Paradise Lost BOOK 2
John Milton (1667)

THE ARGUMENT

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

High on a Throne of Royal State, which far
Outshon the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,
Or where the gorgeous East with richest hand
Showrs on her Kings Barbaric Pearl and Gold,
Satan exalted sat, by merit rais'd [ 5 ]
To that bad eminence; and from despair
Thus high uplifted beyond hope, aspires
Beyond thus high, insatiate to pursue
Vain Warr with Heav'n, and by success untaught
His proud imaginations thus displaid. [ 10 ]

Powers and Dominions, Deities of Heav'n,
For since no deep within her gulf can hold
Immortal vigor, though opprest and fall'n,
I give not Heav'n for lost. From this descent
Celestial virtues rising, will appear [ 15 ]
More glorious and more dread then from no fall,
And trust themselves to fear no second fate:
Mee though just right, and the fixt Laws of Heav'n
Did first create your Leader, next free choice,
With what besides, in Counsel or in Fight, [ 20 ]
Hath bin achievd of merit, yet this loss
Thus farr at least recover'd, hath much more
Establisht in a safe unenvied Throne
Yielded with full consent. The happier state
In Heav'n, which follows dignity, might draw [ 25 ]
Envy from each inferior; but who here
Will envy whom the highest place exposes
Formost to stand against the Thunderers aim
Your bulwark, and condemns to greatest share
Of endless pain? where there is then no good [ 30 ]
For which to strive, no strife can grow up there
From Faction; for none sure will claim in Hell
Precedence, none, whose portion is so small
Of present pain, that with ambitious mind
Will covet more. With this advantage then [ 35 ]
To union, and firm Faith, and firm accord,
More then can be in Heav'n, we now return
To claim our just inheritance of old,
Surer to prosper then prosperity
Could have assur'd us; and by what best way, [ 40 ]
Whether of open Warr or covert guile,
We now debate; who can advise, may speak.

He ceas'd, and next him Moloc, Scepter'd King
Stood up, the strongest and the fiercest Spirit
That fought in Heav'n; now fiercer by despair: [ 45 ]
His trust was with th' Eternal to be deem'd
Equal in strength, and rather then be less
Care'd not to be at all; with that care lost
Went all his fear: of God, or Hell, or worse
He reck'd not, and these words thereafter spake. [ 50 ]

My sentence is for open Warr: Of Wiles,
More unexpert, I boast not: them let those
Contrive who need, or when they need, not now.
For while they sit contriving, shall the rest,
Millions that stand in Arms, and longing wait [ 55 ]
The Signal to ascend, sit lingering here
Heav'n's fugitives, and for thir dwelling place
Accept this dark opprobrious Den of shame,
The Prison of his Tyranny who Reigns
By our delay? no, let us rather choose [ 60 ]
Arm'd with Hell flames and fury all at once
O're Heav'n's high Towrs to force resistless way,
Turning our Tortures into horrid Arms
Against the Torturer; when to meet the noise
Of his Almighty Engin he shall hear [ 65 ]
Infernal Thunder, and for Lightning see
Black fire and horror shot with equal rage
Among his Angels; and his Throne it self
Mixt with Tartarean Sulphur, and strange fire,
His own invented Torments. But perhaps [ 70 ]
The way seems difficult and steep to scale
With upright wing against a higher foe.
Let such bethink them, if the sleepy drench
Of that forgetful Lake benumm not still,
That in our proper motion we ascend [ 75 ]
Up to our native seat: descent and fall
To us is adverse. Who but felt of late
When the fierce Foe hung on our brok'n Rear
Insulting, and pursu'd us through the Deep,
With what compulsion and laborious flight [ 80 ]
We sunk thus low? Th' ascent is easie then;
Th' event is fear'd; should we again provoke
Our stronger, some worse way his wrath may find
To our destruction: if there be in Hell
Fear to be worse destroy'd: what can be worse [ 85 ]
Then to dwell here, driv'n out from bliss, condemn'd
In this abhorred deep to utter woe;
Where pain of unextinguishable fire
Must exercise us without hope of end
The Vassals of his anger, when the Scourge [ 90 ]
Inexorably, and the torturing hour
Calls us to Penance? More destroy'd then thus
We should be quite abolish't and expire.
What fear we then? what doubt we to incense
His utmost ire? which to the hight enrag'd, [ 95 ]
Will either quite consume us, and reduce
To nothing this essential, happier farr
Then miserable to have eternal being:
Or if our substance be indeed Divine,
And cannot cease to be, we are at worst [ 100 ]
On this side nothing; and by proof we feel
Our power sufficient to disturb his Heav'n,
And with perpetual inrodes to Allarme,
Though inaccessible, his fatal Throne:
Which if not Victory is yet Revenge. [ 105 ]

He ended frowning, and his look denounc'd
Desperate revenge, and Battel dangerous
To less then Gods. On th' other side up rose
Belial, in act more graceful and humane;
A fairer person lost not Heav'n; he seemd [ 110 ]
For dignity compos'd and high exploit:
But all was false and hollow; though his Tongue
Dropt Manna, and could make the worse appear
The better reason, to perplex and dash
Maturest Counsels: for his thoughts were low; [ 115 ]
To vice industrious, but to Nobler deeds
Timorous and slothful: yet he pleas'd the ear,
And with persuasive accent thus began.
   I should be much for open Warr, O Peers,
As not behind in hate; if what was urg'd [ 120 ]
Main reason to persuade immediate Warr,
Did not dissuade me most, and seem to cast
Ominous conjecture on the whole success:
When he who most excels in fact of Arms,
In what he counsels and in what excels [ 125 ]
Mistrustful, grounds his courage on despair
And utter dissolution, as the scope
Of all his aim, after some dire revenge.
First, what Revenge? the Towrs of Heav'n are fill'd
With Armed watch, that render all access [ 130 ]
Impregnable; oft on the bordering Deep
Encamp thir Legions, or with obscure wing
Scout farr and wide into the Realm of night,
Scorning surprize. Or could we break our way
By force, and at our heels all Hell should rise [ 135 ]
With blackest Insurrection, to confound
Heav'n's purest Light, yet our great Enemy
All incorruptible would on his Throne
Sit unpolluted, and th' Ethereal mould
Incapable of stain would soon expel [ 140 ]
Her mischief, and purge off the baser fire
Victorious. Thus repuls'd, our final hope
Is flat despair; we must exasperate
Th' Almighty Victor to spend all his rage,
And that must end us, that must be our cure, [ 145 ]
To be no more; sad cure; for who would loose,
Though full of pain, this intellectual being,
Those thoughts that wander through Eternity,
To perish rather, swallowed up and lost
In the wide womb of uncreated night, [ 150 ]
Devoid of sense and motion? and who knows,
Let this be good, whether our angry Foe
Can give it, or will ever? how he can
Is doubtful; that he never will is sure.
Will he, so wise, let loose at once his ire, [ 155 ]
Belike through impotence, or unaware,
To give his Enemies thir wish, and end
Them in his anger, whom his anger saves
To punish endless? wherefore cease we then?
Say they who counsel Warr, we are decreed, [ 160 ]
Reserv'd and destin'd to Eternal woe;
Whatever doing, what can we suffer more,
What can we suffer worse? is this then worst,
Thus sitting, thus consulting, thus in Arms?
What when we fled amain, pursu'd and strook [ 165 ]
With Heav'n's afflicting Thunder, and besought
The Deep to shelter us? this Hell then seem'd
A refuge from those wounds: or when we lay
Chain'd on the burning Lake? that sure was worse.
What if the breath that kindl'd those grim fires [ 170 ]
Awak'd should blow them into sevenfold rage
And plunge us in the flames? or from above
Should intermitted vengeance arm again
His red right hand to plague us? what if all
Her stores were open'd, and this Firmament [ 175 ]
Of Hell should spout her Cataracts of Fire,
Impendent horrors, threatening hideous fall
One day upon our heads; while we perhaps
Designing or exhorting glorious warr,
Caught in a fierie Tempest shall be hurl'd [ 180 ]
Each on his rock transfixt, the sport and prey
Of racking whirlwinds, or for ever sunk
Under yon boyling Ocean, wrapt in Chains;
There to converse with everlasting groans;
Unresptied, unpitied, unrepreevd, [ 185 ]
Ages of hopeless end; this would be worse.
Warr therefore, open or conceal'd, alike
My voice disswades; for what can force or guile
With him, or who deceive his mind, whose eye
Views all things at one view? he from heav'n's highth [ 190 ]
All these our motions vain, sees and derides;
Not more Almighty to resist our might
Then wise to frustrate all our plots and wiles.
Shall we then live thus vile, the race of Heav'n
Thus tramp'ld, thus expell'd to suffer here [ 195 ]
Chains and these Torments? better these then worse
By my advice; since fate inevitable
Subdues us, and Omnipotent Decree
The Victors will. To suffer, as to doe,
Our strength is equal, nor the Law unjust [ 200 ]
That so ordains: this was at first resolv'd,
If we were wise, against so great a foe
Contending, and so doubtful what might fall.
I laugh, when those who at the Spear are bold
And vent'rous, if that fail them, shrink and fear [ 205 ]
What yet they know must follow, to endure
Exile, or ignominy, or bonds, or pain,
The sentence of thir Conquerour: This is now
Our doom; which if we can sustain and bear,
Our Supream Foe in time may much remit [ 210 ]
His anger, and perhaps thus farr remov'd
Not mind us not offending, satisfi'd
With what is punish't; whence these raging fires
Will slack'n, if his breath stir not thir flames.
Our purer essence then will overcome [ 215 ]
Thir noxious vapour, or enur'd not feel,
Or chang'd at length, and to the place conformd
In temper and in nature, will receive
Familiar the fierce heat, and void of pain;
This horror will grow milde, this darkness light, [ 220 ]
Besides what hope the never-ending flight
Of future dayes may bring, what chance, what change
Worth waiting, since our present lot appeers
For happy though but ill, for ill not worst,
If we.procure not to our selves more woe. [ 225 ]

Thus Belial with words cloath'd in reasons garb
Counsell'd ignoble ease, and peaceful sloath,
Not peace: and after him thus Mammon spake.

Either to disin throne the King of Heav'n
We warr, if Warr be best, or to regain [ 230 ]
Our own right lost: him to unthrone we then
May hope when everlasting Fate shall yeild
To fickle Chance, and Chaos judge the strife:
The former vain to hope argues as vain
The latter: for what place can be for us [ 235 ]
Within Heav'n's bound, unless Heav'n's Lord supream
We overpower? Suppose he should relent
And publish Grace to all, on promise made
Of new Subjection; with what eyes could we
Stand in his presence humble, and receive [ 240 ]
Strict Laws impos'd, to celebrate his Throne
With warbl'd Hymns, and to his Godhead sing
Forc't Halleluiah's; while he Lordly sits
Our envied Sovran, and his Altar breathes
Ambrosial Odours and Ambrosial Flowers, [ 245 ]
Our servile offerings. This must be our task
In Heav'n, this our delight; how wearisom
Eternity so spent in worship paid
To whom we hate. Let us not then pursue
By force impossible, by leave obtain'd [ 250 ]
Unacceptable, though in Heav'n, our state
Of splendid vassalage, but rather seek
Our own good from our selves, and from our own
Live to our selves, though in this vast recess,
Free, and to none accountable, preferring [255]
Hard liberty before the easie yoke
Of servile Pomp. Our greatness will appeer
Then most conspicuous, when great things of small,
Useful of hurtful, prosperous of adverse
We can create, and in what place so e're [260]
Thrive under evil, and work ease out of pain
Through labour and indurance. This deep world
Of darkness do we dread? How oft amidst
Thick clouds and dark doth Heav'n's all-ruling Sire
Choose to reside, his Glory unobscur'd, [265]
And with the Majesty of darkness round
Covers his Throne; from whence deep thunders roar
Must'ring thir rage, and Heav'n resembles Hell?
As he our darkness, cannot we his Light
Imitate when we please? This Desart soile [270]
Wants not her hidden lustre, Gemms and Gold;
Nor want we skill or Art, from whence to raise
Magnificence; and what can Heav'n shew more?
Our torments also may in length of time
Become our Elements, these piercing Fires [275]
As soft as now severe, our temper chang'd
Into their temper; which must needs remove
The sensible of pain. All things invite
To peaceful Counsels, and the settl'd State
Of order, how in safety best we may [280]
Compose our present evils, with regard
Of what we are and were, dismissing quite
All thoughts of warr: ye have what I advise.

He scarce had finisht, when such murmur fill'd
Th' Assembly, as when hollow Rocks retain [285]
The sound of blustering winds, which all night long
Had rous'd the Sea, now with hoarse cadence lull
Sea-faring men o'rewatcht, whose Bark by chance
Or Pinnace anchors in a craggy Bay
After the Tempest: Such applause was heard [290]
As Mammon ended, and his Sentence pleas'd,
Advising peace: for such another Field
They dreaded worse then Hell: so much the fear
Of Thunder and the Sword of Michael
Wrought still within them; and no less desire [295]
To found this nether Empire, which might rise
By pollicy, and long process of time,
In emulation opposite to Heav'n.
Which when Beelzebub perceiv'd, then whom,
Satan except, none higher sat, with grave [ 300 ]
Aspect he rose, and in his rising seem'd
A Pillar of State; deep on his Front engraven
Deliberation sat and public care;
And Princely counsel in his face yet shon,
Majestic though in ruin: sage he stood [ 305 ]
With Atlantean shoulders fit to bear
The weight of mightiest Monarchies; his look
Drew audience and attention still as Night
Or Summers Noon-tide air, while thus he spake.

Thrones and Imperial Powers, off-spring of heav'n [ 310 ]
Ethereal Vertues; or these Titles now
Must we renounce, and changing stile be call'd
Princes of Hell? for so the popular vote
Inclines, here to continue, and build up here
A growing Empire; doubtless; while we dream, [ 315 ]
And know not that the King of Heav'n hath doom'd
This place our dungeon, not our safe retreat
Beyond his Potent arm, to live exempt
From heav'ns high jurisdiction, in new League
Banded against his Throne, but to remaine [ 320 ]
In strictest bondage, though thus far remov'd,
Under th' inevitable curb, reserv'd
His captive multitude: For he, be sure
In heighth or depth, still first and last will Reign
Sole King, and of his Kingdom loose no part [ 325 ]
By our revolt, but over Hell extend
His Empire, and with Iron Scepter rule
Us here, as with his Golden those in Heav'n.
What sit we then projecting peace and Warr?
Warr hath determin'd us, and foild with loss [ 330 ]
Irreparable; tears of peace yet none
Voutsaf't or sought; for what peace will be giv'n
To us enslav'd, but custody severe,
And stripes, and arbitrary punishment
Inflicted? and what peace can we return, [ 335 ]
But to our power hostility and hate,
Untam'd reluctance, and revenge though slow,
Yet ever plotting how the Conqueror least
May reap his conquest, and may least rejoice
In doing what we most in suffering feel? [ 340 ]
Nor will occasion want, nor shall we need
With dangerous expedition to invade
Heav'n, whose high walls fear no assault or Siege,
Or ambush from the Deep. What if we find
Some easierenterprize? There is a place [345]
(If ancient and prophetic fame in Heav'n
Err not) another World, the happy seat
Of some new Race call'd Man, about this time
To be created like to us, though less
In power and excellence, but favour'd more [350]
Of him who rules above; so was his will
Pronounc'd among the Gods, and by an Oath,
That shook Heav'n's whol circumference, confirm'd.
Thither let us bend all our thoughts, to learn
What creatures there inhabit, of what mould, [355]
Or substance, how endu'd, and what thir Power,
And where thir weakness, how attempted best,
By force or suttlety: Though Heav'n be shut,
And Heav'n high Arbitrator sit secure
In his own strength, this place may lye expos'd [360]
The utmost border of his Kingdom, left
To their defence who hold it: here perhaps
Som advantagious act may be achiev'd
By sudden onset, either with Hell fire
To waste his whole Creation, or possess [365]
All as our own, and drive as we were driven,
The punie habitants, or if not drive,
Seduce them to our Party, that thir God
May prove thir foe, and with repenting hand
Abolish his own works. This would surpass [370]
Common revenge, and interrupt his joy
In our Confusion, and our Joy upraise
In his disturbance; when his darling Sons
Hurl'd headlong to partake with us, shall curse
Thir frail Original, and faded bliss, [375]
Faded so soon. Advise if this be worth
Attempting, or to sit in darkness here
Hatching vain Empires. Thus Beelzebub
Pleased his devilish Counsel, first devis'd
By Satan, and in part propos'd: for whence, [380]
But from the Author of all ill could Spring
So deep a malice, to confound the race
Of mankind in one root, and Earth with Hell
To mingle and involve, done all to spite
The great Creatour? But thir spite still serves [385]
His glory to augment. The bold design

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Attributed to: [Thomas H. Luxon]
Pleas'd highly those infernal States, and joy
Sparkl'd in all thir eyes; with full assent
They vote: whereat his speech he thus renews.
   Well have ye judg'd, well ended long debate, [ 390 ]
Synod of Gods, and like to what ye are,
Great things resolv'd; which from the lowest deep
Will once more lift us up, in spight of Fate,
Neerer our ancient Seat; perhaps in view
Of those bright confines, whence with neighbouring Arms [ 395 ]
And opportune excursion we may chance
Re-enter Heav'n; or else in some milde Zone
Dwell not unvisited of Heav'ns fair Light
Secure, and at the brightning Orient beam
Purge off this gloom; the soft delicious Air, [ 400 ]
To heal the scarr of these corrosive Fires
Shall breath her balme. But first whom shall we send
In search of this new world, whom shall we find
Sufficient? who shall tempt with wandring feet
The dark unbottom'd infinite Abyss [ 405 ]
And through the palpable obscure find out
His uncouth way, or spread his aerie flight
Upborn with indefatigable wings
Over the vast abrupt, ere he arrive
The happy Ile; what strength, what art can then [ 410 ]
Suffice, or what evasion bear him safe
Through the strict Senteries and Stations thick
Of Angels watching round? Here he had need
All circumspection, and we now no less
Choice in our suffrage; for on whom we send, [ 415 ]
The weight of all and our last hope relies.
   This said, he sat; and expectation held
His look suspense, awaiting who appeer'd
To second, or oppose, or undertake
The perilous attempt; but all sat mute, [ 420 ]
Pondering the danger with deep thoughts; and each
In others count'nance read his own dismay
Astonisht: none among th' choice and prime
Of those Heav'n-warring Champions could be found
So hardie as to proffer or accept [ 425 ]
Alone the dreadful voyage; till at last
Satan, whom now transcendent glory rais'd
Above his fellows, with Monarchal pride
Conscious of highest worth, unmov'd thus spake.
   O Progeny of Heav'n, Empyreal Thrones, [ 430 ]
With reason hath deep silence and demurr
Seis'd us, though undismaid: long is the way,
And hard, that out of Hell leads up to light;
Our prison strong, this huge convex of Fire,
Outrageous to devour, immures us round [435]
Ninefold, and gates of burning Adamant
Barr'd over us prohibit all egress.
These past, if any pass, the void profound
Of unessential Night receives him next
Wide gaping, and with utter loss of being [440]
Threatens him, plung'd in that abortive gulf.
If thence he scape into whatever world,
Or unknown Region, what remains him less
Then unknown dangers and as hard escape.
But I should ill become this Throne, O Peers, [445]
And this Imperial Sov'ranty, adorn'd
With splendor, arm'd with power, if aught propos'd
And judg'd of public moment, in the shape
Of difficulty or danger could deterr
Mee from attempting. Wherefore do I assume [450]
These Royalties, and not refuse to Reign,
Refusing to accept as great a share
Of hazard as of honour, due alike
To him who Reigns, and so much to him due
Of hazard more, as he above the rest [455]
High honourd sits? Go therefore mighty Powers,
Terror of Heav'n, though fall'n; intend at home,
While here shall be our home, what best ma ease
The present misery, and render Hell
More tolerable; if there be cure or charm [460]
To respite or deceive, or slack the pain
Of this ill Mansion: intermit no watch
Against a wakeful Foe, while I abroad
Through all the Coasts of dark destruction seek
Deliverance for us all: this enterprize [465]
None shall partake with me. Thus saying rose
The Monarch, and prevented all reply,
Prudent, least from his resolution rais'd
Others among the chief might offer now
(Certain to be refus'd) what erst they fear'd; [470]
And so refus'd might in opinion stand
His Rivals, winning cheap the high repute
Which he through hazard huge must earn. But they
Dreaded not more th' adventure then his voice
Forbidding; and at once with him they rose; [475]
Thir rising all at once was as the sound
Of Thunder heard remote. Towards him they bend
With awful reverence prone; and as a God
Extoll him equal to the highest in Heav’n:
Nor fail’d they to express how much they prais’d; [ 480 ]
That for the general safety he despis’d
His own: for neither do the Spirits damn’d
Loose all thir vertue; least bad men should boast
Thir specious deeds on earth, which glory excites,
Or clos ambition varnisht o’re with zeal. [ 485 ]
Thus they thir doubtful consultations dark
Ended rejoicing in thir matchless Chief:
As when from mountain tops the dusky clouds
Ascending, while the North wind sleeps, O’respread
Heav’n’s chearful face, the lowring Element [ 490 ]
Scowls ore the dark’nd lantskip Snow, or showre;
If chance the radiant Sun with farewell sweet
Extend his ev’ning beam, the fields revive,
The birds thir notes renew, and bleating herds
Attest thir joy, that hill and valley rings. [ 495 ]
O shame to men! Devil with Devil damn’d
Firm concord holds, men onely disagree
Of Creatures rational, though under hope
Of heavenly Grace; and God proclaiming peace,
Yet live in hatred, enmity, and strife [ 500 ]
Among themselves, and leve cruel warres,
Wasting the Earth, each other to destroy:
As if (which might induce us to accord)
Man had not hellish foes anow besides,
That day and night for his destruction waite. [ 505 ]

     The Stygian Counsel thus dissolv’d; and forth
In order came the grand infernal Peers:
Midst came thir mighty Paramount, and seemd
Alone th’ Antagonist of Heav’n, nor less
Than Hells dread Emperour with pomp Supream, [ 510 ]
And God-like imitated State; him round
A Globe of fierie Seraphim inclos’d
With bright imblazonrie, and horrent Arms.
Then of thir Session ended they bid cry
With Trumpets regal sound the great result: [ 515 ]
Toward the four winds four speedy Cherubim
Put to thir mouths the sounding Alchymie
By Haralds voice explain’d: the hollow Abyss
Heard farr and wide, and all the host of Hell
With deafning shout, return’d them loud acclaim. [ 520 ]
Thence more at ease thir minds and somewhat rais’d
By false presumptuous hope, the ranged powers
Disband, and wandring, each his several way
Pursues, as inclination or sad choice
Leads him perplex'd, where he may likeliest find
Truce to his restless thoughts, and entertain
The irksome hours, till his great Chief return.
Part on the Plain, or in the Air sublime
Upon the wing, or in swift Race contend,
As at th' Olympian Games or Pythian fields;
Part curb th' fierie Steeds, or shun the Goal
With rapid wheels, or fronted Brigads form.
As when to warn proud Cities warr appears
Wag'd in the troubl'd Skie, and Armies rush
To Battel in the Clouds, before each Van
Prick forth the Aerie Knights, and couch th' Spears
Till thickest Legions close; with feats of Arms
From either end of Heav'n the welkin burns.
Others with vast Typhon rage more fell
Rend up both Rocks and Hills, and ride the Air
In whirlwind; Hell scarce holds the wilde uproar.
As when Alcides from Oechalia Crown'd
With conquest, felt th' envenom'd robe, and tore
Through pain up by the roots Thessalian Pines,
And Lichas from the top of Oeta threw
Into th' Euboic Sea. Others more milde,
Retreated in a silent valley, sing
With notes Angelical to many a Harp
Thir own Heroic deeds and hapless fall
By doom of Battel; and complain that Fate
Free Vertue should enthrall to Force or Chance.
Thir Song was partial, but the harmony
(What could it less when Spirits immortal sing?)
Suspended Hell, and took with ravishment
The thronging audience. In discourse more sweet
(For Eloquence the Soul, Song charms the Sense,)
Others apart sat on a Hill retir'd,
In thoughts more elevate, and reason'd high
Of Providence, Foreknowledge, Will and Fate,
Fixt Fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute,
And found no end, in wandring mazes lost.
Of good and evil much they argu'd then,
Of happiness and final misery,
Passion and Apathie, and glory and shame,
Vain wisdom all, and false Philosophie:
Yet with a pleasing sorcerie could charm
Pain for a while or anguish, and excite
Fallacious hope, or arm th' obdured brest
With stubborn patience as with triple steel.
Another part in Squadrons and gross Bands, [ 570 ]
On bold adventure to discover wide
That dismal world, if any Clime perhaps
Might yield them easier habitation, bend
Four ways thir flying March, along the Banks
Of four infernal Rivers that disgorg[e] [ 575 ]
Into the burning Lake thir baleful streams;
Abhorred Styx the flood of deadly hate,
Sad Acheron of sorrow, black and deep;
Cocytus, nam'd of lamentation loud
Heard on the rufel stream; fierce Phlegeton [ 580 ]
Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage.
Farr off from these a slow and silent stream,
Lethe the River of Oblivion roules
Her watrie Labyrinth, whereof who drinks,
Forthwith his former state and being forgets, [ 585 ]
Forgets both joy and grief, pleasure and pain.
Beyond this flood a frozen Continent
Lies dark and wilde, beat with perpetual storms
Of Whirlwind and dire Hail, which on firm land
Thaws not, but gathers heap, and ruin seems [ 590 ]
Of ancient pile; all else deep snow and ice,
A gulf profound as that Serbonian Bog
Betwixt Damiata and Mount Casius old,
Where Armies whole have sunk: the parching Air
Burns frore, and cold performs th' effect of Fire. [ 595 ]
Thither by harpy-footed Furies hail'd,
At certain revolutions all the damn'd
Are brought: and feel by turns the bitter change
Of fierce extreams, extreams by change more fierce,
From Beds of raging Fire to starve in Ice [ 600 ]
Thir soft Ethereal warmth, and there to pine
Inmovable, infixt, and frozen round,
Periods of time, thence hurried back to fire.
They ferry over this Lethean Sound
Both to and fro, thir sorrow to augment, [ 605 ]
And wish and struggle, as they pass, to reach
The tempting stream, with one small drop to loose
In sweet forgetfulness all pain and woe,
All in one moment, and so neer the brink;
But fate withstands, and to oppose th' attempt [ 610 ]
Medusa with Gorgonian terror guards

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Attributed to: [Thomas H. Luxon]
The Ford, and of it self the water flies
All taste of living wight, as once it fled
The lip of Tantalus. Thus roving on
In confus'd march forlorn, th' adventrous Bands [ 615 ]
With shuddring horror pale, and eyes agast
View'd first thir lamentable lot, and found
No rest: through many a dark and drearie Vaile
They pass'd, and many a Region dolorous,
O'er many a Frozen, many a fierie Alpe, [ 620 ]
Rocks, Caves, Lakes, Fens, Bogs, Dens, and shades of death,
A Universe of death, which God by curse
Created evil, for evil only good,
Where all life dies, death lives, and Nature breeds,
Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things, [ 625 ]
Abominable, inutterable, and worse
Then Fables yet have feign'd, or fear conceiv'd,
Gorgons and Hydra's, and Chimera's dire.

Mean while the Adversary of God and Man,
Satan with thoughts inflam'd of highest design, [ 630 ]
Puts on swift wings, and towards the Gates of Hell
Explores his solitary flight; som times
He scours the right hand coast, som times the left,
Now shaves with level wing the Deep, then soares
Up to the fiery Concave touring high. [ 635 ]
As when farr off at Sea a Fleet descri'd
Hangs in the Clouds, by Æquinoctial Winds
Close sailing from Bengala, or the Iles
Of Ternate and Tidore, whence Merchants bring
Thir spicie Drugs: they on the Trading Flood [ 640 ]
Through the wide Ethiopian to the Cape
Ply stemming nightly toward the Pole. So seem'd
Farr off the flying Fiend: at last appeer
Hell bounds high reaching to the horrid Roof,
And thrice threefold the Gates; three folds were Brass, [ 645 ]
Three Iron, three of Adamantine Rock,
Impenetrable, impal'd with circling fire,
Yet unconsum'd. Before the Gates there sat
On either side a formidable shape;
The one seem'd Woman to the waste, and fair, [ 650 ]
But ended foul in many a scaly fould
Voluminous and vast, a Serpent arm'd
With mortal sting: about her middle round
A cry of Hell Hounds never ceasing bark'd
With wide Cerberian mouths full loud, and rung [ 655 ]
A hideous Peal: yet, when they list, would creep,
If aught disturb'd thir noyse, into her woomb,
And kennel there, yet there still bark'd and howl'd
Within unseen. Farr less abhorrd than these
Vex'd Scylla bathing in the Sea that parts [ 660 ]
Calabria from the hoarse Trinacrian shore:
Nor uglier follow the Night-Hag, when call'd
In secret, riding through the Air she comes
Lur'd with the smell of infant blood, to dance
With Lapland Witches, while the labouring Moon [ 665 ]
Eclipses at thir charms. The other shape,
If shape it might be call'd that shape had none
Distinguishable in member, joynt, or limb,
Or substance might be call'd that shadow seem'd,
For each seem'd either; black it stood as Night, [ 670 ]
Fierce as ten Furies, terrible as Hell,
And shook a dreadful Dart; what seem'd his head
The likeness of a Kingly Crown had on.
Satan was now at hand, and from his seat
The Monster moving onward came as fast [ 675 ]
With horrid strides, Hell trembled as he strode.
Th' undaunted Fiend what this might be admir'd,
Admir'd, not fear'd; God and his Son except,
Created thing naught valu'd he nor shun'd
And with disdainful look thus first began. [ 680 ]
Whence and what art thou, execrable shape,
That dar'st, though grim and terrible, advance
Thy miscreated Front athwart my way
To yonder Gates? through them I mean to pass,
That be assured, without leave askt of thee: [ 685 ]
Retire, or taste thy folly, and learn by proof,
Hell-born, not to contend with Spirits of Heav'n.
To whom the Goblin full of wrauth reply'd,
Art thou that Traitor Angel, art thou hee,
Who first broke peace in Heav'n and Faith, till then [ 690 ]
Unbrok'n, and in proud rebellious Arms
Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's Sons
Conjur'd against the highest, for which both Thou
And they outcast from God, are here condemn'd
To waste Eternal dayes in woe and pain? [ 695 ]
And reck'n'st thou thy self with Spirits of Heav'n,
Hell-doom'd, and breath'st defiance here and scorn
Where I reign King, and to enrage thee more,
Thy King and Lord? Back to thy punishment,
False fugitive, and to thy speed add wings, [ 700 ]
Least with a whip of Scorpions I pursue

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Attributed to: [Thomas H. Luxon]
Thy lingring, or with one stroke of this Dart
Strange horror seise thee, and pangs unfelt before.
So spake the grieslie terror, and in shape,
So speaking and so threatening, grew tenfold [705]
More dreadful and deform: on th’ other side
Incensit with indignation Satan stood
Unterrifi’d, and like a Comet burn’d,
That fires the length of Ophiucus huge
In th’ Artick Sky, and from his horrid hair [710]
Shakes Pestilence and Warr. Each at the Head
Level’d his deadly aime; thir fatall hands
No second stroke intend, and such a frown
Each cast at th’ other, as when two black Clouds
With Heav’ns Artillery fraught, come rattling on [715]
Over the Caspian, then stand front to front
Hov’ring a space, till Winds the signal blow
To join thir dark Encounter in mid air:
So frownd the mighty Combatants, that Hell
Grew darker at thir frown, so matcht they stood; [720]
For never but once more was either like
To meet so great a foe: and now great deeds
Had been achiev’d, whereof all Hell had rung,
Had not the Snakie Sorceress that sat
Fast by Hell Gate, and kept the fatal Key, [725]
Ris’n, and with hideous outcry rush’d between.
O Father, what intends thy hand, she cry’d,
Against thy only Son? What fury O Son,
Possesses thee to bend that mortal Dart
Against thy Fathers head? and know’st for whom; [730]
For him who sits above and laughs the while
At thee ordain’d his drudge, to execute
What e’re his wrath, which he calls Justice, bids,
His wrath which one day will destroy ye both.
She spake, and at her words the hellish Pest [735]
Forbore, then these to her Satan return’d:
So strange thy outcry, and thy words so strange
Thou interposest, that my sudden hand
Prevented spares to tell thee yet by deeds
What it intends; till first I know of thee, [740]
What thing thou art, thus double-form’d, and why
In this infernal Vaile first met thou call’st
Me Father, and that Fantasm call’st my Son?
I know thee not, nor ever saw till now
Sight more detestable then him and thee. [745]
T' whom thus the Portress of Hell Gate reply'd;  
Hast thou forgot me then, and do I seem  
Now in thine eye so foul, once deem'd so fair  
In Heav'n, when at th' Assembly, and in sight  
Of all the Seraphim with thee combin'd [ 750 ]  
In bold conspiracy against Heav'n's King,  
All on a sudden miserable pain  
Surpris'd thee, dim thine eyes, and dizzie swumm  
In darkness, while thy head flames thick and fast  
Threw forth, till on the left side op'ning wide, [ 755 ]  
Likest to thee in shape and count'nance bright,  
Then shining Heav'nly fair, a Goddess arm'd  
Out of thy head I sprung; amazement seis'd  
All th' Host of Heav'n back they recoild afraid  
At first, and call'd me Sin, and for a Sign [ 760 ]  
Portentous held me; but familiar grown,  
I pleas'd, and with attractive graces won  
The most averse, thee chiefly, who full oft  
Thy self in me thy perfect image viewing  
Becam'st enamour'd, and such joy thou took'st [ 765 ]  
With me in secret, that my womb conceiv'd  
A growing burden. Mean while Warr arose,  
And fields were fought in Heav'n; wherein remaind  
(For what could else) to our Almighty Foe  
Cleer Victory, to our part loss and rout [ 770 ]  
Through all the Empyrean: down they fell  
Driv'n headlong from the Pitch of Heaven, down  
Into this Deep, and in the general fall  
I also; at which time this powerful Key  
Into my hand was giv'n, with charge to keep [ 755 ]  
These Gates for ever shut, which none can pass  
Without my op'ning. Pensive here I sat  
Alone, but long I sat not, till my womb  
Pregnant by thee, and now excessive grown  
Prodigious motion felt and rueful throes. [ 780 ]  
At last this odious offspring whom thou seest  
Thine own begotten, breaking violent way  
Tore through my entrails, that with fear and pain  
Distorted, all my nether shape thus grew  
Transform'd: but he my inbred enemie [ 785 ]  
Forth issu'd, brandishing his fatal Dart  
Made to destroy: I fled, and cry'd out Death;  
Hell trembl'd at the hideous Name, and sigh'd  
From all her Caves, and back resounded Death.  
I fled, but he pursu'd (though more, it seems, [ 790 ]
Inflam’d with lust then rage) and swifter far,
Mee overtook his mother all dismaid.
And in embraces forcible and foule
Ingendring with me, of that rape begot
These yelling Monsters that with ceaseless cry [ 795 ]
Surround me, as thou sawst, hourly conceiv’d
And hourly born, with sorrow infinite
To me, for when they list into the womb
That bred them they return, and howle and gnaw
My Bowels, thir repast; then bursting forth [ 800 ]
A fresh with conscious terours vex me round,
That rest or intermission none I find.
Before mine eyes in opposition sits
Grim Death my Son and foe, who sets them on,
And me his Parent would full soon devour [ 805 ]
For want of other prey, but that he knows
His end with mine involvd; and knows that I
Should prove a bitter Morsel, and his bane,
Whenever that shall be; so Fate pronounc’d.
But thou O Father, I forewarn thee, shun [ 810 ]
His deadly arrow; neither vainly hope
To be invulnerable in those bright Arms,
Though temper’d heav’nly, for that mortal dint,
Save he who reigns above, none can resist.

She finish’d, and the suttle Fiend his lore [ 815 ]
Soon learnd, now milder, and thus answer’d smooth.
Dear Daughter, since thou claim’st me for thy Sire,
And my fair Son here showst me, the dear pledge
Of dalliance had with thee in Heav’n, and joys
Then sweet, now sad to mention, through dire change [ 820 ]
Befalln us unforeseen, unthought of, know
I come no enemie, but to set free
From out this dark and dismal house of pain,
Both him and thee, and all the heav’nly Host
Of Spirits that in our just pretenses arm’d [ 825 ]
Fell with us from on high: from them I go
This uncouth errand sole, and one for all
Myself expose, with lonely steps to tread
Th’ unfound deep, and through the void immense
To search with wandring quest a place foretold [ 830 ]
Should be, and, by concurring signs, ere now
Created vast and round, a place of bliss
In the Purlieues of Heav’n, and therein plac’t
A race of upstart Creatures, to supply
Perhaps our vacant room, though more remov’d, [ 835 ]

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Attributed to: [Thomas H. Luxon]
Least Heav'n surcharg'd with potent multitude
Might hap to move new broiles: Be this or aught
Then this more secret now design'd, I haste
To know, and this once known, shall soon return,
And bring ye to the place where Thou and Death [ 840 ]
Shall dwell at ease, and up and down unseen
Wing silently the buxom Air, imbalm'd
With odours; there ye shall be fed and fill'd
Immeasurably, all things shall be your prey.
He ceas'd, for both seem'd highly pleas'd, and Death [ 845 ]
Grind'd horrible a gaily smile, to hear
His famine should be fill'd, and blest his mawe
Destin'd to that good hour: no less rejoyc'd
His mother bad, and thus bespake her Sire.

    The key of this infernal Pit by due, [ 850 ]
And by command of Heav'n's all-powerful King
I keep, by him forbidden to unlock
These Adamantine Gates; against all force
Death ready stands to interpose his dart,
Fearless to be o'rmacht by living might. [ 855 ]
But what ow I to his commands above
Who hates me, and hath hither thrust me down
Into this gloom of Tartarus profound,
To sit in hateful Office here confin'd,
Inhabitant of Heav'n, and heav'nlie-born, [ 860 ]
Here in perpetual agonie and pain,
With terrors and with clamors compasst round
Of mine own brood, that on my bowels feed:
Thou art my Father, thou my Author, thou
My being gav'st me; whom should I obey [ 865 ]
But thee, whom follow? thou wilt bring me soon
To that new world of light and bliss, among
The Gods who live at ease, where I shall Reign
At thy right hand voluptuous, as beseems
Thy daughter and thy darling, without end. [ 870 ]

    Thus saying, from her side the fatal Key,
Sad instrument of all our woe, she took;
And towards the Gate rouling her bestial train,
Forthwith the huge Porcullis high up drew,
Which but her self not all the Stygian powers [ 875 ]
Could once have mov'd; then in the key-hole turns
Th' intricate wards, and every Bolt and Bar
Of massie Iron or sollid Rock with ease
Unfast'n: on a sudden op'n flie
With impetuous recoile and jarring sound [ 880 ]
Th' infernal dores, and on thir hinges grate
Harsh Thunder, that the lowest bottom shook
Of Erebus, She op'nd, but to shut
Excel'd her power; the Gates wide op'n stood,
That with extended wings a Bann'd Host [885]
Under spread Ensigns marching might pass through
With Horse and Chariots rankt in loose array;
So wide they stood, and like a Furnace mouth
Cast forth redounding smoak and ruddy flame.
Before thir eyes in sudden view appear [890]
The secrets of the hoarie deep, a dark
Illimitable Ocean without bound,
Without dimension, where length, breadth, & highth,
And time and place are lost; where eldest Night
And Chaos, Ancestors of Nature, hold [895]
Eternal Anarchie, amidst the noise
Of endless Warrs, and by confusion stand.
For hot, cold, moist, and dry, four Champions fierce
Strive here for Maistrie, and to Battel bring
Thir embryon Atoms; they around the flag [900]
of each his faction, in thir several Clanns,
Light-arm'd or heavy, sharp, smooth, swift or slow,
Swarm populous, unnumber'd as the Sands
Of Barca or Cyrene's torrid soil,
Levied to side with warring Winds, and poise [905]
Thir lighter wings. To whom these most adhere,
Hee rules a moment; Chaos Umpire sits,
And by decision more imbroiles the fray
By which he Reigns: next him high Arbiter
Chance governs all. Into this wilde Abyss, [910]
The Womb of nature and perhaps her Grave,
Of neither Sea, nor Shore, nor Air, nor Fire,
But all these in thir pregnant causes mixt
Confus'dly, and which thus must ever fight,
Unless th' Almighty Maker them ordain [915]
His dark materials to create more Worlds,
Into this wild Abyss the warie fiend
Stood on the brink of Hell and look'd a while,
Pondering his Voyage: for no narrow frith
He had to cross. Nor was his eare less peal'd [920]
With noises loud and ruinous (to compare
Great things with small) then when Bellona storms,
With all her battering Engines bent to rase
Som Capital City; or less then if this frame
Of Heav'n were falling, and these Elements [925]
In mutinie had from her Axle torn
The stedfast Earth. At last his Sail-broad Vannes
He spreads for flight, and in the surging smoak
Uplifted spurns the ground, thence many a League
As in a cloudy Chair ascending rides [ 930 ]
Audacious, but that seat soon failing, meets
A vast vacuitie: all unawares
Fluttring his pennons vain plumb down he drops
Ten thousand fadom deep, and to this hour
Down had been falling, had not by ill chance [ 935 ]
The strong rebuff of som tumultuous cloud
Instinct with Fire and Nitre hurried him
As many miles aloft: that furie stay'd,
Quencht in a Boggy Syrtis, neither Sea,
Nor good dry Land: nigh founderd on he fares, [ 940 ]
Treading the crude consistence, half on foot,
Half flying; behoves him now both Oare and Saile.
As when a Gryfon through the Wilderness
With winged course ore Hill or moarie Dale,
Pursues the Arimaspian, who by stelth [ 945 ]
Had from his wakeful custody purloind
The guarded Gold: So eagerly the fiend
Ore bog or steep, through strait, rough, dense, or rare,
With head, hands, wings, or feet pursues his way,
And swims or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flyes; [ 950 ]
At length a universal hubbub Wilde
Of stunning sounds and voices all confus'd
Borne through the hollow dark assaults his eare
With loudest vehemence: thither he plyes,
Undaunted to meet there what ever power [ 955 ]
Or Spirit of the nethermost Abyss
Might in that noise reside, of whom to ask
Which way the nearest coast of darkness Iyes
Bordering on light; when strait behold the Throne
Of Chaos, and his dark Pavilion spread [ 960 ]
Wide on the wasteful Deep; with him Enthron'd
Sat Sable-vested Night, eldest of things,
The Consort of his Reign; and by them stood
Orcus and Ades, and the dreaded name
Of Demogorgon; Rumor next and Chance, [ 965 ]
And Tumult and Confusion all imbroid,
And Discord with a thousand various mouths.
'T whom Satan turning boldly, thus. Ye Powers
And Spirits of this nethermost Abyss,
Chaos and ancient Night, I come no Spy, [ 970 ]
With purpose to explore or to disturb
The secrets of your Realm, but by constraint
Wandering this darksome Desart, as my way
Lies through your spacious Empire up to light,
Alone, and without guide, half lost, I seek [ 975 ]
What readiest path leads where your gloomie bounds
Confine with Heav'n; or if som other place
From your Dominion won, th' Ethereal King
Possesses lately, thither to arrive
I travel this profound, direct my course; [ 980 ]
Directed no mean recompence it brings
To your behoof, if I that Region lost,
All usurpation thence expell'd, reduce
To her original darkness and your sway
(Which is my present journey) and once more [ 985 ]
Erect the Standard there of ancient Night;
Yours be th' advantage all, mine the revenge.
   Thus Satan; and him thus the Anarch old
With faultring speech and visage incompos'd
Answer'd. I know thee, stranger, who thou art, [ 990 ]
That mighty leading Angel, who of late
Made head against Heav'n's King, though overthrown.
I saw and heard, for such a numerous Host
Fled not in silence through the frighted deep
With ruin upon ruin, rout on rout, [ 995 ]
Confusion worse confounded; and Heav'n Gates
Pour'd out by millions her victorious Bands
Pursuing. I upon my Frontieres here
Keep residence; if all I can will serve,
That little which is left so to defend [ 1000 ]
Encroacht on still through our intestine broiles
Weakning the Scepter of old Night: first Hell
Your dungeon stretching far and wide beneath;
Now lately Heaven and Earth, another World
Hung ore my Realm, link'd in a golden Chain [ 1005 ]
To that side Heav'n from whence your Legions fell:
If that way be your walk, you have not farr;
So much the neerer danger; go and speed;
Havock and spoil and ruin are my gain.
   He ceas'd; and Satan staid not to reply, [ 1010 ]
But glad that now his Sea should find a shore,
With fresh alacritie and force renew'd
Springs upward like a Pyramid of fire
Into the wilde expanse, and through the shock
Of fighting Elements, on all sides round [ 1015 ]
Environ’d wins his way; harder beset
And more endanger’d, then when Argo pass’d
Through Bosporus betwixt the justling Rocks:
Or when Ulysses on the Larbord shunnd
Charybdis, and by th’ other whirlpool steard. [1020]
So he with difficulty and labour hard
Mov’d on, with difficulty and labour hee;
But hee once past, soon after when man fell,
Strange alteration! Sin and Death amain
Following his track, such was the will of Heav’n, [1025]
Pav’d after him a broad and beat’n way
Over the dark Abyss, whose boiling Gulf
Tamely endur’d a Bridge of wondrous length
From Hell continu’d reaching th’ utmost Orbe
Of this frail World; by which the Spirits perverse [1030]
With easie intercourse pass to and fro
To tempt or punish mortals, except whom
God and good Angels guard by special grace.
But now at last the sacred influence
Of light appears, and from the walls of Heav’n [1035]
Shoots farr into the bosom of dim Night
A glimmering dawn; here Nature first begins
Her fardest verge, and Chaos to retire
As from her outmost works a brok’n foe
With tumult less and with less hostile din, [1040]
That Satan with less toil, and now with ease
Wafts on the calmer wave by dubious light
And like a weather-beaten Vessel holds
Gladly the Port, though Shrouds and Tackle torn;
Or in the emptier waste, resembling Air, [1045]
Weighs his spread wings, at leasure to behold
Farr off th’ Empyreal Heav’n, extended wide
In circuit, undetermind square or round,
With Opal Towrs and Battlements adorn’d
Of living Saphire, once his native Seat; [1050]
And fast by hanging in a golden Chain
This pendant world, in bigness as a Starr
Of smallest Magnitude close by the Moon.
Thither full fraught with mischievous revenge,
Accurst, and in a cursed hour he hies. [1055]

The End of the Second Book.

Notes:
**Throne of Royal State.** The opening recalls Spenser's description of the throne of Lucifera, incarnate pride:
High above all a cloth of state was spred,
And a rich throne, as bright as sunny day. (*Faerie Queene* 1.4.8.1-2)

*Ormus*. An island in the Persian Gulf. Ind is short for India, proverbially home to a splendid court.

*by merit rais'd.* Contrast to the Messiah's throne of 6.43. Both Satan and the Messiah are raised by merit. Satan's merit is ironic, however -- he merits punishment, rather than glory.

*success.* This refers to the outcome, good or bad. Satan so far has remained "untaught" by his "success," which is his banishment to Hell. Note the ironic coupling with "Vain War."

**Powers and Dominions.** Two orders of angels. See Colossians 1: 16.

*Immortal vigor.* Satan and the devils, though damned, remain immortal and godlike in their power compared to mortals.

*virtues.* Though irony is intended here, Satan principally means virtue as "The power or operative influence inherent in a supernatural or divine being" (*OED2*).

*a safe unenvied Throne.* Who, we might ask would envy Satan's "throne"? Is Satan being ironic unwittingly or at his own expense?

*Yielded with full consent.* Ironic, as Satan has assumed the throne of Hell without asking or receiving consent.

*who here will envy.* The angels have fallen because they envied God's power; Satan is here trying to convince his peers not to envy him.

**Thunderer.** A reference to Jove, as in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 1.228. Here Satan uses this symbol of omnipotence to suggest that God is a tyrant.

*Moloch.* Described at some length in 1. 392-405.

*reck'd not.* Cared not.

*sentence.* Counsel.

*unexpert.* Inexperienced.
sit lingring. Note the apparent contradiction in Moloch's description of the devils' position. They "stand" in arms, but "sit" awaiting the signal.


Tartarean. From Tartarus, the classical underworld.

forgetful Lake. The "oblivious Pool" of 1.266. Also reminiscent of the River Lethe; a drink of this river made the spirits of the dead forget their earthly life. In Dante's Purgatorio spirits cleanse themselves of guilt, not the memory of their earthly life (see Inferno 14.136-138 and Purgatorio 28.130).

insulting. Meaning both "assaulting" and "exulting."

Th' ascent is easie. Contrast with the sybil's warning to Aeneas about the descent into hell. (Aeneid 6. 126-129). Also note the contrast to Dante, who found his ascent difficult (blocked by a leopard, lion and a she-wolf), but his descent into hell unimpeded. (Inferno 1.)

event. Outcome.

exercise. Torment.

Vassals. This could be a reference either to the original Latin meaning of "servant" or "slave," or as Richard Bentley suggests, it could mean "vessels," in allusion to Romans 9: 22.

Penance. Moloch echoes the Roman Catholic tradition of mortification of the flesh, practiced by various monastic orders. Here, Milton condemns this practice as misguided and satanic by association.

essential. Essence.

proof. Experience.

fatal. Maintained by fate.

not Victory is yet Revenge. Even if the devils are not victorious, the attempt to overthrow God is, in itself, an act of revenge.

denounc'd. OED2: "To give formal, authoritative, or official information of; to proclaim, announce, declare; to publish, promulgate."
**Belial.** See also Belial's appearances in 1.490; 6.620-627, and in *Paradise Regain'd* 2.150-173. The characterization of Belial is Milton's, but the tradition may have been taken from Reginald Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1665).

**Manna.** The divine substance that God provided as nourishment to the Israelites in Exodus 16 (see Exodus 16:31 for the origin of the name).

**fact.** Deed or feat.

baser fire. See Deuteronomy 4: 24 and Psalms 104: 4 for the conception of God as a "consuming fire" and "his angels" as "a flaming fire."

**flat.** Dull.

doubtful. Is this, as Regina Schwartz suggests, an infernal version of Hamlet's soliloquy? (*Remembering and Repeating* 20).

**Belike.** Doubtless.

**amain.** With all of our strength.

**Chain'd on the burning Lake.** This was how Satan and his followers found themselves when they first awoke in 1.210.

**red right hand.** The phrase appears to be a translation of "rubente dextera" from Horace, *Odes* 1.2.2-3.

**Each on his rock transfixt.** Prometheus was chained to a rock for disobedience to Jove. He was condemned to have his liver eaten each day for having given fire to man. See Aeschylus's *Prometheus Bound*.

sees and derides. This echoes Psalm 2: 4: "He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh; the Lord shall have them in derision."

**temper.** Substance.

cloath'd in reasons garb. Milton implies that while Belial's words may sound reasonable and persuasive, his words are actually hollow, like the speaker.

**Mammon.** See Mammon's introduction in 1.678.

**Chaos.** In Milton's cosmology, Chaos and Night reigned over the "eternal anarchy," the formless void between hell and heaven. See Regina Schwartz's excellent discussion of Chaos in *Remembering and Repeating: Biblical Creation in Paradise Lost.*
Sovran. Sovereign.

*Ambrosial Flowers.* In the *Iliad* 4. 3-4, Hebe pours ambrosia for the gods. Thus ambrosia was thought to be the proper food of gods.

*Heav’n.*, Following Flannagan, I have restored this comma from 1667.

*Hard liberty.* Milton restates this principle in *Samson Agonistes* 268-271. In this context, it echoes the closing words of the invective of the Consul Aemilius Lepidus against the tyrant Cornelius Sulla in 78 B.C.E.as it is found in Sallust's version of that Oration to the Roman People (Hughes 238). As a republican Milton believed deeply in the virtue of seeking "hard liberty" over subjection to a tyrant, but he equated utter subjection to God with liberty. See *PL* 12.79-96 and *Paradise Regain'd* 3.414-426.


*Art.* Three states of 1674 have a lower-case "a" for "art" here: 5, 48, and 54, according to Fletcher (3.130). The copies I inspected in Rauner Special Collections at Dartmouth College Library both have an uppercase "A".

*sensible of pain.* The character of pain as interpreted by the senses.

*were.* Flannagan calls this a "genuine textual crux" because 1667 has "where" and either word "makes sense." 1674 has "were".

*Such applause.* This is likely an allusion to Virgil's *Aeneid* 10, where the gods' response to the violent appeals of Juno sounds like the winds that gradually build into a storm.

*sword of Michael.* Michael's sword is rightfully feared: in the war in Heaven, he wounded even Satan, though Satan quickly healed 6.320-333. For Michael see the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

*policy.* Political strategy.


*Front.* Forehead.

*Majestic.* Three states of 1674 have a "Majestick" for "Majestic" here: 5, 48, and 54, according to Fletcher (3.132). The copies I inspected in Rauner Special Collections of Dartmouth College Library both have "Majestic".
Atlantean. The Titan Atlas was forced to support the heavens on his shoulders. See Pausanius's Description of Greece 5.11.5.

off-spring of Heav'n. It is hard not to hear a double sense to this phrase: children of heaven and exiles from heaven.

Vertues. OED2: "The power or operative influence inherent in a supernatural or divine being."

stile. Title.

first and last. In Revelation 21: 6, the voice of the Lord says, "I am the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end." There is some irony in a devil quoting this scripture in particular.


to our power. To the limit of our power.

reluctance. Resistance.

If. 1674 has lower case "i"; 1667 has uppercase. I have restored the uppercase "I."


by an Oath. Milton combines biblical representations of God taking an oath by himself "because he could swear by no greater" (Hebrews 6: 13; Genesis 22: 16) with classical recollections of Zeus shaking Olympus as he makes a vow to Thetis (Iliad 1. 530).

endu'd. Endowed.

abolish his own works. See Genesis 6: 7.

confusion. Destruction.

Thir frail Original. Adam, the first man. The first edition read "Originals," including Eve as a "frail" one.

By Satan. See book 1. 651.

one root. One man, or Adam.

states. Estates.
They vote. No doubt the first example of "manufactured consent" (see Noam Chomsky & Edward Herman, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* (Pantheon, 1988) parading as democracy.

**Synod of Gods.** A synod is a church council, composed of bishops and other dignitaries. Milton uses Beelzebub's praise to condemn the organization of the Roman Catholic church.

*seat.* See line 347, where seat refers to home or capital.

*tempt.* Attempt.

*palpable obscure.* Exodus 10: 22.

*uncouth.* Unknown.

*abrupt.* Used here as a noun: the gap or schism between Heaven and Hell.

*suspence.* Doubtful.

*long is the way.* Reinforcement of line 81: the descent into Hell is easy, but the ascent from Hell is difficult.

*convex of Fire.* Convex refers to the area around Hell; "ninefold" refers to the nine circles of the Styx around the underworld of the *Aeneid* 6. 570, and "gates of burning Adamant" recall Virgil's columns surrounding the gates of Tartarus (Hughes 242). This structure of Hell is also employed by Dante in the *Inferno*, where each of the nine circles of Hell hosts different sinners.

*unessential.* Without essence or being.

*abortive.* The meaning of this is unclear. It could mean lifeless, or monstrous (destructive). Or the word could also be used as a derivation in the etymological sense, meaning "away from birth," or not created, as in line 439.

*moment.* Importance.

*intend.* Attend to or consider.

*Mansion.* Home. Refer to lines 347 and 394.

*Deliverance.* In emulation opposite to Christ, Satan claims the role of deliverer and savior.

*rais’d.* Emboldened.
"thir." 1674 has "her," an obvious mistake for "their." Since Milton's preferred spelling is "thir," I have supplied it.

clos. Close; hidden or secret.

*Element.* Sky. Refer to *A Mask* 299.

*lantskip.* Landscape.

*Stygian.* Hellish. From the name of the River Styx, Hell's chief river according to classical legend. See Pausanius's Description of Greece 8.18.3.

peers. Lords.

*th' Antagonist.* Close to the literal sense of the name, Satan; adversary.

*Globe.* Body of heavily armed soldiers.

*horrent.* Bristling

*Alchymie.* A metallic composition that imitates gold; thus, by metonymy, a horn made of such a metal. The horns which the fallen angels blow are in imitation of those blown in heaven, not of the same material.

*th' Olympian Games or Pythian fields.* This alludes to the funeral games at the tomb of Anchises in *Aeneid* 5. 776, and the games at the tomb of Patroclus in the *Iliad* 23. 800. The Pythian fields were near Delphi, where the Pythian games, which celebrated the victory of Apollo over the Python, were held. Why would Milton describe contests like these as fit pastimes for devils?

*shun the Goal.* That is, avoid touching the course marker as they round the turn in a chariot race.

*close.* Close (engage) in battle.

*welkin.* The sky.

*Typhoean.* Monstrous, like Typhon; see also 1.197-199.

*Alcides.* Hercules.

*Lichas from the top of Oeta.* Returning victorious from Oechalia, in Laconia, Hercules was brought a gift of the cloak of the centaur Nessus, whom he had years earlier fought and killed. The cloak was poisoned and destroyed him, causing him to throw the innocent Lichas into the sea. See Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 9. 134, Sophocles’ *Trachiniae*, and Seneca's *Hercules Furens*.

*sing . . ./ Thir own Heroic deeds.* That is, some practised the arts of epic song and celebrated their own fall in heroic verse.

*partial.* That is, sung in parts, but paranomasia suggests two other senses: incomplete, and biased.

*took with ravishment.* The devils' song charms the senses as the cup of Circe charms her captives to their ruin in *A Mask* (Schwartz 90).

*charms the Sense.* In the context of Hell, Satan and the other fallen angels, these songs must be both false and insincere, as Hell is a place of false praise. This is of course in contrast to Heaven.

*reason'd high.* This recalls the castle of Limbo in Dante's *Inferno* 4.45, where those who lived before Christianity spend eternity.

*wand'ring mazes lost.* Compare also to 12.648-649: the "wandering steps" of Adam and Eve.

*bold adventure.* Some of the devils opt for adventure and exploration.

*Styx.* Hades's chief river according to Homer's *Odyssey* 10.510. Cocytus, Periphlegeton and Acheron are other rivers of Hades. Compare to Spenser's *Faerie Queene* 2.8.20; 2.7.57; 2.6.50; and 1.5.33.

*Lethe.* The River of Oblivion. See line 74 and note.

*gathers heap.* That is, gathers mass.

*pile.* Building.

*Serbonian bog.* Quicksands around Lake Serbonis at the mouth of the Nile. *Damiata.* Damietta, a city at the mouth of the Nile, mentioned in Tasso’s *Jerusalem Delivered* 15. Casius, a mountain in Egypt, figures in Lucan's *Pharsalia* book 8; identified as the site of Pompey's tomb in Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* 15.

*frore.* Frozen.
th’ effect of Fire. Compare to Dante’s description of the innermost circles of Hell in *Inferno* 33. 93-117. Instead of fire in Hell, Dante immerses Dis (Lucifer) and the other members of the four rings of the ninth circle in a lake of ice.

*harpy-footed Furies*. The harpies, who attacked Aeneas and his men, had the faces and breasts of young women, the wings and bodies of birds, and talons for hands (*Aeneid* 3.211-217). See also *Inferno* 13. 12.

*starve*. Die.

*infixt, and frozen round*. Here, Milton alludes not to the classical Hell of raging fires, but to Dante’s Hell of frozen lakes and beds of ice. See Charon's warning of "fire and frost" to Hell’s newcomers in *Inferno* 3. 84-89.

*ferry*. Alludes to Charon's ferry in Dante's *Inferno* 3. 83.

*Medusa*. Gorgon who had snakes for hair and whose appearance turned men into stones. See *Odyssey* 11.634.

*wight*. Body.

*Tantalus*. Tantalus was condemned in Hell to suffer intense thirst in a pool whose water rose just below the reach of his lips. See *Odyssey* 11. 582-592.

*No rest*. See Matthew 12: 43.

*for evil only good*. That is, evil that can be used to construct good.

*Gorgons and Hydra's, and Chimera's*. The hydra was a nine-headed dragon, the chimera breathed fire, and for the gorgons, see line 611 and note. See also *Aeneid* 6. 744.

*Adversary*. Adversary is a literal translation of the name, Satan.

*Explores*. Tests or proves.

*Ethiopian*. The Indian Ocean.

*the Trading Flood*. The ships imagined here mimic the spice route, from India south and west around the Cape of Good Hope. Ternate and Tidore are two of the Spice Islands near New Guinea (Orgel & Goldberg 868).

*Cerberian*. Like the legendary hell-hound, Cerberus. See Homer's *Iliad* 8.365.

*Scylla*. For the story of Scylla’s vexation, see Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 14.
seem’d Woman. Sin owes her serpentine nether parts to conceptions like Spenser's Error:
Halfe like a serpent horribly displaide,
But th'other halfe did a woman's shape retaine. (Faerie Queene 1.1.14)
But the dogs around Sin's waist, and especially their Cerberan mouths -- a literally Ovidian phrase -- plainly match Ovid's description of Scylla, the lovely nymph whose body Circe transformed into a mass of yelping hounds from the waist down (Metamorphoses 14. 40-74). Finally, according to Ovid she became the dangerous reef between Sicily (Trinacia) and the toe of the Italian boot (Calabria) (Hughes 246).

Night-Hag. Hecate, the goddess of the underworld.

Lapland. Province of northern Finland and legendary home of the witches.

labouring. Undergoing eclipse, a reference to the comtemporary belief that the witches could control the phases of the moon.

The other shape. Death, whom Milton deliberately introduces on line 666. 666 is the number of the Beast in Revelation 13: 18. The inversion of 666, 999, is the line chosen in book 9 for the moment of Adam's fall--9.999.

Furies. The Furies, according to classical legend, were born of the drops of blood that streamed from the testicles of Heaven when his son Cronus cut them in revenge for being thrust into Hades. Their names are Alecto, Tisiphone, and Megaera. See Pseudo-Apollodorus' Library 1.1.4. See also Hesiod's Theogony 156-90, where they are called Erinyes.

likeness of a Kingly Crown. The description of Death is so full of equivocal expressions that it is difficult to visualize him. As soon as you imagine a feature, you're told it only seem'd or looked that way, but wasn't really. Milton's description of Death may owe something to Pieter Bruegel's depiction of Mad Meg (1562), especially in the undefined features and the gigantic maw. Maddie Lesser '13 suggests that Death's "kingly crown" may also allude to threes line in Shakespeare's Richard II 3.2.160-162: "for within the hollow crown/ That rounds the mortal temples of a king/ Keeps Death his court."

admir'd. Synonomous with wondered.

Spirits of Heav'n. Satan, though now in Hell, was born in Heaven, unlike Death who was born in Hell. One might wonder why Milton wants to draw attention to this distinction, which leads to such nice observations that Death was conceived, according to this story, in Heaven, and Sin was born in Heaven, not Hell.

the third part of Heav'n's Sons. See Revelation 12: 3-4.
Conjur'd. Persuaded to rebel.

*whip of Scorpions.* See 1 Kings 12: 11.

*Ophiucus.* Ophiuchus; the Serpent-Bearer, a particularly large constellation.

*Level'd.* 1674 mistakenly omits the apostrophe; I have supplied it.

*two black Clouds.* The two black clouds in Boiardo's *Orlando Innamorato* 1.16 are Orlando and the Tartar king Agricane.

*Caspian.* A notoriously stormy sea.

*never but once more.* When each is met by the triumphant Christ, an even greater foe.

*only Son.* This phrase cannot help but strike us as a parody of Christ's relation to His Father. Indeed, Satan, Sin, and Death unwittingly express an infernal trinity, in "emulation opposite to heaven." As an anti-trinitarian, perhaps Milton also means to mock trinitarianism as an infernal falsehood.

*spares.* Forbears.

*left side op'ning wide.* The left side is the "sinister" side. Also, Eve is created from one of Adam's left ribs (8. 465).

*Out of thy head I sprung.* Here, the birth of Sin from Satan echoes the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus (Hesiod's *Theogony* 901).

*in me thy perfect image viewing.* Sin, the first-born of Satan, is the perfect image of himself as the Son is said to be the perfect image of the Father. Satan's love for his own image is his love for himself, or narcissism.

*Pitch.* Height.

*own begotten.* The phrase echoes (parodically) John 1:14 and John 3:16.

*cry'd out Death.* Milton's allegory, the only overt allegory in this epic poem, dramatizes (literalizes?) the metaphors of James 1:15.

*Hell trembl'd at the hideous Name.* This is an interesting parody on the end of *Inferno* 3.132, where the "darkened plain" of Hell trembles after Virgil utters the name of God and informs Dante that "no good soul" ever travels on Charon's boat (*Inferno* 3.129-132.) Here, Hell trembles at the mention of Death.
dismaid. This word allows of several punning senses.

Fate pronounc'd. Fate is still regarded as the supreme power.

mortal dint. Death-dealing blow.

dalliance. The word is used to describe Adam's sexual practices with Eve immediately after the fall (9.1016) and also Solomon's less than perfectly licit "dalliance" with his Egyptian wife (9.443). On the erotic practices of heaven, see Raphael's account in 8.615-29, where no mention is made of procreation. See also the narrator's description of copulation (if it is that) in Paradise before the fall--4.741-62.

house of pain. As referred to in Job 30: 23.

pretences. Claims.

one for all/ Myself expose. Satan's self-sacrifice parodies the Son's voluntary sacrifice in 3.236

unfounded. Bottomless.

Purlieues. French word for boundaries.

vacant room. That is, Satan's and the rebel angels' place.

buxom. Unresisting.

Office. Service.

Thou art my Father, thou my Author. Here, Sin addresses Satan in the same manner that Dante addresses Virgil in the beginning of the Inferno: "You are my master and my author" (Inferno 1.85), and "you are my guide, my governor, my master" (Inferno 2.140).

Gods who live at ease. Compare to Homer's Iliad 6. 138 and Odyssey 4. 805, where the gods seem to always live at ease. However unattractive a character Sin is, she, unlike Adam, Eve, and even Satan, remains obedient to the person she thinks is her Father and creator.

At thy right hand. Here is the ultimate parody: Satan, Sin, and Death as the Holy Trinity. According to Hughes: "Sin imagines herself enthroned with her father Satan as the Son is seated at his Father's right hand in 3.62." (252)

Porcullis. Portcullis; outer gate.

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Attributed to: [Thomas H. Luxon]
Stygian. Styx was, in classical mythology, one of the rivers of hell; thus Stygian connotes hellish.

wards. The notches on a key.

impetuous recoile and jarring sound. Contrast to the opening of the gates of heaven in 7.205-206.

Erebus. Hell, or as according to Hughes, "in Hesiod's (Theogony 120) both Erebus and Chaos mean a dark, vast, primeval envelope of space and matter..."(253).

Without dimension. Milton "defines" Chaos by its lack of all forms of dimension, definition, and boundaries. In book 7, creation is the process of setting boundaries and dimensions to the "first matter" of Chaos (book 7.166-67 and 219-233)

Eternal Anarchie. See Ovid's Metamorphoses 1. 5-20 and 14.594 for a similar conception of Chaos.

hot, cold, moist, and dry. The characteristics of the four humors correspond to the four basic elements.

Barca. Desert between Egypt and Tunis, or according to Orgel, a city in the Lybian desert (869).

Cyrene. Ancient city near modern Tripoli.

frith. Inlet or estuary.

peal'd. Deafened.

Bellona. Goddess of War.

rase. Raze, destroy.

Vannes. Wings.

pennons. Feathers or wings.

Syrtis. Shifting sands on the North African coast. See Pliny's Natural History 5.4 for a classical description.

Gryfon. Griffins were the guardians of abundant quantities of gold which the Arimaspians constantly tried to steal. See Herodotus' History 3.16.
wades, or creeps, or flyes. Satan's difficulty in his ascent out of Hell echoes Dante's difficulty in his ascent up the mountain in Purgatory (*Purgatorio* 4.28-33).

dark Pavilion. The Pavilion of Chaos recalls Spenser's description of the home of the Fates, Farre under ground from tract of living went, Drowne in the bottome of the deepe Abyssse, Where Demogorgon, in dull darknesse pent, Farre from the view of gods and heavens blis, The hideous Chaos keepes, . . (*Faerie Queene* 4.2.47)
It more distinctly recalls Boccaccio's account of the mysterious elder deity Demogorgon and its vivid illustrations in the many editions of the *Genealogy of the God*t that represent him with his offspring around him-figures like Rumor and Discord, Orcus (Hell) and Ades (Hades). Demogorgon's name is said to be a corruption of Plato's Demiourgos in the *Timaeus* and to figure in literature for the first time in Lucan's *Pharsalia* 6.744, where it is the kind of dreaded name that Spenser made it when he wrote that at it "Cocytus quakes, and Styx is put to flight" (*Faerie Queene* 1.1.37) (Hughes 261)

Orcus and Ades. Names of the classical god of Hell.

Confine with. Border upon.

Anarch. Anarchy, chaos.

Made head. Fought.

golden Chain. See *Iliad* 8. 15-24 for the legend of the golden chain linking the earth and the heavens.


Charybdis. Whirlpool opposite Scylla, the more treacherous whirlpool. See *Odyssey* 12. 234-259.

a broad and beat'n way. See 10.293-305 for a description of Death's construction of the bridge.

Th'utmost Orbe. The outermost circle of Earth is the orbit of the moon.

this frail World. Earth.
brok'n. Printed as "brok'd" in 1674, but Flannagan reports his copy has an inked in correction to "brok'n"; 1667 has "brok'n".

square or round. Too wide to determine if the boundary is straight or curved.

living Sapphire. See Revelations 21: 19.

pendant world. Not only the earth, but the entire created universe.

fraught with. Full freighted.