SOME ASPECTS OF MILTON'S CONCEPT OF ORDER AS REVEALED
THROUGH KEY TERMS, PATTERNS, AND IMAGES IN "PARADISE LOST"

by

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Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ottawa in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Ottawa, Canada, 1962
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This thesis was prepared under the guidance of the Reverend L.A. Cormican, O.M.I., M.A. Gratitude is here expressed to Father Cormican, Professor E. O'Grady, Ph.D., Head of the Department of English Literature, and to the members of the Faculty of English, Ottawa University.
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ABSTRACT OF Some Aspects of Milton's Concept of Order as Revealed Through Key Terms, Patterns and Images in 'Paradise Lost'
INTRODUCTION

The writer who attempts a thesis on Milton's "Paradise Lost" might be overwhelmed, at first, by the vast number of critical works already in existence. Then again, he might also be surprised to find how actually limited the range of criticism has been from the time of Addison's publications in the "Spectator" to the present. Until the end of the nineteenth century this criticism usually pivoted around such general problems as: whether Milton in his poetry achieves the truly sublime, whether "Paradise Lost" may properly be called a heroic poem, whether the Son, Adam, man or Satan is the true hero of the poem, whether there is a hero, whether Milton's theological thought may be separated from his poetical artistry, etc. And these problems continue to occupy a large number of pages in critical books even to this date.

Few critics have displayed a genuine objectivity towards evaluating Milton's poetry as poetry. Either they have concentrated on defending or condemning his philosophical and theological views or they have spent their research hours unearthing possible parallel passages in the "Zohar".


3 C.S. Lewis writes, "Milton studies owe a great debt to Professor Saurat, but I believe that with the enthusiasm incident to a pioneer he has pressed his case too far...sound criticism is to judge the poem on its merits, not to pre-judge it by reading doctrinal error into the text." A Preface to Paradise Lost, London, Oxford University Press, 1960, pp. 82-92.
Some advance, however, has been made in the field of objective criticism by such men as Eliot, Leavis and Woodhouse. Though their criticism has not always been favorable to Milton, nevertheless, they have drawn attention to certain problems not so much in Milton's theology as in his poetry.

One problem to which some critics have alluded is the relationship between Milton's concept of order and his poetry in "Paradise Lost". C.S. Lewis writes:

"The Hierarchical idea is not merely stuck on his poem at points where doctrine demands it; it is the indwelling life of the whole work, it foams or bubbles out of it at every moment."

And Douglas Knight adds:

"Milton's hierarchy of nature is inseparable from his concept of responsible man; in "Paradise Lost" they are two extremes in a whole complex which is concerned with the discovery of man's participation in the ultimate forces of the universe."

Yet in spite of the importance which these critics place upon Milton's ideas of order, no serious study has been made, as yet, on this vital subject.


7 C.S. Lewis, op. cit., p. 79.

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It is believed that critical opinion, and especially that of recent years, seriously suffers from a lack of some clear ideas on Milton's hierarchal views of the universe.

It will be the purpose of this thesis to undertake such a study, to consider some aspects of Milton's concept of order. Before proceeding with this topic, however, it is necessary here to consider briefly: (1) what is meant by the term "order", (2) some problems which Milton faces in his epic with regard to the position of the Father, Satan and Adam in the hierarchal structure and (3) the scope and limitations of this thesis in relation to order.

By the term "order" is meant Milton's idea of God's harmonious plan for the perfection of all created beings, and for society as a totality. For Milton as for the biblical writers, the ancient philosophers, and Fathers of the Church, order is the criterion for all justice and for all acts of morality. Only through obedience to God's order can man find peace and happiness. Milton's credo is that of the sacred writer who affirms: "I know whatever God does endures forever; nothing can be added to it, nor anything taken from it; God has made it so in order that men should fear before him." 10

9 Recent criticism is perhaps symptomatic of the spiritual dearth in modern society. See critics referred to in footnote 2. Also see the reasons which Tillyard gives for changing his views on Satan: E.M.W. Tillyard, Studies in Milton, London, Oattho and Windus, 1960, pp 53.

10 Ecclesiastes 3,14-15. Unless otherwise stated all references to biblical quotations are from the Revised Standard Version of the King James Bible.
It would be a mistake, though, to consider that Milton's concept of order is the same as that manifested by Plato in his Republic, or St. Augustine in his City of God, or St. Thomas in his Summa Theologica, or Calvin in his Institutes of the Christian Religion. His ideas are distinctly Miltonic. They result not only from the prolific study of ancient, medieval and renaissance writers, not only from his Christian heritage, not only from his particular Protestant milieu, but also and primarily from his inimitable personality.

There are a number of problems which Milton faces in the staging of order in this epic. One is the presentation, in human terms, of an infinitely perfect God as the head and end of this hierarchal structure. In attempting to show the relationship between the Father and his creatures, Milton comes under severe attacks from certain

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But the very humanness of God revealed through His weaknesses reflects an important aspect of Milton's order; this is the intimate relationship between God and creation. Milton also achieves this by giving God, the angels and man the same nature, by stressing that all creation is made out of the same matter, by attributing to heaven the same objects, the same pleasures and actions as found on earth, and by emphasizing the harmonious union between the various parts of creation in terms of sexual analogies. By these devices Milton is able to bring to his scheme of God's plan a warmth of feeling and imagination which is not found in the intellectual structure of Dante's Divine Comedy.

Another problem which Milton faces in his epic, and which is inherent within the Christian myth, pertains to the fall of Satan and Adam. If Satan and Adam were both endowed with special light, were both made great in their own ways, how could they have sinned? Milton accepts their superior creation and the possibility of darkness in their minds and of evil in their wills as mysteries, but as necessary truths in "Paradise Lost".

12 See especially John Peter, op. cit., pp. 9-30. L.A. Cormican writes: "if we argue (as Sir Herbert Grierson does in Criticism and Creation) that it would have been better to omit God, then, we are arguing that the poem should have been radically different." Milton's Religious Verse, From Donne to Marvell, ed. by B. Ford, Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1960, p. 187.

13 This thesis does not endeavor to prove that "Paradise Lost" is a greater poem than Dante's Divine Comedy. There are many great incidents and fine passages in Dante's poem, especially in the "Inferno"; however, the bridge between the total design is not as organic as that which is found in Milton's poem. Divine Comedy,
In many respects Milton is restricted by the story in Genesis. It is, for example, the quality of Adam's fall as revealed in Scripture—his pride, his disobedience, his violation of God's tree, which determines the nature of Christ's atonement—His humility, His obedience, His death on the tree of the Cross. But it is the unique genius of Milton to be able to convey these actions through the splendor of his poetry.

An attempt to analyze Milton's scheme of creation as something divorced from his poetry would do violence to "Paradise Lost". Consequently this thesis considers order as it is unfolded in the poetry. Stress is placed on the poem's key words, its patterns and its images.

T.S. Eliot emphasizes the importance of Milton's key words. But how are these words to be determined? Since literary criticism is primarily "a study in emphasis" one method is a mechanical listing of oft-repeated words to learn the number of times these occur in the individual books and the number of times they appear with reference to God and heaven, Satan and hell, man and earth. The reason for the threefold division is made obvious throughout this thesis. Another method of determining these words is by their relationship to the important characters and themes in the poem. The word "tower", for

Carlyle-Wicksteed translation, New York, Random House, 1950. See Ruth Mary Fox, Dante Lights the Way, Milwaukee, Bruce, 1958, especially pertinent to Dante's order, pp. 221-229.

14 T.S. Eliot, op.cit., p. 129

15 Professor Tupper as quoted by Elmer E. Stoll, "Give the Devil his Due", RES 1944, vol. XX, no. 78, pp. 112.

example, which is used only eighteen times throughout the entire epic, conveys, nevertheless, an important meaning pertaining to God, Satan, the sun and man. Both methods are followed throughout this thesis.

A brief and general study of patterns has been made by A.S.P. Woodhouse. He sees the pattern in "Paradise Lost" as primarily the movement from Satan's defeat in heaven by Christ, to Satan's victory on Earth over Adam, to Satan's defeat at last by Christ, who is the second Adam. Though there are frequent references in this thesis to patterns, the emphasis is upon the pattern of paradoxes by which Milton reveals, especially in Book III, the role which the Son plays as a model of God's order.

Almost every critic refers to Milton's use of imagery in "Paradise Lost" but very few go into any detail. Rose Tuve makes a splendid study of the relationship of his imagery to the themes of his earlier poems in her book Images and Themes in Five Poems by Milton and Cleanth Brooks gives an interesting analysis of the light symbolism in "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso". The only major work having an immediate bearing on the imagery of "Paradise Lost" is written by Theodore Banks who stresses the vastness of Milton's epic similes. George

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Wesley Whiting has traced the origin of a number of the poem's symbols but he tends to impose a meaning on these symbols which is more in keeping with St. Augustine and the Fathers than with Milton. No study has been made on Milton's imagery with relation to his theme of order.

Although most of this thesis involves a study of imagery, a special emphasis is given to that which pertains to the ladder, the sun, the tower, the dew, the pearl, and the heavenly banquet because of their importance to the general theme of this thesis.

This study cannot hope to convey a complete analysis of all of Milton's ideas concerning the hierarchal order. But it is hoped that the various chapters will convey something of how Milton unfolds book by book his vision of God's plan for creation.

20 George Wesley Whiting, Milton and This Pendant World, Austin, University of Texas, 1958, pp. 59-128.

21 Incidental references occur in various works. For example, Lewis refers to the regular and irregular dance as reflecting the nature of God’s order, op.cit., p. 79; and Douglas Knight shows how the imagery drawn from marine life helps to convey the nature of Milton's hierarchal plan, op.cit., p. 53.

22 By imagery here is meant "all situations large and small that have a bearing on the creative act." William F. Lynch, Christ and Apollo, New York, Sheed and Ward, 1960, p. 6. In this sense the key terms and patterns are also a part of Milton's imagery. A distinction is made above because of the importance of the key terms and patterns in this thesis. For various uses of the term "image" see: Caroline F. Spurgeon, Shakespeare's Imagery and What It Tells Us, pp. 5-11; Stephen J. Brown, The World of Imagery, London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1927, pp. 17-18; I.A. Richards, The Philosophy of Rhetoric, New York, 1936, pp. 94-95. For the relationship of the image to myth see: Herbert Musurillo, Symbol and Myth, New York, Fordham University Press, 1961, pp. 22-24; and C.C. Jung, Two Essays on Analytical Psychology, New York, Meridian Book, 1956, especially pp. 75-170.
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The first chapter of this thesis is concerned with the establishment in Books I and II of the particular meaning of certain words which have a key importance to the theme of order in "Paradise Lost". These words are: "high", "tower", "gold", "alone", "light", "seem", "vain", "ear", "all" and "grace". It is shown that Milton's approach to order in the first two books is primarily negative. He stresses not so much the divine order as the inability of man, without the "celestial light", to distinguish between the order of God and the order of Satan.

In the second chapter it is seen that Milton begins to unfold God's plan for the universe, with the Son of God — the model for all creatures. Here emphasis is laid upon the particular genius of the poet in using certain key terms in a pattern of paradoxes to present the relationship of the Son to the hierarchal order.

The next chapter is a study of the contrast between the Son of God and Satan as revealed through one image found in Book IV. Here it is shown: (1) that the sun which acts in accord with God's order is a symbol of the heavenly Son, (2) that the sun is also a symbol of the innate dignity which divine Providence has bestowed, in the natural order, upon Satan, and (3) that the sun in its communicative relationship with mother earth, precisely defines the evil of Satan — his aloneness, his cutting himself off from his role in creation.

Chapter Four centers around Raphael's "degree" speech wherein Milton emphasizes the organic unity of all creation through the analogy of the plant. A brief comparison and contrast is made between
Raphael's speech and a similar passage in Shakespeare. The main images considered in this chapter are those of the dew and the pearl.

Satan's charge that God is supreme only because of his military superiority, might have involved Milton in a cold, dialectical debate. However, in Chapter Five it is shown that Milton's answer to Satan and to those who stand for the forces of disorder, is skillfully revealed through the nature of God's creation. A special emphasis is placed upon the role of Milton as prophet-poet in God's plan.

Stress is placed in Chapter Six on the harmonious order which God has established in relation to: (1) revelation and worship, (2) man and woman, and (3) man and creation. This chapter shows how Milton brings out the innate goodness of nature; as well as a certain capacity for disorder.

One of Milton's simplest and most effective images is found in the opening of Book IX. It is the image of the "rural repast", which sums up the communal harmony existing between Adam and heaven before the fall. Milton's use of this image, contrasting it with the imagery of a "barren banquet" is the subject of Chapter Seven. In this chapter a special emphasis is placed upon the comparison between Eve and Satan. Their sins are, in many respects, the same - the desire to be "alone" to cut themselves off from the communal harmony.

The last chapter of this thesis is concerned with the problem of grace. Here an attempt is made to answer those critics who charge Milton with carelessness in depicting the Deity. It is shown that God's reaction to Adam's repentance is in accord with Christian teaching, that man can sin by his own free will but that he requires God's grace in
order to repent. It is also shown that Milton's God is not an unreasonable tyrant, that his love for man far exceeds his desire for punishment. This chapter concludes by emphasizing that all things in God's order are under His Divine Providence.

It is hoped that this thesis will not only contribute something to the understanding of Milton's concept of order but also help to clarify some of the false conclusions drawn by critics with regard to "Paradise Lost".
CHAPTER ONE

BOOKS I AND II: ESTABLISHING POETIC MEANING OF KEY TERMS

In poetry a word may be seen as having two special meanings: (1) the meaning of the word as understood in general by contemporaries of the poet, and (2) the meaning of the word as understood in the specific context of the poem. It is through this latter meaning that the poet as creator is able to transcend his world of finite, sensible apprehension, and soar towards a new world of infinite, spiritual vision. The subject of this chapter will be the establishment in Books I and II of the particular meaning of certain words which have a key importance to the theme of order in "Paradise Lost". These words are: "high", "tower", "gold", "alone", "light", "seem", "vain", "ear", "all", and "grace".

In spite of the fact that John Milton following the epic convention begins "ParadiseLost" somewhat in the middle of the story, 1 One of the most important modern studies on this subject is found in I.A. Richards, Principles of Literary Criticism, London, Oxford University Press, 1925, pp. 1-224; the problem of interpreting a word's meaning is presented by Northrop Frye, "Levels of Meaning in Literature", in Kenyon Review, xii, Spring 1950, pp. 246-262.

Books I and II actually mark the beginning of the poem, that is, the beginning of the use of words to achieve the poet's specific meaning, a meaning which can be found only in the poem as a totality. To determine this meaning it is necessary to consider the use of the above-mentioned key words (1) according to the number of times which they are used in these two books; (2) according to the number of times which they are used in the poem as a whole; and (3) according to the context in which these words occur in Books I and II. This chapter will not consider the final poetic meaning of these words, as this will be the subject of later chapters. A specific emphasis, however, will be given here to the word "high", because of its importance in establishing the general theme of order.

In Book I the word "high" is used twenty-one times - eight in a general relationship to God and heaven, twelve in relationship to Satan and one in relationship to Adam. However, as these statistics stand they may be not only somewhat irrelevant but also dangerously misleading, for a study of the content reveals that in all incidents where the term is used it applies not to one specific character but to all characters, and not only to God and His heaven, Satan and his hell, Adam and his earth but also to the poet as well and his task of justifying the ways of God to man (26).3

3 Because of the large number of quotations in this thesis from "Paradise Lost" the line reference will be placed at the end of the quotation. The particular book reference will either be indicated or found in the general context. All references from the epic are taken from: John Milton Paradise Lost, ed. by Merritt Y. Hughes, New York, The Odyssey Press, 1935.
The first use of the term found in the line: "That to the highth of this great Argument / I may assert Eternal Providence" (24-25) obviously unites the poet in his aspiration to the mind of God. In the light of what follows, however, there is also a certain identification between the poet's metaphorical flight and Satan's disordered ambition. Milton reveals his awareness of this incongruous identification when in Book VII he writes:

Up led by thee
Into the Heav'n of Heav'ns I have presum'd
An Earthly Guest, and drawn Empyreal Air,
Thy temp'ring; with like safety guided down
Return to my Native Element:
Lest from this flying Steed unrein'd, (as once
Bellerophon, though from a lower Clime)
Dismounted, on the Aleian Field I fall
Erroneous there to wander and forlorn (12-19).4

The word "highth" also links the poet, and through the poet, all men to Adam and Eve in their violation of the order of knowledge symbolized by their eating of the fruit. It is to be noted, too, that the first form of the word "high" adds a concept of measurement, degree or order, thus preparing for the meaning of the word "Disobedience" (1) as it applies to Satan and to man, as a violation of a creature's level, degree, or order.

The second use of "high" is found in the reference to man's fall: "what cause / Mov'd our Grand Parents in that happy State, /
Favour'd of Heav'n so highly to fall off..." (28-30). It serves to emphasize the subject of Milton's theme, man, and the parallel which is to be drawn between man's later fall and the fall of Satan which the poet pictures in the succeeding lines.

A norm is then presented in the third use of this term: "He trusted to have equall'd the most high" (40). This norm establishes the basis of all order in "Paradise Lost": God alone is and can be supreme. The corollary of this norm is that sin, especially Satan's sin, is in a certain sense an attempt to equal "the most High", to play the role of God, violating the "high permission of all-ruling Heaven" (212).

The dramatization of this corollory is primarily enacted in Book II which presents the kingdom of hell in opposition to the

5 Of course Milton is obviously repeating the traditional axiom of Christianity. This does not mean, however, that Milton is merely parroting the catechism. At first glance Milton seems to be saying what John Donne expresses in a Christmas sermon: "God alone is all; not only all that is, but all that is not, all that might be, he would have it be." But there is a great difference between the conclusions of John Donne and those of Milton. Donne continues: "God is too large, too immense, and then man is too narrow, too little to be considered; for, who can fix his eye upon an atom, that sees man, for man is nothing." The Complete Poetry and Selected Prose of John Donne, ed. by Charles M. Coffin, New York, Modern Library, 1952, p. 572. For Milton man is not "nothing", nor is Satan, but both are seen as concrete images of God. The over-emphasis by some critics of the grandeur of Satan may be seen, then, as an indirect praise of Milton's God.

6 The attempt of Satan to mimic the role of God is made plain by Milton and will be stressed in this thesis. A difficulty arises with the sin of Adam. While Satan stresses "ye shall be as Gods" (IX, 706, 710) it is difficult to see Adam's sin as an attempt to play
The opening line which establishes the blocking for the Devil begins with the accentuation of the word "high": "High on a Throne of Royal State..." (1) which parallels the later blocking of God: "High Thron'd above all highth" (III,58). The nature of Satan's violation of his ordained height is conveyed by the repetition of the words "high" and "beyond":

Satan exalted sat, by merit rais'd
To that bad eminence; and from despair
Thus high uplifted beyond hope, aspires
Beyond thus high, insatiate to pursue
Vain...

(II,5-9).

The use of the phrase "by merit rais'd" both continues the theme of Satan's free will, seen in such lines as "that fixt mind / And high disdain, from sense of injur'd merit" (I,97-98) and "free choice ... achiev'd of merit" (II,18-21), and sets the stage for the opposition between Satan and the Son of God "who by right of merit Reigns (VI,43)


7 Along with the word "high" there are, of course, numerous other expressions which serve to contrast the kingdom of hell with that of heaven: the turmoil of hell versus the calm of heaven, the dead rivers versus the living water, the darkness wherein "all life dies, death lives and nature breeds / Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things " (II,624-625), versus the "celestial light" (I,245) of heaven, etc.
and "By Merit ... Far more than Great or High" (III, 309-311). This opposition which is conveyed through a high-low, low-high pattern will be treated more fully in the next chapter.

Another variation of this theme of "high" is seen in the devils' psychological preoccupation with the term. Satan with his own problem of the hierarchy of order in hell, and the other devils with the high position of God. Satan ironically pretends that hell is the solution to the problem of inequality; he states:

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... (23-27)

But all are not as content with their state as might appear. Satan, who has refused to attribute to God in heaven the dignity of his state, has insured his own pre-eminence in hell by means of subterfuge, predetermining, with the aid of Beelzebub, the outcome of the debate, and though the other devils appear well-adjusted, nevertheless, each speaker employs all of his rhetorical skill to win that his authority might be given greater prominence. But all their efforts are in vain not only because of the plan of Satan but also because of the established order of God. Milton skillfully constructs around this ironic appearance of order in hell a background of God's fear-instilling supremacy: Moloch fears the height of God's tower (62);

8 M.Y. Hughes stresses the fact that the emphasis upon Satan's merit invests him with tragic qualities, op. cit., p. 12.

Belial fears the height of God's vision: "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 highth" (188-190); Beelzebub, "whom / Satan except, none higher sat" (299-300) is preoccupied with "Heav'n's high jurisdiction" (319), with heaven's "high walls" (343), with "Heav'n's high Arbitrator" (359). The cycle of irony is completed as Milton pointedly turns back to Satan who is described as "rais'd / Above his fellows, with Monarchial pride / Conscious of highest worth" (427-429).

A great poet such as Milton can shape the meaning of his words in many ways, by the rhythm of his verse, by the particular context, by the contrasting situations, by the similes and metaphors in which the word is found, etc. Milton uses all of these devices to give the word "high" new meanings, or more exactly, an amplification of meaning. An example of this may be seen in the famed epic simile describing the devils:

Thick as Autumnal Leaves that strow the Brooks
In Vallombrosa, where th'Etrurian shades
High overarch't imbow'ring, or scatter'd sedge
Afloat, when with fierce Winds Orion arm'd
Hath vext the Red-Sea Coast, whose waves O'erthrew
Busiris and his Memphian Chivalry,
While with perfidious hatred they pursu'd
The Sojourners of Goshen, who beheld
From the safe shore thir floating Carcasses
And broken Chariot Wheels ...

(I,302-313)

It might be noted that the word "high" is not here something superimposed but grows out of the very context of the simile. Its use,

however, in a setting combining the contemporary and the biblical brings out further the meaning of God's high rule as well as the meaning of disobedience. Combined with "overarch'd" the expression serves to foreshadow the symbol, "Golden compasses" (VII,225), and the image of order, revealed in creation through the simple pastoral sketch of "the Swan with Arched neck / Between her white wings mantling proudly..." (VII,438-439). This concept of order as a circle and the degree of order as various arches will be seen in a later chapter.

One important result of the study of the word "high" is that it reveals a pattern of the defeat of Satan versus the triumph of God and, running parallel with this, a pattern of the proportioned rise of man. These patterns will not become evident until later chapters. It might be noted here, however, that in Books I and II when Satan is seen in his glory the term "high", which is used forty-eight times altogether, is used twenty-nine times in reference to Satan, but only eighteen times in reference to God and only once in reference to man; in Books III and IV there is an almost equal use of the term in reference to God, Satan and man; in Books V to X the term is used seven times more often in reference to God than in reference to Satan; and in Books XI and XII the term is used exclusively in reference to God and to man.

11 Rose Tuve makes an important distinction in Milton's imagery between the words "provide" and "follow": "One is only warned not to put "good" and "bad" beside any object or quality and then follow some pattern of symbols, but rather watch the symbols infallibly develop before us complexities we had not suspected, in a pattern which they do not provide, but follow." op. cit., p. 153.

12 Charts may be found in the appendix to indicate both the number of times the key terms referred to in this thesis are used by Milton and the line wherein the terms are located.
Again, of course, the number of times a term is used in reference to God or Satan or man means very little when abstracted from the context in which it is employed. The context in which the word is employed will be seen to reveal far better than statistics the meaning of God's triumph. For example, in Books I and II when the term is used in reference to God it is used most frequently by Satan and carries an overtone of mockery against God: "But ever to do ill our sole delight,/As being contrary to his high will" (I,160-161); "let us ... O'er heav'n's high tower to force resistless way / Turning our Tortures ... Against the Torturer" (I,60-64) etc. But at the end of the epic the term is used as part of a hymn of praise to God for his goodness and mercy:

O Prophet of glad tidings, finisher
Of utmost hope! now clear I understand
What oft my steadiest thoughts have searcht in vain
Why our great expectation should be call'd
The seed of Woman: Virgin Mother, Hail,
High in the love of Heav'n, yet from my Loins
Thou shalt proceed, and from thy Womb the Son
Of God most high; So God with man unites.
Needs must the Serpent now his capital bruise
Expect with mortal pain: say where and when
This fight, what stroke shall bruise the Victor's heel

(375-385).

As already indicated, this thesis does not propose to deal with all the expressions in "Paradise Lost" which are pertinent to Milton's concept of order, but only with certain key words, patterns, and images. Another word which it is important to consider because of its general relationship to the meaning of the epic as a whole is the word "tower". It

13 Milton is especially fond of the use of this word. In "A Free Commonwealth" he writes: "And what will they at best say of us,
occurs eight times in Books I and II, five times in Book I with reference to Satan and three times in Book II with reference to God and eighteen times in the epic as a whole.

Although the term may appear at first to be merely a connotation of the term "high", nevertheless, it plays a vital role in amplifying Milton's concept of order as well as concretely manifesting the nature of the conflict between good and evil. The first time the term is used it qualifies the innate dignity of Satan's degree in the hierarchy of order. Though ruined by sin Satan is still an "Arch angel":

\begin{quote}
he above the rest
In shape and gesture proudly eminent
Stood like a Tow'rin; 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 ris'n
Looks through the Horizontal misty Air
Shorn of his Beams... (589-596)
\end{quote}

The key to how Satan violates his degree is found in the epic simile pertaining to the sun and in the inference to the tower of Babel (694), both of which will be considered in detail in a later chapter.

and of the whole English name, but scoffingly as of that foolish builder mentioned by our Saviour, who began to build a tower, and was not able to finish it? Where is this goodly tower of a commonwealth, which the English boasted they would build to overshadow kings, and be another Rome in the west? The foundation indeed they laid gallantly, but fell into a worse confusion, not of tongues, but of factions, than those at the tower of Babel." The Student's Milton, ed. by Frank Allen Patterson, New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1933, p. 902. See also, "Of Reformation in England", ibid, p. 443; also, "Of Prelatical Episcopy", ibid, p. 469.

14 Commenting on this passage Broadbent states: "Satan's glory is derivative, inhering in the ikons that clutter him as much as in personality. Sun, moon, star, cloud, storm, vulture, Wolf lending him vitality and virility, but any admiration we have for Satan on their
The second and third use of the tower image reveal its direct relationship to the hierarchal order. Mulciber who once built towers in heaven where "Scepter'd Angels" (734) ruled "Each in his Hierarchy" (737), is now continuing his labours to beautify hell. Milton here stresses the natural relationship between the architect and his creation, thus preparing for the natural relationship that should exist between the supreme "Architect" and the whole of creation:

The vast multitude
Admiring enter'd, and the work some praise
And some the Architect: his hand was known
In Heav'n by many a Tow'red structure high
Where Scepter'd Angels held thir residence,
And sat as Princes, whom the supreme King
Exalted to such power and gave to rule,
Each in his Hierarchy, the Orders bright (730-737).

nor aught avail'd him now
To have build in Heav'n high Tow'rs... (730-749)

From the above quotation two important facts pertinent to the hierarchal order may be seen: (1) Mulciber is, in a sense, a type of God and of all rational creatures; and (2) the tower is a symbol of the thing, created.

account must rely more on our own symbolic valuation of them than Milton's... The tower is left merely towering; the sun, rising with the rhythm, is unexpectedly strained through fog, its strength lost like Samson's. So each chink of splendor is shuttered, each surge of vitality arrested before reaching the fullness traditionally endowing an epic here - a fullness seen as uninhibited lustre in the poem's Son. Yet the repression is not external: it is a natural change of state in the phenomenal ikons." op.cit., pp. 72-73.

15 Milton here expresses poetically what St. Thomas expresses theologically when he writes: "Sin is a human act gone bad: a "human act" because voluntary, either elicited by the will, for instance, wishing and choosing, or commanded by the will, for instance, speaking or doing some outward deed; "bad" because lacking due measure. Measurement is by conformity to a rule; what does not fit is out of the true and therefore wrong. The rule for human acts is twofold, one proximate and of a piece with man, namely his conscience, the other ultimate,
Mülciber is a type of God in that both are makers. In Books I and II God is referred to as "Creator" (I,31;II,385) and "Maker" (I,486) and in Book III he is called "Universal Maker" (676); it is not, however, until Books IV and V that these names are stressed when God is called "Maker" (IV,380), "Maker Omnipotent" (728), "Our Maker" (748), "Heav'n Maker" (V,148,184,551,858), as well as "Creator" (IV,684) "Sovran Planter" (691), "Architect" (V,256). All together the creative attribute of God is repeated over sixty times in Books III, IV and V.

One importance of the above observation is that it helps to unfold another pattern of movement from disorder existing in reality (that is in Mulciber as architect) to order existing in the ideal plan of reality (that is, in the actuality of God's supremacy as creator). But there is another and more important truth revealed in this comparison of Mulciber and God as makers, and it is one of the basic principles of the hierarchal order. This is: that the relationship between God and creatures is not founded merely on the relationship between superior and inferior but upon a relationship of a degree of being. This Raphael later amplifies when he stresses the similarity between God, angels and men - the difference exists not in different natures but in different perfections of the same nature, in different degrees of perfection in the order of being (V,469-503).

As a symbol of the thing created, the tower stands for both
the proper honour which may be attributed to the creator when his acts
conform to the plan of God and the warning that the creative act is
only meritorious when linked with the eternal plan of God. So it is
that Milton says of Mulciber: "nor aught avail'd him now, / To have
built in Heav'n high towers" (748-749).

It is interesting to note that while in Book I all references
to the "tower" are directed to Satan and the devils, in Book II all
references to the "tower" are directed to God and heaven: "O'er Heav'n's
high Tow'rs to force resistless way" (62); "the Tow'rs of Heav'n are
fill'd / With Armed watch, that render all access / Impregnable" (129);
and "With Opal Tow'rs and Battlement adorn'd / Of living Sapphire, once
his native Seat: / And fast by hanging in a golden Chain / This pendant
world" (1049-1052). Obviously the "tower" represents an obstacle to
Satan's victory. But how? And what is its relationship to the "golden
Chain"? Milton reveals the answers later in the epic.

Part of the answer, however, may be found in the meaning of

16 This theme is also stressed by Milton when he writes in
"Sonnet XIX":

"God doth not need
Either man's work or his own gifts; who best
Bear his mild yoke, they serve him best; his State
Is Kingly. Thousands at his bidding speed
And post o'er Land and Ocean without rest:
They also serve who only stand and wait."


17 Hughes notes the reference of the "golden Chain" in the
Iliad whereby Zeus controlled the gods, in Plato's "Theaetetus", and
in Chaucer's "Knight's Tale" and notes that the chain symbolizes both
the physical and the moral bonds by which the universe is tied together.
John Milton, Paradise Lost, p. 73.
other key expressions such as "alone", "gold", "light" and "seem" which may appear at first to have no vital function in the epic but which actually contain an important insight into Milton's concept of order.

Like the words "High" and "tower", the words "gold", "alone" and "light" appear to be used almost indiscriminately in the first books with reference to both God and Satan.

The first two references to the word "gold" serve to identify somewhat the terrain of heaven with the terrain of hell. Mephisto who is said to have admired "Heav'n's pavement trod'd in Gold" (I, 683) more than he enjoyed the "vision beatific" (684), has his crew in hell dig out "ribs of Gold" (690). The poet applies a meaning to the incident in his warnings:

Let none admire
That riches grow in Hell; that soil may best
Deserve the precious bane. And here let those
Who boast in mortal things, and wond'ring tell
Of Babel, and the works of Memphian Kings,
Learn how thir greatest Monuments of Fame
And Strength and Art are easily outdone
By Spirits reprobate, and in an hour
What in an age they with incessant toil
And hands, innumerable scarce perform (690-699).

Milton is not condemning gold or riches as the oxymoron might seem to indicate. What he is attempting to show is that material wealth, position, fame are not in themselves indicative of goodness. He stresses this point by surrounding Satan with buildings whose pillars and roof are made of gold (II, 4), and by placing him on a throne of gold (II, 4). Gold is used, however, as a symbol of God's friendship with the elect: "with Iron Sceptre rule / Us here, as with his Golden those in Heav'n" (II, 327-328). This is repeated in Abdiel's warning to Satan: "That Golden Sceptre which thou didst reject / Is now an Iron Rod to bruise and break / Thy disobedience" (V, 886-888).
While Milton is obviously employing the language of scripture, the word "gold" used primarily in Books I and II with reference to Satan follows the pattern of: (1) the progression of Satan from his apparent triumph to his final discomfiture, and (2) the progression of God from his apparent discomfiture to his final triumph. But it has a more important function than this in revealing the dependence of creatures upon the light of God's wisdom. This will be more evident in later chapters.

To help reveal this necessity of God's light, Milton establishes a contrast between the light which formerly surrounded Satan and the light which perpetually surrounds God. Satan is enclosed in "one great Furnace ... yet from those flames / No light, but rather darkness visible" (1,62-63); a "seat of desolation, void of light" (181); his

18 The reference to the "rod of iron" may be found in Psalms 2, 9: "Ask of me, and I shall give thee the heathen for thine inheritance, and the uttermost part of the earth for thy possessions. Thou shalt break them with the rod of iron, thou shalt dash them in pieces like a potter's vessel." Numerous references to gold referring to good and evil may be found in scriptures. See: Genesis 2:11; Psalms 19:10; Exodus 20: 21; Deuteronomy 8:13; Proverbs 16:16 etc. W.M. Clow indicates that there are six different Hebrew words for gold, besides various qualifying terms prefixed to zahab. "These names ... testify to the high position of esteem it occupied." The Bible Reader's Encyclopaedia and Concordance, ed. by W.M. Clow, London, Collin's Clear-Type Press, n.d., p. 168. St. Thomas commenting on the words of St. Paul: "If any man build upon this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble, every man's work shall be made manifest" (1 Corinthians, 3:12-13) states: "We can take earthly things in three ways. First, we can make them our last end, and this is grave sin, for thus the foundations of our true life are not built on, but ruined. Secondly, by taking them for the glory of God, and this is to build on gold, silver and precious stones. Thirdly, by pinning ourselves to them more than we should, yet without making them our last end, or taking them against God, this is venial sin, which is compared to wood, hay, or stubble, according to the strength of its desires." Commentary, 1 Corinthians, iii, lect.2. Translator already noted. Unless otherwise stated, all direct references to the Bible are taken from "The Authorized or King James Version".

19 An interesting study of Milton's use of light and darkness may be found in "The Light Symbolism in L'Allegro-Il Penseroso"
prison is "far remov'd from God and light of Heav'n" (73) he sees Beelzebub's ruin in terms of light: "O how fall'n how chang'd / From him, who in the happy Realms of light: "Oloth'd with transcendent brightness didst outshine / Myriads though bright" (84-87) and visions the whole of hell as the loss of light:

Is this the Region, this the Soil, the Clime, Said then the lost Arch-Angel, this the seat That we must change for Heav'n, this mournful gloom For that celestial light? (242-245)

Here the absence of physical light is a manifestation of the absence of spiritual light. What this spiritual light is and its relationship to Milton's concept of order may be learned only from a study of "Paradise Lost" as a whole. There are, however, certain passages in Books I and II which provide a partial, though negative, definition of spiritual light. These passages centre around an emphasis on Satan's aloneness.

The word "sole" or "alone" which plays a key role in the epic is used twice with respect to God and five times with respect to Satan. Satan refers to God in the words "Sole reigning holds the Tyranny of Heav'n" (I,126) and Beelzebub states: "be sure, / In hight or depth, still first and last will Reign / Sole King" (II,324-325). But there is a difference between God's "soleness" and Satan's "aloneness" wherein there is implied a divorce from the communal or the hierarchal order of perfection. God's attribute is primarily positive, Satan's

primarily negative. Satan states: "To do aught good never will be our task / But ever to do ill our sole delight" (I,159-160). Stress is placed on Satan's aloneness in the lines: "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" (II,423-426) and it is not without purpose that Milton combines the two expressions of "alone" and "light" when Satan states "I come ... Wand'ring this darksome Desert, as my way / Lies through your spacious Empire up to light / Alone and without guide, half lost..." (970-975).

The correlation of Satan's absence of light and his aloneness is perhaps best revealed through two passages in Books I. The first follows his lament of the loss of "celestial light" (245) - a loss which is manifested in his reasoning process: "The mind is its own place, and in itself / Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n... Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heav'n." (254-263); the second passage follows the description of Satan who "Stood like a Tow'rr":

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{his form had yet not lost} \\
&\text{All her Original brightness, nor appear'd} \\
&\text{Less then Arch Angel ruin'd, and the excess} \\
&\text{Of glory obscur'd: As when the Sun new ris'n} \\
&\text{Looks through the Horizontal misty Air} \\
&\text{Shorn of his Beams, or from behind the Moon} \\
&\text{In dim Eclipse disastrous twilight sheds} \\
&\text{On half the nations and with fear of change} \\
&\text{Perplexes Monarchs...} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(591-600).

The identification of the fallen angel with the sun "Shorn of his Beams" has a four-fold purpose: (1) it attributes to Satan's aloneness the concept of sterility; (2) it expresses his violation against God's hierarchal order in terms of non-communicativeness or non-fructification; (3) it prepares for the elaboration of this idea as found in
Book IV, 28-110; and (4) it serves as a dramatization of the theme of appearance versus reality which has already been alluded to in the identification of the terms "high", "gold", "tower" and "alone" with both God and Satan. This theme of appearance versus reality is further expressed through the use of the term "seem".

Before commenting on the function of the term "seem" in Books I and II it is worthwhile considering Milton's concept of religion as revealed in "A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes." Milton writes:

It will require no great labor of exposition to unfold what is meant by matters of religion; being as soon apprehended as defined, such things as belong chiefly to the knowledge and service of God; and are either above the reach and light of nature without revelation from above, and therefore liable to be variously understood by human reason, or such things as are enjoined or forbidden by divine precepts, which else by the light of reason would seem indifferent to be done or not done; and so likewise must needs appear to every man as the precept is understood. Whence I mean here by conscience or religion that full persuasion, whereby we are assured, that our belief and practice, as far as we are able to apprehend and probably make appear, is according to the will of God and His Holy Spirit within us, which we ought to follow much rather than any law of man...

What Milton emphasizes here is that man cannot understand the order of goodness or the will of God except by a "divine illumination". What he states dogmatically in his prose he often dramatizes poetically in his epic. How Milton dramatizes poetically the necessity of divine illumination has already been partially inferred, that is, by applying...
similar terms to both God and Satan. Another method is through the use of the term "seem".

In these two books "seem" is used only six times, and always in relation to Satan. It expresses the opposition between the appearance of good versus the reality of evil, an opposition which may be seen to exist in four divisions involving both the macrocosm and the microcosm: (1) in a universal society, (2) in a particular part of society, (3) in political life, and (4) in domestic life. In the first reference Milton stresses the apparent splendor of pandemonium and adds:

So thick the aery crowd
Swarm'd and were strait'n'd; till the Signal giv'n
Behold a wonder! they but now who seem'd
In bigness to surpass Earth's Giant Sons
Now less than smallest Dwarfs ... (I,775-779)

Emphasizing the appearance of good in this particular region Belial states: "what when we fled amain, pursu'd and strook / With Heav'n's afflicting Thunder, and besought / The Deep to shelter us? this Hell then seem'd / A refuge" (II,165-168). Milton describes the seeming virtue of the politicians Belial and Beelzebub in the lines:

On th' other side up rose
Belial, in act more graceful and human
A fairer person lost not Heav'n; he seem'd
For dignity composit'd and high exploit:
But all was false and hollow; though his Tongue
Dropt Manna, and could make the worse appear
The better reason ...

(108-114)

and:

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

(299-302).

In the domestic world Milton paints the semblance of bliss as Satan
concludes his discourse with his daughter Sin and his son Death: "He ceas'd for both seem'd highly pleas'd and Death / Grinn'd horrible a ghastly smile"\(^{22}\) (845-846). In reply Sin looks forward to the "new world" where she will occupy the same position as the Son of God (III, 63):

\[
\text{thou wilt bring me soon} \\
\text{To that new world of light and bliss, among} \\
\text{The Gods who live at ease, where I shall Reign} \\
\text{At thy right hand voluptuous, as beseems} \\
\text{Thy daughter and thy darling without end} \\
\text{(866-870).}
\]

Milton not only establishes a parallel between the environment of heaven and the environment of hell, he also establishes what "seems" to be a parallel between the Holy and the diabolical Trinity. How is man to distinguish between the real and the seeming? The answer is yet to come. What Milton stresses for the most part in these two books through the key terms pertinent to order is the inability of man without the "celestial light" to make a distinction— to see beyond the seeming.

This emphasis upon the negative is stressed through the term "vain" which is found some nine times in Books I and II: "vain attempts" (I,44), "motions vain" (II,191), "the former vain to hope argues as vain / The latter" (234-235), "vain wisdom" (565) etc. And why "vain wisdom"?

A negative approach is again presented in the use of the image of the "ear". This expression which is repeated later in the epic to

\(^{22}\) It is important to remember here Satan's evaluation of his children: "thou call'st / Me Father, and that Phantasm call'st me Son? / I know thee not, nor ever saw till now / Sight more detestable than him and thee" (743-745) and "Grim Death ... me his Parent would full soon devour / For want of other prey" (804-806).
describe an ideally-ordered relationship between God and the angels, God and man, the angels and man, and man and woman is used here some four times, but only in reference to the disorder of Satan.

There may be discerned in Books I and II, however, certain terms which reveal a positive aspect of God's order. These terms are "all" and "grace". The word "all" which is used six hundred and ninety times in the entire epic to reveal primarily the universality of God's order is interspersed through these earlier books ninety-seven times and the word "grace" is found some six times. What their relationship is to God's order Milton leaves to later books.

It is not until the next book that these key terms are used to reveal something of the "celestial light", something of the order which God has established from all creation. And Milton reveals this in Book III through a pattern of paradoxes.
The first chapter of this thesis was concerned with introducing certain words which have a key function in Milton's concept of the order which God has established for all creatures. It was established that his approach to order in Books I and II was primarily negative in that he emphasized not so much the characteristics of order as those of disorder embodied in the person of Satan.

In Book III, however, Milton begins to construct a positive concept of God's plan. His particular genius in using certain key terms and patterns in his presentation of the perfect model of order, the Son of God, (the antithesis of Satan) will be the subject of this chapter. Here, two important facts, which will become evident in what follows, should be stressed: (1) however unorthodox many of Milton's ideas might appear, those concerning the role of the Son of God are for the most part in agreement with Christian tradition; and (2) the images which the poet uses in reference to the Son are not in themselves new but are to be found in almost any of the writings of the great Christian apologists. On this point Rose Tuve writes:

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1 The Rev. R.J. McCarthy in his analysis of Milton's theology states: "Milton's view on the nature and personality of the Redeemer, though on many points not identical ... with Christian teaching, at least parallels it." "Some Theological Aspects of Paradise Lost", unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Western Ontario, London, 1933. p. 117. For a brief but sensible evaluation of modern critics on Milton's theology see: C.S. Lewis, "The Theology of Paradise Lost", op. cit., pp. 82-93. Lewis states: "In so far as "Paradise Lost" is Augustinian and Hierarchical it is also Catholic in the sense of basing its poetry on conceptions that have been held 'always and everywhere by all' ... any criticism which forces heretical elements into the foreground is
Milton chose no temporary, culture-bound symbols; he wrote in figures that had held men's feelings and their conceptions of good and evil for two thousand years, or in images that presented simplest desires and primary humane ideals, or in symbols that spoke through one of the world's great religions, of mysteries and needs that all religions speak of.2

A problem then arises. If Milton's ideas concerning the Son,3 and the images and symbols which he employs in reference to the Son, are not, for the most part, new, wherein lay the genius of Milton? This problem, which is concerned with Milton primarily as a poet and not primarily as a theologian, philosopher, scientist, should be the main concern of critics.4 It will be the main concern of this chapter, and of this thesis.

In his presentation of the Son, Milton begins with an established tradition5 found partially in the Old Testament but mainly mistaken, and ignores the fact that this poem was accepted as orthodox by many generations of acute readers well grounded in theology.6 See also Arthur Sewell, A Study in Milton's Christian Doctrine, London, Oxford University Press, 1939.

2 Rose Tuve, op.cit., p. 9.
3 This also applies to Milton's other ideas derived from biblical writers, Plato, Homer, Ovid, St. Augustine, the Neo-Platonists, etc.
4 This statement is in no way an attempt to disparage sound scholarship found in such critics as H.J.C. Grierson, op.cit., Basil Willey, The Seventeenth Century Background, New York, Doubleday, 1955, Merrit Y. Hughes, op.cit., etc. For an interesting debate on the values of "new" criticism versus "historical" criticism see: Cleanth Brooks, "Milton and Critical Re-estimates" and A.S.P. Woodhouse "The Historical Criticism of Milton", PHA, vol. LXVI, 1951, pp. 1045-1054 and 1033-1044.
5 There is also another tradition which Milton follows: that of the epic hero and protagonist, wherein the Son is seen to parallel,
in the New Testament and in its commentaries written by the Fathers of the Church. This tradition may be summarized in the statement that the life of Christ is the dramatization of a paradox: that is, his life is the dramatization of the truths that the poor shall be rich, the last shall be first, the dead shall live. Born of a virgin, Christ becomes the lowliest of men and yet is exalted above all men; he fails and yet each failure is a march of triumph up Jacob's ladder to his eternal glory; he dies and yet his death is his life and the life of all men. This is the meaning of the light that "shineth in the darkness", that light that must illumine the minds and hearts of all men who are to find true freedom, true happiness through their harmonious union with God's hierarchical order.

The genius of Milton in Book III is not so much that he conveys this truth, this paradox, though this in itself is a just achievement, but that he is able to create within the epic and in harmony with the epic as a whole, a structural form consisting of terms, images, and movement in perfect conformity to the idea.

The poet begins with an invocation to light, which he identifies with the Son of God, with God himself and with the act in many respects, Achilles and Aeneas, and it is in comparison and contrast to their physical and spiritual heroics that the Son should be seen to determine his uniqueness. This chapter is more concerned with the contrast between the Son and the traditional epic hero.

6 St. John 1,5.

7 Grierson's definition of a great poem is worth considering: "A great poem is not simply the expression in verse of a poet's articulate thought. It is something much more complex. It is the reflection, the embodiment in a form adequate to communicate it with
BOOK III: A PATTERN OF PARADOXES

of creation. (7-12). Milton uses the paradox of the blind seer (35-37) to show concretely that this light is not to be identified with the unaided sight of man's eyes but that it far transcends man's human faculties. It is toward this "Celestial light" that the poet aspires:

So much the rather 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. (51-55)

Milton now demonstrates dramatically that man cannot see the "Celestial light" by his mere eyes: he pictures God in the same dramatic blocking as given to Satan in Book II: "High Thron'd above all hight," (III,58) which parallels the description of Satan "High on a Throne of Royal State" (II,1). How then, can man distinguish between God and Satan? How can man possess the true light? Milton does not answer this immediately; rather, he stresses the capability of man to turn either toward the light or toward darkness. He presents an image of mankind "reaping immortal fruits of joy and love / Uninterrupted joy, unrivall'd love" (III,67-68), and immediately he gives a contrasting picture of Satan and his hell (70). The essence of Satan's evil is imaged in his "wearied wings" - he aspires too high. Milton stresses, in a didactic manner, that the ability to do evil springs
delight to himself and to his audience, of the interaction of thought and feeling, the whole complex web of personality." H.J.C. Grierson, op.cit., p. 251.

8 This "didactic" approach in no way lessens Milton's art. Two points must be kept in mind here: (1) Milton looked on poetry, as did Dryden, as being "for the delight and instruction of mankind". John Dryden, "An Essay on Dramatic Poesy", The Great Critics, ed. by J.H. Smith and E.W. Parks, New York, Norton & Co., 1951, p. 310;
from a gift of God, "free will". God says of Satan and the devils:

I made him just and right
Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall
Such I created all the Ethereal Powers
And spirits both them who stood and them who fail'd;
Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell.

Concerning this section of the epic, Hanford writes:

The celestial dialogue which follows is an exposition, dignified but cold, of the theological scheme. With such pure didactic material Milton, as a poet, can do little. His visual imagination is in abeyance, and his verse for the first time loses its compelling power. The intense spirituality, moreover, which pervades Dante's thorniest statements of pure doctrine in the 'Paradise', is entirely lacking in him. He knows, in fact, only a moral Paradise, and is a stranger to the ecstasies of a mystical Heaven.

While this analysis may be exact in so far as it goes, nevertheless, there is a certain pattern of dramatic tension even in this

and (2) Milton was acutely aware of the consequences of Luther's doctrine against free will. Luther wrote: "if we believe it to be true that God foreknows and foreordains all things...then, even according to the testimony of reason herself, there can be no free will in man, or in any creature! Martin Luther "The Bondage of the Will", Renaissance Reader, ed. by J.B. Ross and M. McLaughlin, New York, Viking Press, p. 703. For position of Calvin and the reaction of Erasmus see "Free Will and Predestination" ibid., pp. 704-711; "On Free Will", ibid., pp. 677-693.


"cold exposition". This is achieved by a varied pattern of contrasts, the most obvious being heaven versus hell, high versus low, and light versus darkness. The general movement from Book II to Book III is from the darkness of hell to the light of heaven. Book III also contains a pattern of movement from heaven to hell to earth, heaven to hell to earth; heaven to earth, heaven to earth. Now between these patterns there is a tension between Satan and man, the Son of God and man: Satan proposing to "destroy man or worse pervert" him (91-2) and the Son of God proposing to save man (227). These patterns of tension are given a certain element of adhesion by a constant shifting of words from high to low, from up to down: "stood who stood, and fell who fell", (102) "high Decree...ordain'd this fall" (126-128) "man falls ... finds grace" (130-31) "high extol ... should man finally be lost", (146-50) "Upheld by me ... by me upheld ... His fall'n condition" (178-82), etc.

Running parallel to this pattern of movement is the pattern of light and darkness: the light of heaven, the darkness of hell; the light of order, the darkness of disorder; the light of God (1-6) and the darkness of the "formless infinite" (11-12); the "sovran vital Lamp" (22) and the physical blindness of Milton, Thamyris, Maeonides, Tiresias and Phinius (22-36); the "Precincts of Light" (88) and the darkness of Satan's plan (91-93); the "Light after Light" (196) and the "blind be blinded more" (200), etc.

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11 This term must be understood in its absolute not its relative sense. Certainly in many respects hell is more orderly than heaven. This distinction helps to bring out Milton's concept of
Now, these patterns of heaven versus hell, up versus down, light versus darkness, would not of themselves be entirely effective. However, they are made most effective by a counterbalancing tension by which that which is high is actually low, that which is low is actually high. This counterbalancing tension is found in the use of the paradox.

The first paradox which has already been referred to, is found in the poet himself who, though blind, sees more than the rest of men. His physical blindness becomes a symbol of the path which creatures must take who are to find the true light of God. The second paradox is found in Satan and his fallen angels who aspiring to heaven's heights descend to hell's depth, who attempting to be "Authors to themselves in all" (122) "enthrall themselves" (125), who "affecting Godhead" (206) "hath naught left" (207). The third paradox is found in the Son of God and since his life is to be the pattern for all men Milton treats it in detail both through the actions of the Son and through a traditional symbol – the ladder.

In Book III, the Father recalls Satan's plan (Book II) for destroying man. Stress is laid on the fact that Satan's success is worse than a destruction – it is a perversion or violation of order. The Father repeats the word "pervert":

freedom through the heavenly order in contrast with the "appearance" of freedom in the order of hell.
BOOK III: A PATTERN OF PARADOXES

If him by force he can destroy or worse
By some false guile pervert and shall pervert
For man will hearken to his glozing lies. (91-93)

Now, the expression "glozing lies" has a vital correlation with the concept of light which, as already seen, pertains to God's very essence and is manifested in his wisdom and in his order of creation. Satan's technique will be to pervert this light in man by means of a false light, implied in the adjective "glozing". Hence the true light of God in man pertains to a true knowledge of God and of his ordered relationship with man. In his chapter "Of the Manifestation of the Covenant of Grace; Including the Law of God," Milton writes:

The Law of God is either written or unwritten. 
The unwritten law is no other than that law of nature given originally to Adam and to which a certain remnant or imperfect illumination, still dwells in the hearts of all mankind; which, in the regenerate, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, is daily tending towards a renewal of its primitive brightness. Hence the 'law' is often used for heavenly doctrine in the abstract, or the will of God, as declared under both covenants.

Hence light is associated with the knowledge of God, and the order of God. However, the light of God is also associated with the concept of "grace" which is identified with a union with the Son of God. The word "grace" in "Paradise Lost" means at one time "favor",

12 For a correlation of this statement pertinent to Satan's perversion and for an understanding of Milton's use of tradition see quotation from Alardus Gazaeus given later in this chapter.


14 Milton gives some idea of grace and man's dependence on the Son of God when he writes in chapters XX and XXI: "Saving faith is a full persuasion in us through the gift of God, whereby we believe, on
at another time "true light", and at another time "love"; it is found in its perfection in the Son. For man, it is obtained by a proper ordering of his life to the life of the Son. What this proper ordering is, Milton endeavors to convey.

(Grace and the Son of God)

Before and during the Son's proposal to redeem man, Milton employs the word "grace" ten times. "The Father promises that in spite of the Fall of man from favor "Man shall find grace". (131) This grace is the result of love: "Love without end and without measure Grace". (142) The Son repeats "Man shall find grace". (145) The Father then identifies himself with the Son (170) and states succinctly the role of grace and free will in relation to the orthodox view of predestination:

Man shall not quite be lost, but sav'd who will Yet not of will in him, but grace in me Freely vouchsaf't. (173-75)

Grace is then seen to be, not something proper to man, but a free gift. the sole authority of the promise itself, that whatsoever things he has promised in Christ are ours, and especially the grace of eternal life," and "Believers are said to be ingrafted in Christ, when they are planted in Christ by God the Father, that is, are made partakers of Christ and meet for becoming one with him". ibid., pp. 1016-1017.

15 It is important to keep in mind this emphasis of Milton on grace as a free gift of God, for an evaluation of John Peter's charge against the poet for making the Father inconsistent in dealing with Adam. This accusation will be considered in the chapter dealing with Book X.
The Fall of man is not without a purpose because through this Fall man is better able to know his degree in God's order – how frail he is and how dependent upon God's grace:

By me upheld that he may know how frail
His fall'n condition is and to me ows
All his deliv'rance and to none but me. (180-82)

Yet for Milton the relationship between grace and predestination is a mystery: "Some I have chosen of peculiar grace / Elect above the rest". (183-84) Grace operates primarily on the light of man's understanding: "while offer'd grace / Invites; for I will clear their senses dark"; (187-88) and properly orders man to adore God, to repent of violating God's law and to maintain his proper degree under God's command. (189-90) Those, however, who reject God's "day of grace" (198) shall be led farther away from true religion; "hard be hard'n'd, blind be blinded more". (200)

But how shall man find grace? As shall be shown, only through the Son and only through the imitation of his life. And in what does this consist?

Before the Father calls for a volunteer to intercede for man, he again stresses the nature of evil as a violation of order, Satan "sins against high Supremacy of Heav'n / Affecting God-head" and the paradox of this is that by aspiring he falls. The silence which descends over the angelic choir is seen by Hanford as a dramatic parallel with the "hesitation of the fallen spirits when the project of assaulting the new world is proposed." 16 However, the silence has a greater importance than this. It emphasizes the fact that the Son

16 Hanford op. cit., p. 201.
of God is the only mediator for man; it emphasizes his right by his heroic self-denial, by his heroic act of love, to be God's "Vicegerent," and it contrasts the Son with Satan. Satan aspires above his degree to pervert man from the order of heaven to the order of hell; the Son descends in a sense below his degree to establish a harmony between man and God. By the Son's offer to sacrifice his life (221) for the glory of the Father, Milton conveys the meaning of love. Love is the death of self.

Paradoxically this is the only way man can find life and enjoy the fruits of the Son who through his death "shall rise victorious" (249) and "Death his death's wound shall then receive". (251) The Son shall die "and dying rise" (296) and his Humiliation shall exalt" (312) him. The Son is the head, the light of all men and only with and by him can man be saved: The Father specifies the mode of man's salvation by his allusion to the new tree of the cross:

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. (284-89)

And live in thee transplanted and from thee
Receive new life ... (293-94)

17 Milton identifies the sacrifice of the Son with the love of God: "In whom the fulness dwells of love divine." (225) But how can this be? What act of humility has the Father manifested? Milton does not directly answer this. Yet he implies it. By the very act of God's creating, he stoops in a sense below his being to communicate with creatures. The descent of the Son and his death can be seen as a mystical symbol of God's act of creating.

18 This passage offers an excellent example of the structural
So Heav'nly love shall out do hellish hate
Living to death and dying to redeem (298-99).

Milton presents the order which man is to follow if he is to ascend to heaven and enjoy true life. Like the Son, he must rise up the stairs to heaven by his descent — by his meekness, by his humility; like the Son, he must live by being engrafted to the tree of death. Following this paradoxical order, man and the world will one day burn "and from her ashes spring / New Heav'n and Earth" (334-35) and the just will "See golden days, fruitful of golden deeds." (337)

(The Heavenly Stairway)

One of the most forceful symbols which Milton uses to summarize the paradoxical action of the Son, who must be imitated by man, is the biblical symbol of Jacob's ladder of the heavenly stairway. This symbol must be understood: (1) according to its traditional use and interpretation and (2) according to its context.

After the Son's proposal to bring God's grace to mankind, Milton writes a brief hymn of praise to man's mediator for his divine love and his harmonious relationship to the Father:

O unexampled love
Love nowhere to be found less than Divine!
Hail Son of God, Saviour of Men, thy Name
Shall be the copious matter of my Song
Henceforth, and never shall my Harp praise
Forget, nor from the Father's praise disjoin. (410-15)

The poet then shifts the scene to present a dramatic contrast between unity in "Paradise Lost" as the passage prepares for the contrasting scene of Satan in the next Book: "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 / Thereby regain'd but sat devising Death" (IV, 193-197).

19 See Genesis 27, 12.
the Saviour and the Destroyer. Milton surrounds the devil with images of death, sterility and destruction: "Satan alighted walks ... Dark, waste and wild," (422-24), "storms / Of Chaos, blust'ring round, inclement sky", "Here walk'd the Fiend ... As when a Vultur", (430-31) "Dislodging from a Region scare of prey / To gorge the flesh of Lambs", (423-24) Accentuating the word "Alone" (442) Milton emphasizes Satan's evil as a cutting off of himself from the hierarchical community and indicates the sterility of his act by a series of negatives beginning with "Alone" and ending with the word "single" (469): "lifeless ... none" (443), "none" (444) "vain when Sin", (445) "with vanity" (446) "all things vain, and all who in vain things" (447) "painful Superstition and blind" (452) "Naught seeking" (453) "empty" (454) "unaccomplisht" (455) "Abortive, monstrous or unkindly" (457) "Dissolv'd ... in vain" (457) "dissolution" (458) "Not in the neighbouring Moon", (459) "ill-join'd Sons and Daughters", (463) "vain exploit" (465) and "Babel ... New Babels" (466-68).

The terms "alone" and "single" are now joined to express an attack on the Catholic practice of monasticism and celibacy, (469-96)

20 In "Areopagitica" Milton writes: "I cannot praise a fugitive virtue, unexercised and unbreathed, that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where the immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat". English Literature and Its Background, ed. by Grebanier Middlebrook, Thompson and Watt, New York, Dryden Press, p. 406.

which manifest for Milton further violations of the natural order. The
attack against celibacy foreshadows a passage in the next Book, where
Milton writes:

\[
\begin{align*}
nor & \text{ turn'd I ween} \\
& \text{Adam from his fair Spouse, nor Eve the Rites} \\
& \text{Mysterious of connubial Love refus'd:} \\
& \text{Whatever Hypocrites austerely talk} \\
& \text{Of purity and place and innocence} \\
& \text{Defaming as impure what God declares} \\
& \text{Pure, and commands to some leaves free to all.} \\
& \text{Our Maker bids increase, who bids abstain} \\
& \text{But our destroyer, foe to God and man? (IV,740-49)}
\end{align*}
\]

Having surrounded Satan with images of death and sterility,
Milton now leads Satan to the heavenly stairway:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{All this dark Globe the Fiend found as he pass'd} \\
& \text{And long he wander'd till at last a gleam} \\
& \text{Of dawning light turn'd thither-ward in haste} \\
& \text{His travel'd steps; far distant he descries} \\
& \text{Ascending by degrees magnificent} \\
& \text{Up to the wall of Heaven a structure high} \\
& \text{At top whereof, but far more rich appear'd} \\
& \text{The work as of a Kingly Palace Gate} \\
& \text{With Frontispiece of Diamond and Gold} \\
& \text{Imbellisht, thick with sparkling orient Gems} \\
& \text{The Portal shone inimitable on Earth} \\
& \text{By Model, or by shading Pencil draw} \\
& \text{The Stairs were such as whereon Jacob saw} \\
& \text{Angels ascending and descending... (496-511)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[\text{------}
\]
\[\text{The Stairs were then let down, whether to dare} \\
\text{The Fiend by easy ascent, or aggravate} \\
\text{His sad exclusion from the doors of Bliss (523-25)}
\]

\[\text{------}
\]
\[\text{Satan from hence now on the lower stair} \\
\text{That scal'd by steps of Gold to Heav'n Gate} \\
\text{Looks down with wonder at the sudden view} \\
\text{Of all this World at once. (540-43)}
\]

But Satan does not climb this stairway and the disguise which he uses
presents a rich ironic commentary on the nature of his pride and on the
reason he cannot ascend the stairs. Satan falsifies his true appearance
dressing as a "stripling Cherub" (636); he dramatizes his own violation of order pretending to be comely. So, downward Satan falls to bring destruction to earth.

The Son, on the other hand, brings to earth heaven's grace and leads man to God's throne by his example of humility. To understand how this action of the Son is summarized by the heavenly stairway it is necessary to consider something of the traditional interpretation of the symbol. The symbol has been used, with various shades of meaning, by almost all of the important Christian apologists from the time of the Fathers to the time of Milton.

Commenting on Genesis XXVIII, 12, Saint Ambrose sees Jacob's ladder as an image of Christ. For Zeno the ladder refers not only to Christ but also to both Testaments; Philip Harvengius in "Incliti Monasterii Bonae Spei Abbatis, Epistola Prima" sees the ladder as prefiguring Christ's descent from the cross. One of the most elaborate

Yet there is a peculiar beauty in Satan, even in his fallen state, as Praz writes: "With Milton, the Evil One definitely assumes an aspect of fallen beauty, of splendour shadowed by sadness and death;" he is "majesty though in ruin". Mario Praz, The Romantic Agony, translated by Angus Davidson, New York, Meridian Books, 1956, p. 56.


Zeno "De Somnio Jacob", ibid., XI, col. 428.
Commentaries is found in Saint Benedict's "Regula Commentata" wherein he associates the paradoxical movements of descending by pride and ascending by humility, with the biblical symbol.  

Correlating the ladder with the perverted actions of Satan, Alardus Gazaeus comments that Lucifer inverted and overturned Jacob's ladder by turning away from his creator. Gazaeus also indicates that Lucifer fell down the ladder by degrees through his pride, violating the order of nature and reason. Commenting on the traditional use of the symbol of Jacob's ladder, George Wesley Whiting writes:

Except the cross, Christianity perhaps offers no more compelling and inspiring figure than that of the heavenly stairway ... a figure derived from the Old Testament and interpreted to include the New, sanctioned and expounded by the Fathers of the church and by famous preachers, exemplified in belief and conduct by the saints and a host of devout and sincere Christians unknown to fame. Milton said that this world is a wilderness, a wide wilderness, between a lost state of innocence and a golden age to be restored. It is a temporal span between two eternities. In Petrarch the blessed life is on the highest peak, to which by a narrow way we must proceed, "from vertue to vertue". St. Thomas Aquinas, the angelic doctor, held that the "sole reason" for being in the universe was the realization by man of "that supreme
good which consists in assimilation to God." Progress toward truth is the structural principle of human life. The pattern of "Paradise Lost" has been described as one of movement from the depths of darkness and ignorance to the fountain of light. The stair or ladder is a homely symbol of this vital and spiritual movement.27

Yet can it be said with Whiting that the heavenly stairway in "Paradise Lost", calls together the whole spirit of Christian tradition?28 Such an interpretation is incomplete because it considers neither the Neo-Platonic idea of the ladder nor the context of the poem. How does Milton's use of the ladder differ from that of Spenser29 or of Shakespeare?30 Milton's ladder is neither that of St. Ambrose, Spenser nor Shakespeare, though it contains many similarities. It represents the scale of degree, the Son, his paradox. At the same time it does not represent the Son or Christ in the Catholic sense; is it a symbol of Christ who in turn primarily a symbol of the light magis intumescens." Alardus Gazaeus, ibid., XLIX, col. 465: for other references to Jacob's ladder as used by the Fathers see: vol. VI, col. 997; vol. CLXXXIV, col. 475; re: "Scala Humilitas" see, vol. XLIX, col. 464; re: "Scala Superbiae", vol. XLIX, col. 465; re: "Scala Coeli Major seu de Ordine, Congescendi in Creaturis", vol. CLXXII, col. 1229; re: "Scala Minor seu Gradibus Charitas Opusculum", vol. CLXXII, col. 1239; re: "Scala Claustrialium", vol. CLXXXIV, col. 475.

27 George Wesley Whiting, op.cit., pp. 61-62. For a study of the use of this symbol by Protestant theologians see pp. 71-88.


30 A brief consideration of Shakespeare's concept of the ladder will be seen in a later chapter.
and the way. It represents Milton's flight above the "Aonian Mount" (1,14) that he might ascend the heights to "assert Eternal Providence". (22-25) It represents Adam and in a sense it represents Satan. How this is so will be seen in later chapters. The next chapter will consider Satan and one image in reference to the Spirit of Evil.

31 This statement will be considered in more detail later when Milton's ideas of order are compared with those of Hopkins.
CHAPTER THREE

BOOK IV: SATAN, THE SUN AND THE SON

In the last chapter, it was seen that Book III conveys something of the role of the Son of God as a model of order, primarily through a pattern of paradoxes. But the various books are not independent of one another. They form, on the contrary, a structural unity - a continuous link by which the key terms and images are enriched and amplified by means of a continual pattern of variations and contrasts. Consequently, although this chapter is concerned, for the most part, with one image which serves as a unifying element in the unfolding of the nature of Satan's disorder as revealed in Book IV, nevertheless, implicit in this study is the continuous unfolding of the nature of the Son of God and the relationship which he bears to man. Implicit too is the amplification in meaning and complexity of certain terms such as "high", "light", "seem" and "tower", introduced in Chapter I of this thesis.

The main image to be considered in this chapter is the image of "the full-blazing Sun / Which now sat high in his Meridian Tower" (29-30). It will be shown (1) that this image serves as a symbol of order embodied in the Son of God, in contrast to disorder embodied in Satan; (2) that this image reveals Milton's concept of order in terms of communicative or sexual harmony and fruition, in contrast to Satan's "aloneness" or asexual barrenness and perversion; and (3) that this

1 Like the word "disorder" in reference to Satan (see footnote in previous chapter) this word, "asexual" must be understood in its
image serves as a symbol of the divine light, its meaning and its relationship to order in both the macrocosm and the microcosm, in contrast to the personal light found in Satan and in all who are cut off from grace or the divine light.

It will be necessary, in the beginning, to clarify the use of the term "sexual". God is an infinite mystery, and man has no divine language to express this mystery. He can only use human terms. To describe God's love, its mystery and its fecundity, man often uses the language of human love. The Bible is filled with such language: Ezekial refers to the contract between God and man in terms of the act of marriage, Solomon's "Song of Songs" derives its beauty and inspiration from man's awareness of the beauty of sexual love, and St. Paul compares the marriage of man and woman to the marriage of Christ with his Church. Milton sees nothing incongruous in this. He writes:

We may be sure that sufficient care has been taken that Holy Scriptures should contain nothing unsuitable to the character or dignity of God.

absolute not its relative sense. Satan produces offspring, Sin and Death, who represent the antithesis of being, because his actions are divorced from the heavenly order.

2. Ezekiel 16, 7-63.

3. "Wherefore brethren, ye also are become dead to the law by the body of Christ, that ye should be married to another, even to him who is raised from the dead, that we should bring forth fruit unto God." Romans 7:4; see also 1 Corinthians 6:16-19; Ephesians 5:31.

4 "Christian Doctrine" op. cit. p. 924. W.B.C. Watkins writes: "Milton's own attempts to explain himself seem often afterthoughts--rationalization. One source and example is the Bible, particularly the Old Testament; for this sensuousness and anthropomorphism are elements in Hebraic poetry. The Jewish mind was, according to W.K. Lowther Clark "non-dualistic and did not think in terms of the contrast between
To create a tension between the forces of disorder and order, Milton first presents a picture of Satan imprisoned in his hell: "Hell within him ... Hell ... around about him" (20-21), Hell in his memory, "Of what he was, what is and what must be" (25-26). Then dramatically, he casts Satan against the sun:

his griev'd look he fixes sad,
Sometimes toward Heav'n and the full-blazing Sun
Which now sat high in his Meridian Tow'r:
Then much revolving, thus in sighs began.
   O thou that with surpassing Glory crown'd,
Look'st from thy sole Dominion like the God
Of this new World;...
(28-34)

At first, the image of the sun seems merely to serve as a contrast with Satan who was once known as "Lucifer". The image has, however, a far more extensive function than this, defining both the nature of God's light and love, and the nature of Satan's darkness and hate.

The word "high" (30) which describes the sun, is used extensively throughout this Book, primarily with reference to Satan: "up so high" (49), "one step higher" (50), "set:me highest" (51), "Would highth:recall high" (95), "Insuperable highth" (137), "Yet higher" (142), "And higher" (146), etc. It serves to compare and contrast material and spiritual. The Jews thought rather of man's function as a whole..."

"Ultimately, the answer lies in Milton's own temperament, which made the characteristic Hebraic blend of ascetic spirituality and sensuality peculiarly congenial and explains the equal attraction he found in ascetic Plato and sensual Ovid." W.B.C. Watkins, An Anatomy of Milton's Verse, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University, 1955, p. 15.

5 Edward Phillips maintains that Milton composed Satan's "Exclamation to the Sun" about fifteen years before he thought of writing "Paradise Lost", when he was contemplating writing a tragedy instead of an epic. See F.E. Hutchinson, Milton and the English Mind, London, English Universities Press, 1950, pp. 116-117.
Satan's disorder with the order of the sun, which, as will be shown, is a symbol of the light and nature of God as manifested in his Son.

It might appear, that, for a moment, Satan seems to get from the sun a true light, or a true knowledge of the cause of his disorder, as he acknowledges that God is "a matchless King" (41), who "deserv'd no such return" (42), who created him, "in that bright eminence" (44). Yet, has Satan manifested, even for a moment, true light, true knowledge? He states that the very height of his eminence was the cause of his downfall. Observe how the word "high" progresses to the comparative "higher" and then to the superlative "highest":

lifted up so high
I sdein'd subjection, and thought one step higher
Would set me highest, and in a moment quit
The debt immense of endless gratitude. (49-52)

Satan confesses his failure to be a result of a false knowledge. He had not understood that "a grateful mind / By owing owes not, but still pays at once / Indebted and discharged" (55-57). Yet in his very confession of false knowledge he ironically manifests more false knowledge. He does not see his true evil; he sees it merely in terms of his personal failure, not in terms of his lack of love, or his lack of true service: he says he fought against a king who was more powerful than himself: "warring ... against ... matchless" (41). He sees himself as both imprudent and undiplomatic. He could have easily established a modus vivendi with his superior force and failed to do so. Satan has no idea of the real cause of his fall, and the word "high" serves to reveal the intensity of his disorder - being created so near the "highest" his knowledge and love should have been in proportion to
his degree. The word "high", however, also refers back to the sun and the nature of its harmonious order.

(The Sun, Its Knowledge and Its Love)

Satan hates the sun because it reminds him of his former glory (60-61). But he has no idea of the essence of the sun's glory. This glory rests not in its isolated brilliance but in its communicative, or ordered, or sexual brilliance. The sun by itself would be like Satan - barren and evil. But the sun is mated to the earth, Mother nature, and is most fruitful in its intercourse producing trees, flowers, fruit, etc.

Yet higher than thir tops
The verdurous wall of Paradise up sprung:
Which to our general Sire gave prospect large
Into his nether Empire neighbouring round.
And higher than that Wall a circling row
Of goodliest Trees loaded with fairest Fruit,
Blossoms and Fruits at once of golden hue
Appear'd with gay enamell'd colours mixt;
Of which the Sun more glad impressed his beams.

(142-150)

6 In Book VIII Milton writes, "the Sun that barren shines, /
   Whose virtue on itself works no effect,/ But in the fruitful Earth."
   (VIII, 94-96).

7 Milton stresses this comparison between Satan and the barren sun when he describes the "Arch Angel ruin'd": "As when the Sun new ris'n / Looks through the Horizontal misty Air / Shorn of his Beams" (I, 594-596). The symbol of sexual barrenness in "Shorn of his Beams" would be obvious to the seventeenth century student of mythology. See expression in reference to the sun as "the god unshorne" in Herrick's "Corinna's going a-Maying"; also Cleanth Brooks "What Does Poetry Communicate", The Well Wrought Urn, op.cit., pp. 77-79.
In "The Devil and Dr. Jung" Robert M. Adams criticizes the interpretation given to Book IV by Arnold Stein and C.S. Lewis.

Concerning their use of the expression "archetypal pattern", Adam writes:

Elsewhere, the word seems to mean something more, or at least something more explicit. Mr. C.S. Lewis, in describing the approach to Paradise, mentions rising tiers of trees, and adds incautiously "that as in dream landscapes, we find that what seemed the top is not the top". For Mr. Stein this observation imports "that the sequence of Satan's entering Paradise resembles a dream" and not only so, but "the dream has qualities reminiscent of an archetypal return", partly because of the "hairie sides" of IV, 135, and partly because the experience described is "real-unreal" like a dream. Discounting the charming circularities here, one may observe that the physiological overtones of "hairie sides" do not disturb Mr. Lewis, who notes with satisfaction that the earth in IV, 288, has pores to absorb water, and veins; and they please Mr. Stein by providing a sort of justification for the adjective "archetypal". Paradise, though both gentlemen are too nice to say so right out, is evidently a womb.

It would perhaps be more exact to state, however, not that Paradise is the womb but that earth is - the womb of Mother nature, the macrocosmic

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8 Arnold Stein, Answerable Style, Minneapolis, U. of Minnesota Press, 1953, p. 56.

9 Lewis states: "Milton's theme leads him to deal with certain very basic images in the human mind - with the archetypal patterns, as Miss Bodkin would call them, of Heaven, Hell, Paradise, God, Devil, the Winged Warrior, the Naked Bride, the Outer Void. Whether these images come to us from real spiritual perception or from pre-natal and infantile experience confusedly remembered, is not here in question; how the poet arouses them, perfects them, and then makes them re-act on one another in our minds is the critic's concern." C.S. Lewis, op. cit., p. 48.

Before paralleling the sun with Adam and with God, Milton stresses its creative or artistic role. The sun only produces: "goodliest Trees loaded with fairest Fruit / Blossoms and Fruits at once of golden hue..." (147-148), but also creates works of art: "with gay enamell'd colours mixt: On which the Sun more glad impress'd his beams..." (149-150), "Ambrosial Fruit / Of vegetable Gold" (219-220), etc. The sun reflects then, along with the infinite light of the "sovran Planter" (691) a particular aspect of his communicative nature, that is, his artistry. Broadbent writes:

Nature's artistry is also a symbol of perfection because it reveals the design of God. The plateau paradise in Drayton's "Endimion and Phoebe" is the scene of innocent but physical love between mythical but solid characters. There is a coniferous umbrella occurring naturally but "thus divinely made" as in Paradise the natural canopy of the bower has been framed by the "sovran Planter". Indeed the more artificial nature's works appear the more they "illustrate" the immanence of God.12

How does Milton link the sun with God and with Adam, and at the same time contrast its activity with that of Satan? A brief examination of the passage is necessary to understand the technique which Milton uses. Describing a love scene between Adam and Eve the poet adds:

11 Milton lays stress on the universal quality of Eve's motherhood by calling her "First of Women" (409), "Mother of the human Race" (475), "General Mother" (492), etc. For a study of the particular names applied to Eve, see appendix.

12 Broadbent, op.cit., p. 179. Leavis sees Book IV as exemplifying primarily the superiority of "imaginative creation over composition". F.R. Leavis, Revaluation, London, Chatto and Windus, 1953, p. 49.
So spake our general Mother and with eyes
Of conjugal attraction unreprov'd,
And meek surrender, half' imbracing 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
Smil'd with superior Love, as Jupiter
On Juno smiles, when he impregnates the Clouds
That shed May Flowers; 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... (492-504)

On first consideration, the simile of Jupiter impregnating the
clouds appears merely as a phallic symbol, an "objective correlative"\(^{13}\) to convey the love act. It is important to note, however, that Jupiter is the supreme tutelary god of the Romans, the equivalent of the Greek god Zeus. Hence Jupiter helps to link, without any undue irreverence, the sexual imagery with God the Father. But Jupiter is not the sun. He represents a gradation of brilliance. In other words, he is a symbol both of Adam's reflected light or communicative act and of his harmony of order as well as a symbol of the Son of God. Now, this harmony of order, in relation to Adam, is revealed in two ways: (1) through such expressions as "conjugal... unreprov'd... imbracing... submissive... superior" and (2) through a series of subordinations which are seen in terms of couples: the Sun and Jupiter, Jupiter and Juno, God and the Son, God and Adam, and Adam and Eve. In contrast to this ordered and harmonious society, Satan is pictured.

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\(^{13}\) Eliot says: "The only way of expressing emotion in the form of art is by finding an "objective correlative"; in other words, a set of objects, a situation, a chain of events which shall be the formula of that particular emotion; such that when the external facts which must terminate in sensory experience, are given, the emotion is
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It is true that Satan's reaction: "with jealous leer malign" may be seen as that of the melodramatic villain. But his reaction conveys more than this. It shows concretely an important aspect of Satan's evil. Of his own free will he makes himself barren and yet he envies those who are not.

When Satan states "myself am Hell" (74) he unwittingly reveals an essential truth which helps to clarify his seemingly heroic utterance in Book I: "The mind is its own place, and in itself / Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n" (I, 254-255). Unless the mind of a creature is ordered to the mind of God (and this ordering presupposes a communication of a being's proper light to other creatures in a sort of communion of saints) it creates its own hell out of heaven. This is brought out when Satan reacts to the love scene with the words:

Sight hateful, sight tormenting! thus these two
Imparadis't in one another's arms
The happier Eden, shall enjoy thir fill
Of bliss on bliss, while I to Hell am thrust,
With neither joy nor love...14 (IV, 505-509)

No matter how much Satan tries, he cannot make a true heaven out of hell. He may attempt to deceive himself by mimicking heaven but he is still in hell, as Satan says:15

14 This passage is an excellent example of how Milton contrasts the harmony of Adam with Eve with the disharmony of Satan's "aloneness". Observe the stress on "two", "in one another's arms", the mutual interchange of happiness as seen in "bliss on bliss" and the contrasting "I".

15 This statement may appear to represent true knowledge on the part of Satan. But this is not so for Milton who, like Socrates, associates knowledge with goodness. The man who really knows that God

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While they adore me on the Throne of Hell,
With Diadem and Sceptre high advanc'd
The lower still I fall, only Supreme
In misery...

Satan has gone as "high" as he can go but his ascension leads
him not up Jacob's ladder to heaven, for this would necessitate his
imitation of both the sun and the Son of God, that is, a communication of
his "highness" with that which is below itself. Hence the word "high"
becomes both a relative concept and an absolute: relative to Satan
himself, and absolute in that he cannot go beyond himself, so that made
for the divine communion, his nature is frustrated; he becomes his own
hell. Consequently the "high" of Satan is really a "counterfeit" (116),
"with a marr'd borrow'd visage" (115) and in contrast both to the
artistic sun and its artistry in Paradise Satan is described as an
"Artifice of fraud" (121). Yet he continues his flight up "Insuperable
highth" (138), "yet higher" (142) and "higher" (146).

is absolute, and that by obeying God's laws he finds happiness, will
carry out his knowledge. See: "Of Education", op. cit., pp. 725-730,
where Milton stresses the relationship between knowledge and virtue.
Satan's knowledge is like that of Chaucer's Pardoner who admits his
guilt "though myself be gilty of that synne" but his knowledge leads
him to greater guilt. The Poetical Works of Chaucer, ed. by F.N.
is not answered so simply. When Milton stresses that "reason is but
choosing", "Areopagitica," op. cit., p. 407, the problem, as already
referred to, of Satan and Adam sinning, becomes a mystery.

16 John Donne makes a similar analogy between the Sun and the
Son when he writes: "Salute the last and everlasting day, / Joy at the
uprising of this Sunne and Sonne... / 0 strong Ramme, which has batter'd
heaven for mee, Mild Lambe..." The Poems of John Donne, ed. by H.J.C.
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It might appear that Satan differs from the sun and hence from the Son and those who are in harmony with God's order, in that Satan is in love with himself. Father M.C. D'Arcy casts some light on this problem in his analysis of Aristotle's three classifications of love.

D'Arcy enumerates the three divisions of love as found in the "Nicomachean Ethics" as (1) that love which is based on profit (2) that which is based on pleasure and (3) that which is based on the permanent in man. He indicates that for Aristotle the third and most perfect form of love is actually a "self love". The bad man seems to act for his own interest and the good man for the interest of others. However, for Aristotle this is not true. The good man "wishes for himself what is good and does so for the best part in him, his intellectual part; and above all, he wishes the virtuous part of himself to live and flourish." The evil man is fickle and at war with himself, and because there is nothing fine in his soul, he cannot genuinely love himself.

This is particularly true of Satan; he is constantly at war with himself, constantly punishing himself. He violates his order by wishing he were created an inferior angel (59-60) which is tantamount to


18 Bradley sees Milton's portrait of Satan's misery as possibly suggested by "Macbeth". He quotes Coleridge: "It is a fancy; but I can never read this, "Macbeth", I,iv.35 ff. and the following speeches of Macbeth without involuntarily thinking of the Miltonic Messiah and Satan." I doubt if it were a mere fancy. (It will be remembered that Milton thought at one time of writing a tragedy on Macbeth). A.C. Bradley, Shakespearian Tragedy, London, MacMillan & Co., 1956, p. 362.
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desiring his own annihilation. He wonders whether he would now enjoy heaven had he been created a lower angel, but concludes that he probably would have followed some other rebel; he questions the role of his free will (61-69). And his statement "Me miserable!" seems to be a command to condemn himself. He regrets his boast but is too deeply concerned for public respect to retract:

\[
\text{Ay me, they little know}
\]
\[
\text{How dearly I abide that boast so vain,}
\]
\[
\text{With what torments inwardly I groan} \quad (86-88).
\]

His only hope is to submit to God's will (81) but he cannot because he is an avowed celibate, "alone".(129).

One of the most graphic images in Book IV is that of Satan on the top of the Tree of Life:

\[
\text{Thence up he flew, and on the Tree of Life,}
\]
\[
\text{The middle Tree and the highest there that grew}
\]
\[
\text{Sat like a Cormorant; yet not true Life}
\]
\[
\text{Thereby regain'd but sat devising Death}
\]
\[
\text{To them who liv'd; nor on the virtue thought}
\]
\[
\text{Of that life-giving Plant but only us'd}
\]
\[
\text{For prospect that well us'd had been the pledge}
\]
\[
\text{Of immortality} \quad (194-201).
\]

What is the relationship of this image to the image of the sun, already considered, and to the image of that for which the sun stands: the Son of God? It is the relationship of appearance versus reality. Satan's position on the top of "the Tree of Life", "the highest there that grew", parallels both the image of the sun high in the heavens and that of Christ on the Tree of Death. Again, the difference is that Satan communicates not his goodness but his evil. There is, however, another important difference which is dramatized in the form of a paradox: through the Tree of Life Satan brings death; through the Tree of Death the Son brings life. Satan sits "like a Cormorant", a bird of
death, in contrast to the sun who brings life to the earth, in contrast to Christ, the pelican, who offers his own life that others might live.

Behind this image of Satan on the Tree of Life can be seen an amplification of the theme of the divine light (of which the sun is a symbol and the Son a personification) as opposed to the unaided, personal light. By his unaided light of reason a creature can only assume that he ascends by aspiring, that he lives by the Tree of Life, but in light of the divine paradox the opposite is seen to be true. The actuality of the divine paradox is enacted in the effect of delight upon Satan: "the Fiend / Saw undelighted, all delight, all kinds / Of living creatures..." (285-286).

19 A further study of the relation of the sun to Milton's universe in "Paradise Lost" is found in: Walter Clyde Curry, Milton's Ontology, Cosmogony and Physics, University of Kentucky, University of Kentucky Press, 1957. Curry writes: "One may observe with awe how Milton's sun dominates and controls all the functions of the physical universe and by what means his Lordship is established and maintained. His going forth is from the end of heaven and his circuit unto the end of it; and there is nothing hid from the heat thereof. Planets and stars, impelled by his magnetic beams dance about him singing praises to his power. The arch-chemic's divine Light, laden with solar corpuscles of potable gold, circulates through the universe, tempers seminal virtues in the earth and by mixing with terrestrial humors awakens all life and produces everything that grows. His Lordship endowed, with the Father's viceregal dignity and energies transmitted through the Son, is thus established in majesty as "of this great world both eye and soul."

pp. 142-143.

20 St Paul writes: "For the preaching of the cross is to them that perish foolishness; but unto us which are saved it is the power of God. For it is written, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent." 1 Corinthians 1,18-19.

21 This is one of the basic themes of Milton in his "Christian Doctrine": "The primary functions of the new life are comprehension of spiritual things... the power of exercising these functions was weakened
Hence, true light can only be found in man's obedience to "absolute rule" (301) and the necessity of man's obedience to God is mirrored in the necessity of woman's obedience to man's "absolute rule".

All beings have their degree in God's scale:

for in thir looks Divine
The image of thir glorious Maker shone,
Truth, Wisdom Sanctitude severe and pure,
Sever, but in true filial freedom plac't;
Whence true authority in men; though both
Not equal, as their sex not equal seem'd;
For contemplation hee and valour form'd,
For softness shee and sweet attractive Grace,
He for God only, she for God in him:
His fair large Front and Eye sublime declar'd
Absolute rule; ... (291-301)

"Link'd" in such a "happy nuptial League" (339) creatures enjoy the fruit of this harmony as mirrored in their "Wholesome thirst and appetite" (330), in their "Supper Fruits ... Nectarine Fruits, which the compliant boughs / Yieled them". (330-332).

Milton's concept of the harmonious relationship between man and woman is revealed by such expressions pertinent to Eve as

and in a manner destroyed by the spiritual death, so is the understanding restored in great part to its primitive clearness, and the will to its primitive liberty by the new spiritual life of Christ. The comprehension of spiritual things is a habit ... whereby the natural ignorance of those who believe and are ingrafted to Christ is removed, and their understanding enlightened for the perception of heavenly things", op. cit., pp. 1016-1017.

22 It is emphasized that it is Milton's concept because his notion of the established order between man and woman, seems for the most part purely mechanical and hence naive. The relationship of woman to man in reality, must be characterized by more than a submission. A woman is a person, and true love between man and woman can only be seen in terms of a union of personalities not in degrees of subjection. See D'Arcy, op. cit., pp. 348-373.

23 Eve is so well attuned to her nature that she even speaks in
"subjection" (307), "by her yielded" (309) and "Yielded with coy submission, modest pride" (310), "my Guide / and Head" (441). This harmony, which has already been seen mirrored in the relationship between the sun and the earth, is also mirrored in the relationship between the animals and man (341-346); but more important, it is mirrored in the harmony of man's passion with the government of his reason. Hence in prelapsian man, there is no shame of nudity, no more than there is shame between the intercourse of the sun and Mother nature:

Nor those mysterious parts were then conceal'd
Then was not guilty shame; dishonest shame
Of nature's works, honour dishonorable,
Sin-bred, how have ye troubl'd all mankind
With shows instead, mere shows of seeming pure
And banisht from man's life his happiest life,
Simplicity and spotless innocence (311-317).

Thus far, the scale of order, as seen in this chapter, is: (1) the subjection of creatures to the light of God's wisdom, (2) the subjection of woman to the light of man's wisdom, and (3) the subjection of the passions and senses to the light of the intellect's wisdom. This scale of order also implies communication or sexual harmony and fructification. And the image uniting these ideas is that of the sun "high in His Meridian Tow'r" sending his light to Mother earth and bringing forth abundant fruit. This is God's plan. Those who follow it are in harmony with God and hence good; those who violate it are out of harmony with God, and hence evil. This identification of goodness and sexual harmony is seen in Milton's praise of sex as "adoration pure" (737). Milton writes:

pairs: "flesh of my flesh" (441); "for whom / And from whom" (440-441); "my Guide, / And Head" (442-443); "who enjoy ... enjoying thee" (445-446); "started...started...pleased...pleas'd" (446-451); "what...what" (466-467), etc.
This said unanimous, and other Rites
Observing none, but adoration pure
Which God likes best into thir inmost bower
Handed they went; and eas'd the putting off
These troublesome disguises which wee wear,
Straight side by side were laid, nor burn'd I ween
Adam from his fair Spouse, nor Eve the Rites
Mysterious of connubial Love refus'd:
Whatever Hypocrites austerly talk
Of purity and place and innocence
Defaming as impure what God declares
Pure and commands to some, leaves free to all
Our Maker bids increase, who bids abstain
But our destroyer, foe to God and man? (736-749)

And the image of Cupid leads back again to the image of the sun and the
light and sexual harmony which it symbolizes:

Here Love his golden shafts imploys, here lights
His constant Lamp, and waves his purple wings.24
(763-764)

On the other hand, Milton describes Satan's violation of order
in terms of a violation of carnal knowledge. This is seen in the passage
already referred to: "Our Maker bids increase, who bids abstain / But our
destroyer foe to God and man?" (747-748) and in a passage which contrasts
Satan's disordered entrance into the garden with the sun's ordered en­
trance. Satan enters not by the east gate (178), the path of the

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24 Some may charge Milton with being "an over-sexed and
priggish Puritan". Tucker Brooke, "The Renaissance", A Literary History
of England, ed. by A.C. Baugh, New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts,
v. II, p. 690. However, regarding his sexual imagery there is a
striking parallel with that found in W.B. Yeats: "A sudden blow: the
great wings beating still / Above the staggering girl ... Did she put
on his knowledge with his power / Before the indifferent beak could let
her drop." "Leda and the Swan"; see also "The Tower" for a corelation
of phallic symbols. The Collected Poems of W.B. Yeats, New York,
Macmillan Co., 1958, pp. 210-211, and #92-197.
sun and "due entrance", but leaps over the wall:  

One Gate there was, and that look'd East  
On the other side: which when th' arch-felon saw  
Due entrance he disdain'd, and in contempt  
At one slight bound high overleap'd all bound.  

(178-181)

He is seen "as ... a prowling Wolf" (183), who "Leaps o'er the fence" (187), and though he sits on top of the "Tree of Life" (194) he devises death. How? By a perversion which involves both intellectual and carnal knowledge! Ironically then, Satan gloats over his new knowledge of the forbidden fruit. He states: "Forbidden them to taste? Knowledge forbid'n" (515), "O fair foundation laid whereon to build / Thir ruin!" (521-522).

(The Sun and the Tower, Satan and Babel)

In contrasting Satan with the sun, Milton not only refers to the sun's light and height but also employs the metaphor of a tower:

"high in his Meridian Tow'r" (30). As already seen in Chapter I, the image of the Tower is used a number of times throughout the epic, the most recent being its use in reference to Satan and the devils in Book III: "With many a vain exploit ... The builders next of Babel... with vain design / New Babels" (III,465-468). To understand the particular

25 The phallic symbolism here is obvious. The sun's relationship with the earth is harmonious and hence produces true knowledge symbolized by the "fruit...of golden hue" (147-148) which parallels the description of Eve's hair: "her unadorned golden tresses" (305), "half her swelling Breast / Naked met his under the flowing Gold of her loose tresses" (495-496), etc.

26 This is not pressing the Freudian inference too far. Milton has repeatedly used the word "perversion" to describe Satan, and later describes Adam's violation in terms of sexual perversion. The leaping
distinction between the tower with reference to the sun, and Babel with reference to Satan it is necessary to consider the original story of Babel as found in the Old Testament.

After the time of Noah's flood, the people attempted to prevent any further punishment from God by building a tower. Genesis states:

And the whole earth was of one language and one speech. And it came to pass, as they journeyed from the east, that they found a plain in the land of Shinar and they dwelt there. And they said one to another, Go to, let us make brick, and burn them thoroughly. And they had brick for stone, and the slime had they for mortar. And they said, Go to, let us build a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven; and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth. And the Lord came down to see the city and the tower, which the children of men builded. And the Lord said, Behold, the people is one, and they have all one language and this they begin to do; and now nothing will be restrained from them which they have imagined to do. Go to, let us go down and there confound their language that they may not understand one another's speech.27

To appreciate the use of the term "tower" as applied to the sun and "Babel", as applied to Satan, it should be noted: (1) that completion of the tower would be a symbol of the harmony of men, each doing his specific task under the ordered direction of a leader, to

over the wall recalls the sexual violation in "Leda and the Swan": "The broken wall, the burning roof and Tower", W.B. Yeats, op.cit., p. 212.

27 Genesis II, 1-7. For other reference to the tower in scripture see: "God is my high Tower" Psalms 144,2; "The Lord is my rock, my fortress, and my deliverer, my God... and the horn of my salvation, and my high tower." 18,2. "The name of the Lord is a strong tower", Proverbs 18,10; also "2 Samuel, 22,3; Isaiah 5,2; Matthew 21,33; Mark 12,1.
achieve a total good; (2) that this harmonious union of men would have been accomplished by a union of knowledge or understanding; (3) that the ruined tower of Babel symbolizes the disharmony of men unable to do their specific task because of a lack of understanding; and (4) that this lack of understanding is manifested in the multiplication of languages or in the division of knowledge.

Consequently, since the sun's activities perfectly conform to the knowledge and guidance of the Master planner, God, the sun is fittingly described as a "tower"; and since Satan's activities — though great and powerful and even seemingly heroic, do not conform to the knowledge and guidance of the Master planner, Satan is fittingly described as a "Babel", a "ruin".

Turning to the text of "Paradise Lost", it is seen that Satan's tactics are to disunite men from the knowledge and guidance of God, to make them, as it were, speak a different language, to sow discord among the workers of God's vineyard, by having them question the sovereign Planter's decisions; by having them aspire to an equal status with the chief "Architect". Satan says:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Hence I will excite their minds} \\
\text{With more desire to know, and to reject} \\
\text{Envious commands, invented with design} \\
\text{To keep them low whom knowledge might exalt} \\
\text{Equal with Gods.} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(522-526)

Truly then this is a "fair foundation laid whereon to build / Thir ruin!" (521-522).

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28 It is to be noted here that Milton's symbols are not static, but take their vitality from the particular context. As already seen, Satan has been called repeatedly a "tower".
However, there is another important difference between the sun's "tower" and Satan's "Babel". Satan's "Babel" like Satan's bridge has its beginning below and ascends in pride, above; the sun's "tower" like Jacob's ladder, has its beginnings above and descends by humility, below. Hence Milton has united the sun with the Son who carries from heaven the light of God's knowledge, the life of God's grace; who as St. Paul says: "led captivity captive ... because he also descended first into the lower part of the earth ... he that descended is the same also that ascended above the heavens, that he might fill all things."

The contrast between the meaning of the sun's tower and Satan's Babel naturally invites a study of the difference between obedience and disobedience in respect to God's order. This Milton undertakes in Book V, primarily through the biblical images of the "Pearl". This will be the subject of the next chapter.

29 St. Paul, "Epistle to the Ephesians", 4,8-10.
CHAPTER FOUR

BOOK V: THE THEME OF OBEDIENCE

The structure of Book V is centred primarily around the theme of obedience: (1) the joy of obedience as known by man in his pristine innocence; (2) the hierarchal order of obedience as enunciated by the angel Raphael; (3) the nature of Satan's disobedience; and (4) the exemplary obedience of Abdiel. This chapter will consider how certain predominate images and terms help both to give a structural unity to each of the four divisions noted above, and to contribute to the theme of order in "Paradise.Lost" as a whole.

(The Joy of Obedience)

Book V opens with what appears to be a typically stock Homeric description:

Now Morn her rosy steps in th'Eastern Clime
Advancing, sow'd the Earth with Orient Pearl. \(1-2\)

The lines, however, help to link the ideas of Book IV with the new theme of this Book. They refer back to the symbolic meaning of the sun, its relationship to God and Adam, its contrast with Satan, his darkness and "aloneness". The word "sow'd" unites both the concept of sexual harmony and the concept of the kingdom of God found in the biblical parable of the sower. 2 Yet, it is the expression "Orient Pearl" which conveys

1 Homer, The Odyssey, translated by E.V. Rieu, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1948; for example, "As soon as Dawn with her rose-tinted hand had lit the East", Book II, p. 34; "as soon as Dawn had flecked the morning sky with red", Book XIII, p. 208.

2 St. Luke 8,5-18.
the real meaning of the harmony which comes from obedience to God's order, a harmony which is seen in Adam's innocent state of sexual and spiritual bliss.

The symbol of the pearl is common in Christian tradition. Milton's use of it has already been suggested above. Nevertheless to bring out its full meaning, and the direction in which the poet is using the symbol in this particular context, it will be worthwhile considering something of its biblical origin. The symbol of the pearl has its origin primarily in the New Testament, where it represents the joy, or flower, or fruit of man's quest for the kingdom of God. St. Matthew reveals that Christ preached, "the kingdom of heaven is like unto a merchant man, seeking goodly pearls; who, when he had found one pearl of great price, went and sold all he had and bought it." This pearl is described as something holy, not to be shared by those uninitiated in the ways of God: "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you." St. John in his "Revelation" prophetically describes the punishment of God upon the whore of Babylon:


4 St. Matthew 13,46.

5 St. Matthew 7,6.

BOOK V: THE THEME OF OBEDIENCE

...For her sins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities... How much she hath glorified herself and lived deliciously... Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death, and mourning... and the kings of the earth, who have committed fornication and lived deliciously with her, shall bewail her... and the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her; for no man buyeth her merchandise any more. The merchandise of gold and silver and precious stones, and of pearls... and of cinnamon, and odours... and the fruits that thy soul lusted after are departed from thee, and all things that were dainty and goodly are departed from thee and thou shalt find them no more at all.

The symbol then of the pearl is in itself a simple one which would be understood by any seventeenth century reader and is understood today by any reader of the Bible. However, Milton's use of the symbol is both simple and complex. There is in his use a certain communion with tradition, especially as it is recorded in the Bible, but there is a great deal of difference between Milton's use of the symbol and that found for example in the medieval poem "I Syng of a Myden". What this difference is, only the context of "Paradise Lost" can reveal.

The "Orient Pearl", in its literal sense, is the dew of the morning transformed by the sun rising in the East. It both refreshes the earth and, in co-operation with the sun, assists the growth of plants. It connotes, then, peace, innocence and fecundity. But there is more to the dew than this. The particular way in which it brings peace is characterized, for the most part, by the meaning which Milton gives to the sun. In Chapter Three this meaning

7 For a scholarly presentation of the symbolism of both the "dew" and the "pearl" in relation to Catholic tradition, see Stephen Manning, "I Syng of a Myden" MLA, vol. LXXV, no.1, 1960, pp. 8-11. This study is most helpful in determining the medieval use of symbols. From this, one is better able to see the particular use which Milton has for symbols.
has already been considered, that is in relation to its light and sexual harmony. The two symbols then complement one another, and, as shall be shown, will later complement the analogy of the plant in Raphael's "degree" speech. The sun is seen shooting on the earth "his dewy ray" (141); Adam and Eve are pictured as working "among sweet dews" (212) and the harmonious communion between the sun and the earth is seen in the lines:

The Sun that light imparts to all, receives
From all his alimental recompense
In humid exhalations, and at Eve
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. (423-430)

On the other hand, what interpretation, if any, is to be given to the description of Satan as having "dewy locks" (56)? In the answer to this question can be found a key to Milton's use of symbols and their relationship to his concept of order. Before considering this problem it is necessary to look at the use of the dew symbol in scripture.

Traditionally, the idea of the dew has been associated with the idea of grace that waters and refreshes the garden of the soul— as a special favor obtained through man's harmony with God. Isaac blessing Jacob says: "See the smell of my son is as the smell of a field which the Lord has blessed: Therefore God give thee of the dew of heaven..." 8 It is also part of the Mosaic blessing: "And this is the blessing wherewith Moses the man of God blessed the Children of Israel...Blessed

of the Lord be his land, for the previous things of heaven, for the
dew..."; The dew is used figuratively throughout the Old Testament
as in "My doctrine shall drop as the rain, my speech shall distil as the
dew..."; "Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power, in the
beauties of holiness from the womb of the morning: thou hast the dew
of thy youth"; "The king's wrath is as the roaring lion; but his
favor is as dew upon the grass"; and "Thy dead men shall live, to­
gether with my dead body shall they arise. Awake and sing, ye that
dwell in dust: for the dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall
cast out the dead." Genesis, Deuteronomy, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Job,
the Psalms, Proverbs, Isaiah, Daniel, Hosee, Haggai, and Zechariah all
refer to the dew as the grace which comes only from obedience to God.}

Living in God's light Adam walks amid the "Orient Pearl"
(2-3); his sleep of innocence is described as "Aery light" brought about
by his temperate eating: "from pure digestion bred / And temperate
vapours bland" (4-5). By way of contrast, after Adam has violated God's
law through his sin of disobedience, the grace which God has bestowed
upon nature will become his oppressor:

10. Ibid., 32:2.
13. See: Judges, 6:37; 2 Samuel, 1:21,17:12; 1 Kings, 17:1;
Job, 38:28; Proverbs 3:20; Isaiah, 18:4; Daniel, 4:33; Hosee, 6:14,
13:8; Haggai, 1:10; and Zechariah, 8:12.
till dewy sleep
Oppress’d they, wearied and with amorous play.
Soon as the force of that fallacious Fruit
That with exhilarating vapour bland
About thir spirits had play’d, and inmost powers
Made err, was now exhal’d and grosser sleep
Bred of unkindly fumes... (IX,1044-1050)

But in innocence Adam walks amid true religion, at "Matin Song" (V,17), desiring to enjoy the fields before the loss of "prime" (21). Eve, however, has been visited by evil and he finds her "With Tresses discompos’d, and glowing Cheek,/ As through unquiet rest." (10-11). But as yet, she has not sinned and Adam finds her beauty "whether waking or asleep,/ Shot forth peculiar Graces" (14-15).

The union of Adam and Eve is described in terms of the mystical but sensual marriage found in "Solomon’s Song". Adam says:

My fairest, my espous’d, Awake, 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 Cibbon Grove,
What drops the Myrrth and what the Balmy Reed. (17-23)

The Bible phrases a parallel event as:

My beloved spake and said unto me, Rise up, my love, my fair one and come away. For, lo, the winter is past and the rain is over and gone; the flowers appear on the earth, the time of the singing of the 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 grapes give a good smell. Arise my fair one, and come away. 14

14 "Solomon’s Song" 2:10-13. Notice also the frequent use of "fair", the description of the beloved as "A bundle of myrrh" 1:13. The entire scene of Adam and Eve in Paradise can be seen as a paraphrase of this mystical portrayal of grace.
Eve's dream of the visitation of Satan reveals the mode of evil, which is to appear under the guise of the good. Satan wakes Eve in the same manner as does Adam. Adam awakes Eve "with voice/Mild as when Zephyrus on Flora breathes" (15-16) and calls her to delight.

Eve says Satan called:

With gentle voice, I thought it thine; it said,
Why sleep'st thou Eve? now is the pleasant time,
The cool, the silent, save where silence yields
To the night-warbling Bird, that now awake
Tunes sweetest his love-labour'd song... (37-41)

But what of Eve's description of Satan as "dewy lock" (56)?

The first answer is that Satan, the symbol of evil, comes under the guise of good. He has the appearance of grace and order. The expression "dewy" is then usedironically. However, is there a sense in which the term can be fittingly ascribed to Satan? Part of the answer may be found in Satan's speech to Eve; the other part will be found at the end of this chapter. When Satan induces Eve to eat the apple, he ironically speaks the truth. But it is a veiled truth:

O Fruit Divine
Sweet of thyself, but much more sweet thus cropt,
Forbidd'n 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 honour'd more? (67-73)

Taste this, and be henceforth among the Gods
Thyself a Goddess...

15 Patterson writes: "This dream experience of Eve's, really a part of the temptation that led to the Fall, is one of the most carefully worked out parts of the poem. It is so strikingly in accord with modern psychology that one is tempted to wonder if much of recent psychology is not simply the classification and naming of what great poets have known and acted upon for centuries." The Student's Milton,
The fruit is indeed properly called "Divine", since it symbolizes what is reserved for God. By eating the fruit man usurps God's prerogative and, in a sense, becomes a God. Herein Satan has ironically revealed the nature of evil, as an attempt to assume the role of God.

Unlike the merchant in St. Matthew's allegory, Adam and Eve do not seek "the pearl of great price"; they already possess it. Their story is an allegory of losing God's grace, the "Orient Pearl" and perhaps, only in losing it do they really find it.

Adam attuned to the light of God, instructs Eve on the nature of the ordered relationship between the soul and its lesser faculties:

Yet evil whence? in thee can harbour none
Created pure. But know that in the Soul
Are many lesser Faculties that serve
Reason as chief; among these Fancy next
Her office holds; of all external things,
Which the five watchful Senses represent
She forms Imagination, Aery shapes,
Which Reason joining or disjoining, frames
All that we affirm or what deny, and call
Our knowledge or opinion; then retires
Into her private Cell when Nature rests... (99-109)

... yet be not sad. (116-119)

Evil into the mind of God or man
May come and go, so unapprov'd and leave
No spot or blame behind.


16 See footnote in Chapter I qualifying this point.

17 Elbert N.S. Thompson, "The Theme of Paradise Lost", PMLA, 1913, XXVIII, p. 106-120, sees the whole of "Paradise Lost" as an allegory, the apple symbolic of truth. Adam, the guilty one represents not one individual but man in general. He states: "the poet's main intent seems to be to accept as fact the existence of evil, and to disclose concretely after the fashion of poetry its inevitable consequence" p. 110. In rebuttal H.W. Peck, "The Theme of Paradise Lost", "..."
Milton here reveals his doctrine of the hierarchies of the soul as expressed in "The Christian Doctrine":

But the same, or even greater difficulty still remains — how that which is in its nature peccable can proceed from God? I ask in reply, how anything peccable can have originated from the virtue and efficacy which proceeds from God? Strictly speaking, indeed, it is neither matter, nor form that sins; and yet having proceeded from God, and become in the power of another party, what is there to prevent them, inasmuch as they have now become mutable, from contracting stain and contamination through the enticement of the devil, or those which originate in man himself? It is objected, however, that body cannot emanate from spirit. I reply, much less then, can body emanate from nothing. For spirit being the most excellent substance, virtually and essentially contains within itself the inferior one; as the spiritual and rational faculty contain the corporeal, that is the sentient and vegetative, faculty. 18

Milton's concept of order is so solidly founded on the natural union of heaven and earth (401-404), that he even approaches the possibility of God sinning: "Evil into the mind of God or man / May come

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19 Too much stress should not be placed on the possibility of God sinning. Woodhouse contends that the word "God" here means "angel". This is possible since the words are used interchangeably in this epic. A.S.P. Woodhouse, op.cit., p. 122.
and go" (117-118); "God is God because he put evil out of his mind." 

This seems to imply not only the necessity of discipline in man and
in the angels but in God as well.

After Adam's instruction to Eve, they both bathe in God's
grace, amidst the sun's "dewy ray" (141), harmoniously united with God,
the angels, and the sun, which is "of this great World both Eye and
Soul." (172). Among "sweet dews" they embrace, like the "Vine" that is
wedded to the "Elm" (215-216).

(The Hierarchial Order of Obedience)

Although Adam and Eve possess their pearl of grace in their
preternatural state they are unable to analyse either its meaning or its
relationship to God's total order. This Raphael endeavors to do in his
"degree" speech. It will be necessary to consider the content of this
speech in order to show its bearing on the epic as a whole.

Raphael informs Adam that there is one God from whom all beings
come and to whom all beings return "If not deprav’d", that is if they
are
do not violate their degree in God's order. All beings/created not out
of nothing but out of matter. This matter contains the "various
forms ...degrees / Of substance, and in things, that live of life"
(473-474). In proportion as a being has a higher place in the hier-
archy of being, that is in proportion as he is close to God, he tends
to have more spirit and less matter. Each being is placed in a
special sphere which is not inert but active. The activity of a being
is to attain that spiritual degree which is in proportion to its

20 Patterson, op.cit., p. 84
individual perfection. In man this perfection is found when reason is supreme over the senses. Man's reason deals primarily with discursive knowledge, though there may be some intuitive knowledge. The angel's reason deals primarily with intuitive knowledge. But it is the same reason, "Differing but in degree" (490). Now the end of man is not the violation but the perfection of his nature. When this perfection is achieved man may live with angels and enjoy "No inconvenient Diet" (495). But the whole perfection of man is contingent upon his obedience to God, which means his obedience to God's degree.

The complete speech is seen in the following lines:

To whom the winged Hierarch repli'd.
O Adam, one Almighty is, from whom
All things proceed, and up to him return,
If not deprav'd from good, created all
Such to perfection, one first matter all,
Indeed with various forms, various degrees
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
Eaching in thir 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 aery, last the bright consummate flow'r
Spirits odorous breathes: flow'rs and thir 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, when the Soul
Reason receives, and reason is her being,
Discursive or Intuitive discourse
If oftest yours, the latter most is ours,
Differing but in degree, of kind the same.
Wonder not then, what God for you saw good
If I refuse not, but convert, as you,
To proper substance; time may come when men
With angels may participate, and find
No inconvenient Diet, nor too light Fare;
And from these corporal nutriments perhaps
Your bodies may at last turn to Spirit,
BOOK V: THE THEME OF OBEDIENCE

Improvd by tract of time, and wing'd ascend
Ethereal, as wwe, or may at choice
Here or in Heavn'ly Paradise dwell;
If ye be found obedient, and retain
Unalterably firm his love entire
Whose progeny you are. Meanwhile enjoy
Your fill what happiness this happy state
Can comprehend, incapable of more. (468-505)

Now such a speech naturally invites a comparison with the famous "degree" speech of Ulysses in "Troilus and Cressida". The comparison is helpful because it better enables the critic to define the extent and limitation of Milton's genius. Certainly Shakespeare paints a more concrete picture of evil or disorder than Milton does. Ulysses sees the effects of disorder on both a universal and a particular scale: disorder in the planets affecting the sea, the earth, the winds, the state; disorder in society affecting communities, schoolbrotherhood, the "prerogative of age, crowns sceptres laurels"; disorder in the

21 "The heavens themselves, the planets and this centre
Observe degree priority and place
Insisture course proportion season form
Office and custom, in all line of order;
And therefore is the glorious planet Sol
In noble eminence enthron'd and sper'd
Amidst the other, whose med'cinable eye
Corrects the ill aspects of planet evil
And posts like the commandement of a king,
Sans check, to good and bad. But when the planets
In evil mixture to disorder wander,
What plagues and what portent, what mutiny
What raging of the sea, shaking of earth...

Oh, when degree is shak'd
Which is the ladder to all high designs,
The enterprise is sick. How could communities
Degrees in schools and brotherhoods in cities
Peaceful commerce..." etc.
"Troilus and Cressida" I,3, 84-134; William Shakespeare,
The Complete Works, ed. by Peter Alexander, New York, Random House,
p. 793.
family affecting the honour due to the father; and finally disorder in
the individual where power becomes will, will becomes appetite, and
appetite "a universal wolf". In spite of the difference in genre and
context of the two speeches it is not difficult to agree with Leavis
when he criticizes Milton's lack of minute sensibility. However,
Milton's total concept of order is much more intelligible than that of
Shakespeare.

Shakespeare for the most part takes order for granted; he does
not explain its metaphysical basis: "The heavens themselves, the planets
and this centre / Observe degree, priority and place." It is signifi­
cant to note, too, that Shakespeare, along with Milton, refers to the
sun: "And therefore is the glorious planet Sol / In noble eminence
enthron'd and spher'd / Amidst the others". But Shakespeare's sun
lacks the all-embracing function of Milton's sun.

22 F.R. Leavis, Revaluation, London, Chatto and Windus, 1936,
pp. 48-50. Although Leavis' comparison of Milton's patterns to brick­
laying is superficial, nevertheless he does help to raise certain
problems pertinent to Milton, which are of great value.

23 Caroline Spurgeon holds that Shakespeare "does not seem
to have drawn any support from the forms and promises of conventional
religion, nor does he show any sign of hope or belief in future life".
Whether this is so or not at least, "he does show a passionate interest
in this life, and a very strong belief in the importance of the way it
is lived in relation to our fellows", op. cit., p. 207. While Milton
holds for the importance of this life, his emphasis is about directing
man's activities to conform to his end. A comparison between Shakes­
peare and Milton regarding order might be found in a comparison be­
tween Aristophanes' "The Cloud" and Plato's "Republic". Aristophanes
certainly has a more practical concept of disorder than Plato, but
Plato has the more intelligible concept of order.
BOOK V: THE THEME OF OBEDIENCE

Here it is not a question of evaluating Milton's philosophy or theology. The point is that Milton is able to present poetically an intellectual structure of ideas in "Paradise Lost" which intimately and naturally correlates all beings to God and establishes a harmonious relationship which is communal in character between God, the angels, man, and nature. Some ways by which the poet helps to achieve this have already been noted: the repetition of key terms in reference to the three strata of society, heaven, hell and earth; the pattern of paradox by which heaven is joined to earth through the sun; and the symbol of the sun with its communicative and sexual overtones.

In Book V Milton amplifies his picture of the harmonious structure by linking all creatures to God through one matter, "Indu'd with various forms, various degrees" (473). An organic unity is achieved in both the natural and the supernatural level through the analogy of the plant:

So from the root
Springs lighter the green stalk from thence the leaves
More aery, last the bright consummate flow'r
Spirits odorous breathes; flow'rs and thir fruit
Man's nourishment. (479-483)

The organic unity in the natural level is seen in the fact that the plant represents both the individual and the social scale of growth toward perfection. There is also an organic unity achieved on the spiritual level through the symbols of the sun and the dew, which have already been considered. These imply a natural and a spiritual growth for both the individual and the entire hierarchal order.

Milton's concept of order is both simple and complex, but above all it is warm because it is human or anthropomorphic. This warmth
is achieved, as it so often is in the Old Testament, through a communal and sexual imagery. Tillyard points out that "with superb cunning Milton calls Raphael "the winged Hierarch" to summon up in a word the association of degree". But this phrase in itself does not convey Milton's concept of order. More important is the expression "Raphael, the sociable Spirit" (221) and the additional fact that he "deign'd / To travel with Tobias and secur'd / His marriage with the seven-times-wedded Maid." (222-223). True, such a fact may bespeak Milton's personal preoccupation with marriage but it intimately unites the angel with man, exemplifies the divine aspect of marriage and harmoniously unites heaven, man and nature, so that all creation is seen to be designed by the "sovran Architect" (256) to be "the Gard'ın of God" (260).

Milton solidifies the structure of creation, intimately uniting the various parts, yet showing their individual perfection, and role in the hierarchy of being in a number of other ways. Perhaps the most important is the identification here, of Eve with the earth. Milton uses such expressions as "Earth's inmost womb" (303) and "Earth all-bearing Mother" and has Raphael address Eve as:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Hail Mother of mankind, whose fruitful Womb} \\
\text{Shall fill the World more numerous with thy Sons} \\
\text{Than with these various fruits the Tree of God} \\
\text{Have heap'd this Table.} \\
\end{align*}
\]  

(387-390)

The description of Adam in his nudity, symbolic of freedom and of the harmony between his reason and his senses as well as the harmony between himself and nature, likewise contributes to Milton's vision of order:


25 See H.J. Grierson, Milton and Wordsworth, op.cit., pp. 48-64.
Meanwhile our Primitive great Sire, to meet
His god-like Guest, walks forth, without more train
Accompani'd than his own complete
Perfection, in himself was all his state (350–353)

... ... ...

Nearer his presence Adam though not aw'd
Yet with submiss approach and reverence meek,
As to a superior Nature bowing low. (358–360)

The unique role of the individual in God's order is revealed by the poet
most artfully, growing out of the scene itself. As Eve prepares the meal
for her heavenly guest:

She turns on hospitable thoughts intent
What choice to choose for delicacy best,
What order, so contrived as not to mix
Taste, not well join'd inelegant, but bring
Taste after taste upheld with kindliest change.

(332–336)

Nor has Milton left order only in the prelapsian stage of creation. By
linking Eve with the "blest Mary, second Eve" (387) the poet prepares
for the new order whereby man finds his perfection through Christ. But
even here man finds his perfection in his hierarchy of being, in doing
that particular task for which he was created.

It might be well here to comment briefly on the distinction be­
tween Milton's concept of order and that of Hopkins. As critics have
noted, in many respects there is a similarity between the two poets not
only in their prosody but also in their themes. Both poets see the
world as created by God and refreshed by his Providence; both poets
stress the individuality of man, his perfection and freedom through an

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26 See Sister M. Aquinas Healy, "Milton and Hopkins", UTQ
no. 22, 1952–1953, pp. 18–22; W.H. Gardner, Gerard Manley Hopkins,
adherence to God's "rod". However, it is in their concept of Christ in God's order that the poets differ greatly.

In his sonnet "As Kingfishers Catch Fire", which in many ways echoes of Milton, Hopkins concludes:

I say more; the just man justices;
Keeps grace; that keeps all his going graces;
Acts in God's eyes what in God's eyes he is —
Christ — for Christ plays in ten thousand places,
Lovely in limbs, and lovely in eyes not his
To the Father through the features of men's face. 27

Here as in "The Wreck of the Deutschland", "Spring", etc., Hopkins stresses not only the imitation of Christ but also the living in, by and with Christ, in other words, the perfection of man in the "Mystical Body". Milton, on the other hand, writes on the "Mystical Body" and the "Communion of Saints" 28 but as Mackenzie Ross affirms, they are invisible things, lacking any concrete reality or function. 29 This is seen too, in "Paradise Lost". Christ or the Son is an exemplar, a symbol to be followed but not to be communed with sacramentally. This is evident even in "On the Morning of Christ's Nativity" where Milton's idea of the Trinity tends to be somewhat orthodox. On this poem Hanford writes:


28 "Christian Doctrine" Chap. XXIV, "Of Union and Fellowship with Christ and His Members, Wherein is Considered the Mystical or Invisible Church" Milton writes: "Seeing that the body of Christ is mystically one, it follows that the fellowship of his members must also be mystical, and not confined to place or time, inasmuch as it is composed of individuals of widely separated countries, and of all ages from the foundation of the world". op.cit., p. 1020.

Theologically Milton accepts at this time the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity. His true theme, however, is the moral significance of Christ, as a symbol of ethical and religious truth, which in its pure simplicity banishes the multiformity of error, typified in the welter of Pagan divinities. Milton is adoring an idea rather than a person. His poem is Protestant and humanistic rather than Catholic in feeling.  

Hence, in the interpretation of such symbols as the sun, light, pearl and dew the critic must be on guard lest he interpret these solely in the light of traditional Christianity. Milton's symbols spring from tradition and are colored by his age but they belong distinctly to Milton and are to be interpreted only in their particular context in "Paradise Lost". The critic may see, though, some of the problems which Milton faces in using traditional symbols divorced from their heritage.

In the images considered in this chapter, and in the previous one, Milton is stressing God's Providence both in the order of nature and in the order of grace, which complement one another but, nevertheless, are different. Yet, God's Providence is to be seen on an ethical rather than a sacramental or mystical plane. And in and through this ethical order man is to find his freedom and happiness.

30 Hanford, op.cit., p. 142.

31 Some of these problems are considered by Ross, op.cit., pp. 118-120.

32 This term is here used in a Catholic sense. There is a sense in which the word "sacramental" can be used in reference to Milton's concept of nature. This will be considered in a later chapter.
BOOK V: THE THEME OF OBEDIENCE

(The Nature of Satan's Disobedience)

The first portion of this chapter stressed the harmonious relationship of man with God's order, through the symbol of the "Orient Pearl"; the second portion stressed the harmonious plan of God for all creation through a hierarchy of perfections. Now this hierarchy, then, is seen in a twofold sense: (1) that which belongs to the spiritual order and (2) that which belongs to the natural order. The first is contingent upon God's gift and man's free will, and, as Satan demonstrates, it may be lost. The second is inherent within the nature of things and can not be lost. This distinction is important in understanding of the character and role of Satan. While Satan has lost his "pearl" he is still part of the natural hierarchy, still by nature an archangel, still possessed of a lofty perfection which is natural to his being. Hence it is difficult to see Satan through the eyes of C.S. Lewis -- tragic, ruined, but not "ridiculous".  

By this distinction the error of such a critic as Shelley can be better understood. Shelley writes:

Nothing can exceed the energy and magnificence of the character of Satan as expressed in "Paradise Lost". It is a mistake to suppose that he could ever have been intended for the popular personification of evil. Implacable hate, patient cunning, and a sleepless refinement of device to inflict the extremest anguish on an enemy, these things are evil; and, although venial in a slave, are not to be forgiven in a tyrant; although redeemed by much that ennobles his defeat in one subdued, are marked by all that dishonours his conquest in the victor.

33 C.S. Lewis, op.cit., p. 98. Mr. Lewis' idea of the "progressive degradation" of Satan is perhaps too fixed, and out of keeping with the conclusions of this thesis.
Milton's Devil as a moral being is far superior to his God, as one who perseveres in some purpose which he has conceived to be excellent in spite of adversity and torture, is to one who in the cold security of undoubted triumph inflicts the most horrible revenge upon his enemy, not for any mistaken notion of inducing him to repent of a perseverance in enmity, but with the alleged design of exasperating him to deserve new torments. Milton has so far violated the popular creed (if this shall be judged to be a violation) as to have alleged no superiority of moral virtue to his God over his Devil.34

Satan is a "magnificent" being in the literal sense. This is why Milton surrounds him with terms which are also applied to the description of God: "high", "gold", "alone", etc. But the key to understanding the disorder of Satan and his symbolic representation of evil is found in the verb "seem" which is used repeatedly throughout this Book with reference to Satan and to evil in general.

After God has announced that the Son is to be his "Vicegerent" (599-615) Raphael adds: "So spake th' Omnipotent, and with his words / All seem'd well pleas'd, all seem'd but were not all" (616-617). The word "Omnipotent" is important because it helps to define the relationship of the creature to the divine order. God by his power can and does establish the degree of perfection which a person is to have in the hierarchy; however, his omnipotence does not control the actions of angels and men. These still have free will to act either in accordance with their perfection or to act against it. This is seen in the phrase "but were not all".

Now, the first "seem'd" referred to above indicates the action of those who conform with God's order. The reality of their joy is symbolically expressed in the ritual of dance and song which is correlated to the "regular" (624) and "irregular" (625) movements and music of the "starry sphere" (620) so that there is enacted a ritual of "harmony Divine" (625). The second "seem'd" takes on a different meaning, creating a tension between appearance versus reality, and gives a microcosmic picture of the tension between good and evil in the entire macrocosm. The "all seem'd but were not all" carries with it the concept of "make-believe" and has the force of manifesting in some angels not the enactment of a ritual symbol of worship but the enactment of a dramatic symbol of sham and pretence, of exterior devotion without "th' upright heart and pure" (I,17).

Now Milton adds a delicate touch which plays a vital role in the epic as a whole. He gives a picture of God whose "own ear / Listens".

35 Milton repeatedly emphasizes the freedom of heaven. This freedom sometimes takes the appearance of disorder, in contrast to the order of hell. But in this very appearance of disorder is to be found Milton's concept of harmony. The ethical system of Milton is not to be identified with that of Kant, though there are similarities. Kant's ethical order is based primarily on what is rational; Milton's ethical order is based on love. For an analysis of Kant's concept of order see the essay by Richard Kroner, "Hegel's Philosophical Development", On Christianity: Early Theological Writings, by Friedrich Hegel, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1961, pp. 1-66.

delighted" (626-627) to the "charming tones" (626); a picture which will become the central point in the pattern of relationships, as shall be shown in a later chapter, between God and the angels, God and man, the angels and man, Adam and Eve, Satan and Eve, Eve and Adam and finally between the Son of God and man. In its immediate context, however, the image of God's ear listening to the two groups of angels: those whose singing is the enactment of a ritualistic symbol and those whose singing is the enactment of a mere dramatic symbol, serves to unite the two tensions of opposing realities.

There is a danger here in trying to extract a dogma. Shall it be said that the two tensions symbolize the good and the evil which dwell in the one court of heaven, of which "Earth / Be but the shadow" (573-574)? or shall it be said that the two tensions symbolize the good and evil which exist in both the macrocosm and the microcosm; in the universe as a totality and in the mind of man as an individual? Perhaps!

Yet, it is, at least, evident that Milton is manifesting the inherent relationship between good and evil, and that all is within the "ear" or sight of God. But why should God listen "delighted" (627)? Could God

37 There is a similarly charming picture in Spenser's "Epithalamion" where the angels above the sacred altar "Forget their service and about her fly / Ofte peeping in her face..." But Spenser is revealing here only one aspect of order. Milton uses his image, of the ear listening, throughout the epic, to unite God with the angels, God with man, the angels with man, Eve with Adam, man with Satan and finally man with the Son of God.

38 See chapter on Book VIII.
be pleased with the beautiful sounds knowing that some were produced by evil angels? Milton has already supplied part of the answer when he wrote: "Evil in the mind of God or man / May come and go, so unapprov'd and leave / No spot or blame behind" (117-119). Hence God could be pleased with the actions of good men whose lives bring them into daily contact with evil: Milton writes in the "Areopagitica:

Good and evil we know in this world grow up together almost inseparably; and the knowledge of good is so involved and interwoven with the knowledge of evil, and in so many cunning resemblances hardly to be discerned, that those confused seeds which were imposed upon Psyche as an incessant labor to cull out, and sort asunder were not more intermixed. It was from out the rind of one apple tasted, that the knowledge of good and evil, as two twins cleaving together, leaped forth into world. And perhaps this is that doom which Adam fell into knowing good and evil, that is to say, of knowing good by evil.39

It is a difficult task for man to discern what is good from what is evil. By man's unaided reason this cannot be done. He can only determine what is good from what "seems" to be good: by the light of God. This light of God has been given in Raphael's "degree" speech which constitutes the rule of the "Golden Sceptre" (885). Man's seeming judgement is given through Satan's "degree" speech which constitutes the rule of the "Iron Rod" (887).40 Like Raphael, Satan emphasizes that God has created the angels according to various degrees: "Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers" (772) and that these orders


40 In "Of Reformation", Milton asserts those who do not accept the law of Christ which is the "meek censure of the Church" will "fall
BOOK V: THE THEME OF OBEDIENCE

and degrees are not incompatible with liberty but are consistent with it: "for Orders and Degrees / Jar not with liberty, but well consist." (792-793). Yet what is the difference between the concept of order as held by Raphael and that which is held by Satan?

Satan sees order as something which is static. He sees the creature only as an individual, not as a member of a community contributing to the total good of the community (775-791). For Satan then, a law is a negative thing acting only as a check against individual error (797-798); it is not a means of achieving a communal good.

It is ironic that Satan should use a metaphor derived from music (793) for musical harmony like social harmony presupposes different but not isolated roles, all subservient to a total effect. There is irony too in Satan's question: "our being ordain'd to govern, not to serve?" (802) for government presupposes service.

Satan's reply to Abdiel again stresses the "seems" motif. Satan argues as a positivist, as one cut off from grace. He states that he knows only what he sees, what he can remember:

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! Doctrine which we would know whence learnt: who saw When this creation was? remember'st thou 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 power, 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... (853-865)

under the iron sceptre of anger that will dash him to pieces like a potsherd." Book II, op.cit., p. 454.
In contrast to Satan's disobedience, Abdiel, Christ's type among the angels, represents the model of obedience to God's "Golden Sceptre". In him is found Milton's concept of the ideal Christian, directed in spite of opposition and public opinion, by the dictates of God.

Abdiel does not answer Satan's charges directly. He does not prove the right of the Son to rule. His reasoning is directed, rather, by faith in, and love of God. Condemning Satan's position he states:

0 argument blasphemous, false and proud!
Words which no ear ever to hear in Heav'n
Expected, least of all from thee ingrate
In place thyself so high above thy Peers.
Canst thou with impious obloquy condemn
The just Decree of God, pronounc' and sworn
That to his only Son by right endu'd
With Regal Sceptre, every Soul in Heav'n
Shall bend the knee, and in that honour due
Confess him rightful King? (809-818)

As Christ often does, Abdiel uses the weakest form of argument: *argumentum ad hominem*. Reiterating Satan's statement that it is unjust for God to make a law binding the angels, Abdiel questions rhetorically: "Shalt thou give Law To God, shalt thou dispute / With him the points of liberty, who made / Thee what thou art?"

It has been noted in previous chapters how often the idea of aloneness appears with reference to Satan. Milton gives this idea flexibility and complexity by using it in reference to Abdiel.

The flaming Seraph fearless, though alone
Encompass'd round with foes, thus answer'd hold (875-876)

So spake the Seraph Abdiel faithful found,
Among the faithless, faithful only hee;
Among innumerable false, unmov'd
However, the "aloneness" of Abdiel is different from that of Satan. Satan's "aloneness" is a divorce of his activities from the harmony of God's order; Abdiel's "aloneness" is what ought to be the "aloneness" of every Christian. It is a complete dependance upon God, and upon God alone, though this dependence may leave the Christian "alone" — an outcast among his fellow humans. This is the lesson which Milton learns from life and as Arthur Barker states: "Christian theology was not for Milton of merely academic interest; nor did it concern only an unreal world separated from the present by death. It served to bring into ordered significance the lessons of a life full of intense experience." Milton sees too, the temptation for man to be blinded by what seems to be the truth:

41 See Milton's commentaries on Galatians 5, 4-5 "Let every man prove his own work and then shall he have rejoicing in himself alone, and not in another: for every man shall bear his own burden." "A Treatise of Civil Power", op. cit., p. 865.

42 Probably one of the greatest burdens which Milton felt in life was being cut off from his fellow Puritans because of his ideas on divorce. Grierson writes: "...the breach which the pamphlets precipitated between himself and those with whom he had entered the battle; the beginning of Milton's isolation, his quest of other allies, his movement more and more towards what we might call "the left", the Independents, the Army and its leaders, a movement which is to lead him from one disillusion to another until at the Restoration he sits alone, allied to no church and no party, disillusioned but undiscouraged and unrepentant and ready in his poems to put on record his reading of man's character and history", op. cit., p. 49.

43 Arthur E. Barker, Milton and the Puritan Dilemma, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1942, p. 293.
BOOK V: THE THEME OF OBEDIENCE

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 sight unconquerable?
(VI,114-118)

And Milton knows that only a few can stand alone; only a few can see bey­
ond the "seeming":

When I alone
Seem'd in thy World erroneous to dissent
From all: my Sect thou seest, now learn too late
How few sometimes may know, when thousands err.

More than this, Milton knows that the task of a Christian, who
imitates Abdiel - who upholds not only the natural order but the spiri­
tual as well, and is not governed by man's dictates, but by God's - is
not an easy one. It brings with it often a deep sorrow, one that can
be healed only in heaven. But there, the remembrance of the sorrows,
the isolation for God's sake makes the possession of the "Orient Pearl"
all the more precious. Then, God will say to the true Christian:

Servant of God, well done, well hast thou fought
The better fight, who single has maintain'd
Against revolted multitudes the Cause
Of Truth, in word mightier than they in Arms;
And for the testimony of Truth has 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.

(VI,29-37)
CHAPTER FIVE

BOOKS VI, VII: THE CELESTIAL SONG OF CREATION

In the last chapter it was seen that Book V centres around the theme of obedience. This chapter presents a variation of this theme. It stresses: (1) Milton's answer to the philosophical problem posed by Satan, (2) Milton's use of the song motif to identify his views on order with those of the divine Singer, (3) the role of nature in man's justification and (4) the story of creation as vindicating some of Milton's social theories.

(A Philosophical Problem)

In Book V it is seen that Abdiel does not directly answer Satan's charge that all angels are naturally autonomous and independent beings who need not serve or obey God and His Son (V,772-802). Satan's position is made clear in the beginning of the epic where he states that God's ability to rule is not something inherent within his nature but something accidental: God is sovereign only because of his military power:

Be it so, since hee
Who now is Sovran can dispose and bid
What shall be right: fardest from him is best
Whom reason hath equall'd, force hath made supreme
Above his equals

(I,245-249).

The Adversary repeatedly asserts this fallacy, by his words and especially by his actions. In Book VI again he defiantly imitates the sovereignty of God. He is described:
High in the midst exalted as a God  
The Apostle in his Sun-bright Chariot sat  
Idol of Majesty Divine, enclos'd  
With Flaming Cherubim and golden Shields (99-102).

He completely reverts the order of morality 1 by referring to Abdiel as "seditious Angel" (152) and, with apparent objectivity, answers Michael's charge that he is evil (274-275) with the statement:

err not that so shall end  
The strife which thou call'st evil, but wee style  
The strife of Glory: which we mean to win,  
Or turn this Heav'n itself to Hell. (288-291)

Milton is raising here, a vital philosophical and theological problem pertinent to the objectivity of good and evil. 2 This does not imply that there is any problem for Milton. He is writing for a

1 One of the best modern commentaries on the position of Satan is the book by George Orwell, 1984, New York, New American Library, 1961, where society is erected according to the principles that ignorance is strength, war is peace, good is evil, according to technique of "doublethink" ... the power of holding two contradictory beliefs in one's mind simultaneously and accepting both of them." p. 176. E.M.W. Tillyard, Studies in Milton, indicates how the rise of the modern dictator has changed his evaluation of Satan: "events have robbed the act of rebellion of the romance it enjoyed in more tranquil days and have forced upon us a new knowledge of the dictator-type. Even those readers who insist on finding an arbitrary element in Milton's God must admit that Milton also pictured him as that to which the whole natural order led up; and if they conceive Satan as defying a tyrant they cannot escape conceiving of him as opposing the whole natural order too." p. 53.

2 For a'brief but scholarly analysis of the problem of God's will and the good see: Etienne Gilson, A Gilson Reader, New York, Doubleday and Company, 1957, pp. 142-151. Here Gilson analyses the position of Duns Scotus and Descartes in the light of thomistic philosophy. However, it might be added that Milton's position is best summed up in the principle of St. Augustine: nisi credideritis, non intelligitis.
"fit audience, though few" (VII,31) who believe in the scriptures, who believe in the goodness and supremacy of God, who need no "justification" of God's ways. However, Milton does answer the problem and his answer is intimately bound up with his idea of order.

Milton's answer is partially found in the reply of Abdiel, who attacks Satan's erroneous knowledge:

Apostate, still thou err'st nor end wilt find
Of erring, from the path of truth remote:
Unjustly thou deprav'st it with the name
Of Servitude to serve whom God ordains,
Or Nature; God and Nature bid the same,
When he who rules is worthiest, and excels
Them whom he governs. This is servitude,
To serve th' unwise, or him who hath rebell'd
Against this worthier, as thine now serve thee,
Thyself not free, but to thyself enthral'd (172-181).

For Milton, then, "God and Nature bid the same". That is, man

3 This is one of the facts that some critics fail to realize. Milton was not a believer in democracy. The Ruler in heaven is absolute with no intermediaries on earth and the ruler on earth is not to be a dictator, as shall be noted later, nor a common representative of all men but only of the few who by their superior reasoning power and social position, are capable of directing the people. Grierson writes: "Milton is not found among the sectaries...they were moving towards democracy, were the forerunners of later radicals. Milton was not. Even in the later "Defensio" where he is vindicating the sovereignty of the people, he is quite explicit that the true people are not the mob but the great middle class... Moreover, the whole bent of his mind, and the direction given to it by his studies, Biblical and Classical, made him an aristocrat politically in the sense of the word as used by Aristotle." H.J. Grierson, Milton & Wordsworth, op.cit., pp. 58-59.

4 The term here is used according to its common interpretation, "that is, declare the justice of". Woodhouse, "Patterns in Paradise Lost", op.cit., p. 117. A more enlightening interpretation of the word is given by L.A. Cormican, op.cit., pp. 173-192. Father Cormican states: "by justification Milton did not mean a merely logical demonstration which would prove an intellectual conclusion and bring God within the framework of the rational universe. He uses the word with the overtones it acquired from New Testament usage, where it implies a divine, not a human or logical understanding, a supernal illumination
can know what is right if his actions conform to the laws of nature. This is the basic argument in his tracts: "The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce", "Of Education", "Of True Religion and Heresy, Schism, Toleration", etc. But the problem of knowing nature and her laws is, as already shown, a difficult one because of the frequent diction between what "seems" to be and what "is". The solution to the problem is found in the story of creation as recorded in the Bible and as revealed through the vision of the poet.

In spite of Satan's boast that he is the equal of God, in spite of his chariots, spears and inventions, he is no match for the Almighty. But God's supremacy is not manifested so much by his military victory as by his act of creating. God creates; Satan destroys; "but to create / Is greater than to destroy" (VII,606-607). The logic is simple, but not important. What is important is Milton's poetic vision of creation. It is here that the poet, as a character in the epic, from the Holy Spirit whom he invokes for special guidance in his difficult task." p. 175.

5 e.g. in writing to Samuel Hortbit, Milton praises him for his wisdom, attributing it to "either the definite will of God or the peculiar sway of nature which is also God's working."Student's Milton, p. 725.

6 It is important to remember how Milton describes Satan's destruction. He skillfully links the image of the disembowellment of a human body with the image of the production of vulgar, unpoetic noises

Immediate in a flame
But soon obscur'd with smoke, all Heav'n appear'd'd
From those deep-throated Engines belch'd, whose roar
Embowell'd with outrageous noise the Air,
And all her entrails tore, disgorging foul
Thir devilish glut... (VI,584-591)
identifies his views on order, with those of God, the divine Singer.
And it is here that he leagues with the forces of evil those who oppose
his ideas on order — those who are seen as persecuting the poet.

(The Song Motif)

Milton's story of creation is, in a sense, a little epic in
itself. It begins in contemporary England where the poet has fallen on
"evil days" (25) and is "compast round" (26) with "evil tongues", where
the poet, sees society as a "barbarous dissonance" (31) drowning Orpheus,
his message and his song (36-37). It continues on to evaluate society
by contrasting the false values of the age with the true values ordained
by God and manifested in an allegory of creation. It ends with the
vindication of God, and hence with the vindication of the prophet and
poet.

To go beyond the seeming and to see the real, the poet once
again calls upon "Urania" (3), the spirit of wisdom. And by wisdom,

Note how often Milton identifies Satan with the "false" poet. He is
called "Author of evil" (264). Satan also sees his conflict with
heaven as the conflict of two different writers: "The strife which thou
call'st evil, but wee style..." (289)

7 Orpheus is a traditional symbol of Christ. Edwin R. Good-
ough writes: "The greatest difference between Orpheus and Christ was
the total absence in Orpheus of the personal quality of Christ... It
was not Orpheus the person but the hymns that through the years accumu-
lated about his name which were of such great importance, especially in
the late Greek tradition... The identification meant for Christ that
Christ had founded the Christian mysteries and that his teaching too
had power to tame the animals." Jewish Symbols in Greco-Roman Period,
Kingsport, Kingsport Press, 1953, 6 vols., vol. V, p. 106. It is in-
teresting to note that Orpheus, in Book VII, represents not so much
Christ as Milton the poet. See reference to Orpheus in "Of Education",
op.cit., p. 727. See also Le P.M.-J. Lagrange Le Judaisme Avant Jesus-
the poet does not mean mere knowledge but that knowledge which lives and
loves and orders and which is symbolically manifested in a ritual of
innocent play and song:

Wisdom thy Sister, and with her didst play
In presence of the Almighty Father, pleas'd
With Celestial Song...  (10-12)

Like the Hebrew prophets, Milton sees his society as blinded,
disordered, distemperate, killing the messengers sent by God. He prays
that at least a few will understand his inspired words:

still govern thou my Song
Urania, and fit audience find though few.
But drive far off the barbarous dissonance
Of Bacchus and his Revellers, the Race
Of that wild Rout that tore the Thracian Bard
In Rhodope, where Woods and Rocks had Ears
To rapture, till the savage clamor drown'd
Both Harp and Voice...  (30-37)

The song motif plays a vital role in Milton's story of creation.
It is through the song that Milton is able to identify his ideas on order
with the plan of God as it is manifested in creation. He begins by call-
ing on the "Voice divine" (2) a greater singer than the "Muses nine" who
contributed to the "Celestial Song"; he indicates that he has been led up
into heaven and has drawn "Empyreal Air" (24) which is tempered to his
mortal breathing (15); he prays that he may not stumble in his flight,
for his message "Half yet remains unsung," and though he has fallen "on
evil days" (25) his voice remains unchanged: "I sing with mortal voice,
unchanged / to hoarse or mute" (24-25); he prays to Urania: "govern
thou my Song" and contrasts his song with the "evil tongues" (26),
with the "barbarous dissonance / Of Bacchus and his Revellers, the Race /
Of that wild Rout that tore the Thracian Bard" (31-33) and with "savage
clamor drown'd / Both Harp and Voice" (36-37).
The song of course is an image and a symbol of order but it is also an image and a symbol of a message. Milton unites the two ideas in his metaphor of knowledge as a food: "But Knowledge is as good, and needs no less / Her temperance over Appetite, to know / In measure..." (126-128. The concept of harmony which predominates throughout the whole story of creation extends the idea of the song to imply order through variety. Hence the angelic songs which conclude each part of creation and which end in "Halleluiahs" (634) serve as more than melodious decorations. They enact the essence of creation as a harmonious ordering of nature to God, and they show the poet's affinity to God's plan.

This harmonious ordering is indicated when Raphael tells Adam that God created man to take the place of the fallen angels in heaven and that through the obedience of man earth can be changed into heaven so that all will be joined in one glorious kingdom:

Out of one man a Race
Of men innumerable, there to dwell,
Not here, till by degrees of merit rais'd
They open to themselves at length the way
Up hither, under long obedience tri'd,
And Earth be chang'd to Heav'n, and Heav'n to Earth,
One Kingdom, Joy and Union without end. (155-161)

(Nature Sacramentalized)

In spite of the fact that Milton is paraphrasing the scriptural lines: "And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the

8 This is one of Milton's favored images and will be considered in a later chapter. In "Of Education", op. cit., p. 727, Milton contrasts a good education with a poor one in terms of two feasts.
waters, he seems to imply that nature is being sacramentalized. This is hinted at in a previous epic simile (I,305) which is etched against a traditional image of baptism, but it is given greater force by the emphasis upon the fluidity of chaos (VII,235) and the water which accompanies the birth of the earth (276-292). Broadbent notes this when he comments on a previous passage:

The contrast between the fluid desert of Chaos and the walled city of Heaven, the walled garden of Paradise is obvious; and the whole movement of Milton and the reader in Satan up to Heaven may be regarded as a rite of passage in which our natural satanism is exorcised.

The word "sacramental" as applied to "Paradise Lost" needs some qualification. It is not to be interpreted in the Catholic sense, nor in the common Protestant sense. It is something intimately bound up with Milton's concept of order. In its simplest sense it means a purification through nature and nature's laws. Man by acting in accord with nature becomes justified before God. And in the song of creation one aspect of nature which is stressed is the sexual. This has already been seen in relation to the sun and mother earth. Milton continues this theme in the story of creation. He identifies earth with a woman:

9 Genesis 1:2.

11 Broadbent, op.cit., p. 124.
The Earth was form'd, but in the Womb as yet
Of Waters, Embryon immature involv'd
Appear'd not; over all the face of Earth
Main Ocean flow'd, not idle, but with war,
Prolific-humour soft'ning all her Globe,
Fermented the great Mother to Conceive
Satiate with genial moisture... (276-282)

He describes the earth's bosom as "smelling sweet" (319). And he emphasizes God's command that all earth should engage in sexual activity:

"Be fruitful, multiply" (396), and "Let the Earth / Put forth the verdant Grass, Herb, yield Seed, / And Fruit Tree Yield Fruit after her kind; / Whose Seed is in herself upon the Earth". Almost the whole of nature, whatever its degree, is seen as created in pairs — the birds in the air, the fish in the seas, the animals on the land (339-447).

Milton in stressing the sexual aspect of nature is emphasizing that the sexual act is something holy. Through it men and nature cooperate with God in the act of creation and hence become good. Those who oppose the sexual act do not co-operate with God and hence become evil. Milton brings this out by emphasizing the distinction between non-creation and creation. Four major contrasts characterize the distinction: (1) darkness as opposed to light, (2) coldness as opposed to warmth, (3) disorder as opposed to order; and (4) discord as

12 The term "non-creation" is used here in a relative sense, i.e. in relation to the creation of earth. Strictly speaking, chaos is the prime matter created by God out of which God creates the universe. For a study of Milton's Neo-platonic cosmology derived from the Orphic and Pythagorean theories see Walter C. Curry, op.cit., pp. 48-49.

13 Chaos is not only cold but hot, representing the "fierce extremes" (272); "For hot, cold, moist and dry, four champions fierce / Strive here for mastery..." (II,898-899). However, in the story of the earth's creation Milton emphasizes the coldness to bring out the essential warmth of God.

14 It might be better to say with Woodhouse that chaos is
opposed to harmony. Since these ideas are not isolated one from the other they will be considered, for the most part, as they appear in the order of events.

Milton emphasizes that non-creation is characterized by disorder, darkness and wastefulness: "the vast immeasurable Abyss / O outrageous as a Sea, dark, wasteful, wild" (211-212); "Darkness profound / Cover'd the Abyss (233-234); "the loud misrule / Of Chaos ... might distemper..." (271-273). He states that non-creation is black and cold — all that is against life: "The black tartareous cold Infernal dregs / Adverse to life." Creation, however, is characterized by light. This light is not so much a physical light as a light of goodness, of order, which for Milton stands for reason or the conformity of reality with God's plan. The light has its beginning with the Father and is transmitted to the earth by the Son: "with Radiance crowned of Majesty Divine, Sapience and Love, / Immense, and all his Father in him shone" (194-196); "Let there be light, said God, and forthwith Light / Ethereal, first of things quintessence pure..." (243-244). It brings with it a living virtue, a living warmth: "His brooding wings the Spirit of God outspread, / And vital virtue infus'd, and vital warmth" (235-236). What is important in Milton's story of creation is "The meaning not the "unordered" rather than "disorder". op.cit., p. 124.

15 Hopkins uses a parallel image to convey a similar message. God has charged the world with grandeur but man ignores God's "rod" and violates God's order. Yet the Holy Ghost is ever renewing creation, ever offering new sacramental symbols for man to return to God's rule: "Because the Holy Ghost over the bent / Worldbroods, with warm breast and with ah! bright wings!" op.cit., p. 70.
Name" (5). Hence the symbol of the "golden compasses" (225) is to be seen as representing the perfect harmony of creation, of nature's laws. And the innocence, freedom, and perfect ordering of nature is aptly presented in the lines:

The Air

Floats, as they pass, fann'd with unnumber'd plumes;
From Branch to Branch the smaller Birds with Song
Solac'd the Woods and spread thir painted wings 16
Till Ev'n, nor then the solemn Nightingale
Ceas'd warbling, but all night tun'd her soft lays:
Others on Silver Lakes and Rivers Bath'd
Thir downy Breast; the Swan with Arched neck
Between her white wings mantling proudly, Rows
Her state...

(431-440)

The "Arched neck" continuing the theme of the "Golden compasses" shows that each creature has his special arch in the circle of creation. This arch represents more than a state - though it conveys this too; it represents a communicative or social relationship with God's order. The birds do not merely sing; they are entuned with nature. Earth is not merely a being; it is a woman entuned with God's creative act: "The Earth obey'd and straight / Op'ning her fertile Womb teem'd at a Birth / Innumerable living Creatures" (453-455). This is the "Celestial Song" brought from heaven by the Son. This is the song which all the angels recognize and in which they unite themselves, punctuating the whole story of creation: "Glory they sung ... Glory to Him ... Glory and praise ... So sang the Hierarchies" (182-192). This is the song which

the gates of heaven (206) sing, witnessing the end of "discord" (217). This is a song which ends not with the forced notes of rebel angels but with the glorious "Halleluias" (634) of God's hierarchs. God, the angels, the sun, the birds, the earth are in tune—why not man? This is the song which Milton sings, "though fall'n on evil days".

It is obvious in Book VII that Milton is stressing not only the universal conflict between order and disorder but also the particular conflict between himself and seventeenth century England. It is obvious too, that Milton feels that the story of creation not only vindicates God's position but also verifies Milton's religious, political and domestic theories.

Three main complaints which Milton has against his society are (1) the re-establishment of the Anglican Church, (2) the re-establishment of the monarchy and (3) the general opposition to divorce. For Milton these three positions of society represent disorder. How he proves this and vindicates his own position may be conjectured from certain emphases which he makes in his story of creation.

In Book VII stress is placed upon a twofold movement; one perpendicular, the other cyclic. The perpendicular movement conveyed throughout the entire epic by the symbol of Jacob's ladder, and in this

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book through terms of "up and down", indicates the direct relationship which God has established between himself and man. Hence, for Milton, to try to prevent this direct relationship by re-establishing the Anglican Church with its tithes, its priesthood and its popish ritual is to violate the spiritual order which God has established in creation.

The cyclic movement seen in the symbol of the "golden Compasses" and in the "Arched neck" conveys the social relationship which should exist between men on earth. Hence the termination of the republic, which Milton feels was at least a step towards democracy, or more exactly oligarthy, and the re-establishment of the monarchy is, in his mind, a violation of the natural order established by God.

18 The "up and down" movement which occurs throughout the whole of the epic may be seen specifically in this book in such expressions as: "Descend ... I soar" (1-3); "Up led ... guided down" (12-15); "flying steed ... I fall" (17-19); "Standing on earth, not rapt above the Pole," (23), etc. This is also brought out in the emphasis of man's standing position which Hughes indicates is a "symbol of a kind of divinity" which can be traced to Plato's "Timaeus" and Ovid's "Metamorphoses". See M.Y. Hughes, Milton, p. 238.

19 The payment of salaries to the clergy was actually re-established before the Restoration. This act of Cromwell along with his dictatorship wherein he refused to establish a government of the middle class was largely responsible for the rift between Milton and the dictator. See Grierson, op.cit., pp. 68-75, also Milton's own writings in "Of Reformation, Teaching Church Discipline in England"; "The Reason of Church Government against Prelaty"; "A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes"; and "True Religion and Heresy, Schism, Toleration", Student's Milton, pp. 441-469; 504-540; 863-878; 914-919.
Milton believes that his arguments for divorce are founded upon nature. If God has made sex such an integral part of creation, creating the earth like a woman compatibly united to the sun, creating the fishes, the birds, the animals in pairs, can God expect men to be yoked in an unhappy marriage?  

For Milton as for Plato there is one infallible guide, not outmoded conventions, "not the Antiquarians", not "ambitious and mercenary or ignorantly zealous divinity" but the "Sanctity of Reason" which elevates man above all earthly creation and alone leads him to God:

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a Creature who not prone
And Brute as other Creatures, but endu'd
With Sanctity of Reason might erect
His Stature, and upright with Front serene
Govern the rest, self-knowing; and from thence
Magnanimous to correspond with Heav'n
But grateful to acknowledge whence his good
Descends, thither with heart and voice and eyes
Directed in Devotion, to adore
And worship God Supreme who made him chief
Of all his works...
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(507-516)

From this chapter it may appear that Milton's concept of order is a combination of the philosophies of Plato, Spenser, Rousseau, Grierson writes: "That Milton's disappointment in marriage did an injury never quite repaired, to the emotionally sympathetic side of his haughty character is, I think, undeniable". op.cit., p. 53


22 Grierson writes: "Milton is always Humanist and Protestant Protestant in his respect for the Bible, Humanist in his confidence in his own reason as the interpreter of the Bible, in his conviction that reason is the supreme gift of God to men, God's own image in man, a gift obscured by sin, by the Fall, but regenerated in the Christian." op.cit., p. 47.
Kant and Freud. Such a conclusion would be misleading. Milton stresses reason, education, nature and sex, but in the light of God's revelation as found in the Bible and as understood by the pure of heart. And happiness can be found only in obedience to God "Whom, as the Son states, "to obey is happiness entire" (VI, 741). The next chapter amplifies this theme.
CHAPTER SIX

BOOK VIII: THE EAR OF GOD AND THE EAR OF MAN

In the last chapter it was stated that the essential difference between Milton's concept of order and that of Plato, Rousseau, etc., was Milton's emphasis upon divine revelation. This, of course, is an extreme simplification of the problem. The approach of both Plato and Milton is primarily teleological. But Plato stresses the good of man in terms of the state, whereas Milton stresses the good of man in terms of the hierarchical structure. Milton is perhaps closer, however, to Rousseau in his emphasis upon the dignity of the individual as an individual. This accounts for Milton's treatment even of Satan as "majesty though in ruins", or as Professor Stoll would say, "giving the devil his due". Milton's ideas of original sin and the natural communion of saints, however, make "Paradise Lost" greatly different from the "Social Contract".

There are many problems involved in the poet's vision of order; but these, for the most part, are complexities rather than contradictions. For example, the poet emphasizes the natural or

1 This is not to imply that Milton is indifferent to the cause of the state. However, there is a greater interest in his tracts on the role of the individual as a citizen, than there is in the epic. See especially "Of Education". See also Book VII, 79-101.

2 This does not mean that Milton necessarily individualizes his character. Eliot says Milton "had little interest in, or understanding of, human beings". This may be true. But he does stress, through his repeated emphasis upon free will, the rights of the individual. The fact that Milton might be pleading his own case is not the point. See T.S. Eliot, op.cit., p. 143.

3 Elmer Edgar Stoll, op.cit., pp. 106-124. Stoll criticizes C.S. Lewis' ideas on Satan. He holds that Satan is guilty of only one sin - apostasy.
preternatural goodness of Adam and his spouse. Yet he also supposes their capacity for evil. Of course, this anomaly is as great a mystery for Milton as it is for a Christian apologist. Some answer to the problem, however, may be found in Book VIII where the poet stresses: (1) the dependence of man upon the revealed Word of God, (2) the innate goodness in man and nature, and, (3) the capacity for disorder within man and nature.

The keynote of Book VIII is struck in the opening line; the harmonious ordering of man with heaven through the revealed Word of God as conveyed by Raphael. As God's ear delighted in the ritualistic songs of the angels (V,26) so Adam's ear delights in the heavenly message. The Book begins:

The Angel ended, and in Adam's Ear
So charming left his voice, that he a while
Thought him still speaking, still stood fixt to hear;

......

... now heard
With wonder, but delight ...

However, Raphael's message is not given directly to Eve. She is of a lower order; her ear is not meant for a direct contact with the "high Creator" (13):

4 The word "delight" which is stressed in Book V and in this book in relation to Adam's reception of revelation (11) and to Eve's reception from Adam (48), is important in view of the fact that Milton adheres to Sidney's dictum that poetry is "to teach goodness and delight the learner of it". Philip Sidney, "An Apology for Poetry", College Book of English Literature, ed. by Tobin, Hamm and Hines, New York, American Book Co., 1949, pp. 258. See also Satan's reaction: "Saw undelighted all delight..." (IV,236).

5 Unlike Aristotle, Milton does not doubt that woman has a soul; she has merely a lower status in the chain of being. This relationship between Adam and Eve serves to vindicate, partially, the
Yet went she not, as not with such discourse Delighted, or not capable her ear Of what was high. (47-49)

The order of reality has placed Eve under her husband (51). And her assertion that Adam Will: "solve high dispute / With conjugal caresses, for from his Lip / Not word alone pleas'd her," not only stresses the physical nature of Eve's relationship with Adam, but also shows that woman comes to God through man.

Through the image of the ear, the poet structures another varied pattern in God's order—a pattern which involves both revelation and worship. The scale of revelation is from God to the angels; from God through Raphael to man and from man to woman. The scale of worship is almost the converse of this: from woman to man, from man to God, and from the angels to God. This, of course, is the ideal as established by God. But as Milton stresses repeatedly, adherence to this order is a matter of free will. Some of the angels accept God's message regarding the Son; others do not. Some sing halleluiahs which are joyous; others sing halleluiahs which are forced.

latter for sin, and to emphasize the importance of the former's transgression. The statement also helps to convey an insight into the nature of Eve's violation when, as will be shown later, she assumes man's role by attempting to argue on the scientific, the philosophical and the theological plane.

6 See previous chapter "Pattern of Paradox" in this thesis for reference to the symbol of the ladder.

7 There is also a corresponding pattern which involves Satan; See appendix for reference of the term "ear" in relation to Satan.

8 It is not the converse as this would involve the Catholic doctrine of the invocation and the intercession of the saint. Of course Milton was against this doctrine.
But the exercise of free will demands knowledge or revelation. The poet expands this idea as Adam, in tones of a Copernicus or a Ptolemy, questions the "Divine / Historian" (5-6) about the movement of the heavens. Raphael's reply helps to delineate that knowledge which is necessary to man's degree in the hierarchical scale. "The Book of God" (67) says Raphael, is nature, wherein man can "read his Wondrous Works" (61). It is important here to notice that the angel stresses: (1) only that knowledge which is pertinent to man's relationship with God and (2) that this knowledge is primarily pertinent to the order which God has established in nature: "His seasons, Hours or Days, or Months or Years" (69). The reference to the season conveys the impression that God's order is neither static nor mechanical but is best described as order through variety. This pattern of variety can be seen too, in the hours of the day, the days of the month, the months of the year and the years of life.

The knowledge necessary for man then, is primarily the knowledge which God, "the Great Architect" (72), reveals through the order of nature where each part harmonizes with a greater part, on up the ladder to God. Here can be seen some idea of what Milton means by the good man, the man with an "upright heart and pure" that God prefers "Before all Temples" (I,18). He is a law-abiding citizen of God, who performs his role according to his state in nature; he is a man of internal devotion, not of external ritual.

9 Even a blind man can play his role, as Milton states in his sonnet, "On His Blindness".
Once man has forgotten his true relationship to God's order, he falls into such vain pursuits as trying to "calculate the Stars, how they will wield / The mighty frame" (80-81). Such pursuits are vain and lead to confusion (81) not because man desires to know, but because he attempts to arrive at conclusions about reality by means of appearances alone. To guide Adam in his understanding of the problem of appearance versus reality, Raphael gives him a principle:

consider first, that Great
Or Bright infers not Excellence: the Earth
Though, in comparison of Heav'n so small,
Nor glistening, may of solid good contain
More plenty that the Sun that barren shines
Whose virtue of itself works no effect
But in the Fruitful Earth;

But Raphael's statement conveys more than the idea that man is not to judge by appearances. It gives a deeper insight to the meaning of Satan's seeming glory so closely associated with the words "high", "gold", "light", etc., and it introduces the concept of a capacity for evil in what is created by nature good. This is achieved through the image of the sun.

The reference to the "Sun that barren shines..." is an example of Milton's great genius. Here he skillfully weaves the threads of "high", "gold", "alone", "fruit", "seem'd" and "barren", themes which as already shown, appear frequently throughout the poem, into one powerful image of order and disorder. The sun which shines so high and

10 For a study of Milton's concept of the relation of knowledge and goodness see "Of Education", and "Prolusions", especially chapter VII. See also Tillyard, Studies in Milton, pp. 129-136.
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bright above, seems to be glorious in itself. But alone it has no glory; it is "barren". The order of its nature is to unite in a symbolic act of humility with the earth and through this "sexual" union bring forth fruit.

The analogy of the sun has another purpose. It helps to explain the mystery of the possibility of evil in that which is created good. In a previous chapter it was seen that the poet used the image of the sun "high in his Meridian Tow'r" (IV,30) as a contrast to Satan. In this image it is used as a parallel for the spirit of evil. Milton seems to imply that while God creates all things good this goodness is only realized through the harmonious activity of the creature with God's order. God does his part; man likewise must do his.

Milton expresses the wonder of God as a planner, a builder, an architect in such expressions as: "The Maker's high magnificence, who built / So spacious that his Line stretcht out so far" (101-102), "This magnitude" (16), "Spaces incomprehensible" (19) and "Magnificent, his Six day's work" (VII,568). Now, the design of God's "Edifice" (103) is ordained to save man from the evil of disorder, of believing that he is alone, by reminding man that he is a real part of God's total order:

That man may know he dwells not in his own
An Edifice too large for him to fill
Lodg'd in a small portion, and the rest
Ordain'd for uses to his Lord best known (103-106).

11 A further development of this theme is found in the lines: "and other Suns perhaps / With thir attendant Moons thou wilt descry / Communicating Male and Female light, / Which two great Sexes animate the World" (148-151).
But in the magnificence of God's plan there is also found mystery, for God "plac'd heav'n from Earth, so far that earthly sight / If it presumes, might err in things too high" (120-121). Hence the arguments over the Copernican and Ptolemaic systems as well as over philosophical or theological systems are really in vain (123-140). All that is important for man is that he correspond to the hierarchical order for which he was created (168), to reign under God and to enjoy his "fair Eve" (172). Raphael, "the winged Hierarch" states:

Heav'n is for thee too high
To know what passes there be lowly wise;
Think only what concerns thee and thy being;
Dream not of other Worlds, what Creatures there
Live in what state condition, degree,
Contented that thus far hath been reveal'd
Not of Earth only but of highest Heav'n (173-179).

Adam's description of the circumstances of his birth is not only interesting in that it images in the concrete what he has expressed in the abstract concerning wisdom (193-194) but it is also interesting in that it shows how God has perfectly adapted the nature of his creatures to their position in the hierarchy of God's order. Adam states: "But who I was, or where, or from what cause, / Knew not;" (270-271). Here Adam, the "noble savage", is seen instinctively turning toward his "Maker" (278), wanting to know "how to adore" (280) and immediately reacting to the "Presence Divine" (313) by falling in adoration at God's feet (315).

12 The story of creation also presents an interesting study of Milton's treatment of myth. Adam, a mythical character, relates the story of his birth as though he were composing his own myth. For an enlightening consideration of the nature of myth see H.A. Frankforst "Myth and Reality", Before Philosophy, Baltimore, Penguin Books, 1959, pp. 1-38; also J nerves, op. cit., pp. 79-180.
God now conveys to Adam, man's dominion and position in the hierarchal order: "Above, around about thee, or beneath" (318) and reveals both the knowledge which is proper to man and the knowledge which is above. And the fruit becomes a symbol of the two spheres of knowledge, the two spheres of order:

To Till and keep, and of the Fruit to eat:
Of every Tree that in the Garden grows
Eat freely with glad heart; fear here no dearth:
But of the Tree whose operation brings
Knowledge of good and ill, which I have set
The Pledge of thy Obedience and thy Faith
Amid the Garden by the Tree of Life,
Remember what I warn thee, shun to taste, (320-327).

Here, it might be objected that Milton's concept of morality is too rigid, too mechanical. Good is a mechanical adherence to order with little reference to the heart; evil is a mechanical transgression with little reference to internal corruption. Milton seems to enforce this concept by picturing God as a strict Hebraic law-maker through such expressions as "Pledge" (324), "bitter consequence" (328), "sole command" (329), "transgress" (330), "rigid interdiction" (333), and "dreadful" (335). Perhaps this criticism is valid. Yet it must be remembered that Milton is following the tradition of the Old Testament and he has to stress the seriousness of God's command.

The reference to the animals (337-355) has a twofold importance in relation to order: (1) it brings out the fact that as man must demand obedience from the animals, so God must demand obedience from man; and (2) it disposes Adam to ask for a mate. This he does when he

13 But God is not always serious, as will be seen later.
reminds God that as a creature "alone" his state is being violated. The high God can be alone, without any such violation of state because he alone is the "Author of the Universe" (360); he alone is supreme. Satan's sin, as already seen, is that he acts as though to be alone were proper to his state. Adam's nature, however, is attuned to his proper perfection:

In solitude
What happiness, who can enjoy alone
Or all enjoying, what contentment find? (364-366)

For the most part, Milton's speeches parallel the somewhat staid, medieval convention of the pedagogical dialogues. However, the treatment of God's reply to Adam's request for a mate includes both an understanding of paternal psychology and a warmth of feeling. It contains one of the many passages wherein God's relationship to man is shown to be more than purely mechanical. God is here seen as a kind, human and understanding father who enjoys his role. He has something to give his son, which he wants his son to have, and he not only enjoys giving the gift, but he also enjoys taunting his eager son (366-375).

The true warmth of God's feelings is revealed through the image of light. God's infinitely bright face becomes even brighter:
"and the vision bright / As with a smile more bright'n'd" (367-368).

He becomes the actor pretending to be peeved with his beloved son. But that man should be mateless is not in God's plan. Milton adds: "So spake the Universal Lord and seemed / So ordering" (375-376). The expression "Universal Lord" and "ordering" intensifies Milton's argument against celibate clergy, already referred to, and the word "seem'd" again emphasizes the appearance versus reality theme showing that not even with God is man to judge by appearances. The word "ordering" is linked, by what Hopkins terms Milton's "sequence of phrasing" to "Heavenly Power" (378), "Maker" (379), "propitious" (379), "inferior": / Among unequals what society / Can sort, what harmony or true delight" (382-385), "mutual in proportion due" (384), "rational delight", (390, "human consort" (392), "kind" (393), "pair" (394), and shows the harmonious relationship that is to exist between God and man, and between man and his mate.

One might be tempted to believe that Adam's refutation of God's "seeming" decree, constitutes a violation of man's order - tempting the most High. But for Milton this is no violation. Adam

15 John Peter's objection that the Son of God has to cater to the Father's "self-aggrandizement" misses the tone of Milton's treatment of God. It is love not tyranny that God manifests towards his Son, the angels and Adam, op.cit., pp. 12-13.


has a right to know what pertains to his perfection. This is brought out both by God's paternal tone and by the force which is given to the words "solitary" (401), "seem" (403) and "alone" (405).

It is ironic to note that in this "Socratic dialogue" Adam's speech is much more pedantic than God's speech. Adam sounds like a philosopher trying to translate Ulysses' "degree speech" into abstract terminology. The reply, though, emphasizes God's supremacy in the hierarchy of being because he is infinite (420), "absolute" (420), "One" (420), and man's dependancy in his "degree" (417) of order, because man is a "single imperfection", "in unity defective" (424) and needs "social communication" (421).

The creation of Eve brings forth a new aspect of order: the state, condition and degree of woman in relationship to God's plan and in relationship to man's finite dominion. Milton describes the mystery, the passion, the beauty and the perplexity of woman as he portrays her birth while Adam is in a dream-like "trance" (460). She is fashioned by God out of Adam's rib, "with cordial spirits warm, / And Life-blood streaming fresh" (467).

It is worth noting how the poet conveys the impression that Adam's degree has been changed by the arrival of his mate. Milton shows that Adam's mind has been disturbed, elated, and mystified, by making Adam's language pulsate with wonder and inexpressible delight, like the rapid beating of the heart. Adam relates his impress of Eve:

Manlike but different sex, so lovely fair,  
That what seem'd fair in all the World, seem'd now  
Mean, or in her summ'd up, in her contain'd  
And in her looks, which from that time infus'd  
Sweetness into my heart, unfelt before, (471-475).
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This brief passage, in marked contrast to Adam's previous dialogue with God (412-435), reveals the internal joy of Adam by a varied but ordered pattern of alliterations, stresses and cadences.

The word "Manlike" is linked by both the "m" and the "l" sound to the words "lovely", "seem'd", "summ'd" and "looks"; the new delight of man is accentuated by the linking of man, in contrast to woman, with the word "mean"; the "t" sound unites the "but", "different", "that", "what" "contained", "that time" "sweetness", "into" "heart" "unfelt" and acts as a contrast to the liquid "l" alliteration; the "f" sound links the "different" and the "fair" and "fair" and diminishes off into the "before" creating a rising and falling effect like the beat of Adam's heart; the "s" joins the "sex", "so", "seem'd", "summ'd" and diminishes off into the "looks" and rises again with the accented "Sweetness". The word "now" is accentuated because it is barely linked with the word "man" and the "w" of "what" and "world" and creates a sprung-like rhythm with the word "Mean" and serves to accentuate the change in man's new order: from the "mean" of the "before" to the "fair" of the "now"; and the repetition of words and phrases "fair", "fair", "seem'd" "seem'd", "in her", "in her" directs the attention to Eve's vision-like quality and also gives a hint of ironic foreboding. The pattern of alliterations and stresses varied but united is itself a mirror of both God's varied but harmoniously united, hierarchal order and the varied but united natures of man and woman.

Nor is the rest of the universe excluded from this harmonious ordering. Both the delight of the couple's innocence and the sensualness of their physical experience are felt throughout the macrocosm. Adam says:
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To the Nuptial Bow'r
I led her blushing like the Morn; all Heav'n
Shed thir selectest influence; the Earth
Gave sign of gratulation, and each Hill;
Joyous the Birds; fresh Gale and gentle Airs
Whisper'd it to the Woods, and from thir wings
Flung Rose, flung Odours from the spicy Shrub. (510-517)

But this delight has a different effect upon the microcosm, the world of Adam's being, whose various parts are distinguished by such expressions as "all my State" (521), "in the mind" (525) and "Taste, Sight, Smell" (527). And yet Adam feels a certain di<^tomy between his natural superiority over Eve (540-546) and the dominion which she possesses over his senses. This is revealed through such expressions as: "Here all I felt / Commotion strange, in all enjoyment else / Superior and unmoved, here only weak / Against the charm of Beauty's powerful glance" (530-533) "nature failed in me" (534), "subducting" (537), "so absolute she seems" (546), and "Authority and Reason on her wait" (554).

Always of importance is the description which Milton attributes to the speaker before the dialogue. Raphael's "contracted brow" (560) dramatizes the fact that Adam's problem is primarily one of maintaining the order of the intellect over the senses:

Accuse not Nature, she hath done her part:
Do thou but thine, and be not diffident
Of Wisdom, she deserts thee not, if thou
Dismiss not her, when most thou need'st her nigh.

(561-564)

18 It is interesting to note how this parallels the techniques of medieval courtly writers. Muscatine writes: "The generally conventional nature of courtly speech is supported by the movement - the stage business which accompanies it ... emotions have their appropriate actions and gestures ... sorrow, for instance, is accompanied by sinking of the head, weeping and sighing...", op.cit., p. 29.
For Milton, which is the proper ordering of the intellect, begins with "self-esteem", grounded on just and right" (572). From such mastery alone can come the love which is proper to man:

The above lines are important for a proper evaluation of Adam's question regarding the love-life of the angels and the poet's commentary of Raphael's reactions:

Bear with me then, if lawful what I ask;  
Love not the heav'nly Spirits, and how thir Love  
Express they, by looks only, or do they mix Irradiance, virtual or immediate touch?  
To whom the Angel with a smile that glow'd  
Celestial rosy red, Love's proper hue,  
Answer'd. Let it suffice thee that thou know'st Us happy, and without Love no happiness.  

(614-621)

Such critics as McCarthy, Broadbent and John Peter seem to place too much emphasis on the angel's reaction. They contend that the sensual love of the angels is a logical consequence of the poet's doctrine that God created all things out of matter. For a proper interpretation of the above passage it is important to keep in mind two principles which Milton has stressed: (1) what is important is "the meaning not the name", and (2) an understanding of heavenly things is for the most part neither possible nor necessary for man.

When Raphael's face manifests "Celestial rosy red, Love's proper hue", the poet does not necessarily imply that there is sexual intercourse, any more than he implies there is a real sexual intercourse between the sun and the earth. What the poet is conveying is the sense

19 T.J. McCarthy, op.cit., p. 46.  
21 John Peter, op.cit., p. 23
of unity, harmony, and love that exists in heaven and should exist on earth between man and God, man and woman, man and all God's creatures.

This chapter stresses the harmonious order which God has established in relation to: revelation and worship, man and woman, and man and creation. It emphasizes both the innate goodness of nature as well as a certain capacity for disorder which is seen in both the sun and in Adam. In the next chapter a contrast is developed between the meaning of order as visualized through a "rural repast", and the meaning of disorder as visualized through a "barren banquet".
CHAPTER SEVEN

BOOK IX: THE RURAL REPAST AND THE BARREN BANQUET

Book VIII is concerned with both the ideal harmony which God has ordained for man, and man's capability of deviating from this harmony by means of his free will. Book IX enacts this deviation, and images the tragic results in terms of a spoiled banquet. The book opens with the lines:

No more of talk where God or Angel Guest
With man, as with his Friend, familiar us'd
To sit indulgent, and with him partake
Rural repast...

(1-4)

To understand the force of this image it is necessary to consider: (1) its relationship to the general theme of food in the previous books, (2) its relationship to the traditional use of the food-image, and (3) its relationship to the particular context of Book IX.

As has already been shown, the idea of food plays a vital role in "Paradise Lost". It is introduced in the first line with the word "fruit" which appears ninety-four times in various contexts throughout the epic. At one time it is seen as the produce of sexual harmony between the sun and the earth and between man and woman (Books IV, V); at another time it is seen as the redemptive grace of Christ who is "of Virgin seed" (III, 284), "a second root" (288) who will "bring forth fruits Joy and eternal Bliss" (XII, 551). In Raphael's degree speech food is seen as a symbol of order, harmony and obedience. He uses such expressions as: "flow'rs and thir fruit / Man's nourishment, by gradual scale sublim'd / To vital Spirits..." (V, 482-484) and "when men / With Angels may participate, and find / No inconvenient Diet" (492-495).
The harmony of heaven is dramatized through the eating of food which grows in heaven:

Forthwith from dance to sweet repast they turn
Desirous; all in Circles as they stood,
Tables are set, and on a sudden pil'd
With Angel's Food, and rubied Nectar flows;
In Pearl, in Diamond and massy Gold
Fruit of delicious Vines the growth of Heav'n.

The image of a banquet to describe order, harmony and good fellowship is used throughout the Bible, classical literature and the common speech of all men. Abraham eats with the Lord before God promises a son and foretells the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrha. Christ likens the kingdom of heaven to a man who made a feast; he describes the order of the kingdom in terms of a "wedding garment"; he emphasizes for his disciples the role of humility in terms of the seating arrangement. After Orestes has murdered his mother he envisions this disorder, his disharmony with men, by his inability to enjoy a meal with his fellow humans. "Who shall break bread with me?" he laments.

Considering the relationship between the imagery of food and morality, Lionel Trilling writes:

1 Genesis, 18,5-9.
3 Matthew 22,11.
We are ambivalent in our conception of the moral status of eating and drinking. On the one hand ingestion supplies the imagery of our largest and most intense experience: we speak of the wine of life and the cup of life; we speak also of its dregs and lees, and sorrow is also something to be drunk from a cup; shame and defeat are wormwood and gall; divine providence is manna or milk and honey; we hunger and thirst for righteousness; we starve for love; lovers devour each other with their eyes; ... bread and wine the stuff of the most solemn acts of religion. On the other hand, however, while we may represent all of significant life by the tropes of eating and drinking, we do so with great circumspection. Our use of the ingestive imagery is rapid and sparse, never developed; we feel it is unbecoming to dwell upon what we permit ourselves to refer to ... And religious satirists of modern life, such as Aldous Huxley, T.S. Eliot, or Graham Greene, when they wish to make a character represent the malign infantilism of our contemporary materialist culture, ascribe to him an undue and detailed interest in eating. In this connection it is worth noting that we consent to be delighted by the description of great feasts in Homer, Rabelais and Dickens; the communal aspect of the eating implies "maturity" and allays our fears of infantile narcissism. This is especially true if the food is plain and hearty and does not suggest coquetry, and if the appetites match it in this respect, for largeness of appetite has a moral sanction which fineness of appetite can never have.6

In its immediate context in "Paradise Lost", the reference to the "rural repast", which Adam is no longer to enjoy, both foreshadows man's disharmony with heaven and establishes a motif for the whole of Book IX, a motif which is centred around the action of eating the fruit. This fruit may be seen here as having two main functions:

(1) to symbolize what is proper to God, his nature, his order, and his knowledge - this food at the table of the universe is reserved exclusively for God; and (2) to symbolize what is proper to man, his nature, his order, and his knowledge - this food at the table of the universe is reserved exclusively for man. But man's conduct is to mar the conviviality of the banquet. This is expressed in the words, "alienated, distance and distaste" (8), and is imaged on a universal scale through "the wrath / Of stern Achilles" (15), the destruction of "Troy" (16), the "rage / Of Turnus for Lavinia disespous'd" (16-17) and "Neptune's ire or Juno's" (17-18).

God's preparation for man's banquet has been on a gigantic scale, which involved, as already shown, the harmonious relationship between the sun and the earth, united in a sexual union to produce the fruit. Significantly then, Milton introduces the image of the sun as "sunken" (48), and surrounds Satan with darkness to symbolize the idea of barrenness with regard to both fructification and intellectual light. Satan is described in terms of darkness: "cautious of the day" (58), "continu'd nights he rode / With darkness" (63-64), "involved in rising Mist" (74), and "his dark suggestions hide" (88).

That Satan is no fit guest for the conviviality of the universal banquet is revealed by and in his soliloquy. In "Paradise Lost" no character speaks to himself until he has fallen into sin or

7 For a study of the mentality of the seventeenth century with regard to violating God's order through curiosity, and the traditions involved see Howard Schultz, "Milton and Forbidden Knowledge", MLA, 1955, pp. 1-21.
disharmony.8 Broadbent states, "through the very dramatic inwardness of Satan, Milton marks him as sinful",9 and he quotes the Cambridge Platonist, Benjamin Whichcote:

the wicked and profane ... think that they are out of danger, if God would forbear a positive infliction; and that hell is only an incommodious place, that God by his power throws them into. This is the great mistake, Hell is not only a positive infliction ... the fewel of Tophet burning is the guiltiness of man's conscience, malignity, and a naughty disposition against goodness and holiness; and God's withdrawing because the person is incapable of his communication. Sin is an act of violence in itself: the sinner doth force himself and stirs up strife within himself; and in a sinner there is that within which doth relunctate, and condemn him in the inward court of his own conscience.10

During his symbolic "repast" with God, Adam stated that the Lord alone could be "alone" because he is infinite. Satan, assuming and presuming to be alone, to bear the weight of the Infinite, enjoys none of its fruits; he is only crushed by its magnitude. He says:

the more I see
Pleasures about me, so much more I feel
Torment within me, as from the hateful siege
Of contraries; all good to me becomes
Bane, ...

(118-123)

Satan's solution to his suffering is to attempt to destroy its cause: the harmonious ladder between God and his creatures which implies, as already shown, both a scale of values or degree, and a family relationship depicted through the image of eating. Satan's purpose, then, is

8 This will be noted later, especially with regard to Eve.
9 J.B. Broadbent, op.cit., p. 79.
10 Benjamin Whichcote quoted in Broadbent, ibid., pp. 79-80.
to destroy both the scale of values and the communal relationship. This is why he sets out to ensnare man, "A Creature form’d of Earth" (148), "Exalted from so base original" (149), a creation whom God has subjected even his angels to minister to; Satan says:

O indignity!
Subjected to his service Angel wings,
And flaming Ministers to watch and tend
Thir earthly charge... (154-157)

The irony, of course, is that Satan also subjects himself to man. This does not necessarily mean, as Lewis contends, that Satan is being degraded, any more than the Son is degraded by His Incarnation. Satan's tragedy is not found in his servitude but in his freely-cutting himself off from the mystical banquet prepared by God for all creation.

(Eve, the Imitator of Satan)

It has already been shown how the terms "alone" and "sole" have emphasized the nature of Satan's sin. Milton now applies these terms not to Adam but to Eve who will be guilty, like Satan, of cutting herself off from the communal banquet through her "aloneness" and through her violation of degree. Adam's sin will be neither an attempt to be alone nor an aspiration above his degree, but rather a descent below his degree, or as Milton says "uxoriousness".

11 Lewis traces the progression of Satan "from hero to general, from general to politician, from politician to secret service agent, and thence to a thing that peers in at bedroom and bathroom windows, and thence to a toad, and finally to a snake - such is the progress of Satan", op.cit., p. 99. But Christ is seen by Isaiah as a worm, so Lewis' argument is not conclusive.

Eve: begins her fall when, worrying about the divine economy, she proposes to separate from Adam who addresses his wife as "Sole Eve Associate sole" (227) and tells her "our joint hands / Will keep from Wilderness with ease" (244-245). As Cleanth Brooks points out:

Eve's proposal to specialize their labors amounts to a contradiction of the angel's teaching. She argues that "the sweet of life" is interrupting their work - "looks intervene and smiles" - and efficiency is lost. The unfallen pair cannot separate their work from their play. What Eve unwittingly proposes is that they should introduce drudgery into Paradise. For drudgery is work from which the element of play has been abstracted. 13

In spite of the fact that Adam fears some foreboding evil "to disturb / Conjugal Love" (263-264), he allows Eve with her pseudo-philosophical reasoning (320-340) to change his mind and thereby to violate his natural prerogative. After Eve's speech Milton adds an image of disharmony, of breaking the chain of order: "Thus saying, from her husband's hand / Soft she withdrew". And Milton describes Satan's reactions: "Eve separate, he wish'd but not with hope" (422), "Eve separate he spies" (444), "thus alone" (457, and "behold alone" (480).

Satan's pleasure in the beauty of Eve is ironic in the light of his previous condemnation of man (149-150) but the encounter carries a greater import. By intensifying the image of Satan's bondage to himself the tragedy of man's later bondage is greatly heightened. Satan's lament recalls the motif of the barren banquet, as he refers to his "taste" for destruction:

13 Cleanth Brooks, op.cit., p. 1050.
BOOK IX: THE RURAL REPAST AND THE BARREN BANQUET

Thoughts, whither have ye led me, with what sweet
Compulsion thus transported to forget
What hither brought us, hate, not love, nor hope
Of Paradise for Hell, hope here to taste
Of Pleasure, but all pleasure to destroy
Save what is in destroying, other joy
To me is lost...

Milton begins this Book with the homely image of a "rural repast" to express the relationship which man will no longer enjoy with heaven. He emphasizes Eve's inordinate concern for nature's over-productivity of food, and the barren, destructive banquet which Satan enjoys. But what is the relationship of the fruit to the central image, that is, the "rural repast"? William Empson, obviously can see no relationship. Some idea of his mentality can be seen in the following:

Milton knew very well that if he had punished his own children for a trivial act of disobedience as God proposes here he would be lucky if he were taken to jail, because that would protect him from the just anger of his neighbours. We keep being told nowadays about the deep belief of the seventeenth century in the natural hierarchy; but Milton had not the legal power to kill his children held by an

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14 J.B. Broadbent has pointed out the effect of the phrase "what hither brought us" in manifesting the royal and schizophrenic "we". He writes: "Satan's essential quality constitutes a grave satire on corruption on the condition Milton valued above all others, rational sovereignty of the soul... Satan's despair only seems to be inhuman because it is, properly speaking, what Kierkegaard called demoniac. Kierkegaard distinguishes between the introvert's despair at his own weakness and defiance. This - Satan's first and public mood - is 'despair by the aid of the eternal, the despairing abuse of the eternal in the self to the point of being despairingly determined to be oneself... one might call it Stoicism - yet without thinking only of this philosophic sect... It acknowledges no power over it, hence in the last resort it lacks seriousness and is able only to conjure up a show of seriousness when the self bestows upon its experiments the utmost attention - the self in its despairing to will to be itself labours itself into the direct opposite, it becomes really no self." Broadbent, op.cit., pp. 78-79.
Ancient Roman, and even those famous aristocrats regarded torture as only applicable to slaves, so that they would not be allowed by their fellows to torture their children indefinitely. One expects the morality of a God to be archaic, but this God seems to be wickeder than any recorded society.15

But Milton is not concerned with the mere eating of an apple. He is concerned with "the meaning not the name". And the meaning of the fruit is found in its context. It is obvious Milton must refer to the fruit because of its function in Genesis; it is obvious too that the fruit bears a relationship to knowledge. But is this all? Cleanth Brooks seems to think so. He writes:

Milton compares knowledge to a fruit. The symbol, it is true, was enjoined upon him by his source. But what is he able to do with it? Is it an arbitrary symbol—saddled upon Milton by Genesis, which continues to embarrass the poet throughout the poem? Or is Milton able to use it significantly—as a positive means for saying what he had to "say"? 16

Mr. Brooks sees the obvious relationship between the fruit and knowledge but he does not see that the eating of the fruit involves more than the knowledge of evil and hence he cannot answer the charge made by critics17 that Adam and Eve were not much better off before the fall than after it. But it is only by considering the eating of the fruit that...
as a violation of man's communal relationship with God, imaged through the "rural repast" that the tragedy of the first parents and of all men can be understood.

Milton first concentrates on the relationship of the fruit to the order of knowledge. Eve is seduced into sin by her failure to distinguish between appearance and reality. She relies upon her own reason (553-559) in spite of Raphael's warnings (VII,89-106). Satan, concentrating on this weakness in Eve, endeavours to achieve his end (1) by violating the hierarchal order existing between Eve, and Adam, and (2) by destroying the hierarchal order between her reason and her senses. To achieve his first objective he emphasizes Eve's sovereignty:

18 Satan does not and cannot actually destroy the hierarchal order any more than he actually destroys his own degree in relationship to God. The order is inherent within the nature of the creature. What Satan destroys within himself and Eve is the communal relationship existing in the hierarchy. This he can do because he has a free will.

19 Satan reveals that by his flattery he plans Eve's "ruin" (493). But what does he mean by "ruin"? It is clear from the titles he attributes to Eve - her violation of order, that is, of her communal relationship with heaven.

20 In Book I Satan stresses that God's sovereignty is temporal and contingent upon his physical power. Now he sets about to prove this by destroying God's sovereign rule over Eve. And, with the qualifications noted above in mind, he is successful.
BOOK IX: THE RURAL REPAST AND THE BARREN BANQUET

Wonder not sovran Mistress if perhaps
Thou canst, who art sole wonder, much less arm
Thy looks, the Heav'n of mildness, with disdain,
Displeas'd that I approach thee thus, and gaze
Insatiate, I thus single... (522-536)

The word "sovran" suggests her independence of both God and Adam, and Satan enforces this concept by calling her "goddess" (547), "Empress" (568)(626), "Queen of the Universe" (634) and "Sovran of Creatures", universal Dame" (612).

Having for the most part broken Eve's dependence on the hierarchy he now sets about to destroy the sovereignty of her reason over her senses by degrading the former and emphasizing the latter. To do this he mixes such expressions as "abject thoughts and low" (572), "nothing high" (574), "fruit of faired colours / Ruddy and Gold (577-578), "more pleased by sense" (580), "to satisfy the sharp desire I had / Of tasting those fair apples, I resolv'd / not to defer" (584-586), "hunger and thirst powerful persuaders" (586-587), "alluring fruit" (588), "For high from ground the branches would require / Thy utmost reach or Adam's" (590-591), "strange alteration in me, to degree / Of Reason" (598-599) and "Thenceforth to speculation high or deep / I turned my thought" (602-603).

21 Of course Milton's technique here is not entirely new. In the medieval mystery play "Mystere d'Adam", Satan says to Eve:

Tu es fieblette e tendre chose
E plus fresche, que n'est rose;
Tu es plus blanche que cristal
Que neif que chiet sor glace en val.

The description of Satan's movement, "leading swiftly roll'd / In tangle and made intricate seem straight" (631-632), linked with "delusive Light / Misleads" (639-649) and "so glister'd" (644) continues the theme already referred to pertinent to "gold", "high", "seemed", etc. to express the evil of mistaking appearances for reality, an evil which can destroy the dominion of man's reason. However, the chief interest is centered around the word "fruit". Eve states: "Fruitless to me though Fruit be here to excess" (648). The force of this pun is not, as Hughes says, merely a part of the "bravery of a good poet", but its functional relationship to the concept of order. The fruit is as "fruitless" to Eve as it is to Satan and as it is to Adam (1187). The pun continues the theme of the "barren banquet".

Before Satan begins his hymn of adoration to the tree, which has an ironic relationship to his refusal to sing hallelujas to the divinity, referred to in Book II, Milton with dramatic acuteness gives him a symbolic blocking: "So standing, moving as to highth upgrown" (678), which parallels his blocking in hell, "High on a throne..." (I,1). The position becomes an expression of Satan's sin, his violation of order. This is enforced by his reference to "highest Agent" (683), and "higher than my Lot" (690).

22 Merrit Y. Hughes, op.cit., p. 293.

23 The blocking also manifests Satan's self-dramatization of his role as a prophet and a seer. Like Milton and Tiresias he is about to divine "the ways / Of highest Agents" (683-684). Broadbent contends that "the Fall can only be a dramatic symbol, a metaphor, not an epic action." op.cit., p. 248.
Satan's promise to Eve is ironic in that he lies by speaking the truth. Observe the force of "as", "should be as", "as man", "human Gods", and the force which "God-like food" carries in the nature of sin as a violation of order and also as correlated to the "spoiled banquet" theme:


St. Augustine's definition of peace as the tranquility of order, and of order as the apt arrangement of parts, presupposes a respect of degree. A banquet where the honoured guest has no set position and no set portion, violates order and robs all of enjoyment, becomes a spoiled banquet which brings bitterness and distaste. The Old Testament has numerous references to this. Moses states the protocol: "The first of the first fruits of thy land thou shalt bring into the house of the Lord thy God." The image of the first fruits refers not only to the fruits of the land, but also to the fruits of animals and of the first born males all of which were to be consecrated to God and all of which were types of Christ, who becomes the new fruit of Eden offered up from the tree of the cross in the banquet of atonement.


25 Exodus 23,19.
In the Old Testament, the violation of the proper state and degree of the Hebrews is often referred to as an idolatry, and imaged as a sexual violation. This is why the prophets were vindictive and vitriolic in their denunciation of intermarriage with the so-called gentiles. In and with the Hebrew order alone was to be found true worship, the true marriage with God. Eve's symbolic soliloquizing takes the form of two liturgical hymns of praise - not to God, but to the fruit of the tree - "fruit divine" (776). The first hymn is only half uttered because Eve as yet has been guilty only of an internal fall, not an external one.

However, after she eats the apple, the universe reacts to the disorder, "Earth felt the wound and nature from her seat / Sighing through all her works gave signs of woe, / That all was lost" (782-784). Eve now sings her second liturgical hymn of idolatry, and this time, not with restraint but, "Satiate at length / And hight'n'd as with Wine, jocund and boon, / Thus to herself she pleasingly began" (792-794). Milton's description of Eve's condition contrasts with the pre-lapsian beatitude imaged in the "rural repast" as the words "satiate", "hight'n'd" and "to herself" sound her separation from the divine banquet.

26 See Hosea 1,2:2,4-8; Isaiah 1,21; Jeremiah 2,1;50,1;54,4-8; Ezekial 16,15-22.

27 It is important to note that Milton stresses that an internal act cannot of itself be sinful (V,117-118). This is one of the reasons his characters lack a genuine spiritual conflict, the internal violence which characterizes Shakespeare's tragedies.
Eve's ritualistic hymn to the tree becomes a "Black Mass" of blasphemy and mockery, dethroning God, denying his sovereignty, his oneness, his beatitude:

O Sovran, virtuous, precious of all Trees  
In Paradise, of operation blest  
To Sapience, hitherto obscur'd infam'd  
And thy fair Fruit let hang, as to no end  
Created; but henceforth, my early care,  
Not without Song, each Morning and due praise  
Shall tend thee, and the fertile burden ease  
Of thy full branches offer'd free to all;  
Till dieted by thee I grow mature (795-803)

Heav'n is high,  
High and remote to see from thence distinct  
Each thing on Earth; and other care perhaps  
May have diverted from continual watch  
Our great Forbidden, safe with all his Spies  
About him. (811-816)

Disorder breeds disorder. Caliban, having divorced himself from the good duke, Prospero, the symbol of order, cries out to the drunkards: "I will kiss thy foot. I prithee be my god," and "Freedom, high-day! high-day, freedom! freedom, high-day, freedom!"28 By violating God's degree, Eve violates her own, descending below her nature to adore what is less in dignity than an animal:29 "she turned / But first low Reverence done" (835). The impact of this scene is made the more dramatic by the accompanying scene of Adam preparing a garland to adorn his wife's tresses (840-841). Eve, not Adam is the mirror of Satan.

28 The "Tempest", 11, ii, 139,175.

29 For a different opinion see Empson, op. cit., p. 155.
Adam’s sin is not that he aspires to a higher degree, as do Satan and Eve, but that fearing Eve’s sin shall lower her to a “different degree” (884) and thus break the “Link of Nature” (914), he resolves to sin. His sin is one of disordered love (914); he stoops below his manly degree, allowing the naturally subordinate Eve to dominate. Observe how Adam’s lament over Eve parallels in tone Ophelia’s lament over the plight of Hamlet. Adam exclaims:

0 fairest of Creation, last and best
Of all God’s works, Creature in whom excell’ed
Whatever can to sight or thought be form’d
Holy divine, good, amiable, or sweet!
How art thou lost...

(E87-901)

Eve’s statement that Adam has already violated his degree in not having asserted his authority recalls the parallel retort of the Body in the "Debate of the Body and the Soul." Eve states: "Being as I am, why didst not thou the Head / Command me absolutely not to go" (1155-1156)?

30 In a sense Adam’s sin can be seen as an aspiration to a higher degree in that he presumes to comprehend the mind and judgment of God, but his sin is primarily a lack of faith in God. Milton’s classification of the sin as "uxoriousness" is not too exact. Adam has a right to a wife as part of the perfection of his degree. Hughes quotes St. Augustine, The City of God, XII,xi, showing Milton’s circumstance of the fall coincides with Augustine’s op.cit., p. 302.

31 "0, what a noble mind is here o’erthrown! / The courtier’s, soldier’s, scholar’s eye, tongue, sword; / The expectancy and rose of the fair state, / The glass of fashion and the mould of form, / Th’ob serv’d of all observers ... Hamlet III,i,150-161.

32 Body: "For God þe schop aftir his schaft, / And gat þe bobe wyt. and skil; / In þi loking was I laft / to wisee aftir þin oune wil." A Middle English Reader, ed. by Oliver Emerson, New York, Macmillan Co., 1960, p. 49.
It has been established that the book begins with a banquet image. The delight and the intimacy which Adam once shared with heaven is pictured through a "rural repast" which Adam can no longer enjoy. The book ends with a graphic picture of this spoiled banquet. Eve states: "Taste so Divine, that what of sweet before / Hath toucht my sense, flat seems to this, and harsh" (986-987), and Adam after sinning is as indifferent to society as he is to nature's reaction: "Adam took no thought, / Eating his fill." (1004-1005). The wine no longer creates cheer but intoxicates (1007). The fruit of their new banquet becomes "False Fruit" (1011). The greed which spoils the banquet is reflected in Adam's "carnal desires" (1012), in his "Lascivious Eyes" (1014) and in his burning "Lust" (1015). The picture of Adam's new banquet may be seen as one wherein guests are the drunken disorderly senses, and the food is lust:

Eve, now I see thou art exact of taste,
And elegant, of Sapience no small part,
Since to each meaning savour we apply,
And Palate call judicious; I the praise
Yield thee, so well this day thou hast purvey'd.
Much pleasure we have lost, while we abstain'd
From this delightful Fruit, nor known till now
True relish, tasting;... (1017-1024)

But the banquet of sin brings not the sweet harmony of the "rural repast" with God. It brings rather "mutual guilt" (1043), "Oppressed sleep" (1044-1045), "fallacious fruit" (1046), "Bad Fruit" (1073), "Foul concupiscence" (1078), "evil store" (1078). Like Orestes who cries out after the matricide: "Who will break bread with me?", Adam recalls the harmonious communion he once shared with God and says:
How shall I behold the face
Henceforth of God or Angel, erst with joy
And rapture so oft beheld? Those heav'nly shapes
Will dazzle now this earthly with thir blaze
Insufferable bright. O might I here
In solitude live savage, in some glade
Obscur'd...

(1080-1086)

As previously stated in this chapter, a violation of God's order is frequently referred to by the Hebrews as an act of idolatry which is imaged as a violation of the sexual act. Milton depicts Eve's sin primarily as the former, and images Adam's sin primarily as the latter.

His sin is accompanied by a disorder both in man and in the universe. The complete disorder in man is dramatically enacted through a symbolic ritual of sexual perversion. Adam is symbolically seduced by Eve: "he scrupl'd not to eat / Against his better knowledge not deceiv'd / But fondly overcome with Female charm" (997-999). The disorder which the universe feels is likewise imaged through a sexual

33 To understand Milton's use of this sexual imagery it must be remembered that for the Hebrews God represented the husbandman and Israel represented his bride. Israel by worshipping the false gods, who were primarily fertility gods, was being unfaithful to her spouse: "And the Lord said to Hosea, Go, take unto thee a wife of whom and the children of whom; for the land has committed great whom, departing from the Lord." Hosea, 1,2. For an interesting criticism of the pseudo-Jungian theories of Arnold Stein, C.S. Lewis, Maud Bokin, see R.M. Adams, John Milton and the Modern Critic, New York, Cornell University Press, 1955, pp. 35-39. See also Richard Adams, "The Archetypal Pattern of Death and Rebirth in Milton's Lycidas", MLA, LXIV, pp. 183-188.

34 See Milton's frequent reference to disorder in terms of a "perversion", e.g. Satan "perverts best things / To worst abuse" (IV,203-204).
violation. When Eve sinned earth merely "felt the wound". However, when Adam, the head of the family of mankind, violates his mystical marriage with God:

Earth trembl'd from her entrails, as again
In pangs and nature gave a second groan,
Sky low'r'd, and muttering Thunder, some sad drops
Wept at completing of the mortal Sin
Original... (1000-1004)

Surely then, Adam's sin in "Paradise Lost" is not as Empson contends a "trivial act" but one that affects both the microcosm and the macrocosm. Nor is Basil Willey correct when he holds that for Milton man is better off out of the Garden of Eden. Willey's error is his misapplication of the argument of the "Aeropagitica" to "Paradise Lost". Milton demonstrates the tragedy of man who is no longer able to commune in a "rural repast" with God, with nature, or with woman. This tragedy attains a universal significance as the book ends with the lines:

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35 Basil Willey, op. cit., p. 244. Another and more serious problem which Willey does not mention is the proper evaluation of Eve's hymn to Adam's fidelity. Does Milton really believe Adam's violation of God's hierarchal order is a "glorious trial of exceeding Love / Illustrious evidence example high" (961-962)? There are several possible answers. The lyrical beauty of the passage could indicate that Milton has taken the side of Adam against God; or it could be that Milton suspends his concept of order and sees Adam's sin as a particular manifestation of the heroic. However, it is important to remember that the speech is uttered by Eve who has already prepared herself to deceive Adam (850-855) and is by her sin in a state of disorder.

36 For the importance of this statement in relation to Milton's own inability to commune with his fellowman see Tucker Brooke's article in A Literary History of England, ed. by Albert C. Baugh, New York, Appleton Century Croft, 1948, vol. ii, p. 673. Cleanth Brook in Well Wrought Urn notes that in "Allegro" and "Il Penseroso" both characters have one thing in common - a lack of genuine social contact, pp. 50-66. Arthur Baker states: "Mary's dissertation must have been less shattering than the discovery that he was being attacked by the Presbyterians, in the pulpit and in the press, as an "impudent" exponent of licentious
Thus they in mutual accusation spent
The fruitless hours, but neither self condemning
And of this vain contest appear'd no end.

(1186-1188)

But God does not leave man in "eternal torture". 37 God's love is greater than man's sin as the next chapter will show.

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37 William Empson, op.cit., p. 163.
CHAPTER EIGHT

BOOKS X-XII: GRACE AND DIVINE PROVIDENCE

There are many apparent inconsistencies in "Paradise Lost", pertaining to God, to the angels and to man.¹ There are apparent weaknesses in structure and in language. Book X presents a typical example of Milton's technique of relating the significance of events in language which appears to surpass the intensity of the actual dramatic incident. Referring to Milton, Dr. Leavis writes:

He exhibits a feeling 'for' words rather than a capacity for feeling 'through' words. Whereas in Shakespeare...the total effect is as if words as words withdrew themselves from the focus of our attention and we were directly aware of feelings and perceptions.²

But the critic should not be too ready to condemn Milton. Often attacks on Milton manifest a failure on the part of the critic to understand what the poet is trying to do. For example, T.S. Eliot, who in 1936 condemns Milton for not individualizing the characters of Adam and Eve,³ writes in 1947:

¹ See T. McCarthy, op.cit., especially chapters 4 and 6; Broadbent, op.cit., pp. 252-298. John Peter attempting to defend some inconsistencies writes: "But other inconsistencies are not so easy to defend, and some are simply clumsy. One example, which shows how hard it is to blend two distinct levels of discourse in a single narrative like Milton's, concerns the 'wings' which Adam and Eve feel 'breeding' in them after their Fall (IX,1010) and which Sin and Death in turn feel 'growing' within them... The former are acceptably metaphorical, but to our surprise the latter are found to be physical appendages permitting Sin and Death to fly (284)", op.cit., p. 140. For a refutation of some critical attacks against Milton see R.W. Adams, op.cit., pp. 177-221.

² Leavis, op.cit., pp. 48-49.

³ Eliot writes: "Milton's images do not give this sense of particularity...Milton may be said never to have seen anything. For Milton, therefore, the concentration on sound was wholly a benefit. Indeed, I find, in reading "Paradise Lost" that I am happiest where there is least to visualize. The eye is not shocked in his twilit Hell as it is in the Garden of Eden, where I for one can get pleasure from the verse only by the deliberate effort not to visualize Adam and Eve in their surroundings."
These are not a man and woman such as any we know; if they were, they would not be Adam and Eve. They are the original 'man' and 'woman', not types but prototypes; if they were not set apart from ordinary humanity they would not be Adam and Eve. They have the general characteristics of men and women, such that we can recognize, in the temptation and fall, the first motions of the faults, and virtues, the abjection and nobility, of all their descendants. They have ordinary humanity to the right degree, and yet are not, and should not be, ordinary mortals. Were they more particularized they would be false, and if Milton had been more interested in humanity, he could not have created them.4

Another aspect of Milton which is frequently criticized is his presentation of God the Father as someone unjust and tyrannical. John Peter is typical of many modern critics. He finds "Milton's presentation of the Deity in these books unsatisfactory".5 He states:

'/God's/ claim that their contrition is due to 'motions' in them rather than their own volition (90-91) seems downright unfair. Despite Milton's evasive reference to 'Grace' (3, 23) the reader remains convinced that in Book 10 he has seen the humans repenting, not being made to repent, and indeed this conviction is fully supported by the poet's own doctrine of Free Will. Why should Adam's bad deeds be attributed to his personal and unfettered choice, while the good ones are attributed to God? We wonder why, if God is now conferring a special degree of 'Strength' upon the humans (138), he was so chary of doing it while they were tempted. Why also should Michael be instructed to inform them of God's convenant only 'If patiently thy bidding they obey' (112)? Granted God's claim that they are now behaving according to his motions, and likely to be 'variable and vain' without them (90-93), this condition regarding their patience can


5 John Peter, op. cit., p. 146
be fulfilled only if he himself gives them the patience
to fulfil it. For God to present himself as a land­
owner, jealous of his orchards' fruits, as he does at
123-5, is unimpressive enough; that he should seem a
casuist is intolerable. 6

But is this sound criticism? A key clause in Peter's criticism is "the
reader has seen the humans repenting". Almost the whole structure of
"Paradise Lost" has centred around the idea that the reader is not to
judge what merely "seems" to be. His judgment must be limited to his pro­
per degree in God's hierarchy. This
is why the expressions "seems" appears so many times throughout the pre­
vious books and continues to appear in "seeming Friend", (X,II) "Her doing
seem'd to justify the deed" (143), "well seem'd / Unseemly to bear rule" (154-155), "No less he seem'd / Above the rest" (531-532), "all too little
seems" (500), "Eve thy contempt of life and pleasure seems" (1013), etc.

What other purpose serves the appearance of Satan's goodness and
nobility as seen in such expressions as "high throne" of Satan (444),
in the "richest texture" (445), in the "regal' lustre" (447), if not to
show the reality of evil as seen in "false glitter" (457)? What other
purpose serves the appearance of Satan's victory as seen in "high Ap­
plause" (508), if not to show the reality of its shallowness as seen in
the "dismal universal hiss" (508)? What other purpose serves the ap­
ppearance of the "Fruitage fair to sight" (561), if not to show its
reality as it becomes "bitter ashes" (566)? What other purpose serves
the vision of the people of the hither side of Eden who appear as "just
men" (XI,576) with "fair women, richly gay" (587) surrounded by "soft

6 Ibid., pp. 145-146.

7 The verb "to seem" appears eighty-four times throughout
"Paradise Lost". See appendix.
amorous ditties" in a scene of apparently idealistic love (585-590), "of Love and Youth not Lost, Song, Garland Flowers / And charming Symphonies" (574-595) if not to show the folly of human vision? Adam replies to Michael:

True opener of mine eyes, prime Angel blest,
Much better seems this Vision, and more hope
Of peaceful days portend, than those two past;
Those were of hate and death, or pain much worse,
Here Nature seems fulfill'd in all her ends.

(598-602)

But Michael tells Adam and the reader the purpose of the scene as he answers:

Judge not what is best
By pleasure, though to Nature seeming meet,
Created as thou art, to nobler end
Holy and pure, conformity divine.
Those tents thou saw'st so pleasant, were the Tents
Of wickedness...

(603-608)

Though Adam and the reader may see the giants as "men of high renown" (688), and though they "shall be held in highest pitch / Of human Glory", (693-694), "styl'd great Conquerors / Patrons of Mankind, Gods and Sons of God" (694-696), yet they are in reality "Destroyers right-lier call'd and Plagues of men" (697-698).

Milton is emphasizing the distinction between God's order and man's order, 8 between God's sight and man's sight. If then, the reader sees that Adam sins and that God holds man alone responsible because of

8 That is, between the spiritual and the natural order.
his free will, and if the same reader sees that Adam repents and that
God does not attribute this action to man's free will but to God's "motions" in man, then, the reader must accept God's judgment, not his own. And is there such a contradiction as John Peter implies? Does this reveal Milton's carelessness? On the contrary, it reveals Milton's genius in presenting the difficult study of grace in a dramatic situation that is in accord with the nature both of man and of divine Providence.

Despite Mr. Peter's condemnation of "Milton's evasive reference to 'Grace' " (3,23), the term is used far more frequently and precisely than might have been noted. It is found twelve times in Book III, eleven times in the last three books, and forty-four times in the whole epic. And Milton's use of the term is for the most part in agreement with traditional thought as regards man's free will and the goodness of God. Milton emphasizes that man is not predestined in the Calvinistic sense. God states:

No Decree of mine
Concurring to necessitate his Fall,
Or touch with lightest moment of impulse
His free Will... (X, 43-47)

The Father then informs the court that the "mortal Sentence" must be passed. But obviously he does not mean physical death as much as he

9 This idea, of course, does not originate in Milton. St. Augustine emphasizes a similar concept of order. He states that just as in human society it is the duty of citizens to obey the king for the common good, so with all the more reason are creatures bound to obey God who is the King of the universe. Book III, p. 40. See also commentary by John F. Harvey, *op.cit.*, pp. 9-15.

means spiritual death, otherwise the mortals would die the day of their transgression as prophesied. God states:

Death denounced that day,
Which he presumes already vain and void,
Because not yet inflicted, as he feared
By some immediate stroke; but soon shall find
Forbearance no acquittance ere day end.
Justice shall not return as bounteouscorn'd. (48-54)

In the "Christian Doctrine", Milton writes:

This death consists, in the loss, or at least in the obscuration to a great extent of that right reason, which enables man to discern the chief good...deprivation of righteousness and liberty to do good... Lastly sin is its own punishment, and produces...the death of the spiritual life.11

Certainly Christian writers including St. Augustine, Boethius, St. Thomas, St. Bernard, Luther, and Calvin agree with Milton that man by his sin is rendered spiritually dead unable by himself to turn to God.12 Milton does not have to explain this commonly believed doctrine to his readers, nor does he have to explain the relationship between grace and free will. It is a mystery. He accepts it. He accepts God's word before man's unaided reason, before man's unaided sight. His presentation of Adam's repentance is in accord with Christian tradition.

God sends his Son to judge the earthlings, with mercy as well as with justice:

11 Ibid., p. 999.

Easy it might be seen that I intend
Mercy colleague with Justice, sending thee
Man's Friend, his Mediator, his design'd
Both Ransom and Redeemer voluntary... (58-62)

John Peter's question: "Surely the implication is that if God were himself to judge the humans their punishment might be very much more severe"? is not fair. Commenting on the biblical passage, "The manifold wisdom of God, according to the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord", Milton writes:

This is the source of that love of God, declared to us in Christ. Hence there was no grace decreed for man who was to fall, no mode of reconciliation with God, independently of the foreknown sacrifice of Christ; and since God so plainly declared that predestination is the effect of his mercy, and love and grace and wisdom in Christ, it is to these qualities that we ought to attribute it, and not as is generally done, to his absolute and secret will.

When Adam and Eve again appear, Milton describes their spiritual death:

Love was not in their looks either to God
Or to each other, but apparent guilt
And shame, and perturbation and despair
Anger and obstinacy and hate and guile (111-114).

The reader might like Milton to give less description and more internal turmoil, but Milton is writing an epic not a drama. However, he does justify the description, as shall be seen. The Son places

13 John Peter, op.cit., p. 147.
15 C.S. Lewis is particularly good in his analysis of the scope and limitations of the epic, op.cit., pp. 1-52.
the primary blame on Adam, attributing his sin to his violation of order:

Was shee thy God, that her thou didst obey
Before his voice, or was shee made thy guide,
Superior, or but equal, that to her
Thou didst resign thy Manhood, and the Place
Wherein God set thee above her made of thee,
And for thee, whose perfection far excell'd
Hers in all real dignity... (145-151)

Some modern readers (and some modern critics, as already noted) may find God's judgment of Adam severe - such a penalty for eating a mere apple. In evaluating God's apparent violation of the natural relationship between crime and punishment the critic must note three important facts: (1) Adam and Eve are not punished for eating a mere apple but for violating their own nature and the whole hierarchal order;\(^{16}\) this has already been shown; and (2) the punishment and the reason for the punishment can be understood by Milton's, "fit audience", that is, those who have a knowledge of, and a love for, Sacred Scripture; and (3) the punishment for man's sin, is for the most part not borne by man but by God himself, through his Son.

Milton intends his epic for those accustomed to the legalistic logic of the Puritan sermons\(^{17}\) and to the main themes of the Old Testament. Hence, when the Son asks, "Was she thy God?" he is hitting at the

\(^{16}\) An important fact about Milton which is often not understood is that he was pro-social, that he emphasized the political virtues as well as the individual virtues. He saw that a chief part of man's happiness is to be found in society. In "Prolusions" VII, he writes: "the greatest part of social happiness has usually been lodged in human fellowship and in the friendship contracted", \textit{op.cit.}, p. 1123.

\(^{17}\) See Howard Schultz, \textit{op.cit.}, Chapter 1; also A. Barker, \textit{op cit.}, pp. 123-193. Referring to Michael's speech, Broadbent writes:
heart of Adam's sin, and bringing to the minds of the "fit audience" a similar passage of Ezekial which is well worth noting:

> And as for thy nativity, in the day thou wast born thy navel wast not cut, neither wast thou washed in water to supply thee... Now when I passed by thee, and looked upon thee, behold, thy time was the time of love; and I spread my skirt over thee, and covered thy nakedness: yea, I swore unto thee, and entered into a covenant with thee, saith the Lord God, and thou became mine... I clothed thee also with broidered works, and shod thee with badger's skin and I girded thee about with fine linen... But thou didst trust in thine own beauty and playedst the harlot because of thy renown, and pouredst out thy fornication on every one that passed by; his it was. And of thy garments thou didst take, and deckedst thy high places with divers colours, and played the harlot thereupon... Thou hast also taken thy fair jewels of my gold and of my silver which I had given thee, and madest to thyself images of men and didst commit whoredom with them... My meat also which I gave thee, fine flour, and oil, and honey thou hast even set it before them for a sweet savour... How weak is thine heart, saith the Lord God, seeing thou doest all these things, the work of an imperious whorish woman... as a wife that committeth adultery, which taketh strangers instead of her husband! They give gifts to all whores; but thou givest thy gifts to all thy lovers... 18

The "fit audience" sees the meaning of Adam's sin in terms of God's infinite love and infinite justice. Man has destroyed the harmony of God's banquet and it is fitting that he should eat in sorrow (200). Eve has violated man's mystical marriage to God and it is fitting that she should bring forth her children in sorrow (193). Milton's audience

\*Michael is in fact preaching a 17th century sermon of the plain Puritan kind recommended in William Perkin's Art of Prophesying. He takes a text, explains it, derives close and natural doctrine from it and applies the doctrine", op.cit., p. 276.

18 Ezekial, 16,4-33.
sees God's love and mercy in his promise of a redeemer (179-183) and in his clothing of the naked parents (215). It sees that such an act of mercy is more than an external protection; it is primarily a spiritual protection dramatized in a physical manner:

Before him naked to the air, that now
Must suffer change, disdain'd not to begin
Thenceforth the form of servant to assume,
As when he wash'd his servants' feet, so now
As Father of his Family he clad
Thir nakedness with Skins of Beast... (212-217)

but inward nakedness, much more
Opprobrious, with his Robe of righteousness. (221-222)

A critic cannot hope to convey the totality of Milton's meaning. His verse alone does this. And his meaning is not only conveyed through the sound, as Eliot contends, but through an appeal to the other senses as well. Observe, for example, how in the verse quoted above, the poet conveys the meaning of hope through the sensation of touch.

By combining the picture of the Son covering Adam and Eve, with that of Christ washing the feet of his disciples Milton skillfully images the intensity of God's love for man. Heavenly grace is seen not merely as a theological abstraction but as a physical reality. As W.B. Watkins writes:

19 Eliot, op.cit., pp. 124-126; 139-143.

20 Milton's use of the sense of touch is perhaps most graphic when it carries a sexual connotation, e.g., the sun's ray shooting down to "earth's immost womb" (V,292-302). He can also use it to reveal a tender drama: "from her Husband's hand her hand / Soft she withdrew, and like a Wood-Nymph light, / Oread or Dryad..." (IX,385-387).

21 Two objections might be made to the above statement: (1) that the Son is not washing the feet of the disciples at this time,
Knowledge of God comes to Milton through man's spark of divine reason aided by Revelation; but it enters the substance of his poetry most successfully as that blissful, far from ineffable state of knowing God through the porch and inlet of each sense, as tangible and perceptible as ambrosial oils. Else we should willingly deliver him over to the theologians.22

Some critics see Milton's change of scene from earth to hell in Book X as only "cursorily related to Paradise".23 But does this scene not emphasize most graphically the mercy which God has shown to man? Book IX portrays man's violation of God's heavenly banquet; Book X telescopes time by presenting an image of Christ washing his disciples' feet before a new banquet in which all men are to share. And the meaning of this new banquet is intensified by a contrasting picture of hell's banquet. There the guests are "Death and Sin", the aroma, the scent of "carnage" (267); the taste - "the savour of Death" (268). Milton employs all five senses to describe this hellish feast:

> So saying with delight he snuff'd the smell
> Of mortal change on Earth. As when a flock
> Of ravenous Fowl, though many a League remote
> Against the day of Battle, to a Field,
> Where Armies lie encamp, come flying, lur'd
> With scent of living Carcasses, deSign'd
> For death; , the following day in bloody fight
> So scented the grim Feature, and upturn'd
> His Nostril wide into the murky Air,
> Sagacious of his Quarry from so far (272-281)

and (2) that it is the Son acting and not the Father. But, as to the first, it must be realized that this is an epic and not a drama - that the simile as well as the incident conveys the meaning. As to the second; the Son is acting through the Father; he comes from the Father and returns into "his blissful bosom" (X, 225).


23 Broadbent, op.cit., p. 264.
Solid or slimy, as in raging Sea

As when two Polar Winds blowing adverse

The appetite with gust, instead of Fruit
Chew'd bitter Ashes, which the offend'd taste

all too little seems
To stuff this vast unhide-bound Corpse.

The impending fear of hell is made all the more realistic by the description of the bridge built between hell and earth. Satan's destruction does not end with Adam. Man can still be seduced from God's order, and the mode of temptation is still the same - evil under the appearance of good. Observe how the poet again attributes to hell the seeming images of heaven through such expressions as "high Archt" (301), "Palace high" (308), "Satan in likeness of an angel bright" (327), "with joy" (345), "wondrous Pontifice" (348), "fair / Enchanting Daughter" (351-355), "Author and prime Architect" (356), "sweet harmony" (357), etc. Yet all is hollow. God is vindicated by the "dismal universal hiss" (507) and by the banquet of "bitter ashes" (565).

Now what has this to do with the concept of grace and Adam's contrition? By emphasizing the banquet of hell and the bridge which links hell to earth Milton is able to dramatize the conflict within Adam. On one side there is the superhuman force of evil; on the other there is Adam who is obviously incapable, by himself, of overcoming his enemy. Yet he does overcome the enemy; he does repent. How? He can do so only, by the grace of God.

For a more detailed study of Milton's bridge in relation to "Paradise Lost", see George W. Whiting, op.cit., p. 66.
Before analyzing the "motions" of Adam's repentance it is necessary to consider briefly the traditional teachings on the role of grace and free will. First, there is within man a perpetual struggle between the forces of good and the forces of evil. It is interesting to note, that in describing this conflict, St. Peter uses the metaphor "devour": "Be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour". Second, man by himself cannot overcome the forces of evil; he can do this only by the grace of God—Christ says, "without me ye can do nothing". Third, this grace comes to man only through the Son of God, and only through belief in the Son of God. Milton, in his commentary on Ephesians 3,10 writes:

This is the source of that love of God, declared to us in Christ. Hence there was no grace decreed for man who was to fall, no mode of reconciliation with God, independently of the foreknown sacrifice of Christ; and since God has so plainly declared that predestination is the effect of his mercy, and love, and grace, and wisdom in Christ, it is to these qualities that we ought to attribute it, and not as is generally done, to his absolute and secret will, even in those passages where mention is made of his will only.

In "Paradise Lost", it is shown that immediately after his fall Adam has no genuine repentance. He laments, but his lamentation is

25 Peter 5,8.
26 John 15,5.
27 See previous reference to Calvin and his doctrine of predestination.
turned inward. Like Satan, he considers not his violation of God's order but his personal loss (722). When he projects his mind into the future to lament his progeny (730) he is really lamenting his own plight. He reasons that he has received the worse part of the bargain (742), and challenges God's justice: "Did I request thee, Maker from my Clay / To mould me man...?" (743-744). St. Augustine points out that by itself, "the human soul is like a parched land... By its own powers it cannot enlighten itself, it cannot nourish itself. So the power by which it must see is Divine Light; and the fountain of its sustenance must be God."29

Adam begins to have a glimmer of light; the forces of good are beginning to battle with the forces of evil. He partially sees the absurdity of his reasoning; he begins to have a concept of the justice of God's order: "what if thy Son / Prove disobedient, and reprov'd, retort / Wherefore didst thou beget me?" (760-763). Seeing a bit of the justice of God he wants to escape it (776); but realizes this is impossible (788). Now, his questions are directed against God, his wrathfulness (795), his violation of "nature's Law" (805).

For a moment the forces of good overcome the forces of evil, as Adam turns from himself to contemplate the evil he has brought his children. Milton emphasizes that there can be no grace "except in Christ" and that the grace to Adam comes in view of "the foreknown sacrifice of Christ."30 Adam's soul begins to turn outward, symbolically

29 John Harvey, op.cit., p. 29.
gesturing toward the imitation of the Son of God: "O were I able / To waste it all myself and leave ye none!" (818-819). But grace has not conquered. The forces of evil bring Adam to question the mystery of God: "Ah why should all mankind / For one man's fault thus guiltless be condemned / If guiltless?" (822-824).

The road to God's grace is primarily through humility, through the realization that without Christ man is powerless. Describing his own enslavement to sin, St. Augustine writes:

My will the enemy held, and thence had made a chain for me, and bound me. For of froward will, was a lust made; and a lust served, became custom; and custom not resisted, became necessity. By which links, as it were joined together (whence I called it a chain) a hard bondage held me enthralled. But that new will which had begun to be in me, freely to serve Thee, and to wish to enjoy Thee, O God, the only assured pleasantness, was not yet able to overcome my former wilfulness, strengthened by age. Thus did my two wills, one new and the other old, one carnal and the other spiritual, struggle within me; and by their discord undid my soul... And who has any right to speak against it if punishment follow the sinner? 31

Similarly, Adam begins to strive after good but sees that of himself he can do nothing: "But from mee what can proceed, / But all corrupt, both mind and will deprav'd...?" (824-825). He begins to absolve God of any guilt (829); and takes the blame himself "On mee, mee only, as the source and spring / Of all corruption, all the blame light due; / So might the wrath"(832-834). Yet he sees that this is but a "fond wish" (834); he approaches despair, but he does not despair (841-844). Milton

subtley adds "Thus Adam to himself lamented" (845), indicating the nature of sin as essentially a cutting off of man from God's society.

The forces of evil capitalize on Adam's aloneness to terrorize him:

\[
\text{dreadful gloom,} \\
\text{Which to his evil Conscience represented} \\
\text{All things with double terror: On the ground} \\
\text{Outstretched he lay, on the cold ground, and oft} \\
\text{Curs'd his Creation...} \\
\text{(848-852)}
\]

Who knows how and when grace comes to man? Milton is wise enough to keep it a mystery. Like the "Hound of Heaven" he shows that all things betray man that betray God. Adam is repelled by society. He sees Eve as a "Bad woman" (836) and shuns her companionship (867-909). But as Eve by her pride and violation of order is the instrument by which Adam is led to sin, so by her humility and re-establishment of order she becomes the instrument of Adam's repentance:

\[
\text{She ended weeping, and her lowly plight,} \\
\text{Immovable till peace obtain'd from fault} \\
\text{Acknowledg'd and deplor'd, in Adam wrought} \\
\text{Commiseration; soon his heart relented} \\
\text{Towards her, his life so late and sole delight,} \\
\text{Now at his feet submissive in distress,} \\
\text{Creature so fair his reconcilement seeking,} \\
\text{His counsel, whom she had displeas'd, his aid:} \\
\text{(937-944).}
\]

Adam's desire to imitate the Son of God now becomes more pronounced (951-960) and when Eve proposes to prevent God's punishment to the human race (986-991), Adam's answer reveals that his mind has been illumined. He reasons now, not as one divorced from God but as one recognizing God's omniscience (1022). He turns from despair to hope,

32 Francis Thompson "The Hound of Heaven".
seeing in God's promise (1030-1035), God's mercy; "His timely care /
Hath unbesought provided, and his hands / Cloth'd us unworthy, pitying
while he judg'd", he states. The light of God begins to flood his soul
and he prays (1060):

nor Eve
Felt less remorse: they forthwith to the place
Repairing where he judg'd them prostrate fell
Before him reverent, and both confess'd
Humbly thir faults, and pardon begg'd, with tears
Watering the ground, and with thir sighs the Air
Frequently, sent from hearts contrite, in sign
Of sorrow unfeign'd and humiliation meek
(1097-1104).

Grace, a free gift of God, plays a vital role in "Paradise
Lost". Those who miss its importance fail to understand Milton's
concept of order, fail to understand that for Milton man can only
reach his perfection as an individual and as a member of the hierarchal
order through the aid of God. The poet sees that man, like Adam, often
leaps high in the air only to crash to the ground because he rejects
the hand of God. He sees too, that friendship with God can be restored,
that the forces of evil can be overcome if man is humble and admits
that of himself he can do nothing. In short, the poet sees that with
Christ, man can aspire towards true wisdom, true happiness. This is
the meaning of the life of grace. This is the message of Milton's
epic. This is what Adam learns at the end of "Paradise Lost".

Henceforth I learn, that to obey is best,
And love with fear the only God, to walk
As in his presence, ever to observe
His providence, and on him sole depend,
Merciful over all his works, with good
Still overcoming evil, and by small
Accomplishing great things, by things deem'd weak
Subverting worldly strong, and worldly wise
By simple meek; that suffering for Truth's sake
Is fortitude to highest victory

(XII,561-570).
Milton's concept of order may be seen from a twofold aspect: (1) that which pertains to the natural order whereby every creature is predestined to a certain degree on God's ladder, and (2) that which pertains to the supernatural order whereby rational creatures through their free will and with the aid of grace can either act in harmony with God's plan or rebel against this plan.

In the natural order, God's Providence has endowed each creature both with a certain degree of dignity in proportion to its state, and with the ability to attain its perfection through nature. Though Milton somewhat identifies God with nature, he is no pantheist. He means (1) that God's laws are to be found in nature, and (2) that a creature attains his perfection in proportion as he acts in accord with nature. The order of nature has established that which is superior over that which is inferior. The criterion for determining superiority is the ability, in one form or another, to create. This is why God is superior to Satan, Satan superior to man, man superior to woman, and woman superior to the animals. This is why the poet is superior to his fellowmen and why the prophet-poet is above the poet. Milton says little about the hierarchy of the angels except that there are those, such as Raphael and Michael, who perform more important tasks than the other angels.

Within rational individuals (and this includes both the angels and man) there is likewise, a hierarchy: that of the intellect over the will, and of the will over the senses. In the order of non-rational creatures there is a certain hierarchal order: that of the sun over the
other planets, of Mother nature over individual creation. But each part of creation has its place and its role to play, - the birds that fly in the air, the fish that swim in the sea, the animals that roam the land, etc.

In the natural order Satan is still an archangel, still endowed with dignity and a certain grandeur of action. This is why Satan can never be said to be a petty or a ridiculous character. This is why his failure to attain, in the supernatural order, the position compatible with his dignity in the natural order, is so tragic.

Non-rational creatures always act in harmony with God's plan. But rational creatures are endowed with free will whereby they have the capacity either to obey or to disobey. God so respects individual liberty that even Satan is free to act in opposition to God. Yet out of Satan's actions and out of all evil God's Providence brings forth a certain good. And it is only through the use of the free will in cooperation with God's grace that rational creatures can play such a dynamic role in the order of grace.

Like St. Thomas, Milton sees the order of grace as founded upon the order of nature. In this supernatural order creatures still attain their perfection by their conformity to nature, within themselves as individuals, and within the entire hierarchy of being. But the fall has made a difference in man's relationship to nature. Before the fall Adam was surrounded by and nourished with the dew of grace. And this joyous communion of man with the whole of nature, with God, the angels, Eve and all creation, was seen in the simple image of a "rural repast". After the fall this harmony is disrupted. Man is no
longer able to commune freely with God and creation. His intellect is darkened so that he has difficulty seeing beyond the "seeming"; his will strives to be free from the intellect's dominion; his senses strive to be free of the will. The sweet harmony between man and woman is marred. This disharmony is also seen in man's relationship to civil government and to society as a whole. And since man is so closely bound to the whole of nature, nature herself feels the wound which man has brought to creation.

The plight of Adam is the plight of all men. Milton strives to make his readers aware of this. This is why, especially in the first books, he stresses the seeming parallel between God and Satan. This is why such expressions as "high", "gold", "tower", "light", etc., are used both with reference to God and to Satan. Milton is endeavoring not only to show man his inability to distinguish, by his unaided reason, between the order of grace and the order of evil, but also to make man experience this inability within the poem itself, and from this to lead man to the order of grace. This approach of Milton, when not understood, leads critics to absurd conclusions regarding Milton's God, the Son, Satan and Adam.

Though Milton emphasizes the disruption caused by Adam's fall he does not hold with Luther and Calvin that man's intellect is completely darkened and man's will is completely destroyed. In fact, much of the emphasis upon free will and upon the dignity of man, is directed against the doctrines of these two reformers.

In a sense, Milton's order is analogous to the Catholic doctrine of the Mystical Body of Christ. But there is a difference.
According to Catholic doctrine man achieves his perfection through a life directed by and in union with Christ. Man is able to know Christ's will through the teachings of the Church and is enabled to participate in Christ's life through the sacraments and prayers of the Church. In Milton's concept, Christ has paid, by his death on the cross, the debt due to God because of man's fall. He has merited for man the grace whereby man can be saved. But Christ is primarily a symbol for man, a symbol of the dynamic possibilities open to man in the order of grace. Man does not learn God's will through any organized Church, nor does he participate in the life of Christ through the sacraments and prayers of the Church. Baptism for Milton is a "sign". Man learns God's will through God's grace which enables man to worship God by acting in harmony with the nature and the degree which God has given to man. This is why Milton attacks the Catholic notion of celibacy. This is why he emphasizes, throughout the whole of creation, goodness in terms of sexual fulfilment.

Yet man by himself is not capable of living the order of grace, even though this order is in harmony with the order of nature. The reason for this is that fallen man cannot see the meaning of nature without the light of God's grace. This light, merited by the Son, is to be obtained through Sacred Scripture and through the particular revelations of the Holy Spirit.

The model of God's supernatural order is the Son of God. The paradoxical action of the Son who brings life through his death is, in itself, a proof to man that he cannot comprehend the actions of God and that he cannot comprehend his role in God's order without the light
of God's grace. By his unaided light of reason man sees more logic in the action of Satan than in the action of Christ. Though God does not force man to accept this light of grace, neither does he withhold it if man is willing to co-operate. But in proportion as man and society in general, accepts God's grace he finds happiness, within himself, within his domestic life, within society in general, and in proportion as man rejects God's grace he finds unhappiness and discord.

There are many similarities between Milton, Plato, St. Augustine, Rousseau and Freud in their concepts of order. But Milton's concept is more intelligible, more all-embracing. There are many weaknesses in Milton's structure. Many of these seem to result from his physical and spiritual blindness. But on the whole, Milton is able, through his key terms, his patterns and his images, to create within "Paradise Lost" a dynamic structure wherein all of creation is envisioned as one harmonious organism, whereby under God's Providence, each member is endowed with a specific function both for the perfection of the individual, and for the perfection of the whole.
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Of special importance to this thesis is St. Benedict's use of the Biblical symbol of Jacob's ladder to describe the various steps of humility which lead the religious to eternal glory. This is helpful in understanding Milton's pattern for Christ and for Satan.

The King James Version is used for special references to show the correlation between Milton's version of the fall and that of the Bible. It also is used to trace the origin of a number of Milton's symbols.

Of special interest to this thesis is Bradley's comparison of Milton's Satan and Shakespeare's Iago. Bradley emphasizes the universality of the Garden of Eden myth.

This Middle English text book is used in this thesis as a reference to a number of medieval works. The purpose is to show how Milton's epic compares and contrasts with the medieval tradition in literature.

This recent scholarly work considers the epic, "Paradise Lost", chapter by chapter and discusses such topics as the geographical and pastoral setting of the poem, Milton's relation to the Kierkegaardians and to Christian theologians. It also considers a number of weak spots in the poem.

A brief study of Milton and his relation to English literature in general. Brooke charges Milton with being "over-sexed".

Brooks emphasizes the importance of Milton's use of light and darkness in his companion poems. This is a helpful guide to understanding Milton's use of light in "Paradise Lost".

A most valuable work of John Calvin which gives an insight into Milton's repeated stress on free will and the goodness of God's Providence.

Costello, W.T., *The Scholastic Curriculum at Early Seventeenth Century Cambridge*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1953, pp. 239. This book presents perhaps the most valuable study on the curriculum offered at Cambridge in the seventeenth century. Father Costello stresses the emphasis upon the study and translation of the classics, and the importance of the schoolboy "notebook".


D'Arcy, M.C., *The Mind and Heart of Love*. New York, Meridian Books, 1956, pp. 380. One of the most scholarly treatments of the subject of love. Father D'Arcy emphasizes the Aristotelian notion that true love is love of self, and brings out the influence of the Christian concept of love upon western civilization.


Donne, J., The Complete Poetry and Selected Prose of John Donne, ed. by Charles M. Coffin, New York, Modern Library, 1952, pp. 399. This work gives a valuable background to the seventeenth century. Of special importance to this thesis is Donne's concept of Christian symbols, and his sermons.

Dryden, J., "An Essay on Dramatic Poesy", The Great Critics, ed. by J.H. Smith and E.W. Parks, New York, Norton and Co., 1951, pp. 301-361. Of special importance to this thesis is Dryden's concept of what poetry should be, especially his emphasis upon "delight" and "instruction".


Erasmus, "On Free Will", Renaissance Reader, ed. by J.B. Ross and M. McLaughlin, New York, Viking Press, 1952, pp. 677-693. Of special importance to this thesis is the Christian position of Erasmus in contrast to the positions held by Luther and Calvin.


Fox, R.M., Dante Lights the Way, Milwaukee, Bruce Publishing Co., 1958, pp. 370. A valuable study which helps in the comparison and contrast of Dante and Milton concerning their positions on orders.

Frank, G., The Medieval French Drama, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1954, pp. 352. A study of the development of French drama which helps to place Milton in the Christian tradition, and which serves as a valuable comparison and contrast between the medieval treatment of God, Satan, etc., and Milton's treatment of the same subjects. Of special importance to this thesis is the study of "Mystere d'Adam".
This is one of the best essays on the difficult relationship between myth and the development of literature. Of special importance is the study of myth, images and allegory.

Although this work is primarily a study of Hopkins, nevertheless, it gives a number of references to Milton. Of special importance is Hopkins' concept of Milton's "grand style".

Gazaeus emphasizes that Satan fell down Jacob's ladder by degrees. This work is used to show how Milton agrees with Christian tradition in relation to the fall of the angels.

Gilbert traces the correlation between Milton's original plan to make "Paradise Lost" a drama, and the final plan of the epic. He shows how some ideas are similar and some are different and he attempts to explain the reasons for the differences.

Of special importance to this thesis is the comparison between the philosophy of St. Thomas and St. Augustine, and the evaluation of the philosophy of Scotus.

Valuable study of the tradition behind a number of symbols which are used by Milton in "Paradise Lost". Of special importance to this thesis is the relationship of the Orphic legend to the belief in Christ.

Grierson stresses the role of Milton as a prophet, and indicates the effect of Milton's personal life and social environment upon "Paradise Lost".
This book is important because it establishes a historical foundation for interpreting Milton's epic. Grierson stresses the philosophical and theological background of the seventeenth century as well as the literary trends of the period.

This work is important both for Grierson's introduction, wherein he stresses the characteristics of the metaphysical poets, and for references to poems which may be compared and contrasted with passages in Milton.

One of the most valuable short works on Milton's poetry. However, because of its brevity the author is unable to substantiate a number of his statements regarding Milton's poetry.

A study of Milton's poetry in the light of his life and travels. Interesting speculations on the relation of his blindness to his creative talent.

Of special interest to this thesis is Kierkegaard's theories on the nature of Satan and his function in the divine plan of redemption.

A study of Milton's writings in the light of the mentality of the seventeenth century Englishman. Hutchinson's frequent references to the writings of Edward Phillips make this a helpful book.

Jones makes a number of references to Milton's poetry, comparing and contrasting it with Spenser's work. Of special importance to this thesis is Spenser's concept and use of the Platonic ladder.

Of special importance to this thesis is Jung's treatment of the relationship of myth to reality.
A scholarly study of Pope's "Iliad", which frequently compares Pope with Milton in relation to epic style, and gives a few references to Milton's concept of order in "Paradise Lost".

This essay is used in this thesis primarily as a study of the contrast between Kant's ethical system and his ideas on order, and Milton's ethical system and his ideas of order. Kant's emphasis is upon the rational.

Especially helpful in relation to development of Orphic myth. This work also serves as a background to the understanding of Milton's use of Orpheus as a symbol of Christ.

This book is a critical review of modern criticism in English and American literature. It contains important bibliographies as well as an evaluation of these works. The emphasis in Milton is upon American criticism.

One of the most important works in modern criticism. I do not always agree with Leavis but find his criticism of Milton provocative. Leavis notes the difference between the language of Shakespeare and that of Milton.

A history of the changes and development of literature in England from 650 to 1950. Special analysis of the works and characteristics of Milton found in pages 529-533, wherein emphasis is placed upon the conflict between Milton's faith and his nature.

Certainly one of the most important pro-Milton scholars of the day, Lewis makes a valuable contribution to the study of the epic structure and "Paradise Lost". His conclusions regarding Satan, though, are perhaps too pat.
This work serves primarily as a background for the seventeenth century. Lewis gives a good insight to the mind of Spenser and Sidney, emphasizing both the political and social conditions of the time.

Lewis treats the origin and growth of a number of words used in this thesis, such as: nature, free and sense.

This work is a classic in its field. Lewis stresses the sociological and political conditions leading to the development of courtly love. He emphasizes the importance of courtly love in the history of English literature.

An important work for anyone who wishes a grasp of Milton's repeated emphasis in "Paradise Lost" upon the freedom of the will and upon the natural dignity of man.

A study of the dimensions of the literary imagination. Father Lynch sees the importance of history and sociology in literary studies, but he emphasizes the importance of theology. Of special interest to this thesis is his presentation of the Christian paradox.

One of the few important works on this subject. MacCaffrey emphasizes how Milton translates the Biblical story from time into "God's space", through accumulations of words, parallel actions, epic similes, etc.

This work is beneficial as a background study to Milton's writings. It is especially helpful in determining the position of Milton as a Christian poet.

One of the most important works on literary and artistic criticism. Maritain establishes general principles pertinent to literature, which can guide the critic in evaluating "Paradise Lost" as a work of art.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

An important study of Descartes who helped to change the world of
Milton by creating a divorce between man's soul and his body. A
valuable work to contrast Milton's ideas with those of Descartes.

and Unwin, Ltd., 1958, pp. 93.
This translation is used in this thesis to show the relation be­
tween God and Creon, Satan and Antigone.

______, The Electra, by Euripides, London, George Allen and
Unwin, Ltd., 1952, pp. 87.
This play is used in this thesis to compare and contrast Milton
with Euripides, and to show how Euripides uses the image of food.

Press, 1960, pp. 133.
Middleton Murray states regarding Milton's style: "it is a true
and great style, the perfect medium of expression for a mode of
thought and feeling that are absolutely individual".

Musurillo, H., Symbol and Myth in Ancient Poetry, New York,
A scholarly treatise on the spirit of Greek and Roman poetry.
Of special importance to this thesis is the consideration of the
development of symbols and images and their relation to reality.

Muscatine, C., Chaucer and the French Tradition, Los Angeles,
Primarily a study of the influence of French conventions on
Chaucer. But gives a background for a number of conventions used
by Milton in "Paradise Lost".

267.
This work makes no reference to Milton, but it is important as a
commentary on the tyrannical manners of Satan and on the nature of
his evil.

Ovid, The Metamorphoses, trans. by Horace Gregory, New York,
This work is an important source work for a number of Milton's
mythological references in "Paradise Lost". It also gives a
good insight into Milton's use of sensual images and symbols.
This recent study of Milton's epic concludes that Milton was unwise in regarding the Biblical subject as sufficient for an epic. He also points out what he considers to be a number of flaws inherent in Christianity and in Milton's poems. It is to be regretted that such an important scholar endeavours to write on Christian theology, without having any idea of the meaning of grace.

Special dialogues used in relation to Milton's concept of order include "Timaeus", "The Republic", "Statesman" and "Alcibiades".

This work, of course, is primarily a study of the pains of the romantic poets. However, it gives an important background to the romantics' evaluation of Satan as the hero in "Paradise Lost".

Prince emphasizes the importance of Books I - X in establishing the special dramatic impact of the last two books. He stresses the facts that the last books do not indicate any lessening of Milton's dramatic powers.

Richards is one of the most important of the modern critics. His research on the nature of poetry and its interpretability is quite valuable. But it is difficult to agree with his conclusions.

This translation is used in this thesis to establish a comparison between the approach of Milton and the approach of Homer in relation to the epic.

Used in this thesis for the same reason as the above.

A number of Chaucer's works are referred to in this thesis, such as the "Pardoner's Tale", the "Miller's Tale", etc., to see how Milton's ideas on Satan compare with those of Chaucer.
This work is most helpful in giving a brief summary of the meaning of a number of terms used in Milton's writings. It emphasizes the role of St. Augustine, Dante and Milton as "supra-mundane" historians.

An analysis of Milton's doctrinal writings, especially "De Doctrina Christiana" and its relationship to "Paradise Lost." Sewell also gives an interesting presentation of the relationship between Milton's social, political and domestic life and the epic poem.

Shelley considers Satan the hero of "Paradise Lost" because of the power and grandeur of his rebellion. The Christian God represents the tyrant.

Of benefit in understanding the relationship between Milton's concept of order and nature and Shakespeare's concept on the same subject. A scholarly work.

This work contains an excellent introduction by Lilian Winstanley, wherein she traces the development of Spenser's thought and gives a brief summary of the influence of Plato upon Spenser's epic poem.

Caroline Spurgeon's work is a distinctive contribution not only to the study of Shakespeare but to the study of all major poets. She has endeavoured to list and classify all the images in Shakespeare's plays.

A survey of modern criticism with emphasis upon the role of the critic in interpreting literature. Rene Wellek is quoted as showing the absurdity of trying to find out what went on in the mind of Milton when he wrote the epic.
This work is helpful in the understanding of modern psychological methods in use in the interpreting of "Paradise Lost". I find it difficult to agree with the author but his criticism is provocative.

This work is a valuable guide to Milton criticism from 1800 to 1930. It lists the books, articles and dissertations, along with a brief commentary on the subject matter of the various critical works.

This book contains a brief survey of Milton criticism from the time of Addison's publication in the "Spectator" until T.S. Eliot's essay, written in 1947. Of special importance is Thorpe's introduction wherein he classifies the various critical attitudes on Milton.

Paul Tillich is an outstanding Protestant Theologian. Of special importance to this thesis is his presentation of the Protestant concept of the sacraments, sacramentals and Christian symbols.

One of the most important books by this author. He gives a background necessary in understanding the position of a number of Protestant theologians. Important to this thesis is his analysis of the doctrines held by Luther and Calvin.

This work reveals how Milton's ideas appear different to Tillyard because of the further analysis which he has made and because of his experiences with dictators during the second World War.

One of the most important works by this author. He presents a helpful study of Milton in the light of Elizabethan tradition. Of special importance to this thesis is his chapter on "Order" pp. 7-15.
This introduction reveals Tillyard's earlier concepts of "Paradise Lost". He emphasizes the cause of Satan's fall as "hybris", and also gives an interesting evaluation of Milton as a materialist.

This book is used in this thesis for a number of references to poems in English literature.

Of special importance to this thesis is Keats' critical opinion of the style of Milton (pp. 280-289), wherein he contrasts Milton with Shakespeare. Also important is Trilling's introduction, especially his reference to the symbolism of "food".

One of the most helpful books in giving a sound evaluation of Milton's imagery. Rosemond Tuve stresses the fact that Milton chooses no temporary, culture-bound symbols, but symbols to present the universal desires of all men.

This work by Visiak is primarily a biographical study of Milton. The author emphasizes the close relation that the rebellion of Satan has with the rebellion of Milton against government, religion and social conventions.

A pro-Milton scholar. This author is one of the few writers to endeavour to consider Milton's imagery. It is perhaps unfortunate that the author places too much stress on Milton's personality, his contemporary society and his political and religious views.

Whiting, G.W., Milton and this Pendant World, Austin, University of Texas Press, 1958, pp. 241.
Whiting traces the origin of a number of Milton's symbols such as the "golden Companions", "Jacob's ladder", etc. He endeavours to interpret these symbols in the light of Protestant theology.

The title is misleading. This book is primarily a study of changing scientific opinions which have influenced the various historical periods from the Greeks to the present. Of special importance to this thesis is his chapter on the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
Although this work is primarily a study of the influences upon John Donne, nevertheless, it gives an important background to the study of the seventeenth century and the political, social and religious trends which influenced the poets of the period.

Willey traces the influence of the new philosophies and theological views on some of the seventeenth century poets. Important is his evaluation of Bacon, Descartes and Milton.

This work is important because it gives an insight into what Milton seems to be trying to achieve through his phallic imagery. A number of Yeats' poems are compared with those of Milton.

This writing by one of the early Christian fathers is important because it emphasizes the interpretation of Jacob's ladder as representing both Testaments.

Publications and Thesis Material

Adams emphasizes that Milton's concern was generally with the life, death and resurrection of the dedicated poet, and specifically with his own situation, and that "each individual image and reference has its immediate purpose and its relevance to the form of the whole".

Comments on Empson's statement, "The Christian God the Father, the God of Tertullian, Augustine and Aquinas is the wickedest thing yet invented by the black heart of man". Brett points out how Empson misunderstands Milton.

Brooks emphasizes the importance of the "new" criticism in interpreting Milton's "Paradise Lost" according to its context and not according to the social, political and theological events which might have influenced Milton.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

This work is valuable because it shows the direction which Milton is taking in referring to Jacob's ladder. The article of course is about Spenser's use of the symbol.

Frye is an important modern scholar. In his work he indicates the importance of interpreting a word according to the various levels of meaning which it has in the poem and according to the mind of the particular period in which it is written.

This work is a valuable study of St. Augustine's teaching on sin, nature, grace, divine Providence and pre-destination. It is most helpful in comparing Milton's ideas on the same subjects.

Healy, Sr., M.A., "Milton and Hopkins", UTQ, No. 22, 1953
Sister Aquinas stresses Hopkins' love and appreciation for Milton as a poet - in spite of Hopkins' criticism of Milton's personal life and religious views.

Honig stresses the fact that the strength of allegory is in its seeking and giving proof of the physical and ethical reality of life objectively conceived. He stresses too the function of symbols in poetry.

Another study of the function and range of allegory and symbol. Seems to believe that all poetry is in some way a writing in allegory.

A much needed reply to Eliot's superficial criticism. Mackenzie attacks the notion that Milton's only beauty is to be found in his 'organ tones'.

Manning, S., "I Sing of a Myden", MLA, vol. LXXV, no. 1, 1960, 8-11
One of the best works for information on the Christian use of symbols in the middle ages. It serves as a valuable background for Milton's particular use of Christian symbols.
Mayerson traces the development of the Christ-Orpheus symbolism in the 16-17th century. Both Christ and Orpheus were classified in the middle ages as prophet-poets.

Father McCarthy outlines the various doctrines held by Milton in "Paradise Lost" and shows in what way these doctrines are orthodox or non-orthodox. Sees Arian and Manichean elements in Milton.

McColley points out the fact that Milton's compasses symbolize the precision which God has established in creation. He also indicates something of the origin of this symbol.

Interesting criticism of Eliot's three voices of poetry. Points out that Eliot conveniently establishes rules for a favourable evaluation of his own poetry. Milton does not conform, therefore...
Also adds defence of Milton's Protestant theology.

Neiman gives an analysis of the word "spare" in relation to Milton's ideas on eating and in relation to the line: "What neat repast shall feast us..."

This work is a rebuttal of E. Thompson's article referred to below. He rejects a theory that Milton is using either allegory or myth. He sees the poem as an artificial epic, embodying structurally a theistic and Biblical view of the universe.

Ross discusses the importance of understanding Milton's particular use of Christian symbols in his early poems. He stresses the fact that Christ is not a person but a symbol in the "Nativity Ode".

An important study of the mentality of the seventeenth century's attitude towards the evils of curiosity. Schultz emphasizes the tradition involved.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Traces the reason for the public reaction to allegory, sees it due to the new rational theology which set in at the end of the Renaissance. Shows influence of Bacon on the new poetry.

This work is perhaps the best reply to C.S. Lewis' statement that Satan is "ridiculous". Sees Satan as possessing only one sin - apostasy. Considers also the dramatic importance of making Satan somewhat of a noble character.

Thompson, E.N.S., "The Theme of Paradise Lost", *PMLA*, XXVIII, pp. 106-120.
Thompson sees the whole of "Paradise Lost" as an allegory. The apple is a symbol of truth; Adam, the guilty one represents not one individual but man in general.

Milton's choice of imagery is distinguished from other epic poets by his iron control over animal simile. The bees in motion indicate the "all-dimensional motion befitting spiritual beings".

A somewhat general description of pattern which he defines as "formal design". Emphasizes that "Paradise Lost" builds not upon the *Iliad* but upon the *Aenied*. Sees the pattern as Satan's defeat in heaven by Christ, Satan's victory on earth over Adam, Satan's defeat by Christ who is the second Adam.

This work is a reply to Cleanth Brooks' article referred to above. Woodhouse stresses the importance of knowing Milton's age and background before any serious criticism can be given to his poetry.
### APPENDIX I

**CHART ON NUMBER OF TIMES TERMS OCCUR IN VARIOUS BOOKS**

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HEAVENLY MUSE

SPIRIT

ETERNAL PROVIDENCE

CREATOR

MOST HIGH

ALMIGHTY POWER

OMNIPOTENT

ETERNAL JUSTICE

VICTOR

FOE

ORIES

FOE

OUR ENEMY

ALMIGHTY
1  273 GOD OMNIPOTENT
1  323 GOD CONQUEROR
1  369 GOD CREATOR
1  386 GOD JEHOVAH
1  486 GOD MAKER
1  487 GOD JEHOVAH
1  623 GOD ALMIGHTY
1  638 GOD MONARCH IN HEAVEN
1  667 GOD HIGHEST
1  735 GOD SUPREME KING

1  34 SATAN SERPENT
1  81 SATAN ARCH-ENEMY
1  125 SATAN APOSTATE ANGEL
1  128 SATAN PRINCE
1  128 SATAN CHIEF OF MANY THRONED POWERS
1  156 SATAN ARCH-FIEND
1  209 SATAN ARCH-FIEND
1  243 SATAN LOST ARCHANGEL
1  272 SATAN LEADER
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2 46 GOD ETERNAL
2 64 GOD TORTURER
2 137 GOD OUR GREAT ENEMY
2 144 GOD ALMIGHTY VICTOR
2 152 GOD FOE
2 199 GOD VICTOR
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2 210 GOD FOE
2 229 GOD KING OF HEAVEN
2 236 GOD HEAVEN'S LORD
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80 GOD SON
113 GOD MAKER
138 GOD SON OF GOD
139 GOD FATHER
143 GOD FATHER
148 GOD FATHER
154 GOD FATHER
167 GOD CREATOR
168 GOD SON
169 GOD SON
169 GOD SON
187 GOD DUTY
206 GOD GODHEAD
224 GOD SON OF GOD
227 GOD FATHER
262 GOD FATHER
271 GOD FATHER
273 GOD ALMIGHTY
309 GOD SON OF GOD
316 GOD SON
317 GOD KING
319 GOD HEAD SUPREME
343 GOD SON
344 GOD ALMIGHTY
372 GOD FATHER
372 GOD OMNIPOETENT
373 GOD IMMUTABLE
373 GOD IMMORTAL
373 GOD INFINITE
374 GOD ETERNAL KING
374 GOD AUTHOR
375 GOD FOUNTAIN OF LIGHT
384 GOD BEGOTTEN SON
384 GOD DIVINE SIMILITUDE
386 GOD ALMIGHTY FATHER
393 GOD FATHER
398 GOD SON OF THY FATHER'S MIGHT
400 GOD FATHER
403 GOD SON
412 GOD SON OF GOD
412 GOD SAVIOUR OF MEN
415 GOD FATHER
673 GOD CREATOR
676 GOD UNIVERSAL MAKER
696 GOD WORK MASTER

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156 SATAN ADVERSARY
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- The terms HIGH, GOLD, and ALONE are descriptors.
- The terms SATAN and EARTH are also used as descriptors.
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5 495 LIGHT EARTH
5 334 ORDER
5 473 ORDER
5 490 ORDER
5 587 ORDER
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692 ORDER
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750 ORDER
792 ORDER
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838 ORDER

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67 FRUIT
83 FRUIT
213 FRUIT
215 FRUIT
232 FRUIT
304 FRUIT
320 FRUIT
341 FRUIT
388 FRUIT
390 FRUIT
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482 FRUIT
635 FRUIT

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5 737 VAIN
5 737 VAIN

5 15 GRACE

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5 426 MEAL
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5 465 MEAL
5 496 MEAL
5 630 MEAL
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5 153 GOD PARENT OF GOOD
5 154 GOD ALMIGHTY
5 184 GOD MAKER
5 188 GOD WORLD'S GREAT AUTHOR
5 205 GOD UNIVERSAL LORD
5 220 GOD HEAVEN'S HIGH KING
5 246 GOD ETERNAL FATHER
5 256 GOD SOVRAN ARCHITECT
5 398 GOD NOURISHER
5 403 GOD FATHER
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5 640 GOD ALL BOUNTEOUS KING
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9 568 EVE FAIREST OF THIS FAIR WORLD
9 612 EVE SOVEREIGN OF CREATURES
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11 145  FREE WILL
11 146  FREE WILL
11 308  FREE WILL
12 421 LIGHT GOD
12 473 LIGHT EARTH
12 184 FRUIT
12 551 FRUIT

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12 245  GOD  HOLY ONE
12 327  GOD  SON
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12 525  GOD  SPIRIT OF GRACE
12 533  GOD  SPIRIT AND WISDOM
12 544  GOD  SAVIOR
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12 546  GOD  FATHER
12 573  GOD  MEDIATOR
12 647  GOD  PROVIDER
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12  783 SATAN SERPENT
12  454 SATAN PRINCE OF AIR
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12  64 ADAM LIBRAELE SON

12  543 EVE WOMAN'S SEED
12  601 EVE WOMAN'S SEED

12  237 FREE WILL
12  246 FREE WILL
12  400 FREE WILL
12  477 FREE WILL
Order is an important aspect of "Paradise Lost". Milton considers it from a twofold aspect: (1) that which pertains to the natural order whereby every creature is predestined to a certain degree on God's ladder, and (2) that which pertains to the supernatural order whereby rational creatures through their free will and with the aid of grace can either act in harmony with God's plan or rebel against this plan.

Milton reveals his concept of order primarily through key terms, patterns and images.

Some of his key terms are "high", used two hundred and seventeen times, "gold", sixty-seven times, "tower", eighteen times, "alone", eighty times, "ear", thirty-two times, "seem", eighty-four times, "fall", one hundred and eighty-seven times, "light", one hundred and twenty-five times, "degree", thirty-three times, "fruit", ninety-four times, "all", six hundred and ninety times, "vain", thirty-eight times, "grace", forty-one times, "meal", thirty-six times, and "free will", thirty-nine times.

The main pattern is a "high-low" pattern which reveals, paradoxically, the rise of the Son of God by his descent, and the fall of Satan by his ascent.

The main images are those of the ladder, the golden compasses, the meridian tower, the tree of life and the tree of death, the
orient pearl, the dew, the song and the singer, the ear of God and the
ear of man, the rural repast and the barren banquet, and the clothing of
Adam.

These key terms, patterns and images reveal ten main points re­
garding Milton's concept of order:

1. The order of nature has established that which is superior
over that which is inferior, and the criterion for determining superiority
is the ability to create - in one form or another.

2. In the natural order Satan is still an archangel, still en­
dowed with dignity and a certain grandeur of action.

3. God so respects individual liberty that even Satan is free to
act in opposition to God.

4. It is only through the use of free will that rational creatures
 can play such a dynamic role in the order of grace.

5. In the supernatural order creatures attain their perfection by
their conformity to nature - within themselves as individuals, and
within the entire hierarchy of being.

6. The fall of man has disrupted the harmony between man and na­
ture, between the intellect and the will, and between the will and the
senses.

7. This disharmony is also revealed in man's relations to woman,
to civil government, and to society as a whole.

8. Milton endeavors not only to show man his inability to dis­
tinguish, by his unaided reason, between the order of good and the order
of evil, but also to make man experience this inability within the poem
itself, and from this to lead man to the order of grace.

9. In a sense, Milton's order is analogous to the Catholic doc­
trine of the Mystical Body of Christ.

10. The model of God's supernatural order is the Son of God.

An annotated bibliography comments briefly on the content and
value of the several reference books relative to this thesis, and also
lists and evaluates the periodicals and reviews which have helped to
prove the thesis.
This thesis submitted in 1962 to the Department of English Literature in the Faculty of Arts, of the University of Ottawa, Canada, in view of obtaining the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, contains two hundred and fifty-six pages.