanti
Adfirmant volgò taciturna silentia rumpi,
Chordarumque fonos fieri, dulcefque querelas,
Tibia quas fundit digitis pulfata canentum.

688. Divide the night.] Into watches, as the
trumpet did among the Ancients, founding as
the watch was relieved, which was called di-
viding the night.

—— cum buccina noctem
O o

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Of thickest covert was inwoven shade
Laurel and myrtle, and what higher grew
Of firm and fragrant leaf; on either side
Acanthus, and each odorous bushy shrub
Fenc'd up the verdant wall; each beauteous flower,
Iris all hues, roses, and jessamin
Rear'd high their florish'd heads between, and wrought
Mosaic; underfoot the violet,
Crocus, and hyacinth with rich inlay
Broader'd the ground, more color'd than with stone
Of costliest emblem: other creature here,
Beast, bird, insect, or worm durst enter none; Such was their awe of Man. In shadier bower More sacred and sequester'd, though but feign'd, Pan or Sylvanus never slept, nor Nymph, Nor Faunus haunted. Here in close recess With flowers, garlands, and sweet-smelling herbs Espoused Eve deck'd first her nuptial bed, And heav'nly quires the hymenæan sung, What day the genial Angel to our fire Brought her in naked beauty more adorn'd, More lovely than Pandora, whom the Gods

1st edition; in the second we read In shadier bower, but with such a space as is not usual between two words, as if the letter r had occupy'd the room, and by some accident had made no impression. In shadier bower marks more strongly the shadiness as well as the retiredness of the place, and the shadiness is a principal circumstance of the description, and the bower is seldom mention'd but it is called shady bower, III. 734. V. 367, 375. shady lodge, IV. 720. shady arborous roof, V. 137. The purport of the simile then is this, There never was a more shady, more sacred and sequester'd bower, though in fiction, than this was in reality. Pan, the God of shepherds, or Sylvanus, the God of woods and groves, Wood-nymph, or Faunus, the tutelary God of husbandmen, were not even feign'd to enjoy a more sweet recess than this of Adam and Eve.

709. With flowers, J Milton usually spells it flour, but here it is with two syllables flowers, which made me imagin that he writ always flour when it was to be pronounc'd as one syllable, and flower when it was to be pronounc'd as two syllables: but upon farther examination we find, that when he pronounces the word as one syllable, he sometimes spells it flower flour, sometimes floure, sometimes flouer; and so likewise bower he spells differently bower, bowr, bowre; and floower like-wise flower, flower, flower. It is fitting that all these should be reduced to some certain standard, and what standard more proper than the present practice, and especially since there are several instances of the same in Milton himself?

714. More lovely than Pandora, &c.] The story is this. Prometheus the son of Japhet O 0 2 (or
Endow'd with all their gifts, and O too like
In sad event, when to th' unwiser son
Of Japhet brought by Hermes, she inftar'd
Mankind with her fair looks, to be aveng'd
On him who had stole Jove's authentic fire.

Thus at their shady lodge arriv'd, both flood,
Both turn'd, and under open sky ador'd
The God that made both sky, air, earth and heaven,
Which they beheld, the moon's resplendent globe,
And starry pole: Thou also mad'st the night,

Maker

(or Japetus) had stole'n fire from Heaven, Jove's authentic fire, the original and prototype of all earthly fire, which Jupiter being angry at, to be reveng'd sent him Pandora, so call'd because all the Gods had contributed their gifts to make her more charming (for so the word signifies). She was brought by Hermes (Mercury) but was not received by Prometheus the wiser son of Japhet (as the name implies) but by his brother Epimetheus th' unwiser son. She entic'd his foolish curiosity to open a box which she brought, wherein were contain'd all manner of evils.

Richardson.

The epithet unwiser does not imply that his brother Prometheus was unwise. Milton ues unwiser, as any Latin writer would imprudentior, for not so wise as he should have been. So audacia, timidior, vehementior, iracundior, &c. mean bolder, &c. quam par eff, than is right and fit, and imply less than audax, timidus, &c. in the positive degree.

720. Thus at their shady lodge arriv'd, both flood,
Both turn'd, &c.] A great admirer of Milton observes, that he sometimes places two monosyllables at the end of the line stopping at the fourth foot, to adapt the measure of the verse to the sense; and then begins the next line in the same manner, which has a wonderful effect. This artful manner of writing makes the reader see them stand and turn to worship God before they went into their bower. If this manner was alter'd, much of the effect of the painting would be lost.

And now arriving at their shady lodge
Both flood, both turn'd, and under open sky
Ador'd the God &c.

723.—the moon's resplendent globe,
And starry pole: ] Virg. AEn. VI. 725.

Lucentemque globum lunae, Titaniaque astra.

724 — ibid
Maker omnipotent, and thou the day,
Which we in our appointed work employ'd
Have finish'd, happy in our mutual help
And mutual love, the crown of all our blis
Ordain'd by thee, and this delicious place
For us too large, where thy abundance wants
Partakers, and uncropt falls to the ground.
But thou hast promis'd from us two a race
To fill the earth, who shall with us extol
Thy goodness infinite, both when we wake,

724. — *Thou also mad'st the night, &c.*] A masterly transition this, which the poet makes to their evening worship. Most of the modern heroic poets have imitated the Ancients, in beginning a speech without premising, that the person said thus and thus; but as it is easy to imitate the Ancients in the omission of two or three words, it requires judgment to do it in such a manner as they shall not be missed, and that the speech may begin naturally without them. There is a fine instance of this kind out of Homer, in the 23d chapter of Longinus. *Addison.*

I conceive Mr. Addison meant Sect. 27. and the instance there given is of Hector being first nam'd, and then of a sudden introduced as speaking, without any notice given that he does so. But the transition here in Milton is of another sort; it is first speaking of a person, and then suddenly turning the discourse, and speaking to him. And we may observe the like transition from the third to the second person in the hymn to Hercules, Virg. Æn. VIII. 291.

— ut duros mille labores
Pertulerit. *Tu nubigenas, invicte, bimembres &c.*

729. — *and this delicious place*] Dr. Bentley reads *Thou this delicious place*, that is *Thou mad'st &c.* as in ver. 724. *Thou also mad'st the night*. Dr. Pearce chooses rather to read thus,

— the crown of all our blis
Ordain'd by thee in this delicious place.

The construction no doubt is somewhat obscure, but without any alteration we may understand the passage with Dr. Pearce thus, and thou mad'st this delicious place: or with Mr. Richardson thus, happy in our mutual help and mutual love, the chief of all our blis, thy gift, and happy in this delicious Paradise: or thus, happy in our mutual help and mutual love, the

And
And when we seek, as now, thy gift of sleep.

This said unanimous, and other rites
Observing none, but adoration pure
Which God likes best, into their inmost bower
Handed they went; and eas’d the putting off
These troublesome disguises which we wear,
Strait side by side were laid; nor turn’d I ween
Adam from his fair spouse, nor Eve the rites
Mysterious of connubial love refus’d:
Whatever hypocrites austerely talk
Of purity and place and innocence,

Defaming

crown of all our blis, and of this delicious place.

735. — Thy gift of sleep.] Dr. Bentley reads the gift, and observes that it is word for word from Homer, who has the expression frequently:

Κοιμησαί α’ πυτα, καυ υπει δωμαν έλοιν.

But thy gift is right, for in ver. 612. Milton says that God hath set labor and rest to men successful; therefore sleep is God’s gift: and Virgil (whom Milton oftner imitates than Homer) says of sleep:

—dono Divum gratissima serpit. Æn. II. 269. Pearce.

744. Whatever hypocrites &c.] Our author calls those, who under a notion of greater purity and perfection decry and forbid marriage, as they do in the Church of Rome, hypocrites; and says afterwards that it is the doctrin of our Destroyer, in allusion to that text of St. Paul, i Tim. IV. 1, 2, 3. Now the Spirit speaketh expressly that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing Spirits and doctrines of Devils, speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their conscience seared with a hot iron, forbidding to marry, &c.

750. Hail wedded Love, &c.] An ingenious friend has inform’d me, that this address to wedded love is borrow’d from one of Tasso’s letters; O dolce congiuntione de’cuori, o soave unione de gli animi noltri, o legitimo nodo, &c.

The quotation would swell this note to too great a length; but the reader, who understands Italian, may, if he please, compare the
Defaming as impure what God declares Pure, and commands to some, leaves free to all. Our Maker bids increase; who bids abstain But our Destroyer, foe to God and Man? Hail wedded Love, mysterious law, true source Of human offspring, sole propriety In Paradise of all things common else. By thee adult'rous lust was driv'n from men Among the bestial herds to range; by thee Founded in reason, loyal, just, and pure, Relations dear, and all the charities

original with our author, and he will easily perceive what an excellent copier Milton was, as judicious in omitting some circumstances as in imitating others. It is in one of Tasso's letters to his relation Signor Hercole Tasso, Lib. 2. p. 150. Edit. In Venetia. 1592.

750. — mysterious law,] That is including a mystery in it, in the same sense as mysterious rites are spoken of before. He plainly alludes to St. Paul's calling matrimony a mystery, Eph. V. 32. No need then for Dr. Bentley's mysterious league: and his objection, that a law supposed to be mysterious is no law at all, is easily answer'd; for by mysterious he (Dr. Bentley) means, itself hidden or conceal'd; and Milton means, containing some hidden meaning in it, besides the plain precept which appear'd. 

752. — of all things common else.] Dr. Bentley reads 'mong all things; but of signifies among in this place, as it does in ver. 411, and in V. 659. VI. 24. and elsewhere. 

Pearce.

756. — and all the charities] Charities is used in the Latin signification, and like caritas comprehends all the relations, all the in-dearments of consanguinity and affinity, as in Cicero De Officiis, I. 17. Cari sunt parentes, cari liberi, propinqui, familiares; sed omnes omnium caritates patria una complexa est. It is used likewise in this manner in the Italian, and by Tasso in the place which our author is here imitating, Ma la charita del figlivolo, e dei padre.

761. Whose
Of father, son, and brother first were known.
Far be' it, that I should write thee sin or blame,
Or think thee unbesitting holiest place,
Perpetual fountain of domestic sweets,
Whose bed is undefil'd and chaste pronounced,
Present, or past, as saints and patriarchs us'd.
Here love his golden shafts employs, here lights
His constant lamp, and waves his purple wings,
Reigns here and revels; not in the bought smile
Of harlots, loveless, joyless, unindear'd,
Casual fruition; nor in court amours,
Mix'd

761. Whose bed is undefil'd and chaste pronounced.] In allusion to Heb. XIII. 4. Marriage is honorable in all, and the bed undefiled. And Milton must have had a good opinion of marriage, or he would never have had three wives. And tho' this panegyric upon wedded love may be condemn'd as a digression, yet it can hardly be call'd a digression, when it grows so naturally out of the subject, and is introduced so properly, while the action of the poem is in a manner suspended, and while Adam and Eve are lying down to sleep; and if morality be one great end of poetry, that end cannot be better promoted than by such digressions as this and that upon hypocrisy at the latter part of the third book.

769. Or serenate, which the starv'd lover sings.] We commonly say serenade with the French, but Milton keeps, as usual, the Italian word serenate, which the starv'd lover sings, starv'd as this compliment was commonly pay'd in sereno, in clear cold nights. Horace mentions this circumstance, Od. III. X. 1.

Extremum Tanain si biberes, Lyce,
Sævo nupta viro, me tamen asperas
Projectum ante fores objicere incolis
Plorares aquilonibus:

and in another of his odes he has preserved a fragment of one of these songs, Od. I. XXV. 7.

Me tuo longas perseunte noctes,
Lydia, dormis.

776. Now had night measur'd with her shadowy cone.] A cone is a figure round at bottom, and lessening all the way ends in a point. This is the form of the shadow of the earth, the
Mix’d dance, or wanton mask, or midnight ball,  
Or serenade, which the starv’d lover sings  
To his proud fair, best quitted with disdain.  

These lull’d by nightingales embracing slept,  
And on their naked limbs the flow’ry roof  
Show’d roses, which the morn repair’d.  
Sleep on,  
Blest pair; and O ye yet happiest, if ye seek  
No happier state, and know to know no more.  

Now had night measur’d with her shadowy cone  
Half way up hill this vast sublunar vault,  
And from their ivory port the Cherubim  

first military watch to take their rounds.  
Spen-  
fer, Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 2. St. 1.  
Phoebus was climbing up the eastern bill.  
Bentley.  

777. — this vast sublunar vault,] For the  
shadow of the earth sweeps as it were the whole  
arch or vault of Heaven between the earth and  
moon, and extends beyond the orbit of the  
moon, as appears from the lunar eclipses.  

778. And from their ivory port &c.] We  
cannot conceive that here is any allusion to the  
ivory gate of sleep, mention’d by Homer and  
Virgil, from whence false dreams proceeded;  
for the poet could never intend to insinuate  
that what he was saying about the angelic  
guards was all a fiction. As the rock was of  
alabaster, ver. 543. fo he makes the gate of  
ivory, which was very proper for an eastern  
gate,
Forth issuing at th' accustom'd hour stood arm'd
To their night watches in warlike parade,
When Gabriel to his next in pow'r thus spake.

Uzziel, half these draw off, and coast the south
With strictest watch; these other wheel the north;
Our circuit meets full west. As flame they part,
Half wheeling to the shield, half to the spear.

From these, two strong and subtle Spirits he call'd
That near him stood, and gave them thus in charge.

Ithuriel and Zephon, with wing'd speed
Search through this garden, leave unsearch'd no nook;
But chiefly where those two fair creatures lodge,
Now laid perhaps asleep secure of harm.

This gate, as the finest ivory cometh from the east;
India mittit ebur, Virg. Georg. I. 57. And
houses and palaces of ivory are mention'd as
instances of magnificence in Scripture, as are
likewise doors of ivory in Ovid, Met. IV. 185.

Lemnius extemplo valvas patefecit eburnas.

782. Uzziel.] The next commanding Angel
to Gabriel; his name in Hebrew is the strength
of God, as all God's mighty Angels are.

Hume.

784. As flame they part.] This break
in the verse is excellently adapted to the sub-
ject. They part as the flame divides into se-
parate wreaths. A short simile, but express-
five of their quickness and rapidity, and of
their brightness and the splendor of their ar-
mour at the same time. Homer in the second
book of the Iliad compares the march of the
Trojans to the flame, but this simile is better
suited to those beings, of whom the Scripture
says, He maketh his angels spirits, and his mini-
sters a flame of fire.

785. Half wheeling to the shield, half to the
spear.] Declinare ad bastam vel ad scu-
tum. Livy. to wheel to the right or left.

Hume.

As all the Angels stood in the eastern gate,
This evening from the sun's decline arriv'd
Who tells of some infernal Spirit seen
Hitherward bent (who could have thought?) escap'd
The bars of Hell, on errand bad no doubt:
Such where ye find, seize fast, and hither bring.

So saying, on he led his radiant files,
Dazling the moon; these to the bow'r direct
In search of whom they fought: him there they found
Squat like a toad, close at the ear of Eve,
Assaying by his devilish art to reach
The organs of her fancy', and with them forge
Illusions as he lift, phantasms and dreams,
Or if, inspiring venom, he might taint

Th'animal

their right hand was to the north, to the spear;
their left hand to the south, to the shield. From these that wheel'd to the spear Gabriel calls out two: He himself then was in that company. Shield and spear for left hand and right, while the men are suppozed in arms, gives a dignity of expression, more than the common words have. Bentley.


796. — and thither bring. ] Dr. Bentley reads thither to the opposit side, the west; where the parting squadrons would meet after their half circuits; and accordingly (fays he) they brought Satan thither, to the western point, ver. 862. But there are twelve lines since the west was mention'd, and that was in another speech, at too great a distance for thither to be referred to it. It is not mention'd in this speech, and I see no reason why we may not understand these words with Mr. Richardson, bring thither that is to me wherefoever I happen to be.

804. Or if, inspiring venom, &c.] So Virg. Æn. VII. 351. where the serpent, that the fury
Th' animal spirits that from pure blood arise
Like gentle breaths from rivers pure, thence raise
At least distemper'd, discontented thoughts,
Vain hopes, vain aims, inordinate desires,
Blown up with high conceits ingendering pride.
Him thus intent Ithuriel with his spear
Touch'd lightly; for no falfhood can endure
Touch of celestial temper, but returns
Of force to its own likeness: up he starts
Discover'd and surpris'd. As when a spark
Lights on a heap of nitrous powder, laid
Fit for the tun some magazine to store
Against a rumor'd war, the smutty grain
With sudden blaze diffus'd inflames the air:
So started up in his own shape the Fiend.

fury Aleceo had flung upon Amata, creeps softly over her,

Vipeream inspirans animam — —
Pertentat sensus. Richardson.

The construction is, Affaying to reach the organs of fancy, and so to work upon her by phantasms and dreams; or (affaying) if he might taint the animal spirits, which arise from pure blood as soft and gentle airs from clear rivers, and by tainting the animal spirits might raise at least vain thoughts, if not sinful actions.

816. Fit for the tun] 'Tis commonly call'd a barrel; but Milton for the sake of his verse, and perhaps for the sake of a les vulgar term, calls it a tun from the French tonneau, any cask or vesiel.

819. So started up in his own shape the Fiend.]
Back steep those two fair Angels half amaz'd
So sudden to behold the grisly king;
Yet thus, unmov'd with fear, accost him soon.

Which of those rebel Spirits adjudg'd to Hell
Com'st thou, escap'd thy prison? and transform'd,
Why sat'st thou like an enemy in wait,
Here watching at the head of these that sleep?

Know ye not then, said Satan fill'd with scorn,
Know ye not me? ye knew me once no mate
For you, there sitting where ye durst not fear:
Not to know me argues yourselves unknown,
The lowest of your throng; or if ye know,
Why ask ye, and superfluous begin
Your message, like to end as much in vain?

To whom thus Zephon, answ'ring scorn with scorn.

Think

His planting himself at the ear of Eve under
the form of a toad, in order to produce vain
dreams and imaginations, is a circumstance
that surprises the reader; as his starting up in
his own form is wonderfully fine, both in the
litteral description, and in the moral which is
concealed under it. His answer, upon his be-
ing discover'd and demanded to give an ac-
count of himself, is conformable to the pride
and intrepidity of his character. Zephon's re-
buke, with the influence it had on Satan, is
exquisitely graceful and moral.  
834. To whom thus Zephon,] Zephon is very
properly made to answer him, and not Ithu-
riel, that each of them may appear as actors
upon this occasion. Ithuriel with his spear re-
stor'd the Fiend to his own shape, and Zephon
rebukes him. It would not have been so well,
if the same person had done both.
Think not, revolted Spirit, thy shape the same,
Or undiminish'd brightness to be known,
As when thou stood'st in Heav'n upright and pure;
That glory then, when thou no more wast good,
Departed from thee; and thou resemblest now
Thy sin and place of doom obscure and foul.

But come, for thou, be sure, shalt give account
To him who sent us, whose charge is to keep
This place inviolable, and these from harm.

So spake the Cherub; and his grave rebuke,
Severe in youthful beauty, added grace
Invincible: abash'd the Devil stood,
And felt how awful goodness is, and saw
Virtue in her shape how lovely; saw, and pin'd
His

835. Think not, revolted Spirit, thy shape the same,
Or undiminishe'd brightness to be known,] Dr.
Bentley judges rightly enough that the present
reading is faulty; for if the words thy shape
the same are in the ablative case put absolutely,
it is necessary that undiminish'd should follow
brightness: and accordingly the Doctor reads
Or brightness undiminishe'd; which order of
the words we must follow, unless it may
be thought as small an alteration to read thus,

Think not, revolted Spirit, by shape the same
Or undiminishe'd brightness to be known,
just as in I. 732. we have

— his hand was known
In Heav'n by many a towred structure high.

Pearce.

But without any alteration may we not under-
stand shape and brightness as in the accusative
case after the verb think? Think not thy
shape the same, or undiminishe'd brightness to
His loss; but chiefly to find here observ'd
His luftre visibly impair'd; yet seem'd
Undaunted. If I must contend, said he,
Best with the best, the sender not the sent,
Or all at once; more glory will be won,
Or less be lost. Thy fear, said Zaphon bold,
Will save us trial what the least can do
Single against thee wicked, and thence weak.

The Fiend reply'd not, overcome with rage;
But like a proud steed rein'd, went haughty on,
Champing his iron curb: to strive or fly
He held it vain; awe from above had quell'd
His heart, not else dismayer'd. Now drew they nigh
The western point, where those half-rounding guards

Just to be known now, as it was formerly in
Heaven.

845. Severe in youthful beauty, added grace
Virg. Æn. V. 344.

Gratior et pulchro veniens in corpore virtus.

848. Virtue in her shape how lovely; &c.] What is said here of seeing Virtue in her shape
how lovely is manifestly borrow'd from Plato
and Cicero, Formam quidem ipfam & quasi
faciem honesti vides, quae si oculis cernetur,
mirabiles amores (ut ait Plato) excitaret sapientiae. Cic. de Off. I. 5. as what follows, form
and pin'd his loss, is an imitation of Juvenal,
Virtutem videant intabscantque relieta.

858. — went haughty on.] Satan is afterwards led to Gabriel, the chief of the guard-
dian Angels, who kept watch in Paradise. His
disdainful behaviour on this occasion is so re-
markable a beauty, that the most ordinary
reader cannot but take notice of it.

Addison.
865. Gabriell
Just met, and closing stood in squadron join'd,
Awaiting next command. To whom their chief
Gabriël from the front thus call'd aloud.

O friends, I hear the tread of nimble feet
Hafting this way, and now by glimpse discern
Ithuriel and Zephon through the shade,
And with them comes a third of regal port,
But faded splendor wan; who by his gate
And fierce demeanour seems the prince of Hell,
Not likely to part hence without contest;
Stand firm, for in his look defiance lours.

He scarce had ended, when those two approach'd,
And brief related whom they brought, where found,

865. Gabriël from the front] Gabriël is pronounced here as a word of three syllables, tho' commonly it is used as only of two; a liberty which Milton takes in the names of the Angels.

866. O friends, I hear &c.] Gabriël's discovering Satan's approach at a distance is drawn with great strength and liveliness of imagination. Addison.  

The learned Mr. Upton in his Critical Observations on Shakespeare remarks that Milton in this whole episode keeps close to his master Homer, who sends out Ulysses and Diomede into the Trojan camp as spies, Iliad, X. 533.

O filōi —

Iππον μ᾽ ὄκουποδον αμφὶ θυπ iov kata ballein. 
O friends, I hear the tread of nimble feet.

Ὁυπὶ ωαν είηγεν επὶ & αρ᾽ ηλυθον ωνοι.

He scarce had ended when those two approach'd.


878. — broke the bounds prescrib'd

To thy transgressions,] Dr. Bentley reads transgressions; and Mr. Richardson understands transgressions in the same sense. But as Dr. Pearce observes,
How busied, in what form and posture couch'd. 876
To whom with stern regard thus Gabriel spake.
Why haft thou, Satan, broke the bounds prescrib'd
to thy transgressions, and disturb'd the charge
of others, who approve not to transgress 880
By thy example, but have pow'r and right
to question thy bold entrance on this place;
Employ'd it seems to violate sleep, and those
whose dwelling God hath planted here in bliss?

To whom thus Satan with contemptuous brow. 885
Gabriel, thou had'st in Heav'n th' esteem of wise,
And such I held thee; but this question ask'd
Puts me in doubt. Lives there who loves his pain?

Who observes, though it is right to say that bounds
are prescrib'd to hinder transgressions, yet I think
it is not proper to say, that bounds are prescrib'd to transgressions. And the common reading is justifiable: for though (as Dr. Bentley says) no bounds could be set to Satan's transgressions, but he could transgress in his thought and mind every moment; yet it is good sense, if Milton meant (as I suppose he did) that the bounds of Hell were by God prescrib'd to Satan's transgressions, so as that it was intended he should transgress no where else, but within those bounds; whereas he was now attempting to transgress without them. And by this interpretation we shall not understand transgressions in the sense of the pure Latin, and transgress in the very next line in the usual English acceptation, but shall affix the same notion both to the one and the other.

883. — to violate sleep.] Shakespeare in Macbeth has a stronger expression, to murder sleep; both equally proper in the places where they are employ'd.

887. — but this question ask'd

Puts me in doubt.] Homer: Thou seem'dst a wise man formerly, Now o' argui fortis sermon. Bentley.
Who would not, finding way, break loose from Hell, 
Though thither doom'd? Thou would'st thyself, no 
And boldly venture to whatever place 
Farthest from pain, where thou might'st hope to change 
Torment with ease, and soonest recompense 
Dole with delight, which in this place I fought; 
To thee no reason, who know'st only good, 
But evil hast not try'd: and wilt object 
His will who bound us? let him surer bar 
His iron gates, if he intends our stay 
In that dark durance: thus much what was ask'd. 
The rest is true, they found me where they say; 
But that implies not violence or harm. 

Thus he in scorn. The warlike Angel mov'd, 
Disdainfully half smiling thus reply'd. 
O loss of one in Heav'n to judge of wise, 
Since Satan fell, whom folly overthrew, 
And now returns him from his prison scap'd, Gravely

892. — to change 
*torment with ease,*] We commonly say to change one thing for another, and Dr. Bently would read *for ease* in this place: but to change *torment with ease* is according to the Latins, whom Milton often follows. *Glandem mutavit arißá.* Virg. Georg. I. 8. 
896. — and wilt object 
*His will who bound us?*] If these words are to be read with a note of interrogation as in all the
Gravely in doubt whether to hold them wise
Or not, who ask what boldness brought him hither
Unlicenc'd from his bounds in Hell prescrib'd;
So wise he judges it to fly from pain
However, and to scape his punishment.
So judge thou still, presumptuous, till the wrath,
Which thou incurr'st by flying, meet thy flight
Sev'nfold, and scourge that wisdom back to Hell,
Which taught thee yet no better, that no pain
Can equal anger infinite provok'd.
But wherefore thou alone? wherefore with thee
Came not all Hell broke loose? is pain to them
Less pain, less to be fled? or thou than they
Less hardy to indure? courageous Chief,
The first in flight from pain, hadst thou alledg'd
To thy deserted host this cause of flight,
Thou surely hadst not come sole fugitive.

To which the Fiend thus answer'd frowning stern.

Not

the editions, thou must be understood, and
Dr. Bentley chooses to read and wilt thou ob-
ject. It is a concise way of speaking some-
what like that in II. 730. and know'st for
whom. But I have sometimes thought that
the passage may be read without the note of in-
terrigation, by joining it in construction with
what goes before; but asking the question
gives a spirit and quickness to it.
Not that I less endure, or shrink from pain,
Insulting Angel; well thou know'st I stood
Thy fiercest, when in battle to thy aid
The blasting volied thunder made all speed,
And seconded thy else not dreaded spear.
But still thy words at random, as before,
Argue thy inexperience what behoves
From hard assays and ill successes past
A faithful leader, not to hazard all
Through ways of danger by himself untried:
I therefore, I alone first undertook
To wing the desolate abyss, and spy
This new created world, whereof in Hell
Fame is not silent, here in hope to find
Better abode, and my afflicted Powers
To settle here on earth, or in mid air;
Though for possession put to try once more
What thou and thy gay legions dare against;

Whose

926. — well thou know'st I stood
Thy fiercest, Dr. Bentley reads The fiercest, that is pain: but Thy fiercest is right, and we may understand it with Dr. Pearce Thy fiercest attack, or with Mr. Richardson Thy fiercest enemy. Fiercest is used as a substantive, as our author often uses adjectives. Dr. Pearce gives several instances, II. 278. The sensible of pain. XI. 4. The stony from their hearts. XI. 497. His best of man.
Whose easier business were to serve their Lord
High up in Heav’n, with songs to hymn his throne,
And practic’d distances to cringe, not fight.

To whom the warrior Angel soon reply’d.
To say and strait unsay, pretending first
Wife to fly pain, professing next the spy,
Argues no leader but a liar trac’d,
Satan, and couldst thou faithful add? O name,
O sacred name of faithfulness profan’d!
Faithful to whom? to thy rebellious crew?
Army of Fiends, fit body to fit head.
Was this your disciplin and faith engag’d,
Your military obedience, to dissolve
Allegiance to th’acknowledg’d Pow’r supreme?
And thou, fly hypocrite, who now wouldst seem
Patron of liberty, who more than thou
Once fawn’d, and cring’d, and servily ador’d
Heav’n’s awful monarch? wherefore but in hope

928. The blasting] Thus ’tis in the first edition, the second has it Thy; but ’tis wrong no doubt. The word occurs very often thereabouts, and probably occasion’d the mistake. The sense requires it to be The. ~Richardson.

945. And practic’d distances to cringe, not fight.] With is understood. With songs to hymn his throne, and with practic’d distances to cringe, not fight. Dr. Bentley has strangely mistaken it.

962 — arredo]
To dispossess him, and thyself to reign?  
But mark what I arreed thee now, Avant;  
Fly thither whence thou fledst: if from this hour  
Within these hallow'd limits thou appear,  
Back to th' infernal pit I drag thee chain'd,  
And seal thee so, as henceforth not to scorn  
The facil gates of Hell too lightly barr'd.  
So threaten'd he; but Satan to no threats  
Gave heed, but waxing more in rage reply'd.  
Then when I am thy captive talk of chains,  
Proud limitary Cherub, but ere then  
Far heavier load thyself expect to feel

962. — arreed] To decree, to award.  
965. — I drag thee] The present tense  
used for the future, to signify the immediate  
execution of the menace.  
Hume,  
A Latinism, and very emphatical. Que prima  
pericula vito. Virg. Æn. III. 367. Cui famula  
473. Richardson.  
966. And seal thee so,] This seems to allude  
to the chaining of the dragon, that old serpent,  
which is the Devil and Satan, mention'd in the  
Revelation: And he cast him into the bottomless  
pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him,  
XX. 3.  
Hume.  
971. Proud limitary Cherub,] Thou proud  
prescribing Angel that presum'st to limit me,  
and appoint my prifon, according to Mr. Hume,  
Or rather limitary, set to guard the bounds; a  
taunt insulting the good Angel as one em-  
ploy'd on a little mean office, according to  
Mr. Richardson. For limitary (as Dr. Heylin  
remarks) is from limitaneus. Milites limitanei  
are soldiers in garrifon upon the frontiers. So  
Dux limitaneus. Digest.  
974. Ride on thy wings, &c. ] This seems  
to allude to Ezekiel's vision, where four Che-  
rubims are appointed to the four wheels: And  
the Cherubims did lift up their wings, and the  
wheels besides them, and the glory of the God of  
Israel was over them above. See Chap. I. and X.  
and XI. 22.
From my prevailing arm, though Heaven's king
Ride on thy wings, and thou with thy compeers,
Us'd to the yoke, draw'st his triumphant wheels
In progress through the road of Heav'n star-pav'd.

While thus he spake, th' angelic squadron bright
Turn'd fiery red, sharp'ning in mooned horns
Their phalanx, and began to hem him round
With ported spears, as thick as when a field
Of Ceres ripe for harvest waving bends
Her bearded grove of ears, which way the wind
Sways them; the careful plowman doubting stands,
Left on the threshing floor his hopeful sheaves

Prove

977. While thus he spake, &c.] The conference between Gabriel and Satan abounds with sentiments proper for the occasion, and suitable to the persons of the two speakers. Satan clothing himself with terror, when he prepares for the combat, is truly sublime, and at least equal to Homer's description of Discord celebrated by Longinus, or to that of Fame in Virgil, who are both represented with their feet standing upon the earth, and their heads reaching above the clouds. Addison.


980. — as thick as when a field &c.] It is familiar with the poets to compare an army with their spears and swords to a field of standing corn. Homer has a simile much of the same nature; comparing the motions of the army after Agamemnon's speech to the waving of the ears of corn. Iliad. II. 147.

And as on corn when western gusts descend,
Before the blast the lofty harvests bend:
Thus o'er the field the moving host appears,
With nodding plumes and groves of waving spears. Pope.
Prove chaff. On th' other side Satan alarm'd
Collecting all his might dilated stood,
Like Teneriff or Atlas unremov'd:
His figure reach'd the sky, and on his crest
Sat horror plum'd; nor wanted in his grasp
What seem'd both spear and shield: now dreadful deeds
Might have ensued, nor only Paradise

987. Like Teneriff or Atlas unremov'd:] Well
may Satan be liken'd to the greatest moun-
tains, and be said to stand as firm and im-
movable as they, when Virgil has applied
the same comparison to his hero, Æn. XII.

Quantus Athos, aut quantus Eryx, aut ipse
   cornucapis
Cum fremit illicibus quantus, gaudetque nivali
Vertice fe attollens pater Apenninus ad auras.

Like Eryx, or like Athos great he shows,
Or father Apennine, when Virgil has shews,
His head divine obscure in clouds he hides,
And shakes the founding forest on his sides.
Dryden.

Mr. Hume says that the Peak of Teneriff is fif-
teen miles high, and Mr. Richardson afferts that
it is 45 miles perpendicular, if that be not a
false print 45 for 15: but the utmost that we
can suppose is that it is 15 miles from the very
first ascent of the hill till you come thro' the
various turnings and windings to the top of
all; for I have been affur'd from a gentleman
who meafur'd it, that the perpendicular hightth
of it is no more than one mile and three
quarters.

988. His figure reach'd the sky.] It is pro-
bable that besides Homer's Discord, Iliad. IV.
443.

Outanqy ttipulqo yap, xai epi Xton bauix,
and Virgil's Fame, Æn. IV. 177.

Ingrediturque solo, et caput inter nubila
condit,

mention'd in a note above by Mr. Addison, he
alluded likewise to that noble description in
the book of Wisdom, XVIII. 16. It touched
the Heaven, but it stood upon the Earth.

989. Sat horror plum'd;] Horror is per-
sonify'd, and is made the plume of his helmet;
and how much nobler an idea is this than the
horbes tails and sphynxes and dragons and other
terrible animals on the helmets of the ancient
heroes, or even than the Chimæra vomiting
flames on the crest of Turnus, Æn. VII. 785.

Cui triplici crinita jubâ galea alta Chimâram
Sustinet, Ætnæos efflantem faucibus ignes.
A triple pile of plumes his crest adorn'd,
On which with belching flames Chimæra
burn'd! Dryden.

989. — nor wanted in his grasp &c.] This
is said to signify that he wanted not arms, tho'
he was but just rais'd out of the form of a
toad.
In this commotion, but the starry cope
Of Heav'n perhaps, or all the elements
At least had gone to wrack, disturb'd and torn
With violence of this conflict, had not soon
Th' Eternal to prevent such horrid fray
Hung forth in Heav'n his golden scales, yet seen
Betwixt Aftrea and the Scorpion sign,

Wherein

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bat describes Jupiter in the same manner, as weighing the fates of Turnus and Æneas. Milton, tho' he fetch'd this beautiful circumstance from the Iliad and Æneid, does not only infer it as a poetical embellishment, like the authors above mention'd; but makes an artful use of it for the proper carrying on of his fable, and for the breaking off the combat between the two warriors, who were upon the point of engaging. To this we may further add, that Milton is the more justify'd in this passage, as we find the same noble allegory in holy Writ, where a wicked prince, some few hours before he was assaulted and slain, is said to have been weighed in the scales, and to have been found wanting. Addison.

996. Th' Eternal to prevent such horrid fray
The breaking off the combat between Gabriel and Satan, by the hanging out of the golden scales in Heaven, is a refinement upon Homer's thought, who tells us that before the battle between Hæctor and Achilles, Jupiter weighed the event of it in a pair of scales. The reader may see the whole passage in the 22d. Iliad. Virgil before the laft decisive com-

997. His golden scales,
So they are in Homer χρυσία ταλαία, both where he weighs the destinies of the Greeks and Trojans in book the 8th, and the fate of Hæctor and Achilles in book the 22d. And this figure of weighing the destinies of men appear'd so beautiful to succeeding poets, that Æschylus (as we are inform'd by Plutarch in his treatise of Hearing the poets) writ a tragedy upon this foundation, which he intitled Ἐνεάσεως or the weighting of souls.

998. Betwixt Aftrea and the Scorpion sign,

Libra
Wherein all things created first he weigh’d,
The pendulous round earth with balanc’d air
In counterpoise, now ponders all events,

Libra or the Scales is one of the twelve signs of the zodiac, as Aßrea (or Virgo the Virgin) and Scorpio also are. This does as it were reallize the fiction, and gives consequently a greater force to it. Richardson. This allusion to the sign Libra in the Heavens is a beauty that is not in Homer or Virgil, and gives this passage a manifest advantage over both their descriptions.

999. Wherein all things created first be weigh’d, &c.] This of weighing the creation at first and of all events since gives us a sublime idea of providence, and is conformable to the style of Scripture, Job. XXVIII. 25. To make the weight for the winds, and be weigheth the waters by measure. Chap. XXXVII. 16. Doth thou know the balancings of the clouds? Isaiah XL. 12. Who weigheth the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance? And then for weighing particular events since see 1 Sam. II. 3. By his actions are weigh’d. Prov. XVI. 2. The Lord weigheth the spirits. I do not recollect an instance of weighing battels particularly, but there is foundation enough for that in Homer and Virgil as we have seen; and then for weighing kingdoms we see an instance in Belfhazzar, and it is said expressly, Dan. V. 26, 27. God hath numbered thy kingdom, and finisht it, thou art weighed in the balances. So finely hath Milton improv’d upon the fictions of the poets by the eternal truths of holy Scripture.

1003. The sequel each of parting and of fight;] Dr. Bentley reads The signal each &c. To understand which of these two readings suits the place best, let us consider the poet’s thought, which was this: God put in the golden scales two weights: in the one scale he put the weight, which was the sequel (that is represented the confluence) of Satan’s parting from them; in the other scale he put the weight, which was the sequel of Satan’s fighting: neither of the scales had any thing in it immediately relating to Gabriel: and therefore Dr. Bentley mistaketh (I think) when he says, that the ascending weight, Satan’s, was the signal to him of defeat; the descending, Gabriel’s, the signal to him of victory: they were both signals (if signals) to Satan only, for he only was weigh’d, ver. 1012; or rather they shew’d him what would be the confluence both of his fighting and of his retreating. The scale, in which lay the weight, that was the sequel of his fighting, by ascending shew’d him that he was light in arms, and could not obtain victory; whereas the other scale, in which was the sequel of his parting or retreating, having descended, it was a sign that his going off quietly would be his wisest and weightiest attempt. The reader will excuse my having been so long in this note, when he considers that Dr. Bentley and probably many others have misunderstood Milton’s thought about the scales, judging of it by what they read of Jupiter’s scales in Homer and Virgil; the account of which is very different from this of Milton; for in them the fates of the two combatants are weigh’d one against the other, and the descent of one of the scales forehew’d the death of him whose fate lay in that scale, quo vergat pondere lethum: whereas in Milton nothing is weigh’d but what relates.
Battels and realms: in these he put two weights
The sequel each of parting and of fight;
The latter quick up flew, and kick'd the beam;
Which
relates to Satan only, and in the two scales are weigh'd the two different events of his retreatting
and his fighting. From what has been said it may appear pretty plainly, that Milton
by sequel meant the consequnce or event, as it is express'd in ver. 1001. and then there will
be no occasion for Dr. Bentley's signal; both
because it is a very improper word, in this place, and because a signal of parting and of
fight, can be nothing else than a signal when
and when to fight; which he will not pretend to be the poet's meaning. Pearce. It may be proper, before we conclude, to produce the pages out of Homer and Virgil, whereof so much has been said, that the reader may have the satisfaction of comparing them with our author, Iliad. VIII. 69.

The Sire of Gods his golden scales suspends,
With equal hand: in these explor'd the fate
Of Greece and Troy, and pois'd the mighty weight.
Prefid with its load the Grecian balance lies
Low funk on earth, the Trojan strikes the skies. Pope.

The same lines, mutatis mutandis, are apply'd
to Hecitor and Achilles in the 22d book, and there are thus translated.

Jove lifts the golden balances, that show
The fates of mortal men, and things below:
Here each contending hero's lot he tries,
And weighs with equal hand their destinies.
Low sink the scale surcharg'd with Hecitor's fate;
Heavy with death it sink's, and Hell receives the weight.
The passage in Virgil is shorter, Æn. XII. 725.
Jupiter ipse duas aequato examine lances
Suffinet, et fata imponit diversa duorum;
Quem damnet labor, et quo vergat pondere lethum.

Jove sets the beam; in either scale he lays
The champion's fate, and each exactly weighs.
On this side life, and lucky chance ascends:
Loaded with death, that other scale descends.
Dryden.

Every reader, who compares these pages with our author, must see plainly that tho' there is some resemblance, yet there is also great difference. There are golden scales in Homer as well as in Milton; but Milton in some measure authorizes the fiction by making his scales the balance in the Heavens. In Homer and Virgil the combatants are weigh'd one against another; but here only Satan is weigh'd, in one scale the consequence of his retreating, and of his fighting in the other. And there is this farther improvement, that in Homer and Virgil the fates are weigh'd to satisfy Jupiter himself, but here it is done only to satisfy the contending parties, for Satan to read his own destiny. So that when Milton

R r 2
imitates
Which Gabriel flying, thus bespake the Fiend. 1005
Satan, I know thy strength, and thou know'st mine,
Neither our own but giv'n; what folly then
To boast what arms can do? since thine no more
Than Heav'n permits, nor mine, though doubled now
To trample thee as mire: for proof look up,
And read thy lot in yon celestial sign,
Where thou art weigh'd, and shown how light, how weak,
If thou resist. The Fiend look'd up, and knew
His mounted scale aloft: nor more; but fled
Murm'ring, and with him fled the shades of night. 1015

imitates a fine passage, he does not imitate it
fervily, but makes it as I may say an original
of his own by his manner of varying and improving it.

1008. — since thine no more
Than Heav'n permits, nor mine.] Thine and
mine refer to strength, ver. 1006. not to arms
the substantive preceding. Dr. Bentley reads
strength instead of arms.

1012. Where thou art weigh'd, and shown
how light, how weak.] He does not
make the ascending scale the sign of victory as
in Homer and Virgil, but of lightness and
weakness according to that of Belshazzar,
Dan. V. 27. Thou art weigh'd in the balances,
and art found wanting. So true it is, that Mil-
ton oftner imitates Scripture than Homer and
Virgil, even where he is thought to imitate
them most.

The end of the Fourth Book.
THE FIFTH BOOK OF PARADISE LOST.
THE ARGUMENT.

Morning approach'd, Eve relates to Adam her troublesome dream; he likes it not, yet comforts her: They come forth to their day labors: Their morning hymn at the door of their bower. God to render Man inexusable sends Raphael to admonish him of his obedience, of his free estate, of his enemy near at hand, who he is, and why his enemy, and whatever else may avail Adam to know. Raphael comes down to Paradise, his appearance describ'd, his coming discern'd by Adam afar off sitting at the door of his bower; he goes out to meet him, brings him to his lodge, entertains him with the choicest fruits of Paradise got together by Eve; their discourse at table: Raphael performs his message, minds Adam of his state and of his enemy; relates at Adam's request who that enemy is, and how he came to be so, beginning from his first revolt in Heaven, and the occasion thereof; how he drew his legions after him to the parts of the north, and there incited them to rebel with him, persuading all but only Abdiel a Seraph, who in argument dissuades and opposes him, then forfakes him.
NOW morn her rosy steps in th' eastern clime
Advancing, low'd the earth with orient pearl,
When Adam wak'd, so custom'd, for his sleep
Was aery light from pure digestion bred,
And temp'rate vapors bland, which th' only found

1. Now morn her rosy steps] This is the morning of the day after Satan's coming to the earth; and as Homer makes the morning with rosy fingers, οἰοντες ἀκτίας Ηα. Iliad. I. 477. the rosy-finger'd morn, so Milton gives her rosy steps, and VI. 3. a rosy band. The morn is first gray, then rosy upon the nearer approach of the sun. And she is said to see the earth &c. by the same sort of metaphor as Lucretius says of the sun, II. 211.

   — et lumine conferit arva.

5.—which th' only found &c.] Which refers to sleep, and not to vapors the substantive immediately preceding. I mention this because it has been mistaken. It is certainly more proper to say that the sound of leaves and song of birds dispersed sleep than vapors. The expression only found (as Dr. Pearce rightly observes) seems the same with that in VII. 123. Only omnicient; in both which places only signifies alone; the only found, for there was none other; and it is to be understood as meant of the matin song of the birds, as well as of the sound of leaves and fuming rills. Fuming rills, for fumes or steams rise from the water in the morning according to ver. 186.

Ye Miifs and Exhalations that now rise
From hill or steaming lake &c.

but they do not make a noise as fuming, but only as rills. Aurora's fan, the fanning winds among the leaves may be properly call'd the fan of the morning, and it is not unusual to refer a thing which follows two substantives to the first of the two only. Lightly dispers'd, Dr. Bentley says that dispel sleep is better than dispersè it: but tho' to dispel sleep may be the more usual expression, yet to dispersè sleep may be justiy'd by very great authority, for Sophocles makes use of the very same. Soph. Trachin. 998.

   — Καὶ μὴ σκυθάτω
   Τῷ η' ἀπὸ νυκτὸς βλασφαίμῳ π' ὕπνεν.

And the shrill matin song of birds on every bough.
So Evander is wak'd in Virgil, Æn. VIII. 456.

Evandrum
Of leaves and fuming rills, Aurora's fan,
Lightly dispers'd, and the thrill matin song
Of birds on every bough; so much the more
His wonder was to find unwaken'd Eve
With tresses discompos'd, and glowing cheek,
As through unquiet rest: he on his side
Leaning half rais'd, with looks of cordial love
Hung over her enamour'd, and beheld
Beauty, which whether waking or asleep,
Shot forth peculiar graces; then with voice
Mild, as when Zephyrus on Flora breathes,

Her Evandrum ex humili tecto lux fuscitat alma,
Et matutini volucrum sub culmine cantus.
The cheerful morn salutes Evander's eyes,
And songs of chirping birds invite to rise.
Dryden.

And Erminia likewise in Tasso by the sweet
noise of birds, winds, and waters. Cant. 7.
St. 5.
Non si deftò fin che garrir gli augelli
Non senti lieti, e salutar gli albori,
E mormorar il fiume, e gli arbofcelli,
E con l'onda scherzar l'aura, e co' fiori.
Fairfax.

16. Mild, as when Zephyrus on Flora breathes,]
As when the soft western gales breathe on the
flowers. Exceeding poetical and beautiful.
Richardson.

21. — we lose the prime,] The prime of
the day; as he calls it elsewhere
— that sweet hour of prime, ver. 170.
and IX. 200.
The season prime for sweetest fents and airs.

26. Such whisp'ring wak'd her,] We were
told in the foregoing book how the evil Spirit
practiced upon Eve as she lay asleep, in order
to inspire her with thoughts of vanity, pride,
and ambition. The author, who shows a
wonderful art throughout his whole poem, in
preparing the reader for the several occurrences
that arise in it, sounds upon the above-men-
tion'd
Her hand soft touching, whisper'd thus. Awake
My fairest, my espous'd, my latest found,
Heav'n's last best gift, my ever new delight,
Awake; the morning shines, and the fresh field
Calls us; we lose the prime, to mark how spring
Our tended plants, how blows the citron grove,
What drops the myrrh, and what the balmy reed,
How nature paints her colors, how the bee
Sits on the bloom extracting liquid sweet.

Such whispering wak'd her, but with startled eye
On Adam, whom embracing, thus she spake.

Milton, in the conferences between Adam and Eve, had his eye very frequently upon the book of Canticles, in which there is a noble spirit of eastern poetry, and very often not unlike what we meet with in Homer, who is generally plac'd near the age of Solomon. I think there is no question but the poet in the preceding speech remember'd those two passages which are spoken on the like occasion, and fill'd with the same pleasing images of nature, Cant. II. 10, &c. My beloved spake and said unto me, Rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away; for lo the winter is past, the rain is over and gone, the flowers appear on the earth, the time of the singing of birds is come, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land. The fig-tree putteth forth her green figs, and the vines with the tender grape give a good smell. Arise my love, my fair one, and come away. —

Cant. VII. 11, 12. Come, my beloved, let us go forth into the field, let us get up early to the vineyards, let us see if the vine flourish, whether the tender grapes appear, and the pomegranate bud forth. — His preferring the garden of Eden to that,

— where the sapient king
Held dalliance with his fair Egyptian spouse,

IX. 443.

show's that the poet had this delightful scene in view. — Addifon.

S f
O sole in whom my thoughts find all repose,
My glory, my perfection, glad I see
Thy face, and morn return'd; for I this night (Such night till this I never pass'd) have dream'd,
If dream'd, not as I oft am wont, of thee,
Works of day past, or morrow's next design,
But of offense and trouble, which my mind
Knew never till this irksome night: methought
Close at mine ear one call'd me forth to walk
With gentle voice, I thought it thine; it said,
Why sleep'st thou Eve? now is the pleasant time,

Tho' the catastrophe of the poem is finely prefaged on this occasion, the particulars of it are so artfully shadowed, that they do not anticipate the story which follows in the ninth book. I shall only add, that tho' the vision itself is founded upon truth, the circumstances of it are full of that wildness and inconsistency, which are natural to a dream.

Addison.

An injudicious poet would have made Adam talk thro' the whole work in such sentiments as these: but flattery and falsehood are not the courtship of Milton's Adam, and could not be heard by Eve in her state of innocence, excepting only in a dream produced on purpose to taint her imagination. Other vain sentiments of the same kind in this relation of her dream will be obvious to every reader.
The cool, the silent, save where silence yields
To the night-warbling bird, that now awake
Tunes sweetest his love-labor'd song; now reigns
Full orb'd the moon, and with more pleasing light
Shadowy sets off the face of things; in vain,
If none regard; Heav'n wakes with all his eyes,
Whom to behold but thee, Nature's desire?
In whose sight all things joy, with ravishment
Attracted by thy beauty still to gaze.
I rose as at thy call, but found thee not;
To find thee I directed then my walk;

Disburden'd Heav'n rejoic'd, and soon repair'd
Her mural breach, returning whence it roll'd.
The nightingale, tho' it is the cock that sings,
He makes usually of the feminine gender as in
IV. 602.

— the wakeful nightingale;
She all night long her amorous descanat fung.

See likewise III. 40. VII. 436. But here he says
his love-labor'd song, as the speech is addres'd
to Eve. And for the same reason he says
— Heav'n wakes with all his eyes,
Tho' commonly he uses Heaven itself in the fe-
minine gender, as in VII. 205.

— Heav'n open'd wide
Her ever during gates ——
and again, VII. 574.

— He through Heaven
That open'd wide her blazing portals &c.
The reason of this alteration of the genders
the judicious reader, when he examines each pas-
fage, will easily perceive.

44. — Heav'n wakes with all his eyes,] Here
again he has his master Spenfer full in view,
B. 3. Cant. 11. St. 45.

— with how many eyes
High Heav'n beholds &c.

49. To find thee I directed then my walk;] So

— ita fola
Post illa, germana foror, errare videbar,
Tardaque vestigare, et querere te, neque posie
Corde capessere: femita nulla pedem stabilibar.
Sf 2

53. Much
And on, methought, alone I pass'd through ways
That brought me on a sudden to the tree
Of interdicted knowledge: fair it seem'd,
Much fairer to my fancy than by day:
And as I wond'ring look'd, beside it stood
One shap'd and wing'd like one of those from Heaven
By us oft seen; his dewy locks distill'd
Ambrosia; on that tree he also gaz'd;
And O fair plant, said he, with fruit surcharg'd,
Deigns none to eafe thy load and taste thy sweet,
Nor God, nor Man? is knowledge so despis'd?
Or envy', or what reserve forbids to taste?
Forbid who will, none shall from me withhold
Longer thy offer'd good, why else set here?
This said, he paus'd not, but with ventrous arm
He pluck'd, he tafted; me damp horror chill'd
At such bold words vouch'd with a deed so bold:
But he thus overjoy'd, O fruit divine,

53. Much fairer to my fancy than by day:]
As the sensations are often more pleasing, and
the images more lively, when we are asleep
than when we are awake. And what can be
the cause of this? Our author plainly thinks
it may be effected by the agency of some spi-
ritual being upon the sensiby while we are
asleep.

56. — his
Sweet of thyself, but much more sweet thus cropt,
Forbidden here, it seems, as only fit
For Gods, yet able to make Gods of Men:
And why not Gods of Men, since good, the more
Communicated, more abundant grows,
The author not impair'd, but honor'd more?
Here, happy creature, fair angelic Eve,
Partake thou also; happy though thou art,
Happier thou mayst be, worthier canst not be:
Taste this, and be henceforth among the Gods
Thyself a Goddess, not to earth confin'd,
But sometimes in the air, as we, sometimes
Ascend to Heav'n, by merit thine, and see
What life the Gods live there, and such live thou.
So saying, he drew nigh, and to me held,
Ev'n to my mouth of that same fruit held part
Which he had pluck'd; the pleasant favory smell
So quicken'd appetite, that I, methought,

Could

56. — bis dewy locks distill'd
Ambrosia; ] So Virgil of Venus, Æn. I.
403. Ambrosiæque comæ divinum vertice odorem
Spiravere, — Hume.
79. But sometimes in the air, as we, some-
times &c.] The words as we are so
plac'd between the two sentences, as equally
to
Could not but taste. Forthwith up to the clouds
With him I flew, and underneath beheld
The earth outstretched immense, a prospect wide
And various: wond’ring at my flight and change
To this high exaltation; suddenly
My guide was gone, and I, methought, sunk down,
And fell asleep; but O how glad I wak’d
To find this but a dream! Thus Eve her night
Related, and thus Adam answer’d said.

Best image of myself and dearer half,
The trouble of thy thoughts this night in sleep
Affects me equally; nor can I like
This uncouth dream, of evil sprung I fear;
Yet evil whence? in thee can harbour none,
Created pure. But know, that in the soul
Are many lesser faculties, that serve
Reason as chief; among these fancy next
Her office holds; of all external things,

Which

to relate to both, and in the first sentence the verb be is understood. *Pearce.*

93. — *Thus Eve her night Related,*] Thus Eve repeated her dream.

*Night* for the visions and dreams frequent in it. *So Sil. Ital. III. 216.*

Promissa evoluit somni, noctemque retractat. *Hume.*

94. — *and*
Which the five watchful senses represent,  
She forms imaginations, acry shapes,  
Which reason joining or disjoining, frames  
All what we affirm or what deny, and call  
Our knowledge or opinion; then retires  
Into her private cell when nature rests.  
Oft in her absence mimic fancy wakes  
To imitate her; but misjoining shapes,  
Wild work produces oft, and most in dreams,  
Ill matching words and deeds long past or late.  
Some such resemblances methinks I find  
Of our last evening's talk, in this thy dream,  
But with addition strange; yet be not fad.  
Evil into the mind of God or Man  
May come and go, so unapprov'd, and leave  
No spot or blame behind: Which gives me hope  
That what in sleep thou didst abhor to dream,  
Waking thou never wilt consent to do.

94. — and thus Adam] Adam conformable to his superior character for wisdom instructs and comforts Eve upon this occasion.  
Addison.  

117. Evil into the mind of God or Man] God here must signify Angel, as it frequently does in this poem. For God cannot be tempted with evil, as St. James says (I. 13.) of the Supreme Being.  
137. But
Be not dishearten'd then, nor cloud those looks,
That wont to be more cheerful and serene,
Than when fair morning first smiles on the world;
And let us to our fresh employments rise.
Among the groves, the fountains, and the flowers
That open now their choicest bosom'd smells,
Reserv'd from night, and kept for thee in store.

So cheer'd he his fair spouse, and she was cheer'd,
But silently a gentle tear let fall
From either eye, and wip'd them with her hair;
Two other precious drops that ready stood,
Each in their crystal sluice, he ere they fell
Kiss'd, as the gracious signs of sweet remorse
And pious awe, that fear'd to have offended.

So all was clear'd, and to the field they haste.

But first, from under shady arbo'rous roof

Soon

137. *But first, from under shady arbo'rous roof*

*Soon as they forth were come &c.*] Dr. Bentley proposes *arbor's roof*: I don't know why; he gives us no reason, and I can think of none. But if the Doctor has made a change, where there was no fault; he has let a very considerable fault in this passage escape without any change or observation. As the comma now stands after *roof*, the morning hymn of Adam and Eve is represented as said by them (at one and the same time) from under the roof; and *in the open sight of the sun*: which is a contradiction. The sense plainly requires that the comma should be as we have plac'd it; and the construction is, *But first they lowly bow'd adoring, ver. 144: as soon as they were come forth from under the roof of the arbor.*

Pearce.

*145 — each*
Soon as they forth were come to open sight
Of day-spring, and the sun, who scarce up risen,
With wheels yet hovering o'er the ocean brim,
Shot parallel to the earth his dewy ray,
Discovering in wide landskip all the east
Of Paradise and Eden's happy plains,
Lowly they bow'd adoring, and began
Their orissons, each morning duly paid
In various stile; for neither various stile
Nor holy rapture wanted they to praise
Their Maker, in fit strains pronounce'd or sung
Unmeditated, such prompt eloquence
Flow'd from their lips, in prose or numerous verse,
More tuneable than needed lute or harp
To add more sweetness; and they thus began.

These are thy glorious works, Parent of good,
Almighty,
Almighty, thine this universal frame,
Thus wondrous fair; thyself how wondrous then! 155
Unspeakable, who sittst above these Heavens,
To us invisible, or dimly seen
In these thy lowest works; yet these declare
Thy goodness beyond thought, and pow'rt divine.
Speak ye who best can tell, ye sons of light,
Angels; for ye behold him, and with songs
And choral symphonies, day without night,

Circle

upon the dead parts of nature is at all times
a proper kind of worship, it was in a particu-
lar manner suitable to our first parents, who
had the creation fresh upon their minds, and
had not seen the various dispencations of Provi-
dence, nor consequently could be acquainted
with those many topics of praise, which might
afford matter to the devotions of their poster-
ity. I need not remark the beautiful spirit
of poetry, which runs thro' this whole hymn,
nor the holiness of that resolution with which
it concludes. Addison. The author
has raised our expectation by commending the
various stile, and holy rapture, and prompt elo-
quence of our first parents; and indeed the
hymn is truly divine, and will fully answer all
that we expected. It is an imitation, or rather
a sort of paraphrase of the 148th Psalm, and
(of what is a paraphrase upon that) the Can-
ticle placed after Te Deum in the Liturgy, O
all ye works of the Lord, blest ye the Lord, &c.
which is the song of the three children in the
Apocrypha.

155. — thyself how wondrous then! Wifd.
XIII. 3, 4, 5. With whose beauty, if they being
delighted, took them to be Gods; let them know
how much better the Lord of them is: for the
first author of beauty bath created them. But if
they were astonished at their power and virtue,
let them understand by them, how much mightier
he is that made them. For by the greatness and
beauty of the creatures, proportionably the maker
of them is seen.

160. Speak ye who best can tell, &c.] He is
unspeakable, ver. 156. no creature can speak
worthily of him as he is; but speak ye who
are best able ye Angels, ye in Heaven; on
Earth join all ye creatures, &c.

162. — day without night,] According to
Milton there was grateful vicissitude like day and
night in Heaven, VI. 8. and we presume that
he took the notion from Scripture, Rev. VII.
15. They are before the throne of God, and serve
him day and night in his temple. But still it
was day without night, that is without such
night
Circle his throne rejoicing; ye in Heaven,
On Earth join all ye Creatures to extol
Him first, him last, him midst, and without end. 165
Fairest of stars, last in the train of night,
If better thou belong not to the dawn,
Sure pledge of day, that crown’st the smiling morn
With thy bright circlet, praise him in thy sphere,
While day arises, that sweet hour of prime. 170
Thou Sun, of this great world both eye and soul,

The stars were fled, for Lucifer had chas’d
The stars away, and fled himself at last.
Addison.

I don’t know whether it is worth remarking
that our author seems to have committed a
mistake. The planet Venus, when she rises
before the sun, is called Phosphorus, Lucifer,
and the Morning-Star; when she sets after the
sun is called Hesperus, Vesper, and the Evening-星;
but she cannot rise before him, and
set after him at the same time; and yet it may
be objected that our author makes her do so;
for describing the last evening, he particularly
mentions Hesperus that led the starry host, IV.
605. and the very next morning she is ad-
dress’d as left in the train of night. If this
objection should be admitted, all we can say
of it is, that a poet is not obliged to speak
with the strictness and accuracy of a philo-
sopher.
Acknowledge him thy greater, found his praise
In thy eternal course, both when thou climb’st,
And when high noon hast gain’d, and when thou fall’st.
Moon, that now meet’st the orient sun, now fly’st,
With the fix’d stars, fix’d in their orb that flies,
And ye five other wand’ring fires that move
In mystic dance not without song, refound
His praise, who out of darkness call’d up light.
Air, and ye Elements, the eldest birth
Of Nature’s womb, that in quaternion run
Perpetual circle, multiform; and mix
And nourish all things; let your ceaseless change

173. In thy eternal course,] In thy fix’d and
continual course. Thus Virgil calls the sun,
moon and stars eternal fires, Æn. II. 154.
Vos, aeterni ignes; and the sacred fire that
was constantly kept burning eternal fire, Æn.
II. 297.
Æternumque adyitis effert penetralibus ignem;
and uses the adverb aeternum in the same man-
ner for continually. Georg. II. 400.
Æternum frangenda bidentibus.

175. Moon that now meet’st the orient sun,
now fly’st, &c.] The construction is,
Thou Moon, that now meet’st and now fly’st the
orient sun, together with the fix’d stars, and ye
five other wand’ring fires &c. He had before
called upon the sun who governs the day, and
now he invokes the moon, and the fix’d stars,
and the planets who govern the night, to praife
their Maker. The moon sometimes meets and
sometimes flies the sun, approaches to and re-
cedes from him in her monthly course. With
the fix’d stars, fix’d in their orb that flies; they
are fix’d in their orb, but their orb flies, that
is moves round with the utmost rapidity; for
Adam is made to speak according to appear-
ances, and he mentions in another place, VIII.
19 and 21. their rolling spaces incomprehensible,
and their swift return diurnal. And ye five other
wand’ring fires. Dr. Bentley reads four, Venus
and the Sun and Moon being mention’d be-
fore, and only four more remaining, Mercury
and
Vary to our great Maker still new praise.
Ye Mists and Exhalations that now rise
From hill or steaming lake, dusky or gray,
Till the sun paint your fleecy skirts with gold,
In honor to the world's great Author rise,
Whether to deck with clouds th' uncolor'd sky,
Or wet the thirsty earth with falling showers,
Rising or falling still advance his praise.

His praise ye Winds, that from four quarters blow,
Breathe soft or loud; and wave your tops, ye Pines,
With every plant, in sign of worship wave.
Fountains and ye, that warble, as ye flow,

Melodious

and Mars and Jupiter and Saturn. And we
must either suppose that Milton did not con-
sider the morning star as the planet Venus;
or he must be supposed to include the earth,
to make up the other five beside those he had
mention'd; and he calls it elsewhere VIII. 129.
The planet earth; tho' this be not agreeable to
the system, according to which he is speaking
at present. Wandering fires in opposition to
fix'd stars. That move in mystic dance not with-
out song, alluding to the doctrine of the An-
cients and particularly to Pythagoras his no-
tion of the music of the spheres, by which no
doubt he understood the proportion, regular-
ity, and harmony of their motions. Shake-
speare speaks of it more fully in his Merchant
of Venice, Act V.

— Look how the floor of Heaven
Is thick inlaid with patterns of bright gold:
There's not the smallest orb that thou behold'st,
But in his motion like an Angel sings,
Still quiring to the young-ey'd Cherubim,
Such harmony is in immortal souls!
But whilst this muddy vesture of decay
Doth grossly close us in, we cannot hear it.

181. — that in quaternion run &c.] That
in a fourfold mixture and combination run a
perpetual circle, one element continually chang-
ing into another, according to the doctrine of
Heraclitus, borrow'd from Orpheus. Et cum
quattuor sint genera corporum, vicissitudine
eorum mundi continuata natura est. Nam ex
terra, aqua: ex aqua, oritur aer: ex aere,
aether:
Melodious murmurs, warbling tune his praise.
Join voices all ye living Souls; ye Birds,
That singing up to Heaven gate ascend,
Bear on your wings and in your notes his praise.
Ye that in waters glide, and ye that walk
The earth, and stately tread, or lowly creep;
Witness if I be silent, morn or even,

æther: deinde retrofum vicissim ex æthere,
aer: inde aqua: ex aqua, terra infima. Sic
naturis his, ex quibus omnia constant, surfus,
deorfus, ultras, citro commeantibus, mundi
partium conjunctio continentur. Cicero de Nat.
Deor. II. 33.

197. — ye living Souls; ] Soul is used here
as it sometimes is in Scripture for other crea-
tures besides Man. So Gen. I. 20. the moving
creature that hath life, that is soul in the He-
brew, and in the margin of the Bible; and
ver. 30. every thing that creepeth upon the earth,
wherein there is life, that is a living soul.

198. That singing up to Heaven gate ascends,]
We meet with the like hyperbole in Shake-
spear, Cymbeline, Act II.

Hark, hark! the lark at Heav'n's gate sings;
and again in his 29th sonnet,
Like as the lark at break of day arising
From fullen earth sings hymns at Heaven's gate:
and not unlike is that in Homer, Od. XII. 73.
of a very high rock,

202. Witness if I be silent, ] Dr. Bentley
thinks that Milton had forgot that both Adam
and Eve shar'd in this hymn, and therefore he
reads if we be silent, and in the next verfe but
one by our fong: But Milton rather imitates
here the ancient chorus, where sometimes the
plural, and sometimes the singular number is
used. The fame is practic'd by our poet in
the speeches of the chorus in Sampfon Ago-
mites, where the reader will fee in every page
almost that the number is thus varied. Dr.
Bentley oberves, that the whole hymn natu-
really divides itself into parts interlocutory, and
that he has presumed to put it fo, tho' not
warranted by any edition. But this is not
Dr. Bentley's invention; for this hymn was
set to music some years ago, and in that com-
position the several parts of it were affign'd
diftinftly to Adam and Eve. I think that fuch
interlocutory parts are by no means fit for an
heroic poem; but if the author should be fup-
pofed to have affign'd them, I should choose
to divide this hymn very different from the
Doctor's division. [The Doctor affigns the
first seven lines to Adam, thofe of the Angels
to Eve, thofe of the Morning Star to Adam,
thofe of the Sun to Eve, thofe of the Moon
To hill, or valley, fountain, or fresh shade
Made vocal by my song, and taught his praise.
Hail universal Lord, be bounteous still
To give us only good; and if the night
Have gather’d ought of evil or conceal’d,
Disperse it, as now light dispels the dark.

So pray’d they innocent, and to their thoughts

Firm

to Adam, of the Air and Elements to Eve,
of the Mist & Exhalations to Adam, of the
Winds and Pines to Eve, of the Fountains
and Rills to Adam, of the Creatures and Birds
to Eve, of the Fishes and Beasts to Adam,
and the four last lines to Eve. But on the
contrary Dr. Pearce says] The first seven and
the four last verses of this hymn I would sup-
pose spoken by Adam and Eve together: and
as to the other verses, I would have Adam
speak all that the Doctor assigns to Eve, and
Eve all that is now assign’d to Adam. In this
method the mention of the fair Morning Star,
the Moon, and Fountains and Rills will come
to Eve’s share, and they are circumstances
which seem fitter for her to mention than her
husband. Pearce.

205. — be bounteous still
To give us only good; [He had his thought,
as Dr. Bentley remarks, on that celebrated
prayer in Plato,

Ζει βοσίλινα, τα μιν άθηα και ευχομεναις και
ανατυλειν

Αμμι διδο; τα δελαγρα και ευχομενων απε-
ρικα.

O Jupiter give us good things, whether we
pray for them or not, and remove from us evil
things, even tho’ we pray for them. And we
learn from the first book of Xenophon’s me-
moirs of his master Socrates, that Socrates was
wont to pray to the Gods only to give good
things, as they knew best what things were so.
ευχητο δε άθηα τας άιεις επιλως τ’ αγάδα κινεια,
ος της άιος και άλτα εις τας επιος αγάδας τας.
And to the same purpose there is an excellent
collect in our Liturgy, for the eighth Sunday
after Trinity, We humbly beseech thee to put
away from us all hurtful things, and to give us
those things which be profitable for us.

209. So pray’d they innocent, and to their
thoughts

Firm peace recover’d soon and wounted calm.
On to their morning’s rural work they haste &c.

These verses are thus pointed in the belt, that
is in Milton’s own editions: but the latter sen-
tence begins very abruptly, On to their morn-
ing’s work &c. Dr. Bentley therefore continuing
the sentence reads thus,

So pray’d they innocent; and to their thoughts
Firm peace recover’d soon and wounted calm,
On to their morning’s rural work they haste &c.

Dr. Pearce thinks the sentence sufficiently con-

continued
Firm peace recover'd soon and wonted calm. 
On to their morning's rural work they haste 
Among sweet dews and flow'rs; where any row 
Of fruit-trees over-woody reach'd too far 
Their pamper'd boughs, and needed hands to check 
Fruitless embraces: or they led the vine 
To wed her elm; she spous'd about him twines 
Her marriageable arms, and with her brings 
Her dow'r th' adopted clusters, to adorn 
His barren leaves. Them thus employ'd beheld 
With pity Heav'n's high king, and to him call'd
Raphael,

continued in the common reading, if recover'd be a particle of the ablative case; and conceives this to be the construction, Peace and calm being recover'd to their thoughts, they haste &c. and accordingly points it thus, — and, to their thoughts 
Firm peace recover'd soon and wonted calm, 
On to their morning's rural work they haste. 
But perhaps the abruptness of the line 
On to their morning's rural work they haste 
was design'd the better to express the haste they were in as they were later to day than usual: Or perhaps with an easy alteration it may be read thus, 
Then to their morning's rural work they haste. 

214. Their pamper'd boughs] The propriety of this expression will best be seen by what Ju-
nius says of the etymology of the word pam-
per. The French word pampre of the Latin 
pampinus is a vine-branch full of leaves: and 
pampren, he says, is a vineyard overgrown 
with superfluous leaves and fruitless branches. 
Gallis pampre est pampinus: unde iis pampren 
dicitur vinea supervacuo pampinorum germine 
exuberans, ac nimia crecendti luxuria quod-
dammodo sylviscens. 

216. To wed her elf; ] Hor. Epod. II. 9. 
— Aut adulta vitium propagine 
Altas maritat populos: 
Inutilesque falce ramos amputans, 
Feliciros inferit. 

Adam and Eve are very well employ'd in 
checking fruitless embraces, and leading the vine 
to wed her elm, that is very fitly made the em-
ployment of a married couple, which is urged in
Raphael, the sociable Spirit, that deign'd
To travel with Tobias, and secure'd.
His marriage with the sev'ntimes-wedded maid.

Raphael, said he, thou hear'st what stir on Earth
Satan from Hell escap'd through the darksome gulf
Hath rais'd in Paradise, and how disturb'd
This night the human pair, how he designs
In them at once to ruin all mankind.
Go therefore, half this day as friend with friend
Converse with Adam, in what bow'r or shade
Thou find'st him from the heat of noon retir'd,

in Ovid as an argument to marriage, Met. XIV. 661.

Ulmus erat contra spatiofa tamentibus uvis,
Quam focia postquam pariter cum vite pro-
bavit;
At fi staret, ait, cœlebs fine palmite truncus,
Nil præter frondes, quare peteretur, haberet.
Hæc quoqueque juncta vitis requiescit in ulmo,
Si non nupta foret, terræ acclinata jaceret.

An elm was near, to whose embraces led,
The curling vine her swelling clusters spread:
He view'd their twining branches with delight,
And prais'd the beauty of the pleasing sight.
Yet this tall elm, but for his vine (he said)
Had flood neglected, and a barren shade;
And this fair vine, but that her arms surrond
Her marry'd elm, had crept along the ground.

And Virgil likewise has the metaphor of the
vine embracing the elm, Georg. II. 367.

Inde ubi jam validis amplexae stirpibus ulmos
Exierint:

and not only the poets, but Columella and the
writers of rustic affairs frequently use the
phrases of nupta vitis, and marita ulmus.

222. To travel with Tobias,] In the book of
Tobit the Angel Raphael travels with Tobias
into Media and back again, and instructs him
how to marry Sara the daughter of Raguel,
and how to drive away the wicked Spirit who
had destroy'd her former seven husbands before
they had knowledge of her. So sociable a Spi-
rit as this is very properly sent to converse
with Adam upon this occasion.

Vol. I. 235. Happiness
To respit his day-labor with repaft,
Or with repofe; and such discourse bring on,
As may advise him of his happy state,
Happiness in his pow'r left free to will,
Left to his own free will, his will though free,
Yet mutable; whence warn him to beware
He swerve not too secure: tell him withal
His danger, and from whom; what enemy,
Late fall'n himself from Heav'n, is plotting now
The fall of others from like state of blifs;
By violence? no, for that shall be withftood;
But by deceit and lies; this let him know,

235. *Happiness in his pow'r left free to will,*
That is in the power of him left free to will.
247. *nor delay'd the winged Saint &c.*
Raphael's departure from before the throne,
and his flight thro' the quires of Angels, is
finely imaged. As Milton every where fills
his poem with circumstances that are mar-
velous and aſtonishing, he describes the gate of
Heaven as framed after such a manner, that it
open'd of itſelf upon the approach of the
Angel who was to pafs through it. The poet
here seems to have regarded two or three pa-
sages in the 18th Iliad, as that in particular,
where speaking of Vulcan, Homer fays, that
he had made twenty tripodes running on
golden wheels; which upon occasion might

240. Left
Left wilfully transgressing he pretend
Surprisal, unadmonish'd, unforewarn'd.

So spake th' eternal Father, and fulfill'd
All justice: nor delay'd the winged Saint
After his charge receiv'd; but from among
Thousand celestial Ardors, where he stood
Veil'd with his gorgeous wings, up springing light
Flew through the midst of Heav'n; th' angelic quires,
On each hand parting, to his speed gave way
Through all th' empyreal road; till at the gate
Of Heav'n arriv'd, the gate self-open'd wide
On golden hinges turning, as by work

There is no question but Milton had this circumstance in his thoughts, because in the following book he describes the chariot of the Messiah with living wheels, according to the plan of Ezekiel's vision. I question not but Bossu and the two Daciers, who are for vindicating every thing that is cenfured in Homer, by something parallel in holy Writ, would have been very well pleased had they thought of confronting Vulcan's tripodes with Ezekiel's wheels. Addison.

249. Thousand celestial Ardors,] Ardor in Latin implies fervency, exceeding love, eager desire, fiery nature; all included in the idea of an Angel. Richardson.

254 — the gate self-open'd wide] This circumstance is not borrow'd, as Mr. Addison conceiv'd, from Vulcan's tripodes in Homer, but from Homer's making the gates of Heaven open of their own accord to the Deities who passed thro' them, Iliad. V. 749.

Aυτεμαχαι ον μυλαι μονον ηρεμη, αν εχεν Ομη.
Heav'n gates spontaneous open to the Pow'rs,
Heav'n's golden gates, kept by the winged Hours. Pope.

Where Mr. Pope observes that the expression of the gates of Heaven is in the eastern manner, where they laid the gates of Heaven or Earth for the entrance or extremities of Heaven or Earth; a phraze usual in the Scriptures, as is observed by Dacier.
Divine the sovran Architect had fram'd.
From hence, no cloud, or, to obstruct his sight,
Star interpos'd, however small he sees,
Not unconform to other shining globes,
Earth and the gard'n of God, with cedars crown'd
Above all hills. As when by night the glass
Of Galileo, less assur'd, observes
Imagin'd lands and regions in the moon:
Or pilot, from amidst the Cyclades
Delos or Samos first appearing, kens

257. From hence, no cloud, &c.] The coma after interpos'd, shows that it is here a participle in the ablative case put absolutely; and the construction is, From hence, no cloud or star being interposed to obstruct his sight, he sees, however small it is, appearing very small at that distance, the earth not unlike to other shining globes, and in it Paradife, the garden of God, that was crown'd with cedars which were higher than the highest hills.

261. — As when by night the glass &c.] The Angel from Heaven gate viewing the earth is compared to an astronomer observing the moon thro' a telescope, or to a pilot at sea discovering an island at a distance. As when by night the glass of Galileo, the telescope first used in celestial observations by Galileo a native of Florence, less assur'd than the Angel, as was likewise the pilot, observes, a poetical expression, the instrument put for the person who makes use of it, imagin'd lands and regions in the moon, it is not only imagin'd that there are lands and regions in the moon, but astronomers give names to them: Or pilot, from amidst the Cyclades, a parcel of islands in the Archipelago, Delos or Samos first appearing, two of the largest of these islands and therefore first appearing, kens a cloudy spot, for islands seem to be such at their first appearance. But the Angel sees with greater clearness and certainty than these; the glass is less assur'd, and the pilot kens only a cloudy spot, when the Angel sees not the whole globe only, but distinctly the mount of Paradife.

266. — Down thither prone in flight &c.] Virg. AEn. IV. 253.

— hinc toto praeceps se corpore ad undas Milit, avi similis.

272. A Phoenix.] Dr. Bentley objects to Raphael's taking the shape of a Phoenix, and the
A cloudy spot. Down thither prone in flight
He speeds, and through the vast ethereal sky
Sails between worlds and worlds, with steddy wing
Now on the polar winds, then with quick fan
Winnows the buxom air; till within soar
Of towring eagles, to all the fowls he seems
A Phoenix, gaz’d by all, as that sole bird,
When to inhrine his reliques in the sun’s
Bright temple, to Egyptian Thebes he flies.
At once on th’ easterm cliff of Paradise

The objection would be very just if Milton had
said any such thing: but he only says that to
all the fowls he seems a Phoenix; he was not really a Phoenix, the birds only fancied him one.
This bird was famous among the Ancients,
but generally looked upon by the Moderns as fabulous. The naturalists speak of it as
single, or the only one of its kind, and therefore it is called here that sole bird, as it had been before by Tasso unico augello. They describe it as of a most beautiful plumage. They hold that it lives five or six hundred years; that when thus advanc’d in age, it builds itself a funeral pile of wood and aromatic gums, which being kindled by the fire, and another Phoenix arifes out of the ashes, ancestor and successor to himself, who taking up the reliques of his funeral pile flies with them to Egyptian Thebes to inhrine them there in the temple of the sun, the other birds attending and gazing upon him in his flight. Egyptian Thebes to distinguish it from the other Thebes in Boeotia. See Plin.
Nat. Hist. L. 10. c. 2. Ovid. Met. XV. and
Claudian de Phoenix. Armida in Tasso is in
like manner compared to a Phoenix, Cant. 17.
St. 35.

Come all’ hor, che’l rinato unico augello, &c.
As when the new-born Phoenix doth begin
To fly to Ethiope-ward, at the fair bent
Of her rich wings, strange plumes, and feathers thin,
Her crowns and chains, with native gold besprent,
The world amazed stands; and with her fly
An hoft of wond’ring birds that sing and cry:
So past Armida, look’d on, gaz’d on fo.

275. — on th’ easterm cliff] For there was
the only gate of Paradise, IV. 178. The
good Angel enters by the gate, and not like
Satan.

276. — and
He lights, and to his proper shape returns
A Seraph wing'd; six wings he wore, to shade
His lineaments divine; the pair that clad
Each shoulder broad, came mantling o'er his breast
With regal ornament; the middle pair
Girt like a starry zone his waste, and round

Skirted

276. —and to his proper shape returns] The word "shape" here (I suppose) occasion'd Dr. Bentley in his note on the former passage to say that Milton makes Raphael take the shape of a Phoenix. But by returning to his proper shape Milton means only that he stood on his feet, and gather'd up his six wings into their proper place and situation. *Pearce.* Or as another ingenious person expresses it, He seem'd again what he really was, a Seraph wing'd; whereas in his flight he appear'd what he was not, a Phoenix.

277. —six wings he wore, &c.] The Seraphim seen by Isaiah, VI. 2. had the same number of wings, Above it stood the Seraphims, each one had six wings; but there the wings are disposed differently.

284. —with feather'd mail,
   *Sky-tin'd grain.*] Feathers lie one short of another resembling the plates of metal of which coats of mail are compos'd. Sky-color'd, dy'd in grain, to express beauty and durableness. *Richardson.*

285. —Like Maia's son he stood,
   And shook his plumes, that heav'ly fragrance fill'd
   The circuit wide. *Addison.*

The comparing of the Angel to Maia's son, to Mercury, shows evidently that the poet had particularly in view those sublime passages of Homer and Virgil, which describe the flight and descent of Mercury to the earth. That of Homer is in the Iliad, XXIV. 339.

*Ως εφατ', ου' απιθησι διακλεος Αρχαγοννης
   Αυτικ' ετετρ.' υπο αρκαν εδοξατο καλα ζευλα, Αμερεσια, Χρυσεια, τα μεν φιευνη νειν τι' νυρυν,
   Ημ' ει' απειρονα γαμαν, οια ναυις ανεμιον' Ειλετο δι' αεοδον, τη τ' ανδεον ομοματα θελυνι, Ου ειλεις, τοι αν ουτε και υπυνοσιας ενεις.*

The
Skirted his loins and thighs with downy gold
And colors dipt in Heav’n; the third his feet
Shadow’d from either heel with feather’d mail,
Sky-tintur’d grain. Like Maia’s son he stood,
And shook his plumes, that heav’ly fragrance fill’d
The circuit wide. Strait knew him all the bands

The God obeys, his golden pinions binds,
And mounts incumbent on the wings of winds,
That high thro’ fields of air his flight sustains,
O’er the wide earth, and o’er the boundless main;
Then grasps the wand that caueth sleep to fly,
Or in soft flumbers seals the wakeful eye.

Virgil has translated it almost literally, but with some addition, Æn. IV. 238.

Dixerat: ille patris magni parere parabat
Imperio, et primum pedibus talaria necsit
Aurea: quae sublimem alis, five sequor supra,
Seu terram, rapido pariter cum flamine portant.
Tum virgam capit: hâc animas ille evocat Orco
Pallentes, alias sub tritia Tartara mittit;
Dat somnos adimiteque ut lumina morte resignat.

Hermes obeys; with golden pinions binds
His flying feet, and mounts the western winds:
And whether o’er the seas or earth he flies,
With rapid force, they bear him down the skies.
But first he grasps within his awful hand,
The mark of sov’reign pow’r, his magic wand:
With this, he draws the ghosts from hollow graves,
With this, he drives them down the Stygian waves;

With this, he seals in sleep the wakeful light;
And eyes, tho’ clos’d in death, restores to light.

If it is hard to determin (as Mr. Pope says) which is more excellent, the copy or the original, yet I believe every reader will easily determin that Milton’s description is better than both. The reader may likewise, if he pleases, compare this descent of Raphael with that of Gabriel in Tasso, Cant. i. St. 13, 14, 15. But (as Dr. Pearce observes) it is the graceful posture in standing after alighting that is particularly compar’d to Mercury;

Hic paribus primum nitens Cyllenius alis
Consitit, Æn. IV. 253.

It is probable that the idea was first taken from the graceful attitudes of the antique statues of Mercury: but our author might have it more immediately from Sakeşpear’s Hamlet, Act. III.

A station, like the herald Mercury
New-lighted on a Heaven-kissing hill:
as the image of the Angel’s shaking his fragrant plumes is borrow’d particularly from Tasso,

On Lebanon at first his foot he set,
And shook his wings with roaring May-dews wet.
Of Angels under watch; and to his state,
And to his message high in honor rise;
For on some message high they guess'd him bound. 290
Their glittering tents he pass'd, and now is come
Into the blissful field, through groves of myrrh,
And flow'ring odors, cassia, nard, and balm;
A wilderness of sweets; for Nature here
Wanton'd as in her prime, and play'd at will
Her virgin fancies, pouring forth more sweet,
Wild above rule or art; enormous bliss.
Him through the spicy forest onward come
Adam discern'd, as in the door he sat
Of his cool bow'r, while now the mounted fun 300
Shot down direct his fervid rays to warm
Earth's

288. — and to his state,
And to his message high in honor rise;] With
the same respect as the Muses pay to Gallus in
Virgil, Ecl. VI. 66.

Utque viro Phoebi chorus asurrexerit omnis.

296. — pouring forth more sweet,
Wild above rule or art; enormous bliss.] So
the two first editions point this passage: Dr.
Bentley puts no stop after art; for want of
which he has fallen into a considerable mistake;
instead of pouring forth more sweet, he would
have us read pouring forth profuse. He says,
morer strong than what? nothing: for the com-
parison is dropt. But the sense is, pouring
forth what was the more sweet for being wild
and above rule or art.  

298. Him through the spicy forest] Raphael's
reception by the guardian Angels; his passing
tho' the wilderness of sweets; his distant ap-
pearance to Adam, have all the graces that
poetry is capable of bestowing.  

299. — as
Earth's inmost womb, more warmth than Adam needs:
And Eve within, due at her hour prepar'd
For dinner savory fruits, of taste to please
True appetite, and not disrelish thirst
Of nectarous draughts between, from milky stream,
Berry or grape: to whom thus Adam call'd.

Haste hither Eve, and worth thy sight behold
Eastward among those trees, what glorious shape
Comes this way moving; seems another morn
Ris'n on mid-noon; some great behest from Heaven
To us perhaps he brings, and will vouchsafe
This day to be our guest. But go with speed,
And what thy stores contain, bring forth, and pour
Abundance, fit to honor and receive

299. — as in the door be fat] So Abraham,
   Gen. XVIII. 1. fat in the tent-door in the beat
   of the day when he was visited by three Angels.
   From that passage our poet form'd this incident. Bentley.

305. Berry or grape:] It is the opinion of
   some that Noah was the first who made wine,
   because it is said in Scripture, Gen. IX. 20.
   And Noah began to be an husbandman, and he
   planted a vineyard: but it cannot be infer'd
   from hence that he was the first vine-dresser
   any more than that he was the first husband-
   man; and our author, we see, gives an earlier
   date to the making of wine, and a little after-
   wards more expressly,

   —— for drink the grape
   She crushes, inoffensive must.

307. Berry or grape:] Must or new wine, so we spell it after the Latin
   mustum, and not must as it is in our author's
   own editions.

310. — seems another morn] The nominative case is here understood, the glorious shape
   before mention'd.
Our heav'ly stranger: well we may afford
Our givers their own gifts, and large bestow
From large bestow'd, where Nature multiplies
Her fertil growth, and by disburs'ding grows
More fruitful, which instructs us not to spare.

To whom thus Eve. Adam, earth's hallow'd mold,
Of God inspir'd, small store will serve, where store,
All seasons, ripe for use hangs on the stalk;
Save what by frugal storing firmness gains
To nourish, and superfluous moist consumes:

But I will happe, and from each bough and brake,
Each plant and juicyest gourd, will pluck such choice
To entertain our Angel guest, as he
Beholding shall confess, that here on Earth

326. — and from each bough and brake,
Each plant and juicyest gourd.] Dr. Bentley
would read branch instead of brake, thinking
that provisions are not to be gather'd from
brakes: but bough, brake, plant, and gourd,
expref here all the several kinds of things
which produce fruits. The bough belongs to
fruit-trees; the plant is such as that which pro-
duces strawberries &c; the gourd includes all
kinds that lie on the earth; and the brake is
the species between trees and plants; of this
fort are (I think) the bushes which yield cur-
rants, black-berrys, goose-berrys, rasberries
&c. But if we read with the Doctor branch, it
will be a superfluous word, because of bough
which preceded it.  

331. So saying, with dispatchful looks &c.]
The author gives us here a particular descrip-
tion of Eve in her domestick employments.
Though in this, and other parts of the same
book, the subject is only the housewifery of our
first parent, it is set off with so many pleasing
images and strong expressions, as make it
none of the least agreeable parts in this divine
work.  

333. What choice to choose] This sort of
God hath dispens’d his bounties as in Heaven. So saying, with dispatchful looks in haste
She turns, on hospitable thoughts intent
What choice to choose for delicacy best,
What order, so contriv’d as not to mix
Tastes, not well join’d, inelegant, but bring
Taste after taste upheld with kindliest change;
BeNavs her then, and from each tender stalk
Whatever Earth all-bearing mother yields
In India East or West, or middle shore
In Pontus or the Punic coast, or where
Alcinous reign’d, fruit of all kinds, in coat
Rough or smooth rinse’d, or bearded husk, or shell,
She gathers, tribute large, and on the board
Heaps

jingle is very usual in Milton, as to move mo-
tion, VIII. 130. thoughts mis-thought, IX. 289.

and in Virgil, Æn. XII. 680.

and many more instances might be given.

338. Whatever Earth all-bearing mother] So

the Greeks call her Πιμματήσ γῆ, and the La-
tins Omniparents — terrae omniparentis alu-
um, Virg. Æn. VI. 595. She gathered all manner of fruits which the earth at that time
afforded, or has since produced in the noblest
and best cultivated gardens.

339. — or middle shore &c.] Or on the
borders of the Mediterranean; in Pontus, part
of Asia, or the Punic coast, part of Africa, or
where Alcinous reign’d, in a Grecian island in the
Ionian sea (now the gulf of Venice) anciently
call’d Phœacia, then Corecyra, now Corfu, un-
der the dominion of the Venetians. The foil

X x 2
PARADISE LOST. Book V.

Heaps with unsparing hand; for drink the grape
She crushes, inoffensive must, and meaths
From many a berry, and from sweet kernels press’d
She tempers dulcet creams, nor these to hold
Wants her fit vessels pure, then strows the ground
With rose and odors from the shrub unfum’d.

Mean while our primitive great fire, to meet
His God-like guest, walks forth, without more train
Accompanied than with his own complete
Perfections; in himself was all his state,
More solemn than the tedious pomp that waits
On princes, when their rich retinue long
Of horses led, and grooms besmear’d with gold,
Dazles the croud, and sets them all agape.

is fruitful in oil, wine, and most excellent fruits, and its owner is made famous for his gardens celebrated by Homer. Hume.

345. — and meaths] Sweet drinks like meads. A word used by Chaucer, and perhaps deriv’d from μέθης.

348. — her fit vessels pure,] We may suppose the shells of nuts and rinds of fruits, as was hinted before, IV. 335.

and in the rind Still as they thirsted scoop the brimming stream.

349. — from the shrub unfum’d.] That is, not burnt and exhaling smoke as in fumigations, but with its natural sent. Heylin.

351. — without more train Accompanied than with his own &c.] Without more than with is a solecism. It should be without more train than his own complete perfections, with being expung’d. But he gave it with no more train than with &c. Bentley.

356. — besmear’d with gold,] Horace’s aurum vestibus illitum, Od. IV. IX. 14. comes nearest to it. Hume. Virgil has used a like expression, Æn. X. 314.

Per tunicam squallentem auro. Richardson.

357. Dazles
Nearer his presence Adam though not aw'd,
Yet with submiss approach and reverence meek,
As to a superior nature, bowing low,
Thus said. Native of Heav'n, for other place
None can than Heav'n such glorious shape contain;
Since by descending from the thrones above,
Those happy places thou hast deign'd a while
To want, and honor these, vouchsafe with us
Two' only, who yet by sovran gift posses
This spacious ground, in yonder shady bower
To rest, and what the garden choiceft bears
To sit and taste, till this meridian heat
Be over, and the sun more cool decline.

Whom thus th' angelic Virtue answer'd mild.

Adam,
Adam, I therefore came, nor art thou such
Created, or such place hast here to dwell,
As may not oft invite, though Spirits of Heaven
To visit thee; lead on then where thy bower
O'ershades; for these mid-hours, till evening rise,
I have at will. So to the sylvan lodge
They came, that like Pomona's arbor smil'd
With flow'rets deck'd and fragrant smells; but Eve
Undeck'd save with herself, more lovely fair
Than Wood-Nymph, or the fairest Goddess feign'd
Of three that in mount Ida naked strove,
Stood to' entertain her guest from Heav'n; no veil
She needed, virtue-proof; no thought infirm
Alter'd her cheek. On whom the Angel Hail
Bestow'd,

378. — Pomona's arbor] The Goddess of
fruit-trees might well be supposed to have a
delightful arbor, but that could not be more
delightful in imagination, than this was in
reality. See Ovid. Met. XIV. 623, &c.
380. Undeck'd save with herself,] This is
simplex munditiis indeed, beyond Horace's,
and makes an excellent contrast to Ovid's de-
scription of the fine lady full dress'd,
— pars minima eft ipsa puella fui.
It calls to mind that memorable saying, Indui-
tur, formosa eft; exuitur, ipsa forma eft.
Dress'd, she is beautiful; undress'd, she is
beauty itself. With the same elegance of ex-
pression, describing Adam, he has said,
— in himself was all his state.
382. Of three that in mount Ida naked strove,] The
judgment of Paris is very well known in
preferring Venus to Juno and Minerva, that
is beauty to power and wisdom: a different
choice from that of young Solomon, who de-
sir'd wisdom rather than riches and honor.
384. — virtue proof; ] Proof is used in the
Bestow'd, the holy salutation us'd
Long after to blest Mary, second Eve.

Hail Mother of Mankind, whose fruitful womb
Shall fill the world more numerous with thy sons,
Than with these various fruits the trees of God

Have heap'd this table. Rais'd of grassy turf
Their table was, and mossy seats had round,
And on her ample square from side to side
All autumn pil'd, though spring and autumn here
Danc'd hand in hand. A while discourse they hold; 395.

No fear left dinner cool; when thus began
Our author. Heav'ny stranger, please to taste
These bounties, which our Nourisher, from whom
All perfect good, unmeasur'd out, descends,

old poets for armour, Sake{s}pear, Rom. & Jul. Act. I.

And in strong proof of chastity well arm'd,
From love's weak childifh bow she lives un-harm'd.

385. — On whom the Angel Hail &c.] The natural majesty of Adam, and at the same
time his submissive behaviour to the superior being, who had vouchsafed to be his guest;
the solemn Hail, which the Angel bestows upon the mother of mankind, with the figure
of Eve miniftring at the table, are circum-
stances which deserve to be admired.  Addison.

387. — to Mary, second Eve.] See Luke I. 28. She is call'd second Eve, as Christ is
sometimes called second Adam.

394. All autumn pil'd,] The table had mossy seats round it, and all autumn pil'd upon it;
that is the fruits of autumn. So in Virg. Georg. II. 5.

—— pampinco gravidus autunno
Floret ager.

399. — perfet?] Milton writes it perfet af-
ter the French perfait; our usual way of spelling it is after the Latin perfectus; and very
rightly,
To us for food and for delight hath caus’d
The earth to yield; unfavory food perhaps
To spiritual natures; only this I know,
That one celestial Father gives to all.

To whom the Angel. Therefore what he gives
(Whose praise be ever sung) to Man in part
Spiritual, may of purest Spirits be found
No ingrateful food: and food alike those pure
Intelligential substances require,
As doth your rational; and both contain
Within them every lower faculty
Of sense, whereby they hear, see, smell, touch, taste,
Tasting concoct, digest, assimilate,

rightly, especially as we make use likewise of
the word perfection. And in the general it is
better surely to derive our language from
the original Latin, than to make it only the copy
of a copy.

407. No ingrateful food:] There being
mention made in Scripture of Angels food,
Pfal. LXXVIII. 25. that is foundation enough
for a poet, to build upon, and advance these
notions of the Angels eating.

415. — of elements &c.] Dr. Bentley is for
omitting here eleven lines together, but we
cannot agree with him in thinking them the
editor’s, tho’ we entirely agree with him in
wishing, that the author had taken more care
what notions of philosophy he had put into
the mouth of an Arch-Angel. It is certainly
a great mistake to attribute the spots in the
moon (which are owing to the inequalities of
her surface, and to the different nature of her
constituent parts, land and water) to attribute
them, I lay, to vapors not yet turn’d into her
substance. It is certainly very unphilosophical
to say that the sun fops with the ocean, but it is
not unpoxetical. And whatever other faults are
found in these lines, they are not so properly
the faults of Milton, as of his times, and of
those systems of philosophy which he had learned in his younger years. If he had written
after
And corporeal to incorporeal turn.
For know, whatever was created, needs
To be sustayned and fed; of elements
The grosser feeds the purer, earth the sea,
Earth and the sea feed air, the air those fires
Ethereal, and as lowest first the moon;
Whence in her visage round those spots, unpurg'd
Vapors not yet into her substance turn'd.
Nor doth the moon no nourishment exhale
From her moist continent to higher orbs.
The sun, that light imparts to all, receives
From all his alimental recompense
In humid exhalations, and at even

after the late discoveries and improvements
in science, he would have written in another
manner. It is allow'd by all philosophers, that
the sun and fixed stars receive their supplies of
nourishment; but in what manner they are fed
and supply'd is a great question: and surely
a greater latitude and liberty may be in-
dulged to a poet in speaking of these things,
than to a philosopher. The same kind of
thought runs through an Ode of Anacreon,
Ode 19.

H γυ μιλασα τωλιν,
Πουτ o' δ' θενφε σωπεν'
Πουθ Σιλασα o' αμες,

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And we may suppose the poet alluded to this,
and more particularly to that passage in Pliny,
where the same account is given of the spots
in the moon. Sidera vero haud dubie humore
terreno pasci, quia orbe dimidio nonnunquam
maculas cernatur, scilicet nondum suppetente
ad hauriendum ultra jufta vi: maculas enim
non aliud esse quam terrae raptas cum humore
forde. Lib. 2. cap. 9.

421. Nor doth the moon no nourishment exhale
Nec nulla interea est inaratae gratia terrae.
Y y

426. — Though
Sups with the ocean. Though in Heav'n the trees
Of life ambrosial fruitage bear, and vines
Yield nectar; though from off the boughs each morn
We brush mellifluous dews, and find the ground
Cover'd with pearly grain: yet God hath here
Varied his bounty so with new delights,
As may compare with Heaven; and to taste
Think not I shall be nice. So down they fat,
And to their viands fell; nor seemingly
The Angel, nor in mist, the common gloss
Of Theologians; but with keen dispatch

426. — Though in Heav'n the trees, &c.] In mentioning trees of life and vines in Heaven he is justify'd by Scripture. See Rev. XXII. 2. Mat. XXVI. 29. As in speaking afterwards of mellifluous dews and pearly grain he manifestly alludes to manna, which is called the bread of Heaven. Pfal. CV. 40. And when the dew that lay was gone up, behold upon the face of the wilderness there lay a small round thing, as small as the hoar frost on the ground. Exod. XVI. 14. and it was like coriander-seed, white; and the taste of it was like wafers made with honey. ver. 31.

435. — the common gloss
Of Theologians.] The usual comment and exposition of Divines. For several of the Fathers and ancient Doctos were of opinion, that the Angels did not really eat, but only seemed to do so; and they ground that opinion principally upon what the Angel Raphael says in the book of Tobit, XII. 19. All these days did I appear unto you, but I did neither eat nor drink, but you did see a vision. But our author was of the contrary opinion, that the Angel did not eat in appearance only but in reality, with keen dispatch of real hunger as he says, and this opinion is confirm'd by the accounts in the Canonical Scripture of Abraham's entertaining three Angels at one time, and Lot's entertaining two Angels at another. See Gen. XVIII. and XIX. There it is said plainly that meat was set before them, and they did eat, and there is no reason for not understanding this, as well as the rest of the relation, literally. Of Theologians; this same word he uses in his Tetrachordon, p. 223. Vol. 1. Edit. 1738.

438. — what redounds, transpires &c.] This artfully avoids the indecent idea, which would else have been apt to have arisen on the Angels
Of real hunger, and concoctive heat
To transubstantiate: what redounds, transpires
Through Spirits with ease; nor wonder; if by fire
Of foody coal th' empiric alchemiſt
Can turn, or holds it possible to turn,
Metals of drossieſt ore to perfect gold
As from the mine. Mean while at table Eve
Minifter'd naked, and their flowing cups
With pleasant liquors crown'd: O innocence
Deserving Paradise! if ever, then,
Then had the sons of God excuse to' have been
Enamour'd

Angels feeding, and withal gives a delicacy
to these Spirits, which finely distinguishes
them from us in one of the most humbling
circumstances relating to our bodies.

Richardson.

439. — nor wonder; if by fire &c.] Nor
is it a wonder, that the Angels have concoctive heat
in their stomachs sufficient to transubstantiate, to turn their food and nourishment into
their own substance, to assimilate as it was said before, and turn corporeal to incorporeal; if by
fire the alchemiſt can turn or thinks to turn all metals to gold. The empiric alchemiſt, is one
who makes bold trials and experiments (ἐμπροσθέν in Greek from ἐμπρός a trial or experiment) without much skill and knowledge in
the art, like a quack in phyſick. And they must be strange empirics indeed, who can hope
to find out the philosopher's stone, and turn

metals of drossieſt ore to perfect gold. But it is
not strange that our author so frequently alludes to alchemy (as he does in II. 517. III. 609. as well as here) when Johnson has writ-
ten a whole comedy upon it.

445. With pleafant liquor crown'd:] To
crown their cups was a phrase among the Greeks
and Romans for filling them above the brim,
but yet not fo as to run over. Thus it is used
by Homer, Iliad. I. 470.

κερεί μεν κρινοχει επισιψαλει τοιώολεν.
and by Virgil, Georg. II. 528.

et focii cratera coronant.

447. Then had the fons of God excuse &c.] The doubling of the then adds great force and
emphasis; if ever, then, then had the fons of God excuse &c. and this is said in allusion to
that
Enamour'd at that sight; but in those hearts
Love unlibidinous reign'd, nor jealousy
Was understood, the injur'd lover's Hell.

Thus when with meats and drinks they had suffic'd,
Not burden'd nature, sudden mind arose
In Adam, not to let th' occasion pass
Giv'n him by this great conference to know
Of things above his world, and of their being
Who dwell in Heav'n, whose excellence he saw
Transcend his own so far, whose radiant forms
Divine effulgence, whose high pow'r so far
Exceeded human, and his wary speech
Thus to th' empyreal minister he fram'd.

Our author says the same thing, but at the same time infinuates a fine moral of the true end of eating and drinking, which is to satisfy but not to burden nature; and this sort of temperance he not only recommends as in the beginning of this book and XI. 530. &c, but remarkably practic'd himself.

451. Thus when with meats and drinks they had suffic'd,
Not burden'd nature, —

455. — above his world. This is the reading in Milton's own editions, and not above this word as Mr. Fenton and Dr. Bentley have caus'd it to be printed.

460. — whose excellence &c. Excellence is a general word; and he branches the excellence of Angels into two particulars, their radiant forms
Inhabitant with God, now know I well
Thy favor, in this honor done to Man,
Under whose lowly roof thou hast vouchsaf'd
To enter, and these earthly fruits to taste,
Food not of Angels, yet accepted so,
As that more willingly thou couldst not seem
At Heav'n's high feasts to' have fed: yet what compare?
To whom the winged Hierarch reply'd.
O Adam, one Almighty is, from whom
All things proceed, and up to him return,
If not de pra v'd from good, created all
Such to perfection, one first matter all,
Indued with various forms, various degrees
forms (which were the effulgence of the Deity)
and their high power. Pearce.

467. — Yet what compare? ] His speech was wary; and he was afraid to ask the Angel directly of the different conditions of Men and Angels; but yet intimates his desire to know by questioning whether there was any comparison between them.

468. To whom the winged Hierarch reply'd. ] Raphael's behaviour is every way suitable to the dignity of his nature, and to that character of a sociable Spirit, with which the author has so judiciously introduced him. He had received instructions to converse with Adam, as one friend converses with another, and to warn him of the enemy who was contriving his destruction: accordingly he is represented as sitting down at table with Adam, and eating of the fruits of Paradise. The occasion naturally leads him to his discourse on the food of Angels. After having thus entered into conversation with Man upon more indifferent subjects, he warns him of his obedience, and makes a natural transition to the history of that fallen Angel, who was employ'd in the circumvention of our first parents. Addison.

471. — Created all
Such to perfection, one first matter all, &c. ] That is, created all good, good to perfection, not absolutely so, but perfect in their different kinds
Of substance, and in things that live, of life;  
But more refin’d, more spiritous, and pure,  
As nearer to him plac’d or nearer tending  
Each in their several active spheres assign’d,  
Till body up to spirit work, in bounds  
Proportion’d to each kind. So from the root  
Springs lighter the green stalk, from thence the leaves  
More acry, last the bright consummate flower  
Spirits odorous breathes: flow’rs and their fruit,  
Man’s nourishment, by gradual scale sublim’d,  
To vital spirits aspire, to animal,  
To intellectual; give both life and sense,  
Fancy and understanding; whence the soul  
Reason receives, and reason is her being,  

kinds and degrees; and all consisting of one first  
matter, which first matter is induced, (indutus)  
lothed upon, with various forms, &c.  

478. Till body up to spirit work, &c.] Our  
author should have considered things better,  
for by attributing his own false notions in  
philosophy to an Arch-Angel he has really  
leaven’d the character, which he intended to  
raise. He is as much mistaken here in his  
metaphysics, as he was before in his physics.  
This notion of matter refining into spirit is  
by no means observing the bounds propor-  
tion’d to each kind. I suppose, he meant it  
as a comment on the doctrin of a natural  
body changed into a spiritual body, as in  
1 Cor. XV. and perhaps borrow’d it from  
some of his systems of divinity. For Mil-  
ton, as he was too much of a materialist in his  
philosophy, so was too much of a systematist  
in his divinity.  

482. Spirits odorous ] We must take no-  
tice in reading this verfe, that Spirits is here  
a word of two syllables, tho’ it is often  
contracted into one or pronounce’d as two  
short
Discursive, or intuitive; discourse
Is ofteth yours, the latter most is ours,
Differing but in degree, of kind the same.

Wonder not then, what God for you saw good
If I refuse not, but convert, as you,
To proper substance: time may come, when Men
With Angels may participate, and find
No inconvenient diet, nor too light fare;
And from these corporal nutriments perhaps
Your bodies may at last turn all to spirit,
Improv'd by tract of time, and wing'd ascend
Ethereal, as we, or may at choice
Here or in heav'nly Paradises dwell;
If ye be found obedient, and retain

short ones, and particularly in the second line
after this

To vital spirits aspire;
and the second syllable in adōrous is to be pronounced long, tho' the poet makes it short in
other places, IV. 166.

So entertain'd those adōrous sweets the Fiend:
but these are not the only instances, where
Milton makes use of this same poetical licence.
498. — and wing'd ascend
Ethereal, as we,] It is the doctrin of the ablest
Divines and primitive Fathers of the Catholic
Church, that if Adam had not sinned, he
would never have died, but would have been
translated from Earth to Heaven; and this
doctrin the reader may see illustrated in the
learned Bishop Bull's discourse of the state of
man before the fall. Our author no doubt was
very well acquainted with the sense of anti-
quity in this particular; and admitting the
notion, what he says is poetical at least, if you
will not allow it to be probable and rational.

503. Whose
Unalterably firm his love entire,
Whose progeny you are. Mean while enjoy
Your fill what happiness this happy state
Can comprehend, incapable of more.

To whom the patriarch of mankind reply’d.

O favorable Spirit, propitious guest,
Well haft thou taught the way that might direct
Our knowledge, and the scale of nature set
From center to circumference, whereon

In contemplation of created things
By steps we may ascend to God. But say,
What meant that caution join’d, If ye be found
Obedient? can we want obedience then

To him, or possibly his love desert,
Who form’d us from the dust, and plac’d us here

Full to the utmost measure of what bliss

Human

503. Whose progeny you are.] From St. Paul
Acts XVII. 28. For we are also his offspring;
who took it from Aratus, Τεν γας τοι γένος
tesmen.


509. — and the scale of nature set

From center to circumference,] The scale or ladder of nature ascends by steps from a point, a center, to the whole circumference of what mankind can see or comprehend. The metaphor is bold and vaftly expressive. Matter, one first matter is this center; nature infinitely diversify’d is the scale which reaches to the utmost of our conceptions, all round. We are thus led to God; whose circumference who

Human desires can seek or apprehend?

To whom the Angel. Son of Heav'n and Earth,

Attend: That thou art happy, owe to God;
That thou continuest such, owe to thyself,
That is, to thy obedience; therein stand.
This was that caution giv'n thee; be advis'd.
God made thee perfect, not immutable;
And good he made thee, but to persevere
He left it in thy pow'r; ordain'd thy will
By nature free, not over-rul'd by fate
Inextricable, or strict necessity:
Our voluntary service he requires,
Not our necessitated; such with him
Finds no acceptance, nor can find; for how
Can hearts, not free, be try'd whether they serve
Willing or no, who will but what they must

can tell? Uncircumscrib'd he fills infinitude,
VII. 170. Richardson.

530. By steps we may ascend to God.] There is a real visible ladder (besides that visionary one of Jacob) whose foot, tho' placed on the earth among the lowest of the creation, yet leads us by steps in contemplation of created things up to God the invisible creator of all things. Hume.

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By destiny, and can no other choose?
Myself and all th' angelic host, that stand
In sight of God enthron'd, our happy state
Hold, as you yours, while our obedience holds;
On other surety none; freely we serve,
Because we freely love, as in our will
To love or not; in this we stand or fall:
And some are fall'n, to disobedience fall'n,
And so from Heav'n to deepest Hell; O fall
From what high state of bliss into what woe!

To whom our great progenitor. Thy words
Attentive, and with more delighted ear,
Divine instructor, I have heard, than when
Cherubic songs by night from neighb'ring hills
Aereal music send: nor knew I not

To

546. --- than when
Cherubic songs &c.] Adam had mention'd
these nightly songs of the Angels with pleasure
in IV. 680. &c. But still he prefers the
conversation of the Angel, and thinks dis-
course more sweet,
For eloquence the foul, song charms the sense.

548. --- nor knew I not
To be both will and deed created free; ] Nor
was it unknown to me that my will and actions
are free. I knew I was free. Two negatives
make an affirmative. Richardeson.

551. --- whose command
Single is yet so just,] That is the command
not to eat of the forbidden tree, the only com-
mand given to Man; and it is spoken of much
in the same manner in IV. 419.

--- He who requires
From us no other service than to keep
This one, this easy charge.
And
To be both will and deed created free;
Yet that we never shall forget to love
Our Maker, and obey him whose command
Single is yet so just, my constant thoughts
Assur'd me, and still assure: though what thou tell'st
Hath past in Heav'n, some doubt within me move,
But more desire to hear, if thou consent,
The full relation, which must needs be strange,
Worthy of sacred silence to be heard;
And we have yet large day, for scarce the sun
Hath finish'd half his journey', and scarce begins
His other half in the great zone of Heaven.

Thus Adam made request; and Raphaël
After short pause assenting, thus began.

High matter thou injoin'st me', O prime of men,

And again, ver. 432.
— Then let us not think hard
One easy prohibition, who enjoy
Free leave so large to all things else.

And this command tho' single, and therefore
456. High matter thou injoin'st me', O prime of men,
and therefore
on that account to be obey'd, is yet so just, that
it lays a farther obligation upon our obe-
dience.

557. Worthy of sacred silence to be heard;]
Worthy of religious silence, such as was re-
quir'd at the sacrifices and other religious cere-
monies of the Ancients; alluding to that of
Horace, Od. II. XIII. 29, 30.

Utrumque sacro digna silentio
Mirantur umbra: dicere. Richardson.

563. Worthy of sacred silence to be heard;]
Sad talk and hard; &c.] It is customary with
the epic poets to introduce by way of episode
and narration the principal events, which hap-
pen'd
Sad task and hard; for how shall I relate
To human sense th' invisible exploits
Of warring Spirits? how without remorse
The ruin of so many glorious once
And perfect while they stood? how last unfold
The secrets of another world, perhaps
Not lawful to reveal? yet for thy good
This is dispens'd; and what surmounts the reach
Of human sense, I shall delineate so,
By likening spiritual to corporal forms,

pen'd before the action of the poem commences: And as Homer's Ulysses relates his adventures to Alcinous, and as Virgil's Aeneas recounts the history of the siege of Troy and of his own travels to Dido; so the Angel relates to Adam the fall of Angels and the creation of the world; and begins his narration of the fall of Angels, much in the same manner as Aeneas does his account of the destruction of Troy, Virg. Æn. II. 3.

Infandum, regina, jubes renovare dolorem.

574. — though what if Earth &c.] In order to make Adam comprehend these things the Angel tells him that he must liken spiritual to corporal forms, and questions whether there is not a greater similitude and resemblance between things in Heaven and things in Earth than is generally imagin'd, which is suggested very artfully, as it is indeed the best apology that could be made for those bold figures, which Milton has employ'd, and especially in his description of the battles of the Angels.

577. As yet this world was not, &c.] Had I follow'd Monfieur Bossu's method, I should have dated the action of Paradise Lost from the beginning of Raphael's speech in this book, as he supposes the action of the Æneid to begin in the second book of that poem. I could allege many reasons for my drawing the action of the Æneid rather from its immediate beginning in the first book, than from its remote beginning in the second; and shew why I have consider'd the falling of Troy as an epifede, according to the common acceptation of that word. But as this would be a dry unentertaining piece of criticism, I shall not inlarge upon it. Which ever of the notions be true, the unity of Milton's action is preserved according to either of them; whether we consider the fall of Man in its immediate beginning, as proceeding from the resolutions taken in.
As may express them best; though what if Earth
Be but the shadow' of Heav'n, and things therein
Each to' other like, more than on earth is thought?

As yet this world was not, and Chaos wild
Reign'd where these Heav'n's now roll, where Earth
Upon her center pois'd; when on a day
(For time, though in eternity, apply'd
To motion, measures all things durable
By present, past, and future) on such day
As Heav'n's great year brings forth, th' empyreal hoft

in the infernal council, or in its more remote
time, as proceeding from the first revolt
of the Angels in Heaven. The occasion which
Milton assigns for this revolt, as it is founded
on hints in holy Writ, and on the opinion of
some great writers, so it was the most proper
that the poet could have made use of. The
revolt in Heaven is described with great force
of imagination, and a fine variety of circum-
stances. 

579. Upon her center pois'd; ] Ponderibus li-
brata suis, as Ovid says Met. I. 13. or as Mil-
ton else where expresses it, VII. 242.

And Earth self-balanc'd on her center hung.

583. As Heav'n's great year ] Our poet seems
to have had Plato's great year in his thoughts.

— Et incipient magni procedere menfes.

Plato's great year of the Heavens is the revo-
lution of all the spheres. Every thing returns
to where it set out when their motion first be-
gan. See Auffon. Idyl. XVIII. 15. A proper
time for the declaration of the vicegerency of
the Son of God. Milton has the same thought
for the birth of the Angels (ver. 861.) ima-
gining such kind of revolutions long before
the Angels or the worlds were in being. So
far back into eternity did the vast mind of this
poet carry him!

Richardfon.

589. Standards
Of Angels by imperial summons call'd, 
Innumerable before th' Almighty's throne 
Forthwith from all the ends of Heav'n appear'd 
Under their Hierarchs in orders bright:
Ten thousand thousand ensigns high advanc'd, 
Standards and gonfalons 'twixt van and rear 
Stream in the air, and for distinction serve 
Of hierarchies, of orders, and degrees;
Or in their glittering tissues bear imblaz'd 
Holy memorials, acts of zeal and love 
Recorded eminent. Thus when in orbs 
Of circuit inexpressible they stood, 
Orb within orb, the Father infinite, 
By whom in bliss imbosom'd sat the Son, 
Amidst as from a flaming mount, whose top 
Brightness had made invisible, thus spake.

Hear all ye Angels, progeny of light, 

God gave his commandments to the children of Israel, as here he is giving his great command concerning the Messiah in Heaven.

We observed before that Milton was very cautious what sentiments and language he ascribed to the Almighty, and generally confin'd himself to the phrases
Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,
Hear my decree, which unrevok'd shall stand.
This day I have begot whom I declare
My only Son, and on this holy hill
Him have anointed, whom ye now behold
At my right hand; your head I him appoint;
And by myself have sworn to him shall bow
All knees in Heav'n, and shall confess him Lord:
Under his great vice-gerent reign abide
United as one individual soul
For ever happy: Him who disobeys,
Me disobeys, breaks union, and that day
Cast out from God and blessed vision, falls
Into' utter darkness, deep ingulf'd, his place
Ordain'd without redemption, without end.

So spake th'Omnipotent, and with his words
All seem'd well pleas'd; all seem'd, but were not all.

That:

phrases and expressions of Scripture; and in
this particular speech the reader will easily re-
mark how much of it is copy'd from holy
Writ by comparing it with the following texts.
I have set my Anointed upon my holy hill of Sion;
I will declare the decree, The Lord hath said un-
to me, Thou art my son, this day have I begotten

 thee. Psal. II. 6, 7. By myself have I sworn,
saith the Lord. Gen. XXII. 16. At the name of
Jesus every knee shall bow of things in Heaven—
and every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is
Lord to the glory of God the Father. Phil. II.
10, 11.
That day, as other solemn days, they spent
In song and dance about the sacred hill;
Mystical dance, which yonder starry sphere
Of planets and of fix'd in all her wheels
Resembles nearest, mazes intricate,
Eccentric, intervolv'd, yet regular
Then most, when most irregular they seem;
And in their motions harmony divine
So smooths her charming tones, that God's own ear
Listens delighted. Evening now approach'd

620. *Mystical dance, &c.*] Strange mysterious motions, which the shining sphere of the planets and fixed stars in their various revolutions imitates nearest; windings and turnings intangled and obscure, involving and surrounding one another, altho' not moving on the same center, yet then most regular and orderly, when to our weak and distant understanding they seem most irregular and disturb'd.

And those untruly errant call'd, I trow,
Since he err not, who doth them guide and move.
Fairfax's Tasso, Cant. 9. St. 6.

After tum ea quae sunt infixa certis locis,
tum illa non re sed vocabulo errantia, &c.
Cicero Tusc. Disp. I. 25. And in their motions such divine perfection appears, and their harmonious proportion so tunes her charming notes, that God himself, pleas'd and delighted, pronounced them good,

Gen. I. 18. There is a text in Job XXXVIII. 37. that seems to favor the opinion of the Pythagoreans, concerning the musical motion of the spheres, though our translation differ therein from other versions. *Concentum cali quis dormire faciet?* Who shall lay asleep, or still the comfort of the Heaven? But this is to be understood metaphorically, of the wonderful proportions observed by the heavenly bodies in their various motions. *Hume.*

633. — *rubied nectar*] Nectar of the color of rubies; a translation of Homer's νεκταρ ερυθρον. Iliad. XIX. 38.

αμφροσιν και νεκταρ ερυθρον.

and Odyss. V. 93.

— ἀμφροσία τελεσσα, κατεσθαι περὶ νεκταρ ερυθρον.

634. *In pearl, &c.*] This feast of the Angels
(For we have also our evening and our morn,
We ours for change delectable, not need)
Forthwith from dance to sweet repast they turn 630
Desirous; all in circles as they stood,
Tables are set, and on a sudden pil’d
With Angels food, and rubied nectar flows
In pearl, in diamond, and massy gold,
Fruit of delicious vines, the growth of Heaven. 635
On flow’rs repos’d, and with fresh flow’rets crown’d,
They eat, they drink, and in communion sweet

Angels is much richer than the banquet of the
Gods in Homer’s Iliad, IV. 3. Homer’s Gods
drink nectar in golden cups χυμών καθαράς; but here the nectar flows in pearl, in diamond, and massy gold.

637. They eat, they drink, &c.] In the first
edition it was thus,
They eat, they drink, and with refection sweet
Are fill’d, before th’ all-bounteous King,
In the second edition the author alter’d it and
added as follows,
They eat, they drink, and in communion sweet
Quaff immortality and joy, secure
Of surfeit where full measure only bounds
Excess, before th’ all-bounteous King,
Dr. Bentley is for restoring the former reading,
but we think that in communion sweet gives a
much better idea than with refection sweet. To

quaff immortality and joy, to drink largely and
plentifully of immortal joy, is a very poetical
expression, and plainly alluding to Pfal.
XXXVI. 8, 9. Thou shalt make them drink of
the river of the pleasures; for with thee is the
fountain of life, and in thy light shall we see
light. If these verses were left out, then (as
Dr. Pearce rightly observes) the words in
ver. 641. which represent God as rejoicing in
their joy, would refer to something that is no
where to be found; and therefore Milton (he
supposes) inserted these verses in the second
edition, that the joy of the Angels might be
express’d. Secure of surfeit, are in no danger
of it, are not liable to it, as men are. Where
full measure only bounds excess, full measure is
the only thing that stints and limits them; the
utmost they are capable of containing is the
only bound set to them; they have full measure,
but they cannot be too full, they cannot
overflow; without overflowing full.

A a a 641. — rejoicing
Quaff immortality and joy, secure
Of surfeit where full measure only bounds
Excess, before th' all-bounteous King, who show'd
With copious hand, rejoicing in their joy.

Now when ambrosial night with clouds exhal'd
From that high mount of God, whence light and shade
Spring both, the face of brightest Heav'n had chang'd
to grateful twilight (for night comes not there)
In darker veil) and refract dews dispos'd
All but th' unsleeping eyes of God to rest;
Wide over all the plain, and wider far
Than all this globous earth in plain outspread,
(Such are the courts of God) th' angelic throng,
Dispers'd in bands and files, their camp extend
By living streams among the trees of life,
Pavilions numberless, and sudden rear'd,

Celestial

641. — rejoicing in their joy.] What an idea
of the divine goodness, whole perfect happi-
ness seems to receive an addition from that of
his creatures! Richardson.

642. — ambrosial night.] So Homer calls
the night ambrosial, Αμβροσίαν δια νυκτα, Iliad.
II. 57. and sleep for the same reason ambrosial,
ver. 19. because it refreshes and strengthens as
much as food, as much as ambrosia.

646. In darker veil.] Milton spells this word
differently, sometimes vail, sometimes veil;
but veil is right from the Latin velum.

647. All but th' unsleeping eyes of God to rest;]
So the Psalmist, Psal. CXXI. 4. He that keepeth
Israel shall neither slumber nor sleep. The author
had likewise Homer in mind, Iliad. II. 1.

Todos ουν αυτοις. Διαι εις εχερισμος υπνοι.
Th'im-
Celestial tabernacles, where they slept
Fann'd with cool winds; save those who in their course
Melodious hymns about the sovran throne
Alternate all night long: but not so wak'd
Satan; so call him now, his former name
Is heard no more in Heav'n; he of the first,
If not the first Arch-Angel, great in power,
In favor and præeminence, yet fraught
With envy' against the Son of God, that day
Honor'd by his great Father, and proclam'd
Messiah King anointed, could not bear
Through pride that sight, and thought himself impair'd.
Deep malice thence conceiving and disdain,
Soon as midnight brought on the dusky hour
Friendliest to sleep and silence, he resolv'd
With all his legions to dislodge, and leave

Th'immortals slumber'd on their thrones above,
All, but the ever-wakeful eyes of Jove.

653. — and sudden rear'd,] There is no need to read rear with Dr. Bentley. Rear'd here is a participle. Their tents were numberless, and rear'd of a sudden.
657. Alternate all night long:] Alternate is a verb here; alternate hymns, sing by turns, and answer one another.

Illi alternantes multa vi prælia miscent.

Hæc alternanti potior sententia vifa cft.

Æn. IV. 287. of Æneas deliberating whether he should stay or go.

A a a 2

671. — bis
Unworship, unobey'd the throne supreme
Contemptuous, and his next subordinate
Awak'ning, thus to him in secret spake.

Sleep'ft thou, Companion dear, what sleep can close
Thy eye-lids? and remember'ft what decree
Of yesterday, so late hath pass'd the lips
Of Heav'n's Almighty. Thou to me thy thoughts
Waft wont, I mine to thee was wont to impart;
Both waking we were one; how then can now
Thy sleep dissent? New laws thou feest impos'd;

671. — his next subordinate] Beelzebub, who is always represented second to Satan. Satan addresses him first here, as he does likewise upon the burning lake, Book I.

673. Sleep'ft thou, Companion dear, what sleep can close
Thy eye-lids? and remember'ft what decree &c.

We have printed the passage with Milton's own punctuation. Sleep'ft thou, Companion dear, τευχαῖς οὐχι; Iliad. II. 23. What sleep can close thy eye-lids? and remember'ft &c. that is when thou remember'ft &c.

— potes hoc sub caufa ducere somnos?
Virg. Ἀει. IV. 560.

It is just the same manner of speaking as in II. 730.

— what fury, O Son,
Possesses thee to bend that mortal dart
Against thy Father's head? and know'ft for whom;
at the same time that thou know'ft for whom.

682. — more in this place
To utter is not safe.] This is a verse, but I believe the reader will agree, that it could not have had so good an effect, had it been an entire verse by itself, as it has now it is broken and made part of two verses.

684. Of all those myriads which we lead the chief;] Dr. Bentley reads the chiefs; but Milton speaks after the same manner as here, in II. 469. Others among the chief &c. And in both places the chief signifies the same as the chiefs, only this is a substantive, and that is an adjective, agreeing with the word Angels understood in the construction. Pearse.

685. Tell them that by command, &c.] He begins his revolt with a lie. So well doth Milton preserve the character given of him in Scripture. John VIII. 44. The Devil is a liar, and the father of lies.

689. The quarters of the north;] See Sannazarus De partu Virginis, III. 40.
New laws from him who reigns, new minds may raise
In us who serve, new counsels, to debate
What doubtful may ensue: more in this place
To utter is not safe. Assemble thou
Of all those myriads which we lead the chief;
Tell them that by command, ere yet dim night
Her shadowy cloud withdraws, I am to haste,
And all who under me their banners wave,
Homeward with flying march where we possess
The quarters of the north; there to prepare

Vos, quum omne arderet cœlum servilibus
armis,
Arētōnque fūror pertenderet impius axem
Scandere, et in gelidos regnum transffe
Triones,
Fīda manus mecum manfīlis.

There are other passages in the same poem of
which Milton has made use.

Some have thought that Milton intended, but
I dare say he was above intending here any re-
fection upon Scotland, tho' being himself an
Independent, he had no great affection for the
Scotch Presbyterians. He had the authority,
we see, of Sannazarius for fixing Satan's re-
bellion in the quarters of the north, and he had
much better authority, the same that Sannaza-
rarius had, that of the Prophet, whose words
though apply'd to the king of Babylon, yet
allude to this rebellion of Satan, Isaiah XIV.
52, 13. How art thou fall'n from Heaven, O

Lucifer, son of the morning! — For thou hast
said in thine heart, I will ascend into Heaven, I
will exalt my throne above the stars of God. I
will sit also upon the mount of the congregation
in the sides of the north. The north conveys
the idea of a disagreeable cold inclement sky;
and in Scripture we read, Out of the north an
evil shall break forth, Jer. I. 14. I will bring
evil from the north and a great destruction, Jer.
VI. 1. And Shakespeare in like manner calls
Satan the monarch of the north, I Henry VI.
Act V.

And ye choice Spirits, that admonish me,
And give me signs of future accidents,
You speedy helpers, that are substiututes
Under the lordly monarch of the north.

I have seen too a Latin poem by Odoricus
Valmarana, printed at Vienna in 1627, and
intitled Damonomachiae sive De Bello Intelligeni-
tiarum
Fit entertainment to receive our king
The great Messiah, and his new commands,
Who speedily through all the hierarchies
Intends to pass triumphant, and give laws.

So spake the false Arch-Angel, and infus'd
Bad influence into th' unwary breast
Of his associate: he together calls,
Or several one by one, the regent Powers,
Under him regent; tells, as he was taught,
That the most High commanding, now ere night,
Now ere dim night had disincumber'd Heaven,

It was said of Virgil, he collected gold out of
the dung of other authors.

702. Tells the suggested cause.] The cause
that Satan had suggested, namely to prepare
entertainment for their new king and receive
his laws: and casts between ambiguous words,
imitated from Virg. Æn. II. 98.

708. His count'rance, as the morning star that
 guides &c.] This similitude is not so
new as poetical. Virgil in like manner
compares the beautiful young Pallas to the morning
star, Æn. VIII. 589.

Qualis, ubi oceani perfusus Lucifer unda,
Quem Venus ante alios aetrorum diligentignes,
Extulit os facrum caelo, tenebrasque revolvit.
So from the seas exerts his radiant head
The star, by whom the lights of Heav'n are led;

Shakes
Book V. PARADISE LOST.

The great hierarchal standard was to move;
Tells the suggested cause, and casts between
Ambiguous words and jealousies, to found
Or taint integrity: but all obey'd
The wonted signal, and superior voice
Of their great potentate; for great indeed
His name, and high was his degree in Heaven;
His count'nance, as the morning star that guides
The starry flock, allur'd them, and with lies
Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's host.

Mean while th' eternal eye, whose sight discerns

Shakes from his rosy locks the pearly dew,
Dispels the darkness, and the day renews.

But there is a much greater propriety in Milton's comparing Satan to the morning star, as he is often spoken of under the name of Lucifer, as well as denominated in Scripture, Lucifer son of the morning. Isaiah XIV. 12.

709. — and with lies &c.] Dr. Bentley says that the author gave it and his lies &c. but by the expression his countenance is meant he himself, a part being put for the whole, as in II. 683. we have front put for the whole person: it is very frequent in Scripture to use the word face or countenance in this sense; as in Luke IX. 53. we read of our Saviour, that the Samaritans did not receive him, because his face was as tho' he (Greek, it) would go to Jerusalem. See also Levit. XIX. 32. But if this will not be allow'd to be Milton's meaning, yet it may be said that Satan's countenance, deceiving his followers by disguising the foul intentions of his heart, may be very properly said to seduce with lies. We read in Cicero's Epistles to his brother, from, oculti, vultus perjespe mentiuntur. Lib. i. Ep. 1. c. 5. Pearce.

710. Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's host.] Behold a great red dragon — and his tail drew the third part of the stars of Heaven, and did cast them to the earth. Rev. XII. 3, 4. Dr. Bentley finds fault with this verse as very bad measure: but as a person of much better taste observes, there is a great beauty in the fall of the numbers in this line after the majesty of those before and after it, occasion'd principally by the change of the fourth foot from an iambic into a trochaic; an artifice often made use of by Milton to vary his numbers by those discord.

Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's host.

711. Mean while th' eternal eye, whose sight discerns &c.] Dr. Bentley seems very sure that
PARADISE LOST. Book V.

Abstusfelt thoughts, from forth his holy mount
And from within the golden lamps that burn
Nightly before him, saw without their light
Rebellion rising, saw in whom, how spread
Among the sons of morn, what multitudes
Were banded to oppose his high decree;
And smiling to his only Son thus said.

Son, thou in whom my glory I behold
In full resplendence, Heir of all my might,
Nearly it now concerns us to be sure.

that Milton's text is wrong here, because in the course of the construction it is said of this eternal eye that it smiling said, ver. 718. He would therefore persuade us that Milton gave it

Mean while th' Eternal, He whose light discerns &c.

But would not He in this place thus following th' Eternal be a botch in poetry? Milton frequently takes a liberty, allowable in a poet, of expressing only some part or quality of a person, when he means the person himself, and goes on to say things which (properly speaking) are applicable only to the person himself. And Milton had good authority for doing so: in Psal. LIV. 7. the eye is made a person, mine eye shall see his desire upon mine enemies: so in Mat. XX. 15. the eye is put for the whole man, Is thine eye evil, because I am good? See also Prov. XXX. 17. Pearce.

His countenance allur'd, and with lies drew after him &c. The eternal eye saw &c. and smiling said — give great offence to Dr. Bentley, and Dr. Pearce says, his countenance and the eternal eye are the part for the whole or the person. But a very learned and ingenious friend questioning, whether they are not here used equivocally, and to be construed either as one or the other according as the sense requires. 'Tis Satan's countenance that allures them like the morning star, but 'tis Satan himself that draws them after him with lies; so the eternal eye sees, but the smiling said must relate to the Eternal himself. Spenser has a stronger instance of the impropriety here taken notice of by the critics, and it is repeated as here in Milton. Spenser's Epithalamion.

Her long loose yellow locks like golden wire,
Sprinkled with pearl, and perling flow'r's atween,
Do like a golden mantle her attire:
And being crowned with a girland green,
Seem like some maiden queen.

Her
Of our omnipotence, and with what arms
We mean to hold what anciently we clame
Of deity or empire; such a foe
Is rising, who intends to erect his throne
Equal to ours, throughout the spacious north;
Nor so content, hath in his thought to try
In battel, what our pow'r is, or our right.
Let us advise, and to this hazard draw
With speed what force is left, and all employ
In our defense, left unawares we lose

This

Her modest eyes abashed to behold
So many gazers, as on her do stare,
Upon the lowly ground affixed are;
Ne dare lift up her countenance too bold,
But blush to hear her praises sung so loud,
So far from being proud.

713. And from within the golden lamps] Alluding to the lamps before the throne of God, which St. John saw in his vision, Rev. IV. 5. And there were seven lamps of fire burning before the throne.

716. Among the sons of morn.] The Angels are here call'd sons of the morning, as Lucifer is in Isa. XIV. 12. probably upon account of their early creation; or to express the angelic beauty and gladness, the morning being the most delightful season of the day. Job. XI. 17. Thine age shall be clearer than the noon-day; thou shalt shine forth, thou shalt be as the morning. XXXVIII. 7. When the morning stars sang together, and the sons of God shouted for joy. See also Cant. VI. 10. Isa. LVIII. 8. Richardson.
This our high place, our sanctuary, our hill.

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

So spake the Son; but Satan with his Powers
Far was advancement on winged speed, an host
Innumerable as the stars of night,
Or stars of morning, dew-drops, which the sun
Im-

In full resplendence, Heir of all my might,]
For he is the brightness of his Father’s glory, and
appointed heir of all things, Heb. I. 2, 3.
734. Lightning divine.] If lightning is a participle, the adjective divine is to be taken adverbially, as if he had said Lightning divinely: but it is rather a substantive, and in Scripture the Angel’s countenance is said to have been like lightning, Dan. X. 6. Mat. XXVIII. 3.
746. Or stars of morning, dew-drops,] Innumerable as the stars is an old simile, but this of the stars of morning, dew-drops, seems as new as it is beautiful: And the sun impearls them, turns them by his reflected beams to seeming pearls; as the morn was said before to sow the earth with orient pearl, ver. 2.
750. In their triple degrees;] This notion of triples in all the economy of Angels is started by Tasso, Cant. 18. St. 96.

In battle round of squadrons three they stood,
And all by threes those squadrons ranged were: and
Impearls on every leaf and every flower.
Regions they pass'd, the mighty regencies
Of Seraphim and Potentates and Thrones
In their triple degrees; regions to which
All thy dominion, Adam, is no more
Than what this garden is to all the earth,
And all the sea, from one entire globosel
Stretch'd into longitude; which having pass'd
At length into the limits of the north
They came, and Satan to his royal seat
High on a hill, far blazing, as a mount
Rais'd on a mount, with pyramids and towers
From diamond quarries hew'n, and rocks of gold;
The palace of great Lucifer, (so call
That structure in the dialect of men

and by Spenser, Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 12.
St. 39.
Like as it had been many an Angel's voice
Singing before th' eternal Majesty,
In their trinal triplicities on high.
The fancy was borrow'd from the Schoolmen.

Spenser has again the same notion, and uses
the same expression in his Hymn of heavenly love,

There they in their trinal triplicities
About him wait, and on his will depend.

761. — *in the dialect of men*] The learned
reader cannot but be pleased with the poet's
imitation of Homer in this line. Homer
mentions persons and things, which he tells
us in the language of the Gods are call'd by
different names from those they go by in the
language of men. Milton has imitated him
with his usual judgment in this particular place,
Interpreted) which not long after, he
Affecting all equality with God,
In imitation of that mount whereon
Messiah was declar'd in sight of Heaven,
The Mountain of the Congregation call'd;
For thither he assembled all his train,
Pretending so commanded to consult
About the great reception of their king
Thither to come, and with calumnious art
Of counterfeited truth thus held their ears.
Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,
If these magnific titles yet remain
Not merely titular, since by decree
Another now hath to himself ingross'd
All pow'r, and us eclips'd under the name
Of King anointed, for whom all this haste

wherein he has likewise the authority of Scripture to justify him. Addison.
The scholiasts and commentators upon Homer endeavor to account for this manner of speaking several ways; but the most probable is, that he attributes those names which are in use only among the learned to the Gods, and those which are in vulgar use to men. However that be, this manner of speaking certainly gives a dignity to the poem, and looks as if the poets had conversed with the Gods themselves.

766. The Mountain of the Congregation call'd;
Alluding to what we quoted before from Isa. XIV. 13. I will exalt my throne above the stars of God; I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the sides of the north.

790. Natives and sons of Heav'n possess'd before
Of midnight march, and hurried meeting here,
This only to consult how we may best
With what may be devis’d of honors new
Receive him coming to receive from us
Knee-tribute yet unpaid, prostration vile,
Too much to one, but double how indur’d,
To one and to his image now proclaim’d?
But what if better counsels might erect
Our minds, and teach us to cast off this yoke?
Will ye submit your necks, and choose to bend
The supple knee? ye will not, if I trust
To know ye right, or if ye know yourselves
Natives and sons of Heav’n possess’d before.
By none, and if not equal all, yet free,
Equally free; for orders and degrees
Jar not with liberty, but well consist.

Who

By none,] Dr. Bentley’s false pointing of this passage has led others to mistake the sense of it, as well as himself. He refers the word possess’d to natives and sons, but should it not rather be referred to Heav’n the word immediately preceding, there being no comma between them in Milton’s own editions, as there is in Dr. Bentley’s? And is not the passage to be understood thus, that No one possess’d Heaven before them, they were a sort of Aborigines? which notion Satan explains more at large in his following speech, ver. 859.
We know no time when we were not as now; Know none before us, self-begot, self-rais’d By our own quick’ning pow’r, when fatal course Had circled his full orb, the birth mature Of this our native Heav’n, ethereal sons.

792. —— for orders and degrees
Who can in reason then or right assume
Monarchy over such as live by right
His equals, if in pow'r and splendor less,
In freedom equal? or can introduce
Law and edict on us, who without law
Err not? much less for This to be our Lord,
And look for adoration to th' abuse
Of those imperial titles, which assert
Our being ordain'd to govern, not to serve.

Thus far his bold discourse without controll
Had audience, when among the Seraphim
Abdiel, than whom none with more zeal ador'd
The Deity', and divine commands obey'd,
Stood

Far not with liberty, but well consist.] Far,
a metaphor taken from music, to which both
the philosophers and poets have always loved
to compare government. So Shakespeare,
Henry V. Act I.

For government, though high, and low, and
lower,
Put into parts, doth keep in one consent;
Congreasing in a full and natural close,
Like music:

and in Troilus and Cressida, Act I.

Take but degree away, untune that string,
And hark what discord follows.

799. — much less for This to be our Lord.] This passage seems to me as inexplicable al-
most as any in Milton. Dr. Bentley thinks it
hard to find what for this relates to; and there-
fore reads forethink, or if we have no regard
to the likeness of the letters, aspire, presume,
or other such word. Then the series (he says)
will be this, Who can introduce law and edict on
us? much less can he forethink, take it in his
scheme or view, to become our Lord and master.
Dr. Pearce says, that the sentence is elliptical,
and may be supply'd thus, much less can he for
this (viz. for our being less in power and splen-
dor, ver. 796.) in right assume to be our Lord.
Mr. Richardfon understands it to be spoken
blasphemously
Stood up, and in a flame of zeal severe:
The current of his fury thus oppos'd.

O argument blasphemous, false and proud!
Words which no ear ever to hear in Heaven
Expected, leaft of all from thee, Ingrate,
In place thyself so high above thy peers.
Canft thou with impious obloquy condemn
The just decree of God, pronounce'd and swaren,
That to his only Son by right induced
With regal scepter, every soul in Heaven
Shall bend the knee, and in that honor due:
Confess him rightful King? unjust, thou say'st,
Flatly unjust, to bind with laws the free,

and

blasphemously and with contempt of the Messiah, This another, ver. 775. This King anointed, ver. 777. And then the sense will run after this manner, Who can then in justice assume monarchy over equals? or can introduce a law and edict upon us, who without law are infallible? much less can it introduce a law and edict for This (I don't say what) to be our Lord and receive adoration from us. But then we must write This with a great letter, and we must not continue the note of interrogation at the end of the speech. If we should, I imagin we should be oblig'd to read much more instead of much less.

809. O argument blasphemous,] And so like wise in VI. 360.
Refrain'd his tongue blasphemous; but anon, &c.
which are the only two places where he uses the word, he pronounces the second syllable long according to the Greek. And so Spenfer too uies the word, Fairy Queen, B. 6. Cant. 12. St. 34.

And therein shut up his blasphemous tongue.
And St. 25.

And altars souled, and blasphemy spoke.
And equal over equals to let reign,
One over all with unsucceeded power.
Shalt thou give law to God, shalt thou dispute
With him the points of liberty, who made
Thee what thou art, and form’d the Pow’rs of Heaven
Such as he pleas’d, and circumscrib’d their being:
Yet by experience taught we know how good,
And of our good and of our dignity
How provident he is, how far from thought
To make us less, bent rather to exalt
Our happy state under one head more near
United. But to grant it thee unjust,
That equal over equals monarch reign:
Thyself though great and glorious dost thou count,
Or all angelic nature join’d in one,
Equal to him begotten Son? by whom
As by his Word the mighty Father made
All things, ev’n thee; and all the Spi’rits of Heaven
By him created in their bright degrees,

Crown’d
Crown’d them with glory’, and to their glory nam’d
Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,
Essential Pow’rs; nor by his reign obscur’d,

But more illustrious made; since he the head
One of our number thus reduc’d becomes;
His laws our laws; all honor to him done
Returns our own. Cease then this impious rage,
And tempt not these; but hasten to appease
Th’ incensed Father, and th’ incensed Son,
While pardon may be found in time besought.

So spake the fervent Angel; but his zeal
None seconded, as out of season judg’d,
Or singular and rash, whereat rejoic’d
Th’ Apostate, and more haughty thus reply’d.
That we were form’d then say’st thou? and the work
Of secondary hands, by task transferr’d
From Father to his Son? strange point and new!
Doctrin which we would know whence learn’d: who saw
When this creation was? remember’st thou

Thy

principalities, or powers; all things were created by him and for him, and he is before all things, and by the speech is taken from the conclusion of this speech is taken from the conclusion of Psal. II. Vol. I.
Thy making, while the Maker gave thee being? We know no time when we were not as now; Know none before us, self-begot, self-rais'd By our own quick'ning pow'r, when fatal course Had circled his full orb, the birth mature Of this our native Heav'n, ethereal sons. Our puissance is our own; our own right hand Shall teach us highest deeds, by proof to try Who is our equal: then thou shalt behold Whether by supplication we intend Address, and to begirt th'almighty throne Beseeching or besieging. This report, These tidings carry to th'anointed King;

And

861. — when fatal course &c.] We may observe that our author makes Satan a sort of fatalist. We Angels (says he) were self-begot, self-rais'd by our own quick'ning pow'r, when the course of fate had completed its full round and period; then we were the birth mature, the production in due season, of this our native Heaven. No compliment to fatalism to put it into the mouth of the Devil.

864. Our puissance is our own.] It has been wonder'd that Milton should constantly pronounce this word and puissant the adjective with two syllables, when they would be more sonorous with three. But in this he conforms to the practice and example of the best writers. So Fairfax in his Tasso, Cant. 18. St. 55.

And 'gainst the northern gate my puissance bend, and Cant. 19. St. 72.

Of this your terrible and puissant knight.

Tho' Spenser I find makes them sometimes three, as well as sometimes two syllables. As Shakespear does likewise, 2 Hen. IV. Act I.

Upon the pow'r and puissance of the king, and a little afterwards,
Book V.  
PARADISE LOST.  

And fly, ere evil intercept thy flight.
He said, and as the sound of waters deep
Hoarse murmur echo'd to his words applause
Through the infinite host; nor less for that
The flaming Seraph fearless, though alone
Incompass'd round with foes, thus answer'd bold.

O alienate from God, O Spirit accurs'd,
Forsaken of all good; I see thy fall
Determin'd, and thy hapless crew involv'd
In this perfidious fraud, contagion spread
Both of thy crime and punishment: henceforth
No more be troubled how to quit the yoke
Of God's Messiah; those indulgent laws

And come against us in full puissance.

In the former line puissance is used as two syllables, and in the latter as three. It was certainly better in Milton to make it all the one or all the other.

864. — our own right hand
Shall teach us biggest deeds.] From Psal. XLV. 4. Thine own right hand shall teach thee terrible things.

869. Beseeching or besieg'ing.] Those which are thought the faults of Milton may be justifi'd by the authority of the best writers. This sort of jingle is like that in Terence, Andria, Act I. Sc. III. 13.

— inceptio est amentium, haud amantium;
and that in Shakespear, Hamlet, Act I.
A little more than kin, and less than kind.

872. — and as the sound of waters deep ]
The voice of a great multitude applauding is in

Dextra mihi Deus, et telum quod missile libro.
Virg. Æn. X. 773. Bentley.

872. — and as the sound of waters deep ]
The voice of a great multitude applauding is in

And the voice of a great multitude applauding is in

C c c 2
Will not be now vouchsafe'd; other decrees
Against thee are gone forth without recall;
That golden scepter, which thou didst reject,
Is now an iron rod to bruise and break
Thy disobedience. Well thou didst advise,
Yet not for thy advice or threats I fly
These wicked tents devoted, left the wrath
Impendent, raging into sudden flame
Distinguish not: for soon expect to feel
His thunder on thy head, devouring fire.
Then who created thee lamenting learn,
When who can uncreate thee thou shalt know.

So spake the Seraph Abdiel faithful found

Among

like manner compared, Rev. XIX. 6. to the
voice of many waters.

887. Is now an iron rod to bruise and break ]
Alluding to Psl. II. 9. Thou shalt break them
with a rod of iron: or rather to the old transla-
tion, Thou shalt bruise them with a rod of iron,
and break them in pieces like a potters vessel.

890. These wicked tents devoted, left the wrath
&c.] In allusion probably to the rebellion
of Korah &c. Numb. XVI. where Moses
exhorts the congregation, saying, Depart, I
pray you, from the tents of these wicked men,
left ye be consumed in all their sins, ver. 26.
But the construction without doubt is defi-
cient. It may be supply'd (as Dr. Pearce says)
by understanding but I fly before the word left.
See the same elliptical way of speaking in
II. 483. But it would be plainer and easier
with Dr. Bentley's alteration, if there was any
authority for it;
These wicked tents devote, but left the wrath &c.

896. So spake the Seraph Abdiel faithful found
&c.] The part of Abdiel, who was the only
Spirit that in this infinite host of Angels pre-
ferved his allegiance to his Maker, exhibits to
Among the faithless, faithful only he;
Among innumerable false, unmov'd,
Unshaken, unseduc'd, unterrify'd
His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal;
Nor number, nor example with him wrought
To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind
Though single. From amidst them forth he pass'd,
Long way through hostile scorn, which he sustain'd
Superior, nor of violence fear'd ought;
And with retorted scorn his back he turn'd
On those proud tow'rs to swift destruction doom'd.

us a noble moral of religious singularity. The zeal of the Seraphim breaks forth in a be-
coming warmth of sentiments and expressions, as the character which is given us of him de-
notes that generous scorn and intrepidity which attends heroic virtue. The author doubtless
design'd it as a pattern to those, who live among mankind in their present state of dege-
neracy and corruption. Addison.

The end of the Fifth Book.
THE SIXTH BOOK OF PARADISE LOST.
Raphael continues to relate how Michael and Gabriel were sent forth to battle against Satan and his Angels. The first fight described: Satan and his Powers retire under night: He calls a council, invents devilish engines, which in the second day’s fight put Michael and his Angels to some disorder; but they at length pulling up mountains overwhelm’d both the force and machines of Satan: Yet the tumult not so ending, God on the third day sends Messiah his Son, for whom he had reserv’d the glory of that victory: He in the power of his Father coming to the place, and causing all his legions to stand still on either side, with his chariot and thunder driving into the midst of his enemies, pursues them unable to resist towards the wall of Heaven; which opening, they leap down with horror and confusion into the place of punishment prepar’d for them in the deep: Messiah returns with triumph to his Father.
We are now entering upon the sixth book of Paradise Lost, in which the poet describes the battle of Angels; having raised his reader’s expectation, and prepared him for it by several passages in the preceding books. I omitted quoting these passages in my observations upon the former books, having purposely referred them for the opening of this, the subject of which gave occasion to them. The author’s imagination was so inflamed with this great scene of action, that wherever he speaks of it, he rises, if possible, above himself. Thus where he mentions Satan in the beginning of his poem, I. 44. &c.

Him the almighty Power
Hurl’d headlong flaming from th’ ethereal sky,
With hideous ruin and combustion, down
To bottomless perdition, there to dwell
In adamantin chains and penal fire,
Who durft defy th’ Omnipotent to arms.

We have likewise several noble hints of it in the internal conference, I. 123. &c.

O Prince! O Chief of many throned Powers,
That led th’ imbat’l’d Seraphim to war,
Too well I see and rue the dire event,
That with sad overthrow and soul defeat
Hath loft us Heav’n, and all this mighty host
In horrible destruction laid thus low.
But see! the angry victor hath recall’d
His minister’s of vengeance and pursuit;
Back to the gates of Heav’n: the sulphurous
hail
Shot after us in storm, o’erblown hath laid
The fiery surge, that from the precipice
Of Heav’n receiv’d us falling; and the thunder,
Wing’d with red lightning and impetuous rage,
Perhaps hath spent his shafts, and ceases now
To bellow through the vast and boundless deep.

There are several other very sublime images
on the same subject in the first book, as also in
the second, II. 165. &c.

What when we fled amain, pursu’d and struck
With Heav’n’s afflicting thunder, and besought
The deep to shelter us? this Hell then seem’d
A refuge from those wounds.

In short, the poet never mentions any thing of
this battle but in such images of greatness and
terror as are suitable to the subject. Among
several others I cannot forbear quoting that
passage, where the Power, who is described as
presiding over the Chaos, speaks in the second
book, II. 988. &c.

Thus Satan; and him thus the Anarch old,
With falting speech and visage incompos’d,
Answer’d. I know thee, stranger, who thou art,
That mighty leading Angel, who of late
Made head against Heav’n’s king, though over-
thrown.

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 Heav’n-gates
Pour’d out by millions her victorious bands
Pursuing.

It requir’d great pregnancy of invention and
strength of imagination, to fill this battle with
such circumstances as should raise and astonish
the mind of the reader; and at the same time
an exactness of judgment, to avoid every thing

D d d
All night the dreadless Angel unpursued
Through Heav'n's wide champain held his way;
till morn,
Wak'd by the circling hours, with rosy hand
Unbarr'd the gates of light. There is a cave
Within the mount of God, fast by his throne,
Where light and darkness in perpetual round [Heaven Lodge and dislodge by turns, which makes through Grateful vicissitude, like day and night;
Light issues forth, and at the other door Obsequious darkness enters, till her hour
To veil the Heav'n, though darkness there might well Seem twilight here: and now went forth the morn
Such as in highest Heav'n, array'd in gold

that might appear light or trivial. Those who look into Homer, are surpris'd to find his battles still rising one above another, and improving in horror, to the conclusion of the Iliad. Milton's fight of Angels is wrought up with the same beauty. It is usher'd in with such signs of wrath as are suitable to Omnipotence incensed. The first engagement is carry'd on under a cope of fire, occasion'd by the flights of innumerable burning darts and arrows which are discharged from either host. The second onset is still more terrible, as it is filled with those artificial thunders, which seem to make the victory doubtful, and produce a kind of consternation even in the good Angels. This is follow'd by the tearing up of mountains and promontaries; till, in the last place, the Messiah comes forth in the fulness of majesty and terror. The pomp of his appearance amidst the roarings of his thunders, the flashes of his lightnings, and the noise of his chariot-wheels, is described with the utmost flights of human imagination.

Addison.
Empyreal; from before her vanish'd night,
Shot through with orient beams; when all the plain
Cover'd with thick im battel'd squadrons bright,
Chariots and flaming arms, and fiery steeds
Reflecting blaze on blaze, first met his view:
War he perceiv'd, war in procinét, and found
Already known what he for news had thought
To have reported: gladly then he mix'd
Among those friendly Pow'rs, who him receiv'd
With joy and acclamations loud, that one,
That of so many myriads fall'n, yet one
Return'd not lost: On to the sacred hill
They led him high applauded, and present
Before the seat supreme; from whence a voice

are feign'd in like manner to guard the gates
of Heaven.

15. Shot through with orient beams;] This quaint conceit of night's being shot through &c
is much below the usual dignity of Milton's
descriptions. The Italian poets, even the very
best of them, are fond of such boyish fancies,
and there is no doubt but we are obliged to
them for this. Pope.

19. — war in procinét,] The Roman soldi
ers were said to stand in procinctu, when
ready to give the onset. Hume. As if you
should say ready girded, in allusion to the
Ancients, who just before the battel us'd to
gird their garments close to them, which on
D d d 2 other
From midst a golden cloud thus mild was heard.

Servant of God, well done, well hast thou fought
The better fight, who single hast maintain'd
Against revolted multitudes the cause
Of truth, in word mightier than they in arms;
And for the testimony of truth hast borne
Universal reproach, far worse to bear
Than violence; for this was all thy care
To stand approv'd in sight of God, though worlds
Judg'd thee perverse: the easier conquest now
Remains thee, aided by this host of friends,
Back on thy foes more glorious to return.
Than scorn'd thou diest depart, and to subdue
By force, who reason for their law refuse,

other occasions they wore very loose. See
Festus.  Richardson.

29. Servant of God,] So the name of Abdiel signifies in Hebrew.

34. Universal reproach, far worse to bear Than violence;] This sentiment is very just, and not, unlike what Florus says in his character of Tarquin the proud — in omnes superbia, quà crudelitatis gravior est bonis, graffatus, Flor. Lib. i. c. 7. Thyer.  Universal reproach, Here are two Trochees, and not an Iambic till the third foot; and so likewise in V. 874.

Through the infinite host —
This measure is not very common: but as Mr. Jortin observes, Milton often inserts harsh verses, when he could easily have alter'd them, judging, I suppose, that they had the same effect in poetry, which discords have in music.

41. — reason for their law] Alluding to the word Δεγή.

44. Go Michael of celestial armies prince,] As this battel of the Angels is founded principally on Rev. XII. 7, 8. There was war in Heaven; Michael and his Angels fought against the Dra-
Right reason for their law, and for their king
Messiah, who by right of merit reigns.
Go Michael of celestial armies prince,
And thou in military prowess next
Gabriel, lead forth to battle these my sons
Invincible, lead forth my armed Saints
By thousands and by millions rang’d for fight,
Equal in number to that Godless crew
Rebellious; them with fire and hostile arms
Fearless assault, and to the brow of Heaven
Pursuing drive them out from God and bliss
Into their place of punishment, the gulf
Of Tartarus, which ready opens wide
His fiery Chaos to receive their fall.

55. *His fiery Chaos*] Chaos may mean any place of confusion; but if we take it strictly, Tartarus or Hell was built in Chaos (II. 1092.) and therefore that part of it, being for’d with fire, may not improperly be call’d a *fiery Chaos*. Dr. Bentley’s change of *his* into *its*, because *which* (not *who*) went before, proceeds upon a supposition that *which* is not to be referred to a person; though it is well known that formerly *which* was as often apply’d to a person as *who*: as Dr. Pearce observes.

56. — and
So spake the sovrain voice, and clouds began
To darken all the hill, and smoke to roll
In dusky wreaths, reluctant flames, the sign
Of wrath awak'd; nor with less dread the loud
Ethereal trumpet from on high 'gan blow:
At which command the Powers militant,
That stood for Heav'n, in mighty quadrate join'd
Of union irresistible, mov'd on
In silence their bright legions, to the sound
Of instrumental harmony, that breath'd
Heroic ardor to adventrous deeds
Under their God-like leaders, in the cause
Of God and his Messiah. On they move

56. — and clouds began
To darken all the hill, and smoke to roll &c.] In this description the author manifestly alludes to that of God descending upon mount Sinai, Exod. XIX. 16, &c. And it came to pass on the third day in the morning, that there were thunders, and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount — and mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire.

58. — reluctant flames,] As slow and unwilling to break forth,
Stupa vomens tardum fumum.
Virg. Æn. V. 682.

64. In silence] So Homer observes, Iliad. III. 8. to the honor of his countrymen the Grecians, that they march'd on in silence, while the Trojans advance'd with noise and clamor.

71.—for high above the ground &c.] Our author attributes the same kind of motion to the Angels, as the Ancients did to their Gods; which was gliding thro' the air without ever touching the ground with their feet, or as Milton elsewhere elegantly expresses it (B. VIII. 302.) smooth-sliding without step. And Homer, Iliad. V. 778. compares the motion of two Goddesses to the flight of doves, as Milton here
Indissolubly firm; nor obvious hill,
Nor strait'ning vale, nor wood, nor stream divides
Their perfect ranks; for high above the ground
Their march was, and the passive air upbore
Their nimble tread; as when the total kind
Of birds, in orderly array on wing,
Came summon'd over Eden to receive
Their names of thee; so over many a tract
Of Heav'n they march'd, and many a province wide
Tenfold the length of this terrene: at last
Far in th' horizon to the north appear'd
From skirt to skirt a fiery region, stretch'd
In battailous aspect, and nearer view

Bristled

here compares the march of the Angels to the
birds coming on the wing to Adam to receive
their names,

As ἐξ ὑπόθεσιν πτήσαν ὑπελαόν ὑπολνοῦν
Smooth as the failing doves they glide along. 

Pope.

73. — as when the total kind &c.] Homer
has used the simile of a flight of fowls twice in his Iliad, to express the number and the motions, the order and the clamors of an army. See Iliad II. 459. III. 2. As Virgil has done the same number of times in his Æneid, VII. c.99. X. 264. But this simile exceeds any of
those; First, as it rises so naturally out of the
subject, and was a comparison so familiar to
Adam. Secondly, the Angels were marching thro' the air, and not on the ground, which
gives it another propriety; and here I believe
the poet intended the chief likeness. Thirdly,
The total kind of birds much more properly
expresses a prodigious number than any particu-
lar species, or a collection in any particular
place. Thus Milton has raised the image in
proportion to his subject. See An Essay upon

81. — and nearer view &c.] To the north
appear'd a fiery region, and nearer to the view
appear'd
Bristled with upright beams innumerable
Of rigid spears, and helmets throng'd, and shields
Various, with boastful argument portray'd,
The banded Pow'rs of Satan hasting on
With furious expedition; for they ween'd
That self-same day by fight, or by surprife,
To win the mount of God, and on his throne
To set the envier of his state, the proud
Aspirer, but their thoughts prov'd fond and vain
In the mid way: though strange to us it seem'd
At first, that Angel should with Angel war,
And in fierce hostling meet, who wont to meet
So oft in festivals of joy and love
Unanimous, as sons of one great fire
Hymning th' eternal Father: but the shout
appear'd the banded Powers of Satan. It appear'd a fiery region indistinctly at first, but upon nearer view it proved to be Satan's rebel army.

82. Bristled with upright beams &c.] The Latins express this by the word berrere taken from the bristling on a wild boar's or other animal's back. Virg. Æn. XI. 601.

Horret ager.
Milton has before, in II. 513, the expression of horrent arm.

84. Various, with boastful argument portray'd,] Shields various are varied with diverse sculptures and paintings; an elegant Latinism. And the thought of attributing shields various, with boastful argument portray'd, to the evil Angels seems to be taken from the Phoenissæ of Euripides, where the heroes who besiege Thebes are describ'd with the like boastful shields, only the prophet Amphiaraus hath no such boastful argument on his shield, but a shield without argument as became a modest man, ver. 117.
Of battle now began, and rushing sound
Of onset ended soon each milder thought.
High in the midst exalted as a God
Th' Apostate in his sun-bright chariot sat,
Idol of majesty divine, inclos'd
With flaming Cherubim and golden shields;
Then lighted from his gorgeous throne, for now
'Twixt host and host but narrow space was left,
A dreadful interval, and front to front
Presented stood in terrible array
Of hideous length: before the cloudy van,
On the rough edge of battle ere it join'd,
Satan with vast and haughty strides advanc'd
Came towring, arm'd in adamant and gold;
Abdiel that fight indur'd not, where he stood

Among

O μασίς Αμφαραgov, ζ εται εχων
Τελεμινι, αιτα συρονως ατην οπλα.

93. And in fierce hostling meet,] This word hostling seems to have been first coin'd by our author. It is a very expressive word, and plainly form'd from the substantive host: And if ever it is right to make new words, it is when the occasion is so new and extraordinary.

103. for now
'Twixt host and host but narrow space was left,] The same circumstance Tasso has in his de

V O L. I. pscription of the decisive battle before the walls of Jerusalem, Cant. 20. St. 31.

Decrefce in mezo il campo. Thyer.

108. On the rough edge of battle] So we have in I. 276. on the perilous edge of battle. See the note there.

111. Abdiel that fight indur'd not,] Virg. Æn. II. 407.

Non tuliit hanc speciem furiatâ mente Choræbus.

E e e

113. And
Among the mightiest, bent on highest deeds,
And thus his own undaunted heart explores.

O Heav'n! that such resemblance of the Highest
Should yet remain, where faith and reality remain not: wherefore should not strength and might
There fail where virtue fails, or weakest prove
Where boldest, though to fight unconquerable?
His puissance, trusting in th' Almighty's aid,
I mean to try, whose reason I have try'd
Unsound and false; nor is it ought but just,
That he who in debate of truth hath won,
Should win in arms, in both disputes alike
Victor; though brutish that contest and soul,

When

113. And thus his own undaunted heart explores.] Such soliloquies are not uncommon in the poets at the beginning and even in the midst of battles. Thus Hector, Iliad. XXII. 98. explores his own magnanimous heart, before he engages with Achilles,

Οχιτας θ' αρα ειπε νυφιον ηγαλητορα θυμον.

He stood, and question'd thus his mighty mind.
Pope.

A soliloquy upon such an occasion is only making the person think aloud. And as it is observed by a very good judge in these matters, this use of soliloquies by the epic poets, who might so much more easily than the dramatic describe the workings of the mind in narrative, seems to be much in favor of the latter in their use of them, however the modern critics agree (as I think they generally do agree) in condemning them as unnatural, tho' not only frequent, but generally the most beautiful parts in the best plays ancient and modern; and I believe very few, if any, have been wrote without them.

115. — where faith and reality] The author (says Dr. Bentley) would not have said reality but reality, and therefore the Doctor prefers fealty, which is undoubtedly a proper word, but not necessary here. For reality seems
When reason hath to deal with force, yet so
Most reason is that reason overcome.

So pondering, and from his armed peers
Forth stepping opposit, half way he met
His daring foe, at this prevention more
Incens’d, and thus securely him defy’d.

Proud, art thou met? thy hope was to have reach’d
The highth of thy aspiring unoppos’d,
The throne of God unguarded, and his side
Abandon’d at the terror of thy power
Or potent tongue: fool, not to think how vain
Against th’ Omnipotent to rise in arms;
Who out of smallest things could without end
Have

Demens, qui nimbos et non imitabile ful-
men &c.

And Homer frequently, from whence the rest
seem to have borrow’d it, tho’ Mr. Pope has
sometimes leffen’d the spirit of the expression
by tranlating the word Νηρίως sometimes
Fool that he was —
and sometimes making a whole line of it,
Fool that he was, and to the future blind.

But Milton has here particularly imitated Tasso,
Cant. 4. St. 2.

Come sia pur leggiera imprefa (ahi flolto)
Il repugnare a la divina voglia &c.

L e c 2
Have rais'd incessant armies to defeat
Thy folly; or with solitary hand
Reaching beyond all limit, at one blow
Unaided could have finish'd thee, and whelm'd
Thy legions under darkness: but thou see'st
All are not of thy train; there be who faith
Prefer, and piety to God, though then
To thee not visible, when I alone
Seem'd in thy world erroneous to dissent
From all: my feet thou see'st; now learn too late
How few sometimes may know, when thousands err.
Whom the grand foe with scornful eye askance
Thus answer'd. Ill for thee, but in wish'd hour
Of my revenge, first sought for thou return'st
From flight, seditious Angel, to receive
Thy merited reward, the first assay

O fool! as if it were a thing of nought
God to resist, or change his purpose great, &c.,
Fairfax.

139. — solitary hand] His single hand.

148. How few sometimes may know,] These
few here are still too many. To come up to
the point he should have given it, and I sup-
pose did give it.

How one sometimes may know, when thou-
sands err.

as above, ver. 23. That one, yet one return'd
not left. Corn. Nepos in Epaminonda, Ex
quo intelligi potest unum hominem pluris quam
civitatemuisse. Phaedri Fab. LXIII.

Plus esse in uno siepe quam in turba boni.

Bentley.
Of this right hand provok’d, since first that tongue
Infpir’d with contradiction durst oppose
A third part of the Gods, in synod met
Their deities to assert, who while they feel
Vigor divine within them, can allow
Omnipotence to none. But well thou com’st
Before thy fellows, ambitious to win
From me some plume, that thy success may show
Destruction to the rest; this pause between
(Unanswer’d left thou boast) to let thee know;
At first I thought that Liberty and Heaven
To heav’nly souls had been all one; but now
I see that most through sloth had rather serve,
Ministring Spirits, train’d up in feast and song;
Such hast thou arm’d, the minstrelsy of Heaven,
Servility with freedom to contend,

I suppose the good Angel said few, though one
was particularly intended, as it is more modest
and less assuming to himself.

161. — that thy success may show] Thy
success, thy ill success; the word success is used
in the same sense, II. 9. Richardon.

167. Ministring Spirits,] So they are called
Heb. I. 14. Are they not all ministring Spirits?

and Satan mentions it in derision. Compare
this with that of Virg. Æn. IX. 614.

Vobis picta croco et fulgenti murice vestis:
Defidiae cordi: juvat indulgere choreis:
Et tunicae manicas et habent redimicula mitre.
O vere Phrygiae, neque enim Phryges! ite
per alta
Dindyma, ubi affuetis biforme dat tibia cantum.

Tym-
As both their deeds compar'd this day shall prove. 170
To whom in brief thus Abdiel stern reply'd.
Apostate, still thou err'st, nor end wilt find
Of erring, from the path of truth remote:
Unjustly thou deprav'est it with the name
Of servitude to serve whom God ordains,
Or Nature; God and Nature bid the fame,
When he who rules is worthiest, and excels
Them whom he governs. This is servitude,
To serve th'unwise, or him who hath rebell'd
Against his worthier, as thine now serve thee,
Thyself not free, but to thyself inthrall'd;
Yet lewdly dar'st our ministring upbraid.

Reign

Tympana vos buxusque vocat Berecynthia
matris
Idaeæ: finite arma viris, et cedite ferro.
172. Apostate, still thou err'st, nor end wilt find
Of erring, from the path of truth remote:]
Something like this is what Juno says to Jupi-
piter, Iliad. XIX. 107.
Ψευδα, δέ ενθα τιλος μυθω επιθρες.
Thyer.

181. Thyself not free, but to thyself intthrall'd;]
So Horace, Sat. II. VII. 81.
Tu mihi qui imperitas, aliis servis miser —
Quisnam igitur liber? sapiens, sibi qui im-
periofus.

And as to what is here faid of servitude, see

183. — in Hell thy kingdom; ] Not that it
was fo at present. This is faid by way of an-
ticipation. God had order'd him to be cast
out, ver. 52. and what the Almighty had pro-
nounce'd, the good Angel looks upon as done.
And this sentiment

Reign thou in Hell thy kingdom; let me serve
In Heaven God ever blest,
is design'd as a con- trast to Satan's vaunt in
I. 263.

Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven.
Reign thou in Hell thy kingdom; let me serve
In Heav'n God ever blest, and his divine
Behoofes obey, worthiest to be obey'd;
Yet chains in Hell, not realms expect: mean while
From me return'd, as erst thou saidst, from flight,
This greeting on thy impious crest receive.

So saying, a noble stroke he lifted high,
Which hung not, but so swift with tempest fell
On the proud crest of Satan, that no sight,
Nor motion of swift thought, less could his shield
Such ruin intercept: ten paces huge
He back recoil'd; the tenth on bended knee
His massy spear upstay'd; as if on earth

187. From me return'd, as erst thou saidst, from flight,
This greeting &c.] So Aesopus in Virgil retorts his adversary's term of reproach, Æn. IX. 635.
Bis capit Phryges hac Rutulis responfa re-
mittunt, alluding to ver. 599.

189. So saying, &c.] Saying is here con-
tracted into one syllable, or is to be pro-
nounced as two short ones, which very well expresses the eagerness of the Angel. He struck at his foe before he had finish'd his speech, while he was speaking, which is much better than Dr. Bentley's reading. So said, as if he
had not aim'd his blow, till after he had
spoken.

195. — as if on earth
Winds under ground, &c.] Hesiod compares
the fall of Cygnus to an oak or a rock falling,
Scut. Herc. 421.

And similes of this kind are very frequent amongst the ancient poets, but though our author might take the hint of his from thence, yet we must allow, that he has with great art and judgment lighten'd it in proportion to the
superior dignity of his subject.
Winds under ground, or waters forcing way
Sidelong had push'd a mountain from his seat
Half funk with all his pines. Amazement feis'd
The rebel Thrones, but greater rage to see
Thus foil'd their mightielf; ours joy fill'd, and shout,
Prefage of victory, and fierce desire
Of battel: whereat Michael bid found
Th' Arch-Angel trumpet; through the vaft of Heaven
It founded, and the faithful armies rung
Hosanna to the High'eft: nor stood at gaze

He loudly bray'd with beastly yelling sound:
and sometimes it is used as a verb active, as here in Milton; Fairy Queen, B. 5. Cant. 11.
St. 20.
Even blasphemous words, which she doth bray:
and in Shakespear's Hamlet, Act I.
The kettle-drum and trumpet thus bray out
The triumph of his pledge.

And when it ceas'd, shrill trumpets loud
did bray.
But it usuall signifies any disagreeable noise,

Her shrill outcries and shricks so loud did
bray:

The
The adverse legions, nor less hideous join'd  
The horrid shock: now storming fury rose,  
And clamor such as heard in Heav'n till now  
Was never; arms on armour clashing Bray'd  
Horrible discord, and the madding wheels  
Of brazen chariots rag'd; dire was the noise  
Of conflict; over head the dismal hiss  
Of fiery darts in flaming volies flew,  
And flying vaulted either host with fire.  
So under fiery cope together rush'd  

And 'tis hard to guess, what fault to charge  
on the printer, since poetic fury is commonly  
both thought and allow'd to be regardless of  
fyntax. But here in this sentence, which is  
certainly vicious, the hiss flew in volies, and  
the hiss vaulted the hosts with fire: the author  
may be fairly thought to have given it  
—— over head with dismal hiss  
The fiery darts in flaming volies flew.  

Bentley.

But if there be any place in this poem, where  
the sublimity of the thought will allow the  
accuracy of expression to give way to the strength  
of it, it is here. There is a peculiar force  
sometimes in ascribing that to a circumstance  
of the thing, which more properly belongs to  
the thing itself; to the hiss, which belongs to  
the darts. See my note on II. 654. Pearce.  
As the learned Mr. Upton remarks in his Critical  
Observations on Shakspere, the substanti-  
tive is sometimes to be construed adjectively  
when governing a genitive case. Aristophanes  
in Plut. 268. Ο χρεος εγγικτον. O then  
who tell'st me a gold of words, that is golden words.  
Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia, p. 2.  
opening the cherry of her lips, that is cherry lips.  
So here the hiss of darts is hissing darts.  

214. And flying vaulted either host with fire.]  
Our author has frequently had his eye upon  
Hesiod's giant-war as well as upon Homer,  
and has imitated several passages; but com-  
monly exceeds his original, as he has done in  
this particular. Hesiod says that the Titaüs  
were overshadowed with darts, Theog. 716.  

—— κατὰ δ' εκμίστας βιθλησιν  
Titaüs,  

but Milton has improved the horror of the de-  
scription, and a fiaide of darts is not near fo  
great and dreadful an image as a fiery cope or  
vault of flaming darts.
Both battels main, with ruinous assault
And inextinguishable rage; all Heaven
Resounded, and had Earth been then, all Earth
Had to her center strook. What wonder? when
Millions of fierce encountering Angels fought
On either side, the least of whom could wield
These elements, and arm him with the force
Of all their regions: how much more of power
Army' against army numberless to raise
Dreadful combustion warring, and disturb,
Though not destroy, their happy native seat;
Had not th' eternal King omnipotent
From his strong hold of Heav'n high over-rul'd

And

229. — *though number'd such &c.*] Each
legion was in number like an army, each single
warrior was in strength like a legion, and
though led in fight was as expert as a com-
mander in chief. So that the Angels are
celebrated first for their *number*, then for their
strength, and lastly for their expertness in war.

236. *The ridges of grim war:* A metaphor
taken from a plough'd field; the men answer
to the ridges, between whom, the intervals of
the ranks, the furrows are. *The ridges of grim,
fierce frightful looking, war;* that is the ranks
of the army, the files are implied. The ranks
are the rows of soldiers from flank to flank,
from side to side, from the left to the right;
the files are from front to rear. *Richardson.*

236. *no thought of flight,*] So Homer,
Iliad. XI. 71.

239. *As only in his arm the moment lay
Of victory:* As if upon his single arm had
depended the whole weight of the victory.
The *moment*, the weight that turns the balance,
as the word signifies in Latin. *Ter. Andr.*
And limited their might; though number'd such
As each divided legion might have seem'd
A numerous host, in strength each armed hand
A legion, led in fight yet leader seem'd
Each warrior single as in chief, expert
When to advance, or stand, or turn the sway
Of battle, open when, and when to close
The ridges of grim war: no thought of flight,
None of retreat, no unbecoming deed
That argued fear; each on himself rely'd,
As only in his arm the moment lay
Of victory: deeds of eternal fame
Were done, but infinite; for wide was spread

And in several particulars he has had his eye
upon Homer, and commonly exceeds his master. Homer says that the Greeks and Trojans fought like burning fire:

Ως οἱ μεν μάρτυρες, είπας χωρὶς μελοπείας.
Iliad. XIII. 673.

But how much stronger is it in Milton, that the war

Tormented all the air; all air seem'd then
Conflicting fire!

It would be entering into too minute a detail of criticism to mention every little circumstance that is copied from Homer; and where
That war and various, sometimes on firm ground
A standing fight, then soaring on main wing
Tormented all the air; all air seem'd then
Conflicting fire: long time in even scale
The battle hung; till Satan, who that day
Prodigious pow'r had shown, and met in arms
No equal, ranging through the dire attack
Of fighting Seraphim confus'd, at length
Saw where the sword of Michael smote, and fell'd
Squadrons at once; with huge two-handed sway
Brandish'd aloft the horrid edge came down
Wide wasting; such destruction to withstand
He hasted, and oppos'd the rocky orb
Of tenfold adamant, his ample shield,

he does not directly copy from Homer, his
title and coloring is still very much in Ho-
mer's manner; and one may see plainly that
he has read him, even where he does not imi-
tate him. Wonderful as his genius was, he
could hardly have drawn the battels of the
Angels so well without first reading those in
the Iliad; and Homer taught him to excel
Homer.

244. Tormented all the air;] Here Milton
takes the same liberty of applying the word
torment, which the Latin poets did before him
in using the term vexare. Thyer.

247. — and met in arms
No equal,] The poet seems almost to have
forgotten how Satan was foil'd by Abdiel in

A
A vast circumference: At his approach
The great Arch-Angel from his warlike toil
Surceas’d, and glad as hoping here to end
Intestin war in Heav’n, th’ arch-foe subdu’d
Or captive dragg’d in chains, with hostile frown
And visage all inflam’d first thus began.

Author of evil, unknown till thy revolt,
Unnam’d in Heav’n, now plenteous, as thou feest
These acts of hateful strife, hateful to all,
Though heaviest by just measure on thyself
And thy adherents: how hast thou disturb’d
Heav’n’s blessed peace, and into nature brought
Misery, uncreated till the crime
Of thy rebellion? how hast thou instill’d

Thy

the beginning of the action: but I suppose the poet did not consider Abdiel as equal to Satan, tho’ he gain’d that accidental advantage over him. Satan no doubt would have prov’d an overmatch for Abdiel, only for the general engagement which ensued, and broke off the combat between them.

255. Of tenfold adamant,] In other poets the Angels are armed in adamant, and in Tasso there is particular mention of an adamantin shield, Cant. 7. St. 82. Scudo di lucidissimo dia-

mante; but Milton's is stronger, of tenfold adamant.

262. Author of evil, &c.] These speeches give breath as it were to the reader after the hurry of the general battel; and prepare his mind, and raise his expectation the more for the ensuing combat between Michael and Satan. It is the practice likewise of Homer and Virgil, to make their heroes discourse before they fight; it renders the action more solemn, and more engages the reader’s attention.

275. Hence
Thy malice into thousands, once upright
And faithful, now prov'd falfe? But think not here
To trouble holy rest; Heav'n casts thee out
From all her confines. Heav'n the seat of blis
Brooks not the works of violence and war.
Hence then, and evil go with thee along,
Thy offspring, to the place of evil, Hell,
Thou and thy wicked crew; there mingle broils,
Ere this avenging sword begin thy doom,
Or some more sudden vengeance wing'd from God
Precipitate thee with augmented pain.

So spake the prince of Angels; to whom thus
The Adversary. Nor think thou with wind
Of aery threats to awe whom yet with deeds
Thou canst not. Hast thou turn'd the least of these

275. Hence then, and evil go with thee along,
Thy offspring, to the place of evil, Hell,
Thou and thy wicked crew; there mingle broils.] Imitated from Tasso, where Michael in like manner rebukes the infernal Spirits who fought against the Christians, Cant. 9. St. 64.

Go hence you curst to your appointed lands,
The realms of death, of torments, and of woes,
And in the deeps of that infernal lake
Your battels fight, and there your triumphs make. Fairfax.

282. The Adversary.] Not as any enemy in fight may be call'd, but in a sense peculiar to him, Satan being his name, and Satan in Hebrew signifying the adversary.
To flight, or if to fall, but that they rise
Unvanquish'd, easier to transact with me
That thou shouldst hope, imperious, and with threats
To chase me hence? err not that so shall end
The strife which thou call'st evil, but we stile
The strife of glory; which we mean to win,
Or turn this Heav'n itself into the Hell
Thou fablest, here however to dwell free,
If not to reign: mean while thy utmost force,
And join him nam'd Almighty to thy aid,
I fly not, but have sought thee far and nigh.

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

Human

282. — *Nor think thou &c.* Hom. Iliad. XX. 200.

Πηλᾶμη, μοι δ' ι' επεισεξα τι, ημών με,  
Ελπίζω δέινητευν.

289. *The strife which thou call'st evil.* The author gave it

The strife which thou call'st hateful.

This appears from Michael's words above, ver. 264.

285. These acts of hateful strife, hateful to all.

290. But why may not this evil relate to ver. 262? where Satan is call'd the author of evil, of evil display'd in acts of hateful strife: and so in ver. 275. evil go with thee along &c. I think that hateful would have been a more accurate expression, but evil is justifiable. *Pearce.*

295. *can relate, &c.* The accumulative case after the verbs relate and liken is fight before
Human imagination to such highth
Of Godlike pow’r? for likest Gods they seem’d,
Stood they or mov’d, in stature, motion, arms,
Fit to decide the empire of great Heaven.
Now wav’d their fiery swords, and in the air
Made horrid circles; two broad funs their shields
Blaz’d opposit, while expectation stood
In horror; from each hand with speed retir’d,
Where erst was thickest fight, th’ angelic throng,
And left large field, unsafe within the wind
Of such commotion; such as, to set forth

fore mention’d, and here understood. For who
though with the tongue of Angels can relate that
fight or to what conspicuous things on earth can
 liken it, so conspicuous as to lift human imagina-
tion &c. A general battel is a scene of too
much confusion, and therefore the poets relieve
themselves and their readers by drawing now
and then a single combat between some of their
principal heroes, as between Paris and Menel-
laus, Hector and Ajax, Hector and Achilles
in the Iliad, and between Turnus and Pallas,
Aeneas and Mezentius, Turnus and Aeneas in
the Aeneid: and very fine they are, but fall
very short of the sublimity of this description.
Those are the combats of Men, but this of
Angels; and this so far surpasses them, that
one would think that an Angel indeed had re-
lated it.

305. — while expectation stood

In horror ; ] Expectation is personify’d in
the like sublime manner in Shakspear, Hen. V.
Act II.

For now fits expectation in the air.

311. — if nature’s concord broke,

Among the constellations war were sprung,]
The context shows (says Dr. Bentley) that
Milton gave it warfare instead of war were. I
suppose the Doctor to mean, that in the com-
mon reading there is wanting a copulative par-
ticle between the 312th and 313th verses.
Now how does the Doctor’s alteration mend
the matter? Broke and sprung (he says) are
both participles of the ablative case. Suppose
them so; will there not be wanting in the
Doctor’s reading a copulative particle between
the 311th and 312th verses, to connect broke
and sprung? So that the fault of Milton (if
Great things by small, if nature’s concord broke,
Among the constellations war were sprung,
Two planets rushing from aspect malign
Of fiercest opposition in mid sky
Should combat, and their jarring spheres confound.
Together both with next to almighty arm
Uplifted imminent, one stroke they aim’d
That might determin, and not need repeat,
As not of pow’r at once; nor odds appear’d
In might or swift prevention: but the sword
Of Michael from the armoury of God

it be a fault) is not remov’d from the poem by
the Doctor, but only shifted to another verse.
We had better keep then the old reading, and
allow the poet the liberty of dropping the co-
pulsive before the words Two planets, on ac-
count of that fire of imagination which was
kindled, and the height of that noble fury
with which he was pos’d.

313. Two planets &c.] Milton seems to
have taken the hint of this simile from that of
Virgil, but varied and applied to his subject
with his usual judgment. Æn. VIII. 691.

— pelago credas innare revulfas
Cycladas, aut montes concurrerere montibus
altos.

But (as Mr. Thyer observes) he has lessen’d the
grandeur and sublimity of this simile by tar-
nishing it with the idle superflitious notion of
the malignancy of planets in a particular aspect
or opposition, as the judicial astrologers term it.

316. Together both with next to almighty arm
Uplifted imminent,] So I conceive the passage
should be pointed with the comma after immi-
inent, and not after arm, that the words uplifted
imminent may be join’d in construction with
arm, rather than with stroke or they following.
The arm was quite lifted up, and hanging
over just ready to fall. One thinks one sees it
hanging almost like the stone in Virgil, Æn.
VI. 602.

Quos super atra filex jam jam lapsura cad-
dentique
Imminet affimilis.

321. — from the armoury of God] Milton,
notwithstanding the sublime genius he was
master of, has in this book drawn to his af-
G g g

fistance
Was giv’n him temper’d so, that neither keen
Nor solid might resist that edge: it met
The sword of Satan with steep force to finite
Descending, and in half cut sheer; nor stay’d,
But with swift wheel reverse, deep entering shar’d
All his right side: then Satan first knew pain,

For of most perfect metal it was made,—
And was of no less virtue, than of fame.
For there no substance was so firm and hard,
But it would pierce or cleave, where’er it came;
Ne any armour could his dint outward,
But wherefo’er it did light it thoroughly shar’d.

And this word shar’d is used in the same manner by Milton.

325. — and in half cut sheer; — ] We have here a fair opportunity to observe how finely
great geniuses imitate one another. There is
a most beautiful passage in Homer’s Iliad,
III. 363. where the sword of Menelaus in a
duel with Paris breaks in pieces in his hand;
and the line in the original is so contriv’d, that
we do not only see the action, as Euthathius
remarks, but almost fancy we hear the sound
of the breaking sword in the sound of the words,

\[\text{Tεχθατι και τετραψα χιτωρφευ \ εκπεσε χειρις.}\]

As this kind of beauty could hardly be equal’d by
Virgil, he has with great judgment substitut’d another of his own, and has artfully
made a break in the verse to express the break­ing short of the sword of Turnus against the
divine armour of Aeneas, \AEn. XII. 731. &c.

\[\text{— at perfidus ensis}\]

Frangitur, | in medioque ardentem deserit ictu. But
And writh’d him to and fro convolv’d; so for
The gridding sword with discontinuous wound
Pas’d through him: but th’ ethereal substance clos’d,
Not long divisible; and from the gash

A stream of nectarous humor issuing flow’d
Sanguin, such as celestial Spirits may bleed,

But he did not think this sufficient, he was
sensible that Homer had still the advantage,
and therefore goes on after seeming to have
done with it,

—and postquam arma dei ad Vulcania ven-
tum est,
Mortalis mucro, glacies ceu futilis, iētu
Dissiluit; | fulvā resplendent fragmina arenā.

And this beauty being more imitable in our
language than the τεύχεα τέ καὶ τευχεῖα of
Homer, the excellent translator of Homer has
here rather copied Virgil than translated Ho-
mer,

The brittle steel, unfaithful to his hand,
Broke short: | the fragments glitter’d on the
fand.

The sword of Satan is broken as well as those
of Paris and Turnus, but is broken in a diffe-
rent manner, and consequently a different kind
of beauty is proper here. Their’s broke short,
and were shattered into various fragments; but
the sword of Michael was of that irresistible
sharpness, that it cut the sword of Satan quite
and clean in two, and the dividing of the
sword in half is very well express’d by half a
verse, as likewise the word descending is place’d
admirably to express the sense. The reader
cannot read it over again without perceiving
this beauty. Neither does Milton stop here,
but carries on beauties of the same kind to the
description of the wound, and the verses seem
almost painful in describing Satan’s pain,

—and deep etting fhar’d
All his right side: then Satan first knew pain,
And writh’d him to and fro convolv’d; so for
The gridding sword with discontinuous wound
Pas’d through him.

331. The gridding sword with discontinuous
wound] Discontinuous wound is said in
allusion to the old definition of a wound, that
it separates the continuity of the parts, vulnus
est solutio continuæ: And gridding is an old word
for cutting, and used in Spenser, as in Fairy
Queen, B. 2. Cant. 8. St. 36.

That through his thigh the mortal steel did
gride.

332. A stream of nectarous humor issuing flow’d
Sanguin.] Here’s an odious blunder. Nectar
is the drink of the Gods; and was Satan’s hu-
mor or blood a proper drink? But the next
line shows what the author dictat’d,

Sanguin, such as celestial Spirits may bleed.
The whole distich is word for word taken from
a verse in Homer,

Γυμνον οιωσίπερ τε ρηδ μακαρεων Δήεισι.
G G G 2

Homer's
And all his armour stain'd ere while so bright.
Forthwith on all sides to his aid was run
By Angels many and strong, who interpos'd
Defence, while others bore him on their shields
Back to his chariot, where it stood retir'd
From off the files of war; there they him laid
Gnashing for anguish and despite and shame,
To find himself not matchless, and his pride
Humbled by such rebuke, so far beneath
His confidence to equal God in power:

Homer's Gods when wounded bled *Ichor*, different from human blood, and peculiar to them. And Milton makes his Angels bleed the same humor, that has no other name. He gave it therefore

*A stream of ichorous humor issuing flow'd.*

I should have thought that an attentive reader could not have miss'd observing that the *stream* which Milton speaks of, was not of *neituarous humor* only, but of *neituarous humor sanguin*, that is, converted into what *celestial Spirits bleed*: and what is that but the same which Homer expresses by one word *Ichor*? If this was the poet's meaning, the Doctor's objection is wide of the mark. Besides, if *neituarous* was wrong, yet *ichorous* would not seem to be right, because the middle syllable of it should be long, according to the profody of the word from which it is deriv'd.

The passage wherein Satan is described as wounded by the sword of Michael is in imitation of Homer. Homer tells us that upon Diomedes wounding the Gods, there flow'd from the wound an *Ichor*, or pure kind of blood, which was not bred from mortal viands; and that tho' the pain was exquisitely great, the wound soon closed up and healed in those beings who are veiled with immortality.

The reader perhaps would be pleased to see the passage in Homer here quoted, *Iliad*. V. 339.

From the clear vein a stream immortal flow'd,
Such stream as issues from a wounded God;
Yet soon he heal'd; for Spirits that live throughout
Vital in every part, not as frail man
In entrails, heart or head, liver or reins,
Cannot but by annihilating die;
Nor in their liquid texture mortal wound
Receive, no more than can the fluid air:
All heart they live, all head, all eye, all ear,
All intellect, all sense; and as they please,
They limb themselves, and color, shape or size
Assume, as likes them best, condense or rare.

Mean

Pure emanation! uncorrupted flood;
Unlike our gros, diseas'd, terrestrial blood:
For not the bread of man their life sustains,
Nor wine's inflaming juice supplies their veins.
Pope.

335. — to his aid was run] A Latinism; so we have ventum est in the lines just before quoted from Virgil,
— postquam arma dei ad Vulcania ventum est.
336. — who interpos'd ] Thus Homer makes the chief of the Trojans interpose between their wounded hero when he was overborne by Ajax. Satan lighted out of his sun-bright chariot at ver. 103. and according to the Homeric manner is now wounded, and borne (on the shields of Seraphim) back to it, where it was plac'd out of the range and array of battel, Iliad. XIV. 428.

— Τον δ' αρ' εταφοτ
Χηραν ασεξήλες περιν εκ ποια, ομ' ενδ' επιτεν.

344. — for Spirits that live throughout &c.] Our author's reason for Satan's healing so soon is better than Homer's upon a like occasion, as we quoted it just now. And we see here Milton's notions of Angels. They are vital in every part, and can receive no mortal wound, and cannot die but by annihilation. They are all eye, all ear, all sense and understanding; and can assume what kind of bodies they please. And these notions, if not true in divinity, yet certainly are very fine in poetry; but most of them are not disagreeable to those hints which are left us of these spiritual beings in Scripture.

Ωκεαν, οι ει στηθε μαχης ηδε αυτολευτιν
Εσααν, κυακολε και αξιεντα τοινπε εχοιτες &c.
much more loose and redundant than our expressive author. Hume.

345.
Mean while in other parts like deeds deserv’d Memorial, where the might of Gabriel fought, 
And with fierce ensigns pierc’d the deep array Of Moloch furious king; who him defy’d, 
And at his chariot wheels to drag him bound Threaten’d, nor from the Holy One of Heaven 
Refrain’d his tongue blasphemous; but anon
Down cloven to the waste, with shatter’d arms And uncouth pain fled bellowing. On each wing Uriel and Raphaël his vaunting foe, 
Though huge, and in a rock of diamond arm’d, Vanquish’d Adramélech, and Asmadai, 
Two potent Thrones, that to be less than Gods Disdain’d,

362. And uncouth pain fled bellowing. ] I question not but Milton in his description of his furious Moloch flying from the battel, and bellowing with the wound he had received, had his eye on Mars in the Iliad; who upon his being wound’d is represented as retiring out of the fight, and making an outcry louder than that of a whole army when it begins the charge. Homer adds that the Greeks and Trojans, who were engaged in a general battel, were terrify’d on each side with the bellowing of this wound’d deity. The reader will easily observe, how Milton has kept all the horror of this image, without running into the ridicule of it. Addison.

With uncouth pain fled bellowing. Uncouth is a word very common with Spenfer; but Milton, no doubt, in this particular application of it had in view the following lines, Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 11. St. 20.

The piercing steel there wrought a wound full wide,
That with the uncouth pain the monster loudly cry’d. Thyer.

363. Uriel and Raphael.] The speaker here is Raphael; and it had been improper to mention himself as a third person, and tell his own exploits; but that Adam knew not his name. Had
Disdain’d, but meaner thoughts learn’d in their flight,  
Mangled with ghastly wounds through plate and mail.  
Nor stood unmindful Abdiel to annoy.  
The atheist crew, but with redoubled blow  
Ariel and Arioch, and the violence  
Of Ramiel scorch’d and blasted overthrew.  
I might relate of thousands, and their names  
Eternize here on earth; but those elect  
Angels, contented with their fame in Heaven,  
Seek not the praise of men: the other fort,  
In might though wondrous and in acts of war,  
Nor of renown less eager, yet by doom  
Cancel’d from Heav’n and sacred memory,  

Had he known it, he must have said Uriel and  
I; which he car’d not to do.  

365. Adramelech,] Hebrew, Mighty magnificent king, one of the idols of Sepharvaim, worshipped by them in Samaria, when transplanted thither by Shalmanefer. And the Sepharvites burnt their children in the fire to Adramelech, 2 Kings XVII. 31. Asmadai, the lustful and destroying Angel Asmodeus, mention’d Tobit III. 8. who robbed Sara of her seven husbands; of a Hebrew word signifying to destroy. Hume.  
368. — plate and mail.] Plate is the broad solid armour. Mail is that compos’d of small pieces like shells, or scales of fish laid one over the other; or something resembling the feathers as they lie on the bodies of fowl, V. 284.  

370. Ariel and Arioch,] Two fierce Spirits, as their names denote. Ariel Hebrew, the lion of God or a strong lion. Arioch of the like signification, a fierce and terrible lion. Ramiel Hebrew, one that exalts himself against God. Hume.  
373. I might relate of thousands, &c.] The poet here puts into the mouth of the Angel an excellent reason for not relating more particulars of this first battel. It would have been improper on all accounts to have enlarged much more upon it, but it was proper that the Angel should
PARADISE LOST.

Book VI.

Nameless in dark oblivion let them dwell.
For strength from truth divided and from just,
Ilaudable, nought merits but dispraise
And ignominy, yet to glory aspires
Vain glorious, and through infamy seeks fame:
Therefore eternal silence be their doom.

And now their mightieft quell'd, the battle swerv'd,
With many an inroad gor'd; deformed rout
Enter'd, and foul disorder; all the ground
With shiver'd armour strown, and on a heap
Chariot and charioteer lay overturn'd,
And fiery foaming steeds; what stood, recoil'd

O'er-

should appear to know more than he chose to relate, or than the poet was able to make him relate.

382. Ilaudable,] Is used here much in the same manner as ilaudatus in Virgil,
Quis aut Eurythea durum,
Aut ilaudati necit Busridis aras? 

Georg. III. 5.

And the learned reader may, if he pleaseth, see a dissertation upon that verse of Virgil in the second book of Aulus Gellius.

386. — the battle swerv'd,] Swerv'd from the Saxon swerven, to wander out of its place; here by analogy to bend, to ply; for in that case an army in battle properly swerves.

Richardson.

The word is used in the same sense by Spenser, Fairy Queen, B. 5. Cant. 10. St. 35.

Who from his saddle swerved nought aside.

391. — what stood, recoil'd &c.] The construction has occasion'd some difficulty here, but it may be thus explicated. What stood is the nominative case in the sentence, and the verbs are recoil'd and fled. It would indeed be a contradiction to say that what stood their ground, fled; but that is not the meaning of it, what stood is put in opposition to what lay overturn'd in the preceding line. Part of the Satanic host lay overturn'd; and that part which was not overturn'd, but kept on their feet, and stood, either gave way and recoil'd o'er-

wearied,
O'er-wearied, through the faint Satanic host
Defensive scarce, or with pale fear surpris'd,
Then first with fear surpris'd and sense of pain,
Fled ignominious, to such evil brought
By sin of disobedience, till that hour
Not liable to fear or flight or pain.
Far otherwise th' inviolable Saints
In cubic phalanx firm advance'd entire,
Invulnerable, impenetrably arm'd;
Such high advantages their innocence
Gave them above their foes, not to have finn'd,
Not to have disobey'd; in fight they stood

Unwearied, or with pale fear surpris'd fled ignominious.

396. — till that hour &c.] It seems a very extraordinary circumstance attending a battel, that not only none of the warriors on either side were capable of death by wound, but on one side none were capable of wound or even of pain. This was a very great advantage on the side of the good Angels; but we must suppose that the rebel Angels did not know their own weaknesses till this hour.

399. In cubic phalanx firm] In strictness of speech, to have been cubic, it must have been as high, as it is broad, as Dr. Bentley justly observes. But why must a poet's mind, sublim'd as Milton's was on this occasion, be expected to attend to every circumstance of an epithet made use of? He meant four square only, having that property of a cube to be equal in length on all sides. And so he expresses himself in his tract called The reason of Church Government &c. p. 215. Edit. Toland. As those smaller squares in battel unite in one great cube, the main phalanx, an emblem of truth and steadfastness. To be sure Milton's cubic, tho' not strictly proper, is better than the epithet martial (which the Doctor would give us in the room of it) because a phalanx in battel could not be otherwise than martial; and so closely united an idea could not have any beauty or force here. Pearce.

V o l. I.
Unwearied, unobnoxious to be pain’d
By wound, though from their place by violence mov’d.
Now night her course began, and over Heaven
Inducing darkness, grateful truce impos’d,
And silence on the odious din of war:
Under her cloudy covert both retir’d,
Victor and vanquish’d: on the foughten field
Michaël and his Angels prevalent
Incamping, plac’d in guard their watches round,
Cherubic waving fires: on th’other part
Satan with his rebellious disappear’d,
Far in the dark dislodg’d; and void of rest,
His potentates to council call’d by night;
And in the midst thus undismay’d began.

405. — though from their place by violence mov’d.] This circumstance is judiciously added to prepare the reader for what happens in the next fight.

407. Inducing darkness.] He seems here to have copied Horace, Sat. I. V. 9.

413. Cherubic waving fires: ] Their watches were Cherubic waving fires, that is Cherubim like fires waving; the Cherubim being describ’d by our author, agreeably to Scripture, as of a fiery substance and nature.

415. — and void of rest, His potentates to council call’d by night; ] So Agamemnon, the Grecians being defeated by Hector, calls a council of the princes and generals by night. Iliad. IX.

418. O now in danger try’d, &c. ] This speech of Satan is very artful. He flatters their pride and vanity, and avails himself of the only comfort
O now in danger try'd, now known in arms
Not to be overpow'rd, Companions dear,
Found worthy not of liberty alone,
Too mean pretence, but what we more affect,
Honor, dominion, glory, and renown;
Who have sustain'd one day in doubtful fight
(And if one day, why not eternal days?)
What Heaven's Lord had pow'rfullest to send
Against us from about his throne, and judg'd
Sufficient to subdue us to his will,
But proves not so: then fallible, it seems,
Of future we may deem him, though till now
Omniscent thought. True is, less firmly arm'd,
Some disadvantage we indur'd and pain,

comfort that could be drawn from this day’s engagement (tho’ it was a false comfort) that God was neither so powerful nor wise as he was taken to be. He was forc’d to acknowledge that they had suffer’d some losses and pain, but endeavors to lessen it as much as he can, and attributes it not to the true cause but to their want of better arms and armour, which he therefore proposes that they should provide themselves withal, to defend themselves and annoy their enemies.

422. Honor, dominion, glory, and renown;]

Dr. Bentley thinks that Milton gave it Pow’r
and dominion &c. Honor, glory, and renown,
(he says) are three words all allied together,
and therefore Milton would not put dominion,
of another family, between them. But did not Milton mean by honor that which arises from high titles? if he did, then honor will not be allied to glory and renown, which may be gain’d and enjoy’d by a private man, by one who has no honor and titles to show.

Pearce.
Till now not known, but known as soon contemn'd; Since now we find this our empyreal form Incapable of mortal injury, Imperishable, and though pierc'd with wound, Soon closing, and by native vigor heal'd. Of evil then so small as easy think The remedy; perhaps more valid arms, Weapons more violent, when next we meet, May serve to better us, and worse our foes, Or equal what between us made the odds, In nature none: if other hidden cause Left them superior, while we can preserve Unhurt our minds and understanding found, Due search and consultation will disclose. He sat; and in th' assembly next upstood Nisroch, of Principalities the prime; As one he stood escap'd from cruel fight, Sore toil'd, his riven arms to havoc hewn,

447. Nisroch,] A God of the Assyrians, in whose temple at Niniveh Sennacherib was kill'd by his two sons, 2 Kings XIX. 37. and Isaiah XXXVII. 37. 'Tis not known who this God Nisroch was. The Seventy call him Meiferach in Kings, and Naserach in Isaiah; Josephus calls him Arafses. He must have been a principal idol, being worshipped by so great a-prince, and at the capital city Niniveh; which may justify Milton in calling him of Principalities the prime.

462. — the;
And cloudy in aspect thus answer'ring spake.
Deliverer from new Lords, leader to free
Enjoyment of our right as Gods; yet hard
For Gods, and too unequal work we find,
Against unequal arms to fight in pain;
Against unpain'd, impassive; from which evil
Ruin must needs ensue; for what avails
Valor or strength, though matchless, quell'd with pain
Which all subdues, and makes remiss the hands
Of mightiest? Sense of pleasure we may well
Spare out of life perhaps, and not repine,
But live content, which is the calmest life:
But pain is perfect misery, the worst
Of evils, and excessive, overturns
All patience. He who therefore can invent
With what more forcible we may offend
Our yet unwounded enemies, or arm
Ourselves with like defense, to me deserves

462. the worst
Of evils,] Nisroch is made to talk agreeably
to the sentiments of Hieronymus and those
philosophers, who maintain'd that pain was the
greatest of evils; there might be a possibility
of living without pleasure, but there was no
living in pain. A notion suitable enough to a
deity of the effeminate Assyrians.
467. to me deserves
No less than for deliverance what we owe.]
No less than for deliverance what we owe.

Where to with look compos'd Satan reply'd.
Not uninvented that, which thou aright
Believ'ft so main to our success, I bring.
Which of us who beholds the bright surface
Of this ethereal mold whereon we stand,
This continent of spacious Heav'n, adorn'd
With plant, fruit, flow'r ambrosial, gems and gold; 475
Whose eye so superficially surveys
These things, as not to mind from whence they grow

Nisroch is speaking; he had complimented Satan (ver. 451.) with the title of Deliverer; here he ventures to say that Whoever could invent the new engin of war would be equal to him in his estimation. Milton has taken care that this deliverer should also have this merit, and be without a competitor; Satan is both the one and the other as it follows immediately. Richardson.

472. Which of us who beholds the bright surface
Of this ethereal mold &c.] Dr. Bentley, for the sake of a better accent, reads the surface bright; but surface is to be read with the accent upon the last syllable, and not as it is commonly pronounced, for Milton would hardly use a trochaic foot at the end of the verse. Dr. Bentley reads likewise this ethereal mold; and it is true Milton commonly uses the word ethereal, but that is no reason why he may not say likewise ethereous which is nearer the Latin ethereus. The construction of this sentence is, Which of us who beholds &c so superficially surveys these things: but as the nominative case which of us is mention'd so many lines before the verb surveys, he throws in another nominative case,

Whose eye so superficially surveys &c.

482. — the deep] It is commonly used for Hell, but here is only oppos'd to surface, ver. 472. and is the same as deep under ground, ver. 478. which may likewise explain the word infernal in the next line. Not but infernal flame may mean flame like that of Hell, Hell having been frequently mention'd before by the Angels, and the idea being very well known.

484. Which into hollow &c.] Which that is the materials, ver. 478. These ver. 482. the deep shall yield, which into hollow engins ramm'd,
Deep under ground, materials dark and crude,
Of spiritous and fiery spume, till touch'd
With Heaven's ray, and temper'd they shoot forth 480
So beauteous, opening to the ambient light?
These in their dark nativity the deep
Shall yield us pregnant with infernal flame;
Which into hollow engins long and round
Thick-ramm'd, at th' other bore with touch of fire 485
Dilated and infuriate, shall send forth
From far with thund'ring noise among our foes

ramm'd, with touch of fire shall send forth &c. Hollow engins, great guns, the first invention whereof is very properly ascribed to the author of all evil. And Ariosto has described them in the same manner in his Orlando Furioso, Cant. 9. St. 28. or 24. of Harington's translation; and attributes the invention to the Devil.

Un ferro bugio, &c.

A trunk of iron hollow made within,
And there he puts powder and pellet in.

All closed save a little hole behind,
Whereat no sooner taken is the flame,
The bullet flies with such a furious wind,
As tho' from clouds a bolt of thunder came:
And whatsoever in the way it find
It burns, it breaks, it tears, and spoils the fame.

No doubt some fiend of Hell or devilish wight
Devised it to do mankind a spite.

And again, St. 84.

O cursed devise found out by some foul fiend
And fram'd below by Belzebub in Hell &c.

And Spenser has the same thought, Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 7. St. 13.

As when that devilish iron engin wrought
Indeepest Hell, and fram'd by Furics skill,
With windy nitre and quick sulphur fraught,
And ramm'd with bullet round, ordain'd to kill &c.

But tho' the poets have agreed to attribute the invention to the Devil from a notion of its being so destructive to mankind, yet many authors have observed, that since the use of artillery there has been less slaughter been made in battles than was before, when the engagements were closer and lasted longer.

502. If
Such implements of mischief, as shall dash
To pieces, and o'erwhelm whatever stands
Adverse, that they shall fear we have disarm'd
The Thund'rer of his only dreaded bolt.
Nor long shall be our labor; yet ere dawn,
Effect shall end our wish. Mean while revive;
Abandon fear; to strength and counsel join'd.
Think nothing hard, much less to be despair'd.

He ended, and his words their drooping cheer
Inlighten'd, and their languish'd hope reviv'd.
Th'invention all admir'd, and each, how he
To be th'inventor miss'd; so easy it seem'd
Once found, which yet unsound most would have
Impossible: yet hapy of thy race

502. In future days—some one intent, &c.] This speaking in the spirit of prophecy adds
great dignity to poetry. It is in the same spi-
rit that Dido makes the imprecation, Virg.
Æn. IV. 625.

Exoriare aquis nostris ex ossibus ulter &c.
This here very properly comes from the mouth
of an Angel.

507. Fortewith from council to the work they
flew; &c.] This and the two following
lines are admirably contriv'd to express the
hurry of the Angels; and consist therefore of
short periods, without any particles to connect
them.

512. — sulphurous and nitrous foam &c. ]
Dr. Bentley would have us read as follows,
— sulphurous and nitrous foam
They pound, they mingle, and with footy chark
Concocted and adulfted, they reduce
To blackest grain, and into ftore convey:
Part hidden veins dig up.

To justify this great alteration of the text, the
Doctor premifes one postulatum (tho' it is pro-
perly two) that Milton is here describing the
making
In future days, if malice should abound,  
Some one intent on mischief, or inspir'd  
With devilish machination, might devise  
Like instrument to plague the sons of men  
For sin, on war and mutual slaughter bent.  
Forthwith from council to the work they flew;  
None arguing flood; innumerable hands  
Were ready; in a moment up they turn'd  
Wide the celestial soil, and saw beneath  
Th' originals of nature in their crude  
Conception; sulphurous and nitrous foam  
They found, they mingled, and with subtle art,  
Concocted and adulsted they reduc'd  
To blackest grain, and into store convey'd:

making of gun-powder, and that he was not ignorant how it was made. Agreed. Let us now examin the Doctor's objections particularly. Sulphurous and nitrous foam adulsted? (says he) why, at the leaft approach of heat they will fly away in exhalations. I think that this is not true: tho' thefe ingredients be heated to some degree, yet they will not fly away in exhalations unless some spark of fire gets to them. But why must adulsted signify burnt or heated to a great degree? If the word will signify parch'd or dry'd any way in fuch a manner as things commonly are by fire, it will be a very proper expression here: for by being reduc'd to grain they were concocted, and by being reduc'd to the blackest grain they were sufficiently adulsted. Again, the Doctor observes that only two materials are here mention'd, and these without charcoal can never make gunpowder. This is true; but is it neceffary that a poet fhould be as exact as a writer about arts and sciences? If fo, not only Milton but Spenser must be blam'd, who has done the fame thing as Milton has done; for in his Fairy Queen, Book 1. Cant. 7. St. 13. describing a cannon charg'd with gunpowder, he says,

With
Part hidden veins digg’d up (nor hath this earth
Entrails unlike) of mineral and stone,
Whereof to found their engins and their balls
Of missive ruin; part incentive reed
Provide, pernicious with one touch to fire.
So all ere day-spring, under conscious night,
Secret they finish’d, and in order set,
With silent circumspecption unespy’d.

Now when fair morn orient in Heav’n appear’d,
Up rose the victor Angels, and to arms

The

With windy nitre and quick sulphur fraught,
where it is observable that he takes no notice
of charcoal, tho’ gunpowder can’t be without it. But what is the Doctor’s word chark? it
is the workman’s language, he says; if it be,
it is spoked contrarily for charcoal; and is
but a cant word fit only for the powder-mill,
not for a poem: for charcoal is, in its etymo-
logy, what is chark’d or rather charred to a
coal, that is, burnt tho’ not ashes. Sooty coal,
V. 440. is right: but when the word chark, or
charcoal at length, is used, sooty seems a super-
fluous epithet, because it is implied in the
word char’d. In the common reading the
Doctor misses the word pound; a necessary
word, because without long pounding the three
ingredients together, no powder can be made.
But is not the sense of the word pound suffi-
ciently imply’d in reduced to grain? The words
found, winged, reduced, convey’d, digg’d, were
chang’d (fays the Doctor) from the present to
the perfect tense: for the present tense provide
in ver. 520. demonstrates that all the fore-
going verbs were of the same manner. If
there were any demonstration to be drawn
from hence, one would think rather that it
would fall against the present tense provide.
But there is hardly a page where Milton has
not run from one tense to another, and some-
times he has even coupled unlike tenses.

Pearce.

516. Part hidden veins digg’d up (nor hath
this earth
Entrails unlike) of mineral and stone.] Dr.
Bentley has carried on the mark of parenthesis
to the end of the verfe; but it should be plac’d
after unlike: and the stone may have been men-
tion’d here as what they used for balls. That
stone-bullets have been in use, see Chambers’s
Univ. Dict. in Cannon. Or Milton by the
word stone here would express more distinctly
The matin trumpet sung: in arms they stood
Of golden panoply, resplendent host,
Soon banded; others from the dawning hills
Look'd round, and scouts each coast light-armed scour,
Each quarter, to descry the distant foe,

Where lodg'd, or whither fled, or if for fight,

In motion or in halt: him soon they met
Under spread ensigns moving nigh, in flow
But firm battalion; back with speediest fail

Came

that the metal, of which they made their en-
gins and balls, was inclos'd in and mix'd with
a stony substance in the mine. See Furetiere's
French Dictionary upon the word *Mivral.*

Pearce.

520. — *pernicious with one touch to fire.*] The incentive reed is indeed *pernicious* as the
engins and balls do no mischief till touch'd by
that: but probably *pernicious* is not to be un-
derstood here in the common acceptation, but
in the sense of the Latin *pernix,* quick, speedy, &c.

521. — *under conscious night.*] Ovid.Met.
XIII. 15.

— quorum nox conscia sola est. *Hume.*

526. *The trumpet sung:*] A classical ex-
pression. So Virg. Æn. V. 113.

Et *tuba commissos medio canit aggere ludos.*

527. *Of golden panoply:*] With golden ar-
mour from head to foot completely arm'd.

*Panoply, Πανοπλία,* Greek, armour at all
points. *Hume.*

528. — *others from the dawning hills*] This
epithet is usually apply'd to the light, but here
very poetically to the hills, the dawn first ap-
parring over them, and they seeming to bring
the rising day; as the evening star is said like-
wise first to appear on his hill-top, VIII. 520.

532. — *bail:*] Milton spells it as the Ita-
lians do *alta,* but we commonly write it with
an b like the French and Germans.

533. — *in flow*

*But firm battalion:*] The reason of their
being both a *flow* and *firm battalion* is sug-
gested a little afterwards. They were *flow* in draw-
ing their cannon, and *firm* in order to conceal
it, ver. 551.

535. *Zophiel:*] In Hebrew the *spy* of God.

*Hume.*
Came flying, and in mid air aloud thus cry'd.

Arm, Warriors, arm for fight; the foe at hand,
Whom fled we thought, will save us long pursuit
This day; fear not his flight; so thick a cloud
He comes, and settled in his face I see
Sad resolution and secure: let each
His adamantin coat gird well, and each
Fit well his helm, gripe fast his orbed shield,
Borne ev'n or high; for this day will pour down,
If I conjecture ought, no drizling shower,
But rattling storm of arrows barb'd with fire.

So warn'd he them aware themselves, and soon
In order, quit of all impediment;

Instant

539. — so thick a cloud
He comes,] This metaphor is usual in all languages, and in almost all authors to express a great multitude. We have it in Heb. XII. 1. Seeing we also are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses &c. We have врёл врёл in Homer Iliad. IV. 274: nimbus pedatum in Virgil Æn. VII. 793. and clouds of foot in Paradé Regan'd, III. 327. We have peditum equitumque nubes in Livy, Lib. 5. and even nubem belli in Virgil, Æn. X. 809. and armorum nubem in Statius, Theb. IV. 839.

541. Sad resolution and secure:] By sad here is meant sorrow and fullen, as tristis in Latin and tristo in Italian signify. 

Or possibly it means no more than serious or in earnest, a sense frequent in all our old authors. And I remember a remarkable instance of the use of the word in Lord Bacon's Advice to Villiers Duke of Buckingham: "But if it were an embaby of weight, concerning affairs of state, choice was made of some sad person of known judgment, wisdom and experience, and not of a young man, not weighed in state matters &c:" if sad there be not false printed for fraid or fage. So it is used in Spenser for sober, grave, sedate. Fairy Queen, B. 2. Cant. 2. St. 14.

A sober sad, and comely courteous dame, and in other places.

541. — let
Instant without disturb they took alarm,  
And onward move imbattel’d: when behold  
Not distant far with heavy pace the foe  
Approaching gross and huge, in hollow cube  
Training his devilish enginry, impal’d  
On every side with shadowing squadrons deep,  
To hide the fraud. At interview both stood  
A while; but suddenly at head appear’d  
Satan, and thus was heard commanding loud.  

Vanguard, to right and left the front unfold;  
That all may see who hate us, how we seek  
Peace and composure, and with open breast  
Stand ready to receive them, if they like  

Our
Our overture, and turn not back perverse;
But that I doubt; however witness Heaven,
Heav’n witness thou anon, while we discharge
Freely our part; ye who appointed stand,
Do as you have in charge, and briefly touch
What we propound, and loud that all may hear.

So scoffing in ambiguous words, he scarce
Had ended; when to right and left the front
Divided, and to either flank retir’d:
Which to our eyes discover’d, new and strange,

568. So scoffing in ambiguous words, &c.) We cannot pretend entirely to justify this punning scene: but we should consider that there is very little of this kind of wit anywhere in the poem but in this place, and in this we may suppose Milton to have sacrificed to the taste of his times, when puns were better relish’d than they are at present in the learned world; and I know not whether we are not grown too delicate and fastidious in this particular. It is certain the Ancients practic’d them more both in their conversation and in their writings; and Aristotle recommends them in his book of Rhetoric, and likewise Cicero in his treatise of Oratory; and if we should condemn them absolutely, we must condemn half of the good sayings of the greatest wits of Greece and Rome. They are less proper indeed in serious works, and not at all becoming the majesty of an epic poem; but our author seems to have been betray’d into this excess in great measure by his love and admiration of Homer. For this account of the Angels jesting and insulting one another is not unlike some passages in the 16th book of the Iliad. Æneas throws a spear at Meriones; and he artfully avoiding it, Æneas jests upon his dancing, the Cretans (the countrymen of Meriones) being famous dancers. A little afterwards in the same book, Patroclus kills Hector’s charioteer, who falls headlong from the chariot, upon which Patroclus insults him for several lines together upon his skill in diving, and says that if he was at sea, he might catch excellent oysters. Milton’s jests cannot be lower and more trivial than these; but if he is like Homer in his faults, let it be remember’d that he is like him in his beauties too.

574. Or hollow’d bodies &c.] We must carefully preserve the parenthesis here, as Milton himself
A triple mounted row of pillars laid
On wheels (for like to pillars most they seem'd,
Or hollow'd bodies made of oak or fir,
With branches loft, in wood or mountain fell'd) 575
Brass, iron, stony mold, had not their mouths
With hideous orifice gap'd on us wide,
Portending hollow truce: at each behind
A Seraph stood, and in his hand a reed
Stood waving tipt with fire; while we suspense,
Collected stood within our thoughts amus'd,

Not himself has put it. The construction then will
be, Which to our eyes discover'd a triple row of
pillars laid on wheels, of brass, iron, stony mold
or substance, had not their mouths gap'd wide, and
show'd that they were not pillars; the inter-
mediate words containing a reason why he
call'd them pillars (for like to pillars most they
seem'd or hollow'd bodies &c.) being included in
a parenthesis.

576. Brass, iron, stony mold,] Mold here signi-
fies substance as in II. 355. but Dr. Bentley by
reading cast in mold changes the sense of it to one
of a very different nature. By this emenda-
tion (he says) he has rid the poem of stone
cannon; but such cannon have been heard of
elsewhere, and are now to be seen (I think) at
Delf in Holland. Whether they ever were,
or could have been used in war, may be ques-
tion'd: but it is probable that Milton by see-
ing such stone cannon in foreign countries, was

led to mention them here as part of Satan's ar-
illery. Pearce. We read before that
these Angels digg'd up veins of mineral and stone,
ver. 517. and that may account for the brass,
iron, stony substance here.

578. Portending hollow truce: } Here Ra-
phael himself cannot help continuing the pun.
580. Stood waving.] This must certainly be
an error of the press, occasion'd by stood in
the line before or in the line following; but
then it is a wonder that Milton did not correct
it in his second edition. Dr. Bentley reads

—and in his hand a reed

Hold waving tipt with fire;

and we should substitute some such word as
this, as it makes better sense, as well as avoids
the repetition of stood three times so near to-
gether.

586. — deep
Not long, for sudden all at once their reeds
Put forth, and to a narrow vent apply’d
With nicest touch. Immediate in a flame,
But soon obscur’d with smoke, all Heav’n appear’d,
From those deep throated engins belch’d, whose roar
Imbowel’d with outrageous noise the air,
And all her entrails tore, disgorging foul
Their devilish glut, chain’d thunderbolts and hail
Of iron globes; which on the victor host
Level’d, with such impetuous fury smote,
That whom they hit, none on their feet might stand,
Though standing else as rocks, but down they fell
By thousands, Angel on Arch-Angel roll’d;
The sooner for their arms; unarm’d they might
Have easily as Spirits evaded swift

586. — deep throated engins] So Shakspere
in Othello, Act. III.
And oh, you mortal engins, whose rude throats
Th’immortal Jove’s dread clamors counterfeit.

586.

Imbowel’d with outrageous noise tore the air, and all her entrails tore. So in ver. 740, 741.
That from thy just obedience could revolt,
Whom to obey &c.
Thy for of thee; and to this sense the word whom refers. This is common in Milton’s poem. Pearce. The most natural and obvious construction is, whose roar imbowel’d or fill’d the air with outrageous noise; but to this
By quick contraction or remove; but now
Foul dissipation follow'd and forc'd rout;
Nor serv'd it to relax their ferried files.
What should they do? if on they rush'd, repulse
Repeated, and indecent overthrow
Doubled, would render them yet more despis'd,
And to their foes a laughter; for in view
Stood rank'd of Seraphim another row,
In posture to displode their second tire
Of thunder: back defeated to return
They worse abhor'd. Satan beheld their plight,
And to his mates thus in derision call'd.

O Friends, why come not on these victors proud?
Ere while they fierce were coming; and when we,
To entertain them fair with open front

and

this it is objected, that it is as much as to say that the roar fill'd the air with roar. Neither do I see how the matter is much mended by saying that the roar of the cannon imbowl'd with roar tore the air &c. The cannon I think cannot themselves be properly said to be imbowl'd with noise, tho' they might imbowell with noise the air. I would therefore endeavor to justify this by other similar passages. It is usual with the poets to put the property of a thing for the thing itself: and as in that verse, II. 654. (where see the note)

A cry of Hell hounds never ceasing bark'd,
we have a cry of Hell bounds for the Hell hounds themselves, so here we have the roar of the cannon for the cannon themselves; and the roar may as properly be said to imbowell the air with outrageous noise, as the cry to bark.

599. — ferried files.] The Italian word ferrato, close, compact.
And breast (what could we more?) propounded terms
Of composition, strait they chang'd their minds,
Flew off, and into strange vagaries fell,
As they would dance; yet for a dance they seem'd. 615
Somewhat extravagant and wild, perhaps
For joy of offer'd peace: but I suppose,
If our proposals once again were heard,
We should compel them to a quick result.

To whom thus Belial in like gamesome mood. 620
Leader, the terms we sent were terms of weight,
Of hard contents, and full of force urg'd home,
Such as we might perceive amus'd them all,
And stumbled many; who receives them right,
Had need from head to foot well understand;
Not understood, this gift they have besides,
They show us when our foes walk not upright.

620. To whom thus Belial] Whoever remem-
bers the character of Belial in the first and sec-
ond books: and Mr. Addison's remarks upon it,
will easily fee the propriety of making Be-
lial reply to Satan upon this occasion and in
this sportive manner, rather than Beelzebub, or
Moloch, or any of the evil Angels.

635. Rage—found them arms] Furor arma
ministrat. Virg. Æn. I. 150.

643. From their foundations &c.] There is
nothing in the first and last day's engagement
which does not appear natural, and agreeable
each to the ideas most readers would con-
ceive of a fight between two armies of Angels.
The second day's engagement is apt to startle
an imagination which has not been raised and
qualify'd for such a description, by the read-
ing of the ancient poets, and of Homer in
particular.
So they among themselves in pleasant vein
Stood scoffing, highten'd in their thoughts beyond
All doubt of victory; eternal might
To match with their inventions they presum'd
So easy', and of his thunder made a scorn,
And all his host derided, while they stood
A while in trouble: but they stood not long;
Rage prompted them at length, and found them arms
Against such hellish mischief fit to oppose.

Forthwith (behold the excellence, the power,
Which God hath in his mighty Angels plac'd)
Their arms away they threw, and to the hills
(For Earth hath this variety from Heaven
Of pleasure situate in hill and dale)
Light as the lightning glimpse they ran, they flew;
From their foundations loosning to and fro

particular. It was certainly a very bold thought
in our author, to ascribe the first use of artillery to the rebel Angels. But as such a pernicious invention may be well suppos'd to have proceeded from such authors, so it enter'd very properly into the thoughts of that being, who is all along describ'd as aspiring to the majesty of his Maker. Such engins were the only instrumens he could have made use of to imitate those thunders, that in all poetry, both sacred and profane, are represent'd as the arms of the Almighty. The tearing up the hills was not altogether so daring a thought as the former. We are in some measure prepared for such an incident by the description of the giants war, which we meet with among the ancient poets. What still made this circumstance the more proper for the poet's use is the opinion
They pluck’d the seated hills with all their load,
Rocks, waters, woods, and by the shaggy tops
Up-lifting bore them in their hands: Amaze,
Be sure, and terror feis’d the rebel host,
When coming towards them so dread they saw
The bottom of the mountains upward turn’d;
Till on those cursed engins triple-row
They saw them whelm’d, and all their confidence
Under the weight of mountains buried deep;
Themselves invaded next, and on their heads

Opinion of many learned men, that the fable
of the giants war, which makes so great a
noise in antiquity, and gave birth to the sub-
limest description in Hesiod’s works was an
allegory founded upon this very tradition of a
fight between the good and the bad Angels.
It may perhaps be worth while to consider
with what judgment Milton in this narration
has avoided every thing that is mean and tri-
ivial in the descriptions of the Latin and Greek
poets; and at the same time improved every
great hint which he met with in their works
upon this subject. Homer in that passage,
which Longinus has celebrated for its sublime-
ness, and which Virgil and Ovid have copy’d
after him, tells us that the giants threw Ossa
upon Olympus, and Pelion upon Ossa. He
adds an epithet to Pelion (ἐν οἴκῳ θυλακόν) which
very much swells the idea, by bringing up to
the reader’s imagination all the woods that
grew upon it. There is further a great beauty
in singling out by name these three remark-
able mountains, so well known to the Greeks.
This last is such a beauty, as the scene of
Milton’s war could not possibly furnish him
with. Claudian, in his fragment upon the
giants war, has given full scope to that wild-
ness of imagination which was natural to him.
He tells us that the giants tore up whole
lands by the roots, and threw them at the
Gods. He describes one of them in particu-
lar taking up Lemnos in his arms, and whirl-
ing it to the skies, with all Vulcan’s shop in
the midst of it. Another tears up mount Ida,
with the river Enipeus, which ran down the
sides of it; but the poet, not content to de-
scribe him with this mountain upon his shoul-
ders, tells us that the river flow’d down his
back, as he held it up in that posture. It is
visible to every judicious reader, that such
ideas favor more of burlesque, than of the
sublime. They proceed from a wantonness of
imagination, and rather divert the mind than
astonish it. Milton has taken every thing that
is
Main promontories flung, which in the air came shadowing, and oppress’d whole legions arm’d; their armour help’d their harm, crush’d in and bruised into their substance pent, which wrought them pain Implacable, and many a dolorous groan, long struggling underneath, ere they could wind out of such prison, though spirit of purest light, purest at first; now gross by sinning grown. The rest in imitation to like arms betook them, and the neighboring hills uptore;

is sublime in these several passages, and composes out of them the following great image;

We have the full majesty of Homer in this short description, improved by the imagination of Claudian, without its puerilities. I need not point out the description of the fallen Angels seeing the promontories hanging over their heads in such a dreadful manner, with the other numberless beauties in this book, which are so conspicuous, that they cannot escape the notice of the most ordinary reader. There are indeed so many wonderful strokes of poetry in this book, and such a variety of sublime ideas, that it would have been impossible to have given them a place within the bounds of this paper. Besides that I find it in a great measure done to my hand at the end of my Lord Roscommon’s Essay on translated poetry. I shall refer my reader thither for some of the master-strokes in the sixth book of Paradise Lost, tho’ at the same time there are many others, which that noble author has not taken notice of. 

648. When coming towards them so dread they saw] Does not this verse express the very motion of the mountains, and is not there the same kind of beauty in the numbers, that the poet recommends in his excellent Essay on Criticism?

When Ajax strives some rock’s vast weight to throw,
The line too labors, and the words move slow.

656. Their armour help’d their harm.] Somewhat like that in Spenser, Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 11. St. 27.

That erst him goodly arm’d, now most of all him harm’d.

662. The rest in imitation &c.] The rest of the
So hills amid the air encounter'd hills
Hurl'd to and fro with jaculation dire,
That under ground they fought in dismal shade;
Infernal noise; war seem'd a civil game
To this uproar; horrid confusion heap'd
Upon confusion rose: and now all Heaven
Had gone to wrack, with ruin overspread;
Had not th' almighty Father, where he sits
Shrin'd in his sanctuary of Heav'n secure,
Consulting on the sum of things, foreseen
This tumult, and permitted all, advis'd:
That his great purpose he might so fulfil,

the Satanic hoist that were not overwhelmed by
the mountains, *in imitation* of the good Angels,
&c.

666. *That under ground they fought in dismal shade;*  
It was a memorable saying  
of one of the Spartans at Thermopylae, who  
being told that the multitude of Peruvian  
arrows would obscure the sun, why then says he  
we shall fight in the shade. I suppose that  
Statius alluded to this story in the following  
bold lines. *Thebaid* VIII. 412.

*Exclufe re diem telis, stant ferrea ceelo  
Nubila, nec jaculis arctatus sufficit acr.*

But what was a shade of *arrows* to a shade of  
*mountains* hurl'd to and fro, and encountering  
in mid air! This was *infernal noise* indeed,  
and making almost a Hell of Heaven. Such  
was the uproar in *Hell*, II. 539.

Others with vast Typhonian rage more fell  
Rend up both rocks and hills, and ride the air  
In whirlwind; Hell scarce holds the wild uproar.

669. — *and now all Heaven  
Had gone to wrack, — —*  
It is remark'd by  
the critics in praise of Homer's battels, that  
they rise in horror one above another to the  
end of the Iliad. The same may be said of  
Milton's battels. In the first day's engage-  
ment, when they fought under a cope of fire  
with burning arrows, it was said
To honor his anointed Son aveng'd
Upon his enemies, and to declare
All pow'r on him transferr'd: whence to his Son
Th' assessor of his throne he thus began.

Effulgence of my glory, Son belov'd,
Son in whose face invisible is beheld
Visibly, what by deity I am,
And in whose hand what by decree I do,
Second Omnipotence, two days are past,
Two days, as we compute the days of Heaven,
Since Michael and his Pow'rs went forth to tame
These disobedient: sore hath been their fight,

— all Heaven
Refounded, and had Earth been then, all Earth
Had to her center hook.

But now, when they fought with mountains
and promontories, it is said All Heaven had
gone to wrack, had not the almighty Father in-
terpos'd, and sent forth his Son in the fulness
of the divine glory and majesty to expel the
rebel Angels out of Heaven. Homer's Iliad,
VIII. 130.

Εἴδα δὲ λέγον, καὶ απρόσφερα ἐργα γενομένα, Εἰ μὲν αὖ οὖν νενίη πατην αυτών τε θεών τε.

674. — advis'd: ] Is here a participle ad-
verbial, and very elegant; it means advisedly,
designedly; the same with the Latin consulta or
prudent, as in Horace, Od. I. III. 21.

Nequicquam Deus abscondit
Prudent Oceano disjiciabil
Terras.

Richardson.

679. Th' assessor of his throne] So the Son
is called in some of the Fathers, ἡ ἐκπέρα Θεος, dei assessor.

681. Son in whose face invisible is beheld
Visibly, what by deity I am,] So the first
editions have pointed the sentence; and the
construction and sense of it is this; Son in
whose face what is invisible is beheld visibly, viz.
what I am by deity. Pearce. Invisible
here is a neuter adjective used for a substan-
tive, and it is in allusion to these texts, Rom.
I. 20. The invisible things of God are clearly
seen, and Col. I. 15. The image of the invisible
God.
As likeliest was, when two such foes met arm'd;
For to themselves I left them, and thou know'st,
Equal in their creation they were form'd,
Save what sin hath impair'd, which yet hath wrought
Insensibly, for I suspend their doom;
Whence in perpetual fight they needs must last
Endless, and no solution will be found:
War wearied hath perform'd what war can do,
And to disorder'd rage let loose the reins,
With mountains as with weapons arm'd, which makes
Wild work in Heav'n, and dangerous to the main.
Two days are therefore past, the third is thine;
For thee I have ordain'd it, and thus far
Have suffer'd, that the glory may be thine
Of ending this great war, since none but Thou
Can

[695. War wearied hath perform'd what war
can do,] And indeed within the com-
pass of this one book we have all the variety
of battles that can well be conceiv'd. We
have a single combat, and a general engage-
ment. The first day's fight is with darts and
swords, in imitation of the Ancients; the se-
cond day's fight is with artillery, in imitation
of the Moderns; but the images in both are
raised proportionally to the superior nature of
the beings here describ'd. And when the poet
has briefly compris'd all that has any founda-
tion in fact and reality, he has recourse to the
fictions of the poets in their descriptions of
the giants war with the Gods. And when war
hath thus perform'd what war can do, he rises
still higher, and the Son of God is sent
forth in the majesty of the almighty Father,
agreeably to Scripture; so much doth the
sublimity of holy Writ transcend all that is
true,
Can end it. Into thee such virtue’ and grace
Immense I have transfix’d, that all may know
In Heav’n and Hell thy pow’r above compare;
And this perverse commotion govern’d thus,
To manifest thee worthiest to be Heir
Of all things, to be Heir and to be King
By sacred unction, thy deserved right.
Go then thou Mightiest in thy Father’s might,
Ascend my chariot, guide the rapid wheels
That shake Heav’n’s basis, bring forth all my war,
My bow and thunder, my almighty arms
Gird on, and sword upon thy puissant thigh;
Pursue these sons of darkness, drive them out
From all Heav’n’s bounds into the utter deep:
There let them learn, as likes them, to despise
God

true, and all that is feign’d in description.

710. Go then thou Mightiest &c.] The following lines in that glorious commission, which is given the Messiah to extirpate the host of rebel Angels, are drawn from a sublime passage in the Psalms. The reader will easily discover many other strokes of the same nature.

Addison.
The Psalm here meant is the XLVth, ver. 3. & 4. Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O most mighty, with thy glory and thy majesty: and in thy majesty ride prosperously &c.

714. — and sword upon thy puissant thigh; ] A great man observed to me, that the sentence falls in this place, and that it may be improved by reading and pointing the whole passage thus,

— bring forth all my war,
My bow and thunder, my almighty arms;
And gird my sword upon thy puissant thigh.

L 1 1

732. Thou
God and Messiah his anointed king.

He said, and on his Son with rays direct
Shone full; he all his Father full express'd
Ineffably into his face receiv'd;
And thus the filial Godhead answ'ring spake.

O Father, O Supreme of heav'nly Thrones,
First, Higheft, Holieft, Best, thou always feek'ft
To glorify thy Son, I always thee,
As is moft just; this I my glory' account,
My exaltation, and my whole delight,
That thou in me well pleas'd, declar'ft thy will
Fulfill'd, which to fulfil is all my blifs.
Scepter and pow'r, thy giving, I assume,
And gladlier shall resign, when in the end
Thou shalt be all in all, and I in thee

For

732. Thou shalt be all in all, &c. [We may
still observe that Milton generally makes the
divine Persons talk in the stilé and language
of Scripture. This passage is manifestly taken
from 1 Cor. XV. 24 and 28. Then cometh the
end when he shall have delivered up the kingdom
to God: And when all things shall be subdued
unto him, then shall the Son also himself be sub-
ject unto him that put all things under him, that
God may be all in all. And immediately after-
wards when it is said

— I in thee:

For ever, and in me all whom thou lov'st:
this is plainly in allusion to several expressions
in John XVII. That they all may be one, as thou
Father art in me, and I in thee, that they also
may be one in us. ver. 21. I in them, and thou
in
For ever, and in me all whom thou lov'ft:
But whom thou hat'st, I hate, and can put on
Thy terrors, as I put thy mildness on,
Image of thee in all things; and shall soon,
Arm'd with thy might, rid Heav'n of these rebell'd,
To their prepar'd ill mansion driven down,
To chains of darkness, and th' undying worm,
That from thy just obedience could revolt,
Whom to obey is happiness entire.
Then shall thy Saints unmix'd, and from th' impure
Far separate, circling thy holy mount
Unfeigned Halleluiahs to thee sing,
Hymns of high praise, and I among them chief.

So said, he o'er his scepter bowing, rose
From the right hand of glory where he sat;

And
And the third sacred morn began to shine, [sound Dawning through Heav'n: forth rush'd with whirlwind The chariot of paternal Deity, Flashing thick flames, wheel within wheel undrawn, Itself instinct with Spirit, but convoy'd By four Cherubic shapes; four faces each Had wondrous; as with stars their bodies all And wings were set with eyes, with eyes the wheels Of of the same fort with Hesiod's Jupiter against the Titans. They are both of them the most undoubted instances of the true sublime; but which has exceeded it is very difficult to determine. There is, I think, a greater profusion of poetical images in that of the latter; but then the superior character of a Christian Messiah, which Milton has with great judgment and majesty supported in this part of his work, gives a certain air of religious grandeur, which throws the advantage on the side of the English poet. Thyer.

749. — forth rush'd with whirlwind found &c.] Milton has raised his description in this book with many images taken out of the poetical parts of Scripture. The Messiah's chariot is formed upon a vision of Ezekiel, who, as Grotius observes, has very much in him of Homer's spirit in the poetical parts of his prophecy. Addison. The whole description indeed is drawn almost word for word from Ezekiel, as the reader will see by comparing them together.

— forth rush'd with whirlwind found The chariot of paternal Deity, Flashing thick flames, And I looked, and behold, a whirlwind came out of the north, a great cloud, and a fire infolding itself. I. 4. Or perhaps the author here drew Isaiah Likewise to his assistance, Isa. LXVI. 15. For behold the Lord will come with fire, and with his chariots like a whirlwind.

— wheel within wheel undrawn, Itself instinct with Spirit, but convoy'd By four Cherubic shapes; Also out of the midst thereof came the likeness of four living creatures, and their appearance was as it were a wheel in the middle of a wheel; and when the living creatures went, the wheels went by them, for the spirit of the living creature was in the wheels. I. 5, 16, 19, 20.

— four faces each Had wondrous; as with stars their bodies all And wings were set with eyes, with eyes the wheels And
Of beril, and carreering fires between;
Over their heads a crystal firmament,
Whereon a saphir throne, inlaid with pure
Amber, and colors of the show'ry arch.

He in celestial panoply all arm'd
Of radiant Urim, work divinely wrought,
Ascended; at his right hand victory
Sat eagle-wing'd; beside him hung his bow

And every one had four faces. I. 6. And their
whole body, and their wings, and the wheels
were full of eyes round about. X. 12.

—— the wheels
Of beril, and carreering fires between;
The beril is a precious stone of a sea-green co-
lor, and carreering fires are lightnings darting
out by fits, a metaphor taken from the running
in tilts; The appearance of the wheels and their
work was like unto the color of a beril; and the
fire was bright, and out of the fire went forth

Over their heads a crystal firmament,
Whereon a saphir throne, inlaid with pure
Amber, and colors of the show'ry arch.

And the likeness of the firmament upon the heads
of the living creatures was as the color of the ter-
rible crystal, stretched forth over their heads above:
And above the firmament that was over their heads
was the likeness of a throne, as the appearance of
a saphir stone: And I saw as the color of amber,
as the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud
in the day of rain. I. 22, 26, 27, 28.

760. He in celestial panoply all arm'd
Of radiant Urim,] All arm'd in complete
heavenly armour of radiant light. Celestial pa-
nopty is in allusion to St. Paul's expression, Eph.
VI. 11. Put on the panoply, the whole armeur
of God. The word was used before, ver. 527.
Urim and Thummim were something in Aaron's
breastplate; what they were critics and com-
mentators are by no means agreed; but the
word Urim signifies light and Thummim perfec-
tion; and therefore Milton very properly gives
the epithet of radiant to Urim. It is most pro-
bable that Urim and Thummim were only names
given to signify the clearness and certainty of
the divine answers, which were obtain'd by the
high-priest consulting God with his breast-
plate on, in contradistinction to the obscure,
enigmatical, uncertain and imperfect answes
of the Heathen oracles.
And quiver with three-bolted thunder stor'd,
And from about him fierce effusion roll'd
Of smoke and bickering flame and sparkles dire:
Attended with ten thousand thousand Saints,
He onward came, far off his coming shone;
And twenty thousand (I their number heard)
Chariots of God, half on each hand were seen:
He on the wings of Cherub rode sublime
On the crystallin sky, in saphir thron'd,
Illustrious far and wide, but by his own
First seen; them unexpected joy surpris'd,
When the great ensign of Messiah blaz'd
Aloft by Angels borne, his sign in Heaven;
Under whose conduct Michael soon reduc'd
His army, circumfus'd on either wing,
Under their Head imbody'd all in one.

Before

765. And from about him fierce effusion roll'd
Of smoke and bickering flame and sparkles dire:
A furious tempest pouring forth smoke and
fighting flame round about him. Bickering,
fighting and thence destroying, of the Welsh
Biere a combat. There went up a smoke out of
his nostrils, and fire out of his mouth devoured.
Psal. XVIII. 8. A fire shall devour before him,
and it shall be very tempestuous round about him.

767. Attended with ten thousand thousand
Saints,
He onward came, &c.] Jude 14. Behold the
Lord cometh with ten thousands of his Saints.
And twenty thousand (I their number heard)
Chariots of God,

The
Before him pow'r divine his way prepar'd;
At his command th' uprooted hills retir'd
Each to his place; they heard his voice, and went
Obsequious; Heav'n his wonted face renew'd,
And with fresh flow'rets hill and valley simil'd.
This saw his hapless foes but stood obdur'd,
And to rebellious fight rallied their Powers
Insensate, hope conceiving from despair.
In heav'nly Spirits could such perverseness dwell?
But to convince the proud what signs avail,
Or wonders move th' obdurate to relent?
They harden'd more by what might most reclame,
Grieving to see his glory, at the fight
Took envy; and aspiring to his highth,
Stood reembattel'd fierce, by force or fraud
Weening to prosper, and at length prevail

The chariots of God are twenty thousand. Pfal. LXVIII. 17. I heard the number of them. Rev. VII. 4. Let it be remark'd how much of his sublimity, even in the sublimest part of his works, Milton owes to Scripture.

787. — hope conceiving from despair.] Imitated from Virgil.
Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem. Æn. II. 354.

Or rather from Quintus Curtius. Lib. 5. cap. 4. Ignaviam quoque necessitas acuit, et sepe desperatio spei causâ est.

788. In heav'nly Spirits could such perverseness dwell?]
— Tantæne animis coelestibus ira?
Virg. Æn. I. 11.

797. In
Against God and Messiah, or to fall
In universal ruin last; and now
To final battle drew, disdaining flight,
Or faint retreat; when the great Son of God
To all his host on either hand thus spake.

Stand still in bright array, ye Saints, here stand
Ye Angels arm'd, this day from battle rest;
Faithful hath been your warfare, and of God
Accepted, fearless in his righteous cause,
And as ye have receiv'd, so have ye done
Invincibly; but of this cursed crew
The punishment to other hand belongs;
Vengeance is his, or whose he sole appoints:
Number to this day's work is not ordain'd
Nor multitude; stand only and behold
God's indignation on these Godless pour'd

By

797. *In universal ruin last;*] So it is in Milton's two first editions; and if he wrote *last,* it must be understood the same as *at last*; but I was thinking whether it would not be better to read *In universal ruin last,* when I found it so in Dr. Bentley's edition, but without any note upon it, or any thing to distinguish the alteration, as if it had been so printed in all the former editions.

808. *Vengeance is his, or whose he sole appoints:*]

To me belongeth vengeance and recompence. Deut. XXXII. 35. *Vengeance is mine, I will repay it, saith the Lord.* Rom. XII. 19.

826. *And full of wrath bent on his enemies.*]

Dr.
By me; not you but me they have despis’d,
Yet envied; against me is all their rage,
Because the Father, t’whom in Heav’n supreme
Kingdom and pow’r and glory appertains,
Hath honor’d me according to his will.
Therefore to me their doom he hath assign’d;
That they may have their wish, to try with me
In battle which the stronger proves, they all,
Or I alone against them, since by strength
They measure all, of other excellence
Not emulous, nor care who them excels;
Nor other strife with them do I vouchsafe.

So spake the Son, and into terror chang’d
His count’nance too severe to be beheld,
And full of wrath bent on his enemies.
At once the Four spread out their starry wings

Dr. Bentley is for rejecting this verse as mean
and superfluous. I suppose he understood it
thus, And full of wrath bent his course, went
on his enemies; this is said afterwards, ver. 831.
He on his impious foes right onward drove, &c.
But it may be understood thus, He chang’d his
countenance into terror, and bent it so chang’d
Vol. I.

and full of wrath upon his enemies; and I cannot
see how this is either mean or superfluous.
Or rather bent may be a participle in this con-
struction—his countenance too severe to be beheld,
and bent full of wrath on his enemies.
827. At once the Four &c.] Whenever he
mentions the four Cherubim and the Messiah's
chariot,
With dreadful shade contiguous, and the orbs
Of his fierce chariot roll'd, as with the sound
Of torrent floods, or of a numerous host.

He on his impious foes right onward drove,
Gloomy as night; under his burning wheels
The stedfast empyræan shook throughout,
All but the throne itself of God. Full soon
Among them he arriv'd, in his right hand
Grasping ten thousand thunders, which he sent
Before him, such as in their souls infix'd
Plagues; they astonish'd all resistance lost,
All courage; down their idle weapons dropt;

O'er

chariot, he still copies from Ezekiel's vision.

At once the Four spread out their starry wings
With dreadful shade contiguous,
Their wings join'd together made a dreadful shade; and Ezekiel says, Their wings were joined one to another. I. 9.

and the orbs
Of his fierce chariot roll'd, as with the sound
Of torrent floods, or of a numerous host.

And when the living creatures went, the wheels went by them; and when they went I heard the noise of their wings, like the noise of great waters, as the noise of an host. I. 19, 24.

832. Gloomy as night;] From Homer, Iliad. XII. 462. where the translator makes use of Milton's words.

Now rushing in, the furious chief appears, Gloomy as night! Pope.

And again, Odyss. XI. 605.

Gloomy as night he stands. Broome.

833. The
O'er shields and helms and helmed heads he rode
Of Thrones and mighty Seraphim prostrâte,
That wish'd the mountains now might be again
Thrown on them as a shelter from his ire.
Nor less on either side tempestuous fell
His arrows, from the fourfold-visag'd Four
Distinct with eyes, and from the living wheels
Distinct alike with multitude of eyes;
One Spirit in them rul'd, and every eye
Glar'd lightning, and shot forth pernicious fire
Among th' accurs'd, that wither'd all their strength,
And of their wonted vigor left them drain'd,

838. Plagues; ] The pause resting so upon the first syllable of the verse makes this word very emphatical. The reader may see beauties of the same kind in IV. 350. and the note there.
— others on the grass
Couch'd, and now fill'd with pasture gazing fat.
841. Of Thrones and mighty Seraphim prostrâte,] Milton commonly pronounces this word, as we do, with the accent upon the first syllable. See I. 280. X. 1087. 1099. But here the accent is upon the last syllable, and so Fairfax uses it in his translation of Taffe, Cant. 1. St. 83.
He heard the western Lords would undermine
His city's wall, and lay his tow'rs prostrâte.
And Spenfer, I think, commonly pronounces it in this manner, Fairy Queen, B. 2. Cant. 8. St. 54.
Whose carcases on ground were horribly prostrâte.
Before fair Britomart she fell prostrâte.
842. That wish'd the mountains now might be again &c.] So Rev. VI. 16. They said
Exhausted, spiritless, afflicted, fall'n.
Yet half his strength he put not forth, but check'd
His thunder in mid voly; for he meant

853. Yet half his strength he put not forth, &c.] There is no question but Milton had heated his imagination with the fight of the Gods in Homer, before he enter'd upon this engagement of the Angels. Homer there gives us a scene of men, heroes, and Gods, mix'd together in battel. Mars animates the contending armies, and lifts up his voice in such a manner, that it is heard distinctly amidst all the shouts and confusion of the fight. Jupiter at the same time thunders over their heads; while Neptune raises such a tempest, that the whole field of battel, and all the tops of the mountains shake about them. The poet tells us, that Pluto himself, whose habitation was in the very center of the earth, was so affrighted at the shock, that he leap'd from his throne. Homer afterwards describes Vulcan as pouring down a storm of fire upon the river Xanthus, and Minerva as throwing a rock at Mars; who, he tells us, cover'd seven acres in his fall. As Homer has introduced into his battel of the Gods every thing that is great and terrible in nature, Milton has filled his fight of good and bad Angels with all the like circumstances of horror. The shouts of armies, the rattling of brazen chariots, the hurling of rocks and mountains, the earthquake, the fire, the thunder, are all of them employ'd to lift up the reader's imagination, and give him a suitable idea of so great an action. With what art has the poet represented the whole body of the earth trembling, even before it was created!

All Heav'n refounded, and had Earth been then,
All Earth had to her center shook.
In how sublime and just a manner does he afterwards describe the whole Heaven, shaking under the wheels of the Messiah's chariot, with that exception to the throne of God!

— Under his burning wheels
The steadfast empyréan shook throughout,
All but the throne itself of God.

Notwithstanding the Messiah appears clothed with so much terror and majesty, the poet has still found means to make his readers conceive an idea of him, beyond what he himself was able to describe.

Yet half his strength he put not forth, but check'd
His thunder in mid voly; for he meant
Not to destroy, but root them out of Heaven.

In a word, Milton's genius, which was so great in itself, and so strengthen'd by all the helps of learning, appears in this book every way equal to his subject, which was the most sublime that
Not to destroy, but root them out of Heaven: The overthrown he rais’d, and as a herd Of goats or timorous flock together thron’d
drove

that could enter into the thoughts of a poet. As he knew all the arts of affecting the mind, he knew it was necessary to give it certain resting places, and opportunities of recovering itself from time to time: he has therefore with great address interspersed several speeches, reflections, similitudes, and the like relics to diversify his narration, and engage the attention of the reader, that he might come fresh to his great action, and by such a contrast of ideas have a more lively taste of the nobler parts of his description.

Addison.

Yet half his strength he put not forth, &c. This fine thought is somewhat like that of the Psalms, LXXVIII. 38. But he being full of compassion, forgave their iniquity, and destroyed them not; yea, many a time turned he his anger away, and did not strik all his wrath. And it greatly exceeds Hesiod, who makes Jupiter upon a like occasion exert all his strength.

Hes. Theog. 687.

Οὐδ’ α’ ς ἐτὶ Ζεὺς ἴχνεοι μεν ξένως ἀλλὰ νυ-
τέσα
Εἴπομεν μὲν μενέτω̣ ἔλεος φρένεσε, ἐκ ό’ ης τε
παίς
Φανε βίντε.

856. — and as a herd

Of goats &c.] It may seem strange that our author amidst so many sublime images should intermix so low a comparison as this. But it is the practice of Homer; and we have some remarkable instances in the second book of the Iliad, where in a pompous description of the Grecians going forth to battle, and amidst the glare of several noble similitudes, they are compared for their number to flies about a shepherd’s cottage, when the milk moistens the pails; and after he has compared Agamemnon to Jove, and Mars, and Neptune, he compares him again to a bull. But we may observe to the advantage of our author, that this low simile is not apply’d, as Homer’s are, to the persons he meant to honor, but to the contrary party; and the lower the comparison, the more it expresses their defeat. And there is the greater propriety in the similitude of goats particularly, because our Saviour represents the wicked under the fame image, as the good are called the sheep. Mat. XXV. 33. And he shall set the sheep in his right hand, but the goats on the left. For which reason Dr. Pearce is of opinion that by a timorous flock are not meant sheep but deer, that epithet being as it were appropriated by the poets to that animal. Virgil has timidi damae twice at least. Or the author (as Dr. Bentley and Dr. Heylin imagin) might have said not or but a timorous flock; and as a herd of goats a timorous flock. But he would hardly have call’d the same a herd of goats, and then a flock immediately afterwards, and neither would he have used the expression of timorous flock for a herd of deer in contradiction to a herd of goats, tho’ it is a proper phrase for sheep, which seem plainly to be meant by it. And it is probable that in the highth and fury of his description he did not attend to the minuteness of that figurative distinction.
Drove them before him thunder-struck, pursued
With terrors and with furies to the bounds
And crystal wall of Heav’n, which opening wide,
Roll’d inward, and a spacious gap disclos’d
Into the wasteful deep; the monstrous fight
Struck them with horror backward, but far worse
Urg’d them behind; headlong themselves they threw
Down from the verge of Heav’n; eternal wrath
Burnt after them to the bottomless pit.

Hell heard th’ unsufferable noise, Hell saw

The uncommon measure of this verse, with
only one Iambic foot in it, and that the last,
is admirably contriv’d to express the idea. The
beauty of it arises chiefly from the Pyrrichius
in the third, and the Trochee in the fourth
place,

Burnt after them to the bottomless pit;
and change them into Iambics, which some
perhaps would think better, and it will lose its
effect;

Burnt after them to Hell’s tremendous pit.

Milton himself was so sensible of this beauty,
that he repeats it in Paradise Regain’d, I. 360.

— but was driven

With them from bliss to the bottomless
deep.

— eternal wrath
Burnt after them to the bottomless pit.
Heav'n ruining from Heav'n, and would have fled
Affrighted; but strict fate had cast too deep
Her dark foundations, and too fast had bound. 870
Nine days they fell; confounded Chaos roar'd,
And felt tenfold confusion in their fall
Through his wild anarchy, so huge a rout
Incumber'd him with ruin: Hell at last
Yawning receiv'd them whole, and on them clos'd; 875
Hell their fit habitation fraught with fire
Unquenchable, the house of woe and pain.

868. Heav'n ruining from Heav'n,] Ruining is here used as a deponent; it is a beautiful way of speaking, and very expressive of the idea; it is founded on the notion of the Latin ruina from ruo. And Milton here follow'd the sense of the Italian word rovinare or ruinare, which in the dictionary Della Crusca is explain'd by falling headlong and violently from a higher to a lower place. Pearce.

871. Nine days they fell; ] And so in Book I. 50.

Nine times the space that measures day and night &c.

Thus in the first Iliad the plague continues nine days, and upon all occasions the poets are fond of the numbers nine and three. They have three Graces and nine Muses. What might at first occasion this way of thinking it is not easy to say; but it is certainly very ancient, and we are now so accus'tom'd to it, that if here, instead of nine, Milton had said ten days, I am perswaded it would not have had so good an effect.

874. Incumber'd him with ruin: ] This too, like the word ruin ing in ver. 868. must be taken in its Italian signification. Ingombrato is very poetical, and expresses the utmost embarasment and confusion; but incumber'd, tho' plainly the same word, yet in its common acceptation has a meaning too weak and low for the author's purpose in this verse. Thyer.

876. Hell their fit habitation — the house of woe and pain.] Very like that in Fairfax’s Tasso, Cant. 9. St. 59.
Disburden’d Heav’n rejoic’d, and soon repair’d
Her mural breach, returning whence it roll’d.
Sole victor from th’expulsion of his foes
Messiah his triumphal chariot turn’d:
To meet him all his Saints, who silent stood
Eye-witnesses of his almighty acts,
With jubilee advanc’d; and as they went,
Shaded with branching palm, each order bright,
Sung triumph, and him sung victorious King,
Son, Heir, and Lord, to him dominion given,
Worthiest to reign: he celebrated rode
Triumphant through mid Heav’n, into the courts
And temple of his mighty Father thron’d
On high; who into glory him receiv’d,

Fit house for them, the house of woe and pain.
An instance this, and there are others, that Milton made use of the translation of Tasso, as well as of the original.

878. Disburden’d Heav’n rejoic’d, and soon repair’d
Her mural breach, returning whence it roll’d.
Returning is to be join’d in construction with Heav’n, and not with breach. Heaven returned to its place: But the expression (as we noted before) is not very accurate, Heav’n repair’d her mural breach, and return’d whence it roll’d.

880. Worthiest to reign:] Alluding to Rev. IV. 11. Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive glory, and honor, and power, &c. and so making the Angels sing the same divine song that St. John heard them sing in his vision.

885. Thus measuring things in Heav’n by things on Earth, &c.] He repeats the same kind of apology here in the conclusion, that
Where now he fits at the right hand of bliss.

Thus measuring things in Heav'n by things on Earth,
At thy request, and that thou may'st beware
By what is past, to thee I have reveal'd
What might have else to human race been hid;
The discord which befel, and war in Heaven
Among th' angelic Pow'rs, and the deep fall
Of those too high aspiring, who rebell'd
With Satan; he who envies now thy state,
Who now is plotting how he may seduce
Thee also from obedience, that with him
Bereav'd of happiness thou may'st partake
His punishment, eternal misery;
Which would be all his solace and revenge,

As

he made in the beginning of his narration. See V. 573. &c.
By likening spiritual to corporal forms, &c and it is indeed the best defence that can be made for the bold fictions in this book, which tho' some cold readers perhaps may blame, yet the coldest, I conceive, cannot but admire. It is remarkable too with what art and beauty the poet from the height and sublimity of the rest of this book defends here at the close of it, like the lark from her loftiest notes in the Vol. I.

clouds, to the most profaic simplicity of language and numbers; a simplicity which not only gives it variety, but the greatest majesty, as Milton himself seems to have thought by always choosing to give the speeches of God and the Messiah in that style, tho' these I suppose are the parts of this poem, which Dryden censures as the flats which he often met with for thirty or forty lines together.

900. With Satan, he who envies now thy state.] The construction requires him, as Dr. Bentley says:
As a despite done against the most High,
Thee once to gain companion of his woe.
But listen not to his temptations, warn
Thy weaker; let it profit thee to have heard

Have we forgot how Raphael’s numerous prose
Led our exalted souls through heav’nly camps,
And mark’d the ground where proud apostate Thrones
Defy’d Jehovah! Here, ’twixt hoft and hoft,
(A narrow but a dreadful interval)
Portentous fight! before the cloudy van
Satan with vaff and haughty strides advance’d,
Came towring arm’d in adamant and gold.
There bellowing engins with their fiery tubes
Dispers’d ethereal forms, and down they fell
By thousands, Angels on Arch-Angels roll’d;
Recover’d, to the hills they ran, they flew,
Which (with their pond’rous load, rocks, waters, woods)
From their firm feats torn by the flaggy tops,
They bore like shields before them through the air,
Till more incens’d they hurl’d them at their foes.
All was confusion, Heav’n’s foundations shook,
Threatening no less than universal wrack,
For Michael’s arm main promontories flung,
And over-pres’ld whole legions weak with sin;
Yet they blasphe’m’d and struggl’d as they lay,
Till the great ensign of Messiah blaz’d,
And (arm’d with vengeance) God’s victorious Son
(Effulgence of paternal Deity)
Grasping ten thousand thunders in his hand

Drove
By terrible example the reward
Of disobedience; firm they might have stood,
Yet fell; remember, and fear to transgress.

Drove th' old original rebels headlong down,
And sent them flaming to the vast Abys.
O may I live to hail the glorious day,
And sing loud Pæans through the crowded way,

When in triumphant state the British Muse,
True to herself, shall barbarous aid refuse,
And in the Roman majesty appear,
Which none know better, and none come so near.

The end of the Sixth Book.