AN ENRICHING OF ART:
PARADISE LOST AND THE GENRE QUESTION

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ABSTRACT

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By

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Readers of Paradise Lost have always sensed a curious doubleness in the work. This has been variously described as a conflict between the poem's form and its subject, the presence in it of two or more possible heroes, an ambivalence in the poet between traditional and innovative notions of heroism, and a tension between his conscious and unconscious concerns.

A review of early responses to the poem reveals that this question formulated itself almost immediately as one to be resolved by measuring Paradise Lost against 'previous epics'. In a Restoration and eighteenth-century atmosphere of rather rigid neoclassical formalism there could be only two possible analyses of the work: 1) it did not conform, in either the nature of its hero or its "event" to epic precedent and was a failure, 2) it was a new kind of epic whose themes functioned to modify the values and devices of traditional epic. What was never questioned was the usefulness of the term 'epic' in relation to Milton's poem.

A related difficulty is that the very studies most likely to resolve a genre question, those of sources and compositional methods, have themselves been colored by the 'epic assumption'.

Fianlly, the 'epic assumption' has made it difficult to see in Milton any coherent and consistent literary theory. It has encouraged the view that the poet's discussion of forms in The Reason of Church Government serves as a program of his later efforts and that these must have been seen by him as a "diffuse" and a "brief" epic and one tragedy.

The thesis of my study is that Paradise Lost may be accurately described as a long narrative poem containing discrete epic and tragic-dramatic plots, each with an appropriate set of conventional attributes and each with its own hero. Further, the contrasts and tensions between the epic and tragic-dramatic actions carry the poem's most important doctrinal significations.

The interrelatedness of these matters has led me to a kind of double study. First the history of the 'epic assumption' is examined to show how it has discouraged examination of the poem as multigeneric. I contend that it has obscured a clear progress within the Cambridge Manuscript plans in the direction of classical tragedy. The epic bias has also served, in conjunction with the William Lauder hoax of the mid-eighteenth century, to conceal the enormous significance of the Latin tragedy Adamus Exul as a model for Milton's poem.

Using Hugo Grotius' play as a gauge (a use not dependent upon the conviction that it is a source, though I believe it is) I hypothesize a compositional stage of Paradise Lost as a tragedy of strong Senecan tendencies. Such an interim form is consistent with the trends discernable in the manuscripts

and where it suggests significant departures from them it is consistent with major features of Paradise Lost.

I contend that, having written a tragedy, Milton realized that it could not convey the 'beginning of things', since it provided only the pattern of sin leading to contrition and redeemability. At this point Milton recast the play in narrative and began to fill out the epic career of Satan, relying on the politico-military emphases of that form to express the indomitability and cleverness of the unregenerate sinning and deceitfulness. Growth of the poem through a series of accretions is examined in some detail.

The doctrinal ground of Milton's double poem is his view (expressed in Christian Doctrine) of the notion of four degrees of death. The hypothesized tragedy and the Fall story in Paradise Lost represent the passage of man through three degrees of death: guiltiness, spiritual death, and physical death. But, since his peculiarly Christian model of tragedy ends in the protagonist's election of contrition, Milton needed another form through which to show death in the fourth degree, damnation. Epic, with its emphasis on repeated, relentless strivings for victory, afforded the context in which this could be shown by Satan, the author of such behavior.

The poem as we have it, then, is comprehensive, showing the pattern of sin and contrition and that of continual sinning, the only options open to post-lapsarian mankind since he inherits three degrees of death. And it expresses the consistency of Milton's faith in the doctrinal superiority of tragedy.

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by

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For Carol

who does not despair

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INTRODUCTION

The thesis advanced in the following pages is twofold: first, that the play Adamus Exul of Hugo Grotius had a far greater impact upon the structure and contents of Milton's Paradise Lost than has heretofore been supposed; second, that Paradise Lost can be fully described as a coherent structure, using the terms of generic forms, without recourse to such face-saving principles as the permissiveness of epic or the liberties opened to the poet through his choice of subject, once it is recognized that the poem contains not one but two generic wholes.

There are certain risks in connecting the two questions of source and form in this way, and a few remarks at this point may serve to make clear my reasons for and method of doing so. My sense of the generic plurality of Paradise Lost grew initially out of my readings of the poem with considerable attentiveness to its kind as compared to those of other long narrative poems, but without any very extensive familiarity with the body of scholarship treating its sources and the process of its composition. Each reading strengthened the feeling that the poem as a whole is not identifiable by any of the traditional generic labels, including 'epic'. Further, it seemed to me that

some of the poem's most straightforward and obvious meanings have been obscured by the simple fact of their residing within a construct the whole of which we insist upon calling epic.

My subsequent studies were aimed at discovering those treatments of the poem which might serve to reveal what Paradise Lost, in itself, is. These must include source and composition studies since they properly treat the constituent parts of the poem in relation to prior works, generic traditions, and one another, rather than to those assumptions about the whole which derive from critical judgments subsequent to the poem's publication. Such studies, I reasoned, should be relatively free of the very powerful passions and prejudices stemming from 1) Eighteenth Century attempts to preserve Milton's reputation in the face of his gross violations of what neoclassical theory by that time took to be the hard rules of heroic poetry, 2) Romantic efforts to enlist the poet's name in a politico-literary struggle to which his work was uncongenial, 3) Victorian attempts to rehabilitate Milton, even if at his own expense, and 4) contemporary tendencies to answer previous distortions in their own terms.

Source and composition studies, however, are less valuable than they might be to the study of the poem's genre. There are two reasons for this. Source studies have been guilty enough of the familiar charges of "parallel chasing" to provide no view of the whole poem at all. No source or

composition study I know of is entirely free of the assumption that the poem under consideration is an epic in both plan and execution. In the case of the few extensive treatments of the compositional growth of Paradise Lost, this assumption is invited by the distance between Milton's early notes in the Cambridge Manuscript and the poem as we have it, a gap filled apparently by reflex with speculation about an "epic plan". The absence of external information about the poem's compositional growth further hampers useful study by imposing the need to justify methodology. Thus stratified composition, for example, becomes an object of demonstration rather than a clue to Milton's evolution of a vehicle for meaning.

In the course of these investigations I came across Grotius' Adamus Exul in the edition of Watson Kirkconnell[1] and found in it what I believe to be the most important single influence on Paradise Lost. Demonstration that this is so — that Milton began his masterpiece by writing a tragedy on the Fall patterned after Adamus Exul and that

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[1]The Celestial Cycle (Toronto, 1952), p. 96-220. The play was first published at Leyden in 1601 when Grotius was nineteen years old. Though, at Grotius' insistence, it was not included in the collected works (ed. Wm. Grotius, Leyden, 1617), it did pass through several editions, the fifth of which, in corrupt form, is included in Wm. Lauder's Delectus Auctorem, etc. (Lond., 1752) (see p. 12-13 below). This edition provided the text for Frances Barham's loose paraphrase (Lond., 1839) (see p. 23-26 below). Kirkconnell's 1952 text, drawn from the apparently unique British Museum copy of the first edition, is the first reliable one to become readily available.

the play forms the heart of the present poem — are the burdens of Section Two below.

But I mean to claim more for Adamus Exul than the paternity of images or even structural features in Paradise Lost. The play also offers clues to the compositional process itself which, while they do not eliminate the need for speculation, give speculation about interim stages of the poem's growth coherence in relation to the poet's evolving concepts of what the poem should mean. From these clues emerges a view of the poem in its growth from the enumeration of possibilities in the Cambridge Manuscript, through a stage as tragic drama on classical lines, to its present form: a tragedy set in narrative and surrounded by a larger, more spectacular, but subordinate, pattern of epic action.

Paradise Lost is no single generic thing, however we try to stretch our construction of the term or our reading of the poem. As a poem of "first things" it lays the patterns for the behavioral modes open to fallen man, whether as the servant of God's will or as one persistent in the sin of which Adam's is the original and hence a servant of Satan. In portraying the coming into being of these modes, Milton also accounts for the poetic genres, tragedy and epic respectively, which are for him the natural forms of their expression. Examination of these matters is the substance of Section Three of this study.

I do expect a certain resistance to this thesis on the very firm ground that he is no artist who must wait three hundred years for someone to label his poem. The survey

of the critical history of Paradise Lost with which I begin is designed in part to show how the perspective of English neoclassicism, forcing itself on all subsequent study, has obscured the generic plurality of the poem from critical view — though not from the less rigid and organized sensitivities of both lay and scholarly readers — so that now it is necessary to examine the compositional process and the sources, to locate one's perspective as it were behind the poem, to see what ought to be clearly apparent. Even this is less helpful than it might be, as I try to show in discussing source and composition studies, so long as the centrally important Adamus Exul is neglected. To trace the reasons for this neglect is the other objective of the opening section.

I should point out here, though I will do so again, that consideration of Paradise Lost as a bi-generic poem is only facilitated by, not dependent upon, the view of Adamus Exul as a source. The two contentions require a substantial amount of independent demonstration. For this reason they are treated separately.

I

Critical History

> the argument
> Held me a while misdoubting his intent,
> That he would ruin (for I saw him strong)
> The sacred Truths to Fable and old Song[1]

As he was among the first readers of Paradise Lost, so was Andrew Marvell among the first to feel the deep discomfiture which is a part of the typical response to it. The question was for him a generic one, specifically whether the form of the poem, "Fable and old Song", was the proper one for the expression of "sacred Truths". Nor did he resolve the question, only resting reassured that

> That Majesty which through thy Work doth Reign
> Draws the Devout, deterring the Profane.

His view of the "gravity and ease" of Milton's verse as compensatory to a real disparity between the poem's form and its content is revealed by his fear that

> some less skilful hand...
> Might hence presume the whole Creation's day
> To change in Scenes, and show it in a Play.

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[1] "On Paradise Lost", prefaced to the 2d edition (Lond., 1674).

Dryden phrased the question in more clearly generic terms:

> His subject is not that of an heroic poem, properly so called. His design is the losing of our happiness; his event is not prosperous, like that of all other epic works; his heavenly machines are many, and his human persons are but two.[2]

The Fall was for Dryden clearly a tragic theme and he had, with Milton's permission, written "The State of Innocence, and the Fall of Man", a dramatic adaptation of Paradise Lost, in 1677. Later, in the "Dedication" to his translation of the Aeneid (1697), he formulated the problem in terms that would prove intermittently popular for generations. The heart of the matter then seemed to him to lie in too close an adherence on Milton's part to epic precedent, so that Satan, the "giant", is a successful hero who has "foiled the knight" and "driven him out of his stronghold, to wander through the world with his lady errant".[3]

John Dennis felt that Dryden was right but disagreed that it was a problem. It had been Milton's intention, he argued, to "break thro' the Rules of Aristotle" in order to avoid the "Fate which has attended all who have wrote Epick Poems ever since Homer; and that is to be a Copyist instead of an Original". Since in Homer "Achilles and Hector are properly the Principals, and the Gods are but seconds", he

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[2]"Discourse Concerning the Original and Progress of Satire", in Milton Criticism, ed. James Thorpe (New York, 1950), p. 337.

[3]Critical Essays, ed. W. P. Ker (New York, 1926), p. 165.

reasoned, Milton "resolved therefore, that his Principals should be the Devil on one side and Man on the other: and the Devil is properly his Hero, because he gets the better".[4]

Aristotelian categories allowed only two possibilities: either the poem was an epic with a tragic hero, or it was an epic with a generically appropriate but Satanic hero. Addison's attempt to resolve the difficulty was, therefore, necessarily equivocal. Arguing that the kind of "Implex fable" in which the progress is from good fortune to bad is not forbidden to epic, he allowed nonetheless that "this kind of fable, which is most perfect in tragedy, is not so proper for an heroic poem".[5] Milton's sensitivity to this, he suggested, accounts for the "mortification" of Satan in Book X of the poem and for Adam's "paradisical vision", for these must be there to remedy the defect which had prompted Dryden's "reflection that the Devil was in reality Milton's hero". Finally he resolved nothing, for he concluded with the self-contradiction that

> The Paradise Lost is an epic, or a narrative poem, and he that looks for an hero in it, searches for that which Milton never intended; but if he will needs fix the name of an hero upon any person in it, it is certainly the Messiah who is the hero, both in the principal action, and in the chief episodes.[6]

In 1734 Jonathan Richardson introduced what might have

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[4]"The Grounds of Criticism in Poetry" (1704), in Milton Criticism, p. 345.

[5]Spectator No. 297 (Feb. 9, 1712), ed. D. F. Bond (Oxford, 1965), III, 59.

[6]Ibid.

become a useful new perspective in his assertion that

> 'Tis of no great importance whether /Paradise Lost/ be called an heroic or a divine poem, or only, as the author himself called it in his title-page, a poem. What if it were a composition entirely new, and not reducible under any known denomination?

Like Addison, however, he seems to have felt obliged to equivocate:

> But 'tis properly and strictly heroic, and such Milton intended it.... And 'tis not his fault if there be those who have not found a hero, or who he is. 'Tis Adam, Adam the first, the representative of human race.[7]

It is at best a futile, potentially a counterproductive critical strategem to deny, as both Addison and Richardson do, the premises of a prior contention only to concede them later in order to counter the contention itself. Yet no less a figure than Samuel Johnson employs it in his turn when he confronts the question of the genre of Paradise Lost.

> The questions, whether the action of the poem be strictly one, whether the poem can be properly termed heroick, and who is the hero, are raised by such readers as draw their principles of judgment rather from books than from reason. Milton, though he intitled Paradise Lost only a poem, yet calls it himself heroick song. Dryden, petulantly and indecently, denies the heroism of Adam, because he was overcome; but there is no reason why the hero should not be unfortunate, except established practice, since success and virtue do not go necessarily together.[8]

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[7]"Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost", in Milton Criticism, p. 56-7.

[8]"Life of Milton", in A Johnson Reader, ed. E. L. McAdam and George Milne (New York, 1964), p. 414-15.

But, he continues,

> if success be necessary, Adam's deceiver was at last crushed; Adam was restored to his Maker's favour, and therefore may securely resume his human rank.[9]

Though Johnson's discussion is essentially a paraphrase of Addison's, he ignores the latter's nomination of the Messiah for heroic preeminence. The result is that, while he avoids Addison's equivocation, he commits one of his own which validates the criterion of success and leaves him with a heroic Adam who when measured by it has very little epic stature, as Addison himself had owned, and who can only be measured by it if his heroic qualification is predicated on "virtue", the very lack of which brings about his unsuccess in the poem.

As Addison had demonstrated the perfection of Paradise Lost with Aristotle in Spectator No. 267, only to be left with what appeared to be an unsuitable 'event' and an un-epic hero (or an heroic 'machine'), so Johnson, having asserted the poem's perfect accord with the neoclassical principles of René de Bossu,[10] could only conclude that, while an unfortunate event was entirely suitable, Adam was anyway not really unfortunate.

The only clear impression to emerge from all these early comments is that there is a very great distance between what Paradise Lost might be demonstrated to be and what it

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[9] Ibid., p. 15.

[10] Expressed by the latter in his Traité du Poème Épique.

might be felt to mean. Thus the way was open for Blake's famous contention that Milton was "of the devil's party without knowing it",[11] and for Shelley's that "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.... according to the laws of epic truth".[12] And Walter Savage Landor, Addison to their intensified Dryden, could only reply that "in the Paradise Lost no principal character seems to have been intended" and that therefore "there is neither truth nor wit... in saying that Satan is hero of the piece", but that nevertheless Adam is the "main character", main somehow without being principal.[13]

From this time forward, even to the present moment, the lines of argument were to remain substantially the same. Even of the large body of Milton scholarship produced since 1900, most — that part which does not find the question of genre irrelevant to its purposes — is predicated on what I have called the epic assumption. The notion persists that one's task is to discover the nature of this epic poem rather than the generic nature of this poem. To put it another way, critics sensitive to the many insistently un-epic

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[11]Note to "The Marriage of Heaven and Hell", (Plate 5) (1793), in Poetry and Prose of William Blake, ed. David V. Erdman (New York, 1965), p. 35.

[12]A Defense of Poetry (1821), in Works, ed. R. Ingpen and W. E. Peck (Lond., 1965), VII, 129.

[13]"Southey and Landor", in Thorpe, p. 368.

qualities of the poem have asked not 'does this generic denomination really afford a useful critical perspective?' but rather 'from what adjustment of critical perspective can this poem be viewed as an epic?'

Discussions even of the origin and growth of the poem rely at many points on the apparent fact that, whatever it started out to be, it is in its final form a poem written on an epic plan. A more fruitful approach would certainly be one which attempted to trace the poem's growth first as a poem, postponing the view of its destined form until that form had been realized.

An early step in this direction may be found entangled in one of the most notorious corruptions of source study in all of English literary criticism, the infamous William Lauder fraud of the mid-Eighteenth Century. A brief history of the affair is in order since its infamy was to close off one avenue to the poem for three hundred years.

The Gentlemen's Magazine for August, 1747 contains a proposal for "printing, by Subscription, HUGONIS GROTII, ADAMUS EXUL, TRAGOEDIA: With an English version, and notes, and the lines imitated from it by Milton subjoined, By William Lauder, M. A." This is followed by an advertisement of some 500 words which presents the thesis that Adamus Exul is "the genuine source of Paradise Lost". The same piece, its final paragraph altered, appears as the preface to Lauder's Essay on Milton's Use and Imitation of the Moderns in his Paradise Lost, published two years later. Though unsigned,

the preface was quickly recognized by Dr. John Douglas as the work of Samuel Johnson.[14] Douglas was careful to disassociate Johnson from the malicious hoax he exposed in his vindication, but a blow had been dealt the reputation of the "Great Cham" which even the combined testimony of Boswell, Douglas, John Nichols and Sir John Hawkins could not salve.[15]

But precisely what was Johnson's relationship to the Lauder thesis? It is certainly true that the Johnson piece, with its complimentary tone, is "an inappropriate preface to a work that tried to discredit Milton".[16] It is also significant that in its advertisement form it is associated most closely not with the Essay, but with the series of articles in the January, February, April, June and August issues of Gentlemen's Magazine in which Lauder first pressed his arguments. In these, Lauder's intentions were not so clearly antagonistic to Milton, at least at first, as they were in the later Essay. Most important, though, is the fact that the advertisement reveals a

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[14]Milton Vindicated from the Charge of Plagiarism (Lond., 1750), p. 78.

[15]See Boswell's Life (Oxford, 1946), I, 153; Nichols in Arthur Murphy's "Essay on Johnson", Johnsoniana, ed. Robina Napier (Lond., 1884), p. 388-9; Hawkins' Life (Lond., 1787), p. 275-6. Johnson is consistently defended on the ground of his ignorance of Lauder's intention in the Essay. For discussion of the controversy and defense of Johnson see Warren Mild, "Johnson and Lauder", MLQ, XIV (1953), 149-53. An account of Lauder's career is A. R. Millar's "William Lauder, the Literary Forger", Blackwood's (Sept., 1899), p. 392.

[16]Mild, p. 152.

perspective on the relationship of Adamus Exul to Paradise Lost which is fundamentally different from any Lauder seems ever to have entertained.

From the beginning Lauder's eye was attracted by relatively superficial similarities. His January article, in which Milton is compared not to Grotius but to Jacobus Masenius,[17] sets the pattern of his argument. Quoting the first six lines of Paradise Lost, he remarks that they "very probably owe their rise" to those seventeen of Masenius which he subsequently quotes in Latin.[18] To these he appends thirty-eight more lines from Masenius "on account of their exquisite beauty", which, as he puts it, "Milton has past over".[19] The emphasis is clearly on verbal similarity from line to line. "The same author's description of Paradise is truly charming", he continues, "and has been copied by Milton, if I am not greatly mistaken, in more places than one." He then quotes fifty lines of Masenius' description, directs the reader to Milton's "copied" lines, and restates the relationship in very different form: "To me it appears vastly probable that Milton has transferred the sense of the foregoing lines into

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[17]Sarcotidos (Cologne, 1654).

[18]GM, p. 24.

[19]GM, p. 25.

Paradise Lost".[20] Whether by 'transferring the sense' Lauder means 'copying', closly paraphrasing, or translating is unclear, as he offers no example of his own translation of Masenius' Latin. The rest of the article is simply a list of Masenius' Latin marginal heads, a list which indicates simply that the poem touched on themes of the Creation and the Fall.

Lauder concludes the first article with the assertion that "Milton could /not/ possibly write as he had done, without ever seeing or hearing of this author's performance."[21] Whether he meant to suggest with the list some structural indebtedness, which the list does not do, or merely the extent of Milton's opportunity to make isolated borrowings is as uncertain as his concept of copying. The February issue contains the inevitable protest (signed "R. A.") against being asked to form a judgment of Milton's debt to a poem without a substantial specimen of its manner as well as a list of its "constituent parts".[22] Another letter, signed "Miltonicus", questions Lauder's use of the term 'imitation' to mean 'borrowing', and offers a translation of thirty-five of the Masenius lines describing Paradise as demonstration that the two poems are not significantly similar. Among his assertions is that "if Milton had ever seen Masenius, and in any sort had attempted to borrow from him, his

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[20] GM, p. 25.

[21] GM, p. 26.

[22] GM, p. 58.

poem would neither have been the same, nor so good as it is."[23] The editors appended a note reading, "several other Gentlemen agree with the above letter-writer".[24]

In the March installment of his argument Lauder repeats the claim, first made in January, that he has lost the remainder of the Masenius poem. Nevertheless, perhaps in response to February's hostile correspondence, he hedges his case considerably, saying now that Milton "begins to leave him towards the beginning of his third book". At this point he turns to Grotius, citing the item "Adam unparadised or Adam in Banishment" in Milton's Cambridge Manuscript catalogue, "which I affirm is only a translation of Adamus Exul".[25]

This, the second article, is rather more derogatory than the first, though certainly less so than the later Essay. Indeed, throughout the series there is a progressive growth of malice, probably pricked by the often sarcastic correspondence elicited by each succeeding article. The discussion of Grotius contains the clearly antagonistic allegation that the Adamus Exul is "a vast treasure" to which Milton "had recourse" and "which he industriously kept secret". The editors no doubt felt justified in heading page 82 of the issue "Milton accused of imitating the Moderns".

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[23] GM, p. 67-8.

[24] GM, p. 68.

[25] GM, p. 82.

The article contains the first act of the Grotius play, yet few parallels to Milton are drawn and not all of these are spurious. Satan's identification of himself as "Saevi tonantis hostis" in the first line of the play is changed to "Sacri Tonantis hostis" in Lauder's text, presumably to agree more neatly with the footnote "Antagonist of Heaven's Almighty King. Milton".[26] The line "Quidni? quum gravior orcus sub pedibus tremit" is an interpolation, evidently designed to accommodate the footnote citation of "Hell trembled as he strode", which occurs in Paradise Lost a Book II, line 676, and refers to Death. Other interpolations are at lines 110, where he inserts "Lacusque vivi sulphuris semper fluent" and footnotes "And lakes of living Sulphur always flow", and 155 where he inserts the following passage:

> Nam, me judice,
> Regnare dignum est ambitu, etsi in Tartarus,
> Alto praesse Tartaro siquidem juvat,
> Coelis quam in ipsis servi obire munia,
> Adsint licebit cuncta.

"Milton", the footnote reads, "has these lines literally translated thus:

> And in my choice
> To reign is worth ambition, tho' in hell:
> Better to reign in Hell, than serve in heaven
> Paradise Lost, B. I.[27]

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[26]GM, p. 83. Lauder's text is checked throughout against the edition of Watson Kirkconnell. Unless otherwise noted, translation of Grotius' text is also Kirkconnell's.

[27]GM, p. 84. The interpolated lines are in fact drawn from the 1690 translation of Paradise Lost into Latin by William Hog.

But there are in addition to these, five citations to Act I which neither corrupt Grotius' text nor warp Paradise Lost. A few are close comparisons, such as line 232, "Homini parem me reddat, aut hominem mihi" (shall make me peer to man, or man to me), which Lauder footnotes, citing "I with you must dwell or you with me".[28] Most of his citations, however, are unconvincing, as when he marks line 284, "Nec bene firmus substitit axis", and can find no better echo in Milton than "All shook unless the throne of God" from Book VI (lines 833-34 actually read "The steadfast Empyrean shook throughout / All but the Throne itself of God"). Here Milton is misquoted, there is no trace of genuine echo, and the common element, the trembling, is a response in Grotius to Satan's rebellion, in Milton to the chariot-wheels of the avenging Son.

By June, Lauder's argument had degenerated to pure fraud. In that article nine comparisons of Milton to Grotius are drawn and all are corrupted by interpolation, sheer invention,

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[28] GM, p. 85. Comparison is to PL IV, 377. Kirkconnell's translation, "Shall make me peer to man or draw man down to me" (op. cit., p. 113), actually obscures a metric and grammatical parallel doubly convincing because it occurs at roughly the same point in the speech of the same character in the same circumstances.

elision, even at one point the selection and collocation of three widely separated lines from Paradise Lost, Book IX, so that they might be compared to a three-line passage of Adamus Exul.[29]

Though the exposure of Lauder's fraud did not occur until the publication of Douglas' Vindication in 1750, serious objections had been raised to his methodology and his manner by Miltonicus in February and again in September by one C. S. Of the Masenius comparisons C. S. remarks:

> How could any two poets tell us they intended to sing of the forbidden fruit, of the loss of paradise, and the coming of death and misery into the world, in terms more different? The invocation likewise is made by both to the Holy Spirit, and not to Apollo, the Muses, &c. after the manner of the antients; which would have been absurd in a divine poem: but, I think, there is as little likeness also in their manner of addressing him as could well be expected in so similar a matter.

Of the Grotius comparisons:

> I hope Milton might have called Satan (whose name signifies an adversary) 'Antagonist of heavn's almighty king', and 'the adversary of God and man', without copying Grotius's sacri tonantis hostis; and have made hell tremble at the strides of the monster Death (when 'tis so frequent in the antient poets to make the heavens, earth, olympus, ida, to tremble under the footsteps of their gods and goddesses) tho' Grotius had never wrote of Satan, 'Gravior orcus sub pedibus tremit'.[30]

The critiques of Miltonicus and C. S., rendered on the supposition that Lauder's demonstrations were honest, are

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[29] GM, p. 286. The lines from Milton are IX, 291, 568, and 612.

[30] GM, p. 423-24.

so evidently just that it is hard to imagine a critic of Johnson's perspicacity being convinced by the articles for even a moment. But the most important thing about the advertisement/preface is that it bears no hint that Johnson had even heard of either the Gentlemen's Magazine pieces or the argument as it appears in the Essay. His expression of the relationship between source study and the way poems get written is at striking variance with any Lauder could have entertained:

> /No study/ is more obscure in itself, or more worthy of rational curiosity, than a retrospection of the progress of this mighty genius in the construction of his work, a view of the fabric gradually rising, perhaps from small beginnings, till its foundation rests in the centre, and its turrets sparkle in the skies; to trace back the structure thro' all its variations to the simplicity of its first plan, to find what was first projected, whence the scheme was taken, how it was improved, by what assistance it was executed, and from what stores the materials were collected; whether its founder dug them from the quarries of nature, or demolished other buildings to embellish his own.[31]

The method of composition here envisaged, a vertical development from a prior structural foundation, itself a development from a simple "first plan", is substantially that suggested in his "Life of Milton" composed some thirty-two years later (1779) where, discussing Milton's activity just prior to 1655, he writes that

> perhaps he did little more in that busy time than

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[31] GM, p. 404.

> construct the narrative, adjust the episodes, proportion the parts, accumulate images and sentiments, and treasure in his memory, or preserve in writing, such hints as books or meditation would supply.[32]

Of course, the Lauder scandal would have been very much in Johnson's mind during the writing of the "Life" and it appears likely that the memory of its sting prompted the wave of the wrist with which he dismisses speculation about origins:

> Whence he drew the original design has been variously conjectured, by men who cannot bear to think themselves ignorant of that which, at last, neither diligence nor sagacity can discover.

But his brief discussion of previous conjectures is very similar in the two pieces. In the "Life" he remarks that

> some find the hint in an Italian tragedy; Voltaire tells a wild and unwarrented story of a farce seen by Milton in Italy, which opened thus: Let the rainbow be the fiddlestick of the fiddle of Heaven.[33]

In the advertisement the matter is handled thus:

> Mr. Voltaire tells us, without proof, that the first hint of Paradise Lost was taken from a farce called Adamo, written by a player; Dr. Pearce that it was derived from an Italian tragedy called Il Paradiso perso; and Mr. Peck, that it was borrowed from a wild Romance.

In both the "Life" and the preface, Johnson expresses the belief that Milton's first conception was of a tragedy. In the "Life" he simply refers the reader to his discussion of the Cambridge Manuscripts earlier in the piece, a discussion

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[32] A Johnson Reader, p. 389.

[33] Ibid.

which makes no mention of 'first hints'. Interestingly enough, he concludes with a description of the literary growth process which is virtually a paraphrase of the one in the preface already quoted:

> ...it is pleasant to see great works in their seminal state, pregnant with latent possibilities of excellence; nor could there be any more delightful entertainment than to trace their gradual growth and expansion, and to observe how they are sometimes suddenly advanced by accidental hints and sometimes slowly improved by steady meditation.[34]

In 1747 it had seemed only logical to Johnson that since, in his view then, the dramatic drafts were not "seminal" but "embryonic",[36] the first hint was to be found in the sources of the list of subjects itself, which "can be supposed nothing more than a memorial, or catalogue of plays, which, for some reason, the writer thought worthy of his attention". He continues in the preface,

> When therefore I had observed that Adam in exile was named amongst them, I doubted not but, in finding the original of that tragedy, I should disclose the genuine source of Paradise Lost. Nor was my expectation disappointed; for, having procured the Adamus Exul of Grotius, I found, or imagined myself to find, the first draught, the prima stamina of this wonderful poem.

It is not to be supposed that Johnson would have written the advertisement without having seen the manuscript of the play, and it is entirely likely that what he saw was the presumably good text sent to Lauder by Abraham

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[34] "Life", p. 384

[35] Ibid.

Gronovius, the librarian at Leyden.[36] Lauder's corruptions of the text appear to have been accomplished on the run during the Gentlemen's Magazine exchanges. In any event, Lauder's corruptions do not bear on the case made for the play by Johnson, since they are uniformly relevant only to the charge of line and image copying and do not affect such largely structural similarities as Johnson perceived and thought to be both important to an understanding of the poem and devoid of any derogatory implications for the genius of its author. At the same time, it is very likely that once Lauder was exposed Johnson saw no reason to place any degree of confidence in the text he had seen, concluding that 'neither diligence nor sagacity' had prevented his becoming the chief victim of an utter fraud. Certainly no other student of Paradise Lost for the next ninety years saw any reason to pursue the play further, and even very recent mention of it assumes that only massive alteration of an otherwise very dissimilar work could have produced the resemblances offered the readers of the Gentlemen's Magazine.

The case for Adamus Exul was not argued again until 1839 when Francis Barham's translation of the play

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[36]There is no reason to doubt Lauder's testimony (GM, Feb., p. 82) regarding the origin of the transcription or that it was prepared for him by the librarian's son from a printed copy.

appeared.[34] Unfortunately, no serious critical use could be made of the work. The "Prolegomena" is both vague, as in its characterization of Milton's debt as the discovery in the play of a "seed of thought and passion", and inaccurate, as in its contention that Lauder had endeavored in his Essay, but not in the Gentlemen's Magazine articles, "to supply the defect of his authorities by drawing on his own Latinity". The possibility is thus left open that Lauder was not mistaken in "finding his materials deficient".[38] Nor does Mr. Barham provide any means to study the text, for he simply asserts its accuracy and prints only his own translation.

The translation itself is worthless for comparative purposes not only because it is based on a text not provided the reader, but because one reads it mindful of the translator's note that he has retained only "as much of the spirit and sense of the original as is consistent with poetical sentiment and expression".[39] Even his final remark, that "if this work should excite much interest, it is our intention to re-publish the original Latin — now

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[37] The Adamus Exul of Grotius, or the Prototype of Paradise Lost (Lond., 1839, 40).

[38] Ibid., p. 6.

[39] Ibid., p. 7.

extremely scarce,"[40] is disquieting in its recollection of Lauder's "In self-defense, I shall, if encouraged by the public, hereafter publish the whole tragedy in the original Latin".[41] Finally, the translation is so obviously Miltonized in its rather clumsy way, that no serious critic would be encouraged to trust it. Lines 4-7 in the text printed by Kirkconnell, for example, read,

> Odium bonorum sede me infanta extrahit,
> Diros scelesta mente versantem dolos.
> Terrible iniquum, triste, formidabile,
> Quod et ipse Sathan horream, quaero scelus.
> Hatred has drawn me forth from that unblest abode,/
> Planning in wicked mind dire plots against the good./ Some awful wrong I seek, most terrible and grim,/ A crime that even I, the Devil, tremble at.

The corresponding passage in Barham reads thus:

> Hatred of all good
> Hath hurled me forth from the hereditary throne
> Of too unblest ambition, — sowing lies,
> And ripening damn'd sedition — terrible,
> Unuttered and unutterable fraud.
> Guilt is become my nature and my joy;
> I breathe essential vice; and most I seek
> For that selectest crime, which to conceive
> Is luxury; and yet horror that appals /sic/
> Great Satan's self.[42]

And this is typical.

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[40] Ibid., p. 8.

[41] Essay, quoted by Barham (p. 6-7). This is doubly odd, since Barham's text is the one Lauder did later publish in his Delectus Auctorum (Lond., 1752). Barham's faith in the text rests on the fact that its authenticity was never disproved (p. 7), a not surprising circumstance given the discredit attaching to everything Lauder did after 1750.

[42] Barham, p. 9.

These deficiencies — they add up to the obvious fact that Barham's work is a very loose paraphrase of a bad text — are enough to account for the circumstance that only fifty years later George Edmundson could write a full-length source study of Paradise Lost without mentioning Barham's efforts.[43] In fact, he gives scant attention to Grotius, mentioning the Lauder controversy, erroneously associating the Johnson piece only with Lauder's Essay, and faulting the "poems" of both Grotius and Masenius "proofs of which may be found in the essays of Lauder" on the ground that such "slight and trivial productions" could not be sources.[44]

Without further study of Grotius than Lauder can have provided, he contends that the "admiration for, and personal intercourse with Grotius, on the part of Milton is in fact one of the valuable personal links which connect him with Vondel",[45] since the latter enjoyed the literary protectorship of the former. It will be noted — Edmundson does not — that such triangular relationships necessarily open up the possibility that resemblances found in the works of the two juniors may well be evidence of a mutual debt to the work of the senior. That possibility remains open until a

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[43] Milton and Vondel (Lond., 1885).

[44] Ibid., p. 2-11.

[45] Ibid., p. 24.

convincing number of shared deviations from the work of the senior are demonstrated in the two more nearly contemporary works.

A further problem, not only in Edmundson's but in much more recent source study as well, is the tendency to cite similarities of language and idea as proof of influence even when these border on the commonplace or must be drawn together from scattered locations in one or both of the compared works. Two brief examples should serve to illustrate the tendency in Edmundson's practice.

Among the juxtapositions of the text of Vondel's Lucifer to that of Paradise Lost, Edmundson includes the following:

> Is it no help, that in your train you draw
> A third part of the spirits? (Luc., iii, 1244-45)
>
> Art thou that traitor-angel, are thou he
> Who....
> Drew after him the third part of Heaven's sons?
> (PL, II. 692-4)[46]

Other than that they are both rhetorical questions, these passages demonstrate no more than an unstartling mutual familiarity with Revelation, 12.4. Even as questions the two are very different. The first is part of the Rebel Chorus' attempt to console Lucifer; the second begins Death's reply to the formulaic insulting challenge of Satan in their epic confrontation at the gates of Hell. Ellipses here accomplish much, representing as they do not only the remainder

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[46]Edmundson, p. 62.

of the line beginning "who", but also a complete line between it and the last line quoted.[47]

One of the most controversial passages in Paradise Lost is the admonition of Raphael beginning at VIII, 172:

> 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 or degree,
> Contented that thus far hath been reveal'd
> Not of Earth only but of highest Heav'n.

To this Edmundson compares Luc., ii, 555ff.

> Thus learn we by degrees God's wise designs
> To question with respect and lowliness.
> He step by step lays bare the growing light
> Of knowledge and of Science, and desires,
> That at his station each before Him bow.[48]

The passages are similar insofar as they both relate to the issue of audacious curiosity, but again their contexts reveal that they simply do not mean the same thing. In Vondel the words are part of Gabriel's rather dull and pointless speech to Lucifer on the progress of angelic knowledge. Milton's lines have a totally different dramatic significance. They are aimed at cultivating in Adam a perspective which might save him and Eve from sin. "wand'ring thoughts, and notions vain", "uncheckt" and "roving" fancy are to contribute to

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[47]Line 691 in the edition of Merritt Hughes (New York, 1957). Further in-text citations of Paradise Lost will be by book and line of this edition.

[48]Edmundson, p. 59.

their undoing, and it is these to which Raphael refers. "To know / That which before us lies in daily life,/ Is the prime Wisdom", Adam replies (VIII, 192-4). Among the things lying before the first couple in daily life are, of course, the Tree and God's injunction, the proper relationship of the pair to one another, and the impending circumstances of the temptation. That Milton would have sought the form of this warning in the pedestrian recitation of the Lucifer's Gabriel is unlikely to say the least. Much nearer the Milton passage in many respects is the simple advice of Grotius' angel to Adam:

> Vis conditorem nosse? rebus conditis
> Utere magisteris; quiquid est index Dei est
> Wouldst thou thy Maker know: Use as thy teachers then
> The things that He has fashion'd. All are guides to God.
> (AE, iii, 413-14)

This is no warning, but it does stress attention to the immediate, the things of daily life as opposed to speculative fancies. It does not indicate a 'borrowing' but it is part of a larger correspondence of topics treated in the context of Adam's talk with the instructing angel.

In 1907 a study appeared which is worth mentioning here because it contains a discussion of Adamus Exul and at the same time illustrates several critical biases which have marked most comparisons of the two works, however casual. Perhaps more important, such biases must have dissuaded many

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[48] The Epic of "Paradise Lost" (New York, 1907).

students from undertaking any comparison at all. The study is Marianna Woodhull's[48] and the biases are these: the Eighteenth-Century resolution of the Grotius/ Milton relationship is accepted without question; check-reading of Adamus Exul is superficial and limited to Lauder's bad text; it is assumed that any source of Paradise Lost must share its scope and excellence.

Though Miss Woodhull devotes some twenty pages to discussion of Adamus Exul, it is immediately clear that they are not designed to support any evaluation of her own concerning the play. She asserts at the outset that "the' question of Milton's indebtedness to Grotius was long ago a dead issue." In an obvious, if somewhat misleading reference to the Lauder controversy, she adds that the question "hardly needed the offices of Doctor Johnson as chief executioner", and that "in any case there is no plagiarism in 'bettering the borrowed'."[49] No discussion beginning thus can be expected to add anything to previous judgments.

But Miss Woodhull makes no attempt at unbiased analysis. Her premises are simply those of an accolade. The first of them is that "the episode of man's fall must find

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[49]Woodhull, p. 146.

its inevitable expression not in a tragedy but in an epic."[50] Given this, her task becomes one simply of demonstrating the superiority of Paradise Lost as an epic of the fall. When she turns to Grotius all she need do is show that he wrote a tragedy, hence botched the story, failed the subject, and can be dismissed — as are also Vondel and Andreini who, with Grotius, are introduced "for the light they throw upon the distinction between epic and tragedy... and for the influence they might have had upon Milton's decision to write an epic rather than a tragedy."[51] Thus of Grotius' treatment of angels she asks, "Is the opposition of the good angels to the bad angels as strongly depicted as the subject demands?",[52] assuming that 'the episode of man's fall' demands any opposition of angels at all, and further that Paradise Lost is the appropriate gauge of the necessary strength of that opposition. Grotius fails this test. He provides no confrontation of Satan with the angelic guard and this, coupled with his insufficiently explicit warning of Adam, causes us to feel that Satan has been insufficiently resisted by God.[53]

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[50]Woodhull, p. 14-15.

[51]Ibid., p. 143.

[52]Ibid., p. 159.

[53]Ibid., p. 160. This is ironic in light of similar complaints often lodged against Paradise Lost — e.g. Johnson's that "Satan is with great expectation brought before Gabriel in Paradise, and is suffered to go away unmolested" (Reader, p. 421).

But the greatest defect of her discussion is her failure to read Adamus Exul attentively. She says, for example, that Eve in the play is "so bold, so hard, so unyielding, that she has no prototype in literature except Medea."[54] This leads her to interpret the conclusion of Act Four as follows: "Adam's cheeks grow pale as he eats the apple and his strength fails. 'Spare, ah spare man! ' he cries, and the chorus laments the fall of man."[55] It is in fact Eve who says as Adam eats,

> Sed quid tibi ambit languidas pallor genas,
> Caputque nutat? omne rurat in me malum,
> Si quod futuram est: Parcat, o, parcat viro.
> But why does sudden pallor blanch thy languid cheek?
> Why droops thy head? If an evil is to follow,
> Let it all fall on me; but spare, ah spare my man!
> (AE, iv, 1466-68).

Nor, in this, may the Barham text be blamed. It is very loosely paraphrased, but it does render to Eve the compassion she feels in the original. At any rate, Miss Woodhull joins Barham in the traditional and progressive obscuration of the play.

Not until 1934 is Grotius mentioned again as a possible influence upon Milton.[56] Taylor reveals in his study a high degree of sensitivity to the charges of "parallel chaser" which had become ever more frequent as the candidates for a share of the paternity of Paradise Lost proliferated

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[54]Woodhull, p. 163.

[55]Ibid., p. 153

[56]George Coffin Taylor, Milton's Use of DuBartas (Cambridge, Mass., 1934).

in the years following Greenlaw's articles on Milton and Spenser.[57] Taylor cites MacKerrow's argument for the validity of parallels as evidence[58] and takes pains to renounce any claim of exclusivity for his own candidate:

> /That/ on certain matters common to DuBartas and Paradise Lost /Milton/ consulted, as suited his purpose, St. Augustine, Spenser, Sir Henry More, Servetus, and some of the rabbinical readings noticed by Fletcher, this study does not deny.... And how anyone can read Grotius' Adamus Exul or Vondel without concluding that Milton had read and liked them, it is impossible for me to comprehend.[59]

He wisely devotes his second chapter to a catalogue of those "thoughts and ideas" which, though "investigators of Milton since 1917 have been attempting to trace to particular sources, are for the most part the common property of Medieval and Renaissance writers."[60]

For all his caution, however, Taylor's study reveals stumblings exactly like those of Edmundson: extensive reliance on similarities of word or phrase; failure to recognize commonplaces; and virtual disregard of the contexts from which paralleled passages are drawn. There is a further difficulty in Taylor, however, in that the reader is never quite sure whether it is an idea or a word or phrase which is being

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[57] "A Better Teacher than Aquinas," SP, XIV (1917), 196-217; "Spenser's Influence on Paradise Lost," SP, XVII (1920), 320-59.

[58] Taylor, p. 14, n. 1.

[59] Ibid., p. 13. It is clear (p. 13, n. 4) that his knowledge of Grotius is through the Barham paraphrase.

[60] Ibid., p. 15.

compared, whether an intellectual influence or a case of 'copying' is being advanced. Again, some examples are to the point.

Having noted Greenlaw's statement that Milton is the poetical heir to Spenser in his "fusing /of/ the Christian dogma with a philosophy ultimately Platonic",[61] Taylor cites a similar fusion in DuBartas:

> Th' all working Word alone
> Made Nothing be All's womb and Embryon,
> Th' eternall Plot, th' Idea fore-conceiv'd,
> The wondrous Form of all that Form receiv'd,
> Did in the Work-man's spirit divinely lie;
> And, yer it was, the World was wondrously.

"Milton condenses thus", he says:

> Th' Earth was formed, but, in the womb as yet
> Of waters, embryon, immature, involved,
> Appeared not (PL, VII, 276-78, italics Taylor's).[62]

It is not clear what Milton is condensing here unless it be the words of Sylvester's DuBartas. Milton's application of the image of gestation to Earth rather than World is not a condensation but a difference. Where DuBartas places "all" in "nothing", an image of containment only, Milton places "Earth" in the womb of "waters" whose resemblance to amniotic fluid is certainly not accidental. The passage in Paradise Lost continues;

> over all the face of Earth
> Main Ocean flow'd, not idle, but with warm
> Prolific humor soft'ning all her Globe,
> Fermented the great Mother to conceive,

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[61] "A Better Teacher", p. 212.

[62] Taylor, p. 27.

> Satiate with genial moisture, when God said,
> Be gather'd now ye Waters under Heav'n
> Into one place, and let dry land appear
> (PL, VII, 278-84).

Thus the Earth is 'born' in terms which recall the image of the brooding wings of the Spirit in line 235, itself a recollection of Genesis, 1.2. As Hughes notes,[63] Milton prefers the Hebrew rendered as "brood" to the "moved" of the English Bible. He renders it in Latin as "incubabat" in Christian Doctrine.[64] There is also this major difference between the DuBartas passage and Milton's: in Paradise Lost the passage is part of Raphael's narrative to the listening Adam, whom he addresses directly at VII, 296. What one wants in an equivalent passage is the statement of an angel to Adam that the Earth incubated in the enveloping ocean. In Adamus Exul we find Adam listening as his angelic visitor says;

> /terram/ primo turbidis
> Submersa in undis delitescebat salo
> Cincto tenebris. Subito divina manu
> Formatus aer cursibus liber vagis
> Incubit undae.
> /Earth/ submerged in turbid waves

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[63] Milton, p. 352, n. 235-7.

[64] Elsewhere Sylvester's DuBartas provides this rather awkward simile:

> Or, as a Hen that fain would hatch a Brood
> (Some of her own, some of adoptive bloud)
> Sits close thereon, and with her lively heat,
> Of yellow-white bals, doth live birds beget:
> Even in such sort seemed the Spirit Eternall
> To brood upon this Gulf; with care paternall
> ("First Day", l. 334-39 in Works, ed. A. B. Grossart /Edengurgh, 1880/, I, 22).

> At first lay hidden in an ocean girt about
> With murky darkness; suddenly the atmosphere,
> Form'd by the Hand divine, free in its wandering courses
> Brooded upon the wave (AE, iv, 454-58).

Finally, while Milton and DuBartas do share a certain Platonism, it is not very clearly revealed in Paradise Lost, VII, 278-84, where it is the imagery of Genesis which is critical.[65]

"Greenlaw notes," says Taylor, "that Spenser 'in the Second Hymne' speaks of the 'patterne' used by the great 'work maister'. DuBartas, however, is distinctly in point here."[66] His selection from DuBartas, though, demonstrates only that he was aware of the commonplace notion of the 'archetect God' derived from Proverbs, 8.27:[67]

> Th' Eternall Trine-One, spreading even the Tent
> Of th' All enlightning glorious Firmament,
> Fill'd it with Figures; and in various Marks
> There pourtray'd Tables of his future Works
> See here the pattern of a silver Brook,

Milton's God, he points out,

> ...Took the golden compasses, prepared
> In God's eternal store, to circumscribe
> This Universe (PL, VII, 225-27. Italics Taylor's).[68]

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[65]Platonism in DuBartas is more apparent than real. He does note the Creator's "Idea fore-concieved", but also says that "Th' admired Author's Fancie fixed not/ On some fantastick Fore-concieted Plot" ("1st Day", l. 212-13, in Grossart, p. 21).

[66]Taylor, p. 27.

[67]"...he set a compass upon the face of the deep."

[68]Taylor, p. 28. It is the act of circumscription that Milton's passage and Proverbs share. The apparent parallel usage — compass (L. ambitus) and compasses (L. circinus) — obscures the fact that two different instruments are intended.

Obviously, Milton's passage is far closer to the simplicity of Proverbs than to the awkward language of DuBartas. But if Milton did need a reminder of the Biblical circumscription, he would be more likely to have found it in the words of Grotius' angel, who reports at a precisely parallel point in his narrative of the Creation that God shaped the universe,

> partes mutuo aequales sibi,
> Perfecta species, orbis in justi modum
> Rotunda, nullis angulis protuberans
> Ne discreparet finis a primordio
> (Its parts reciprocally equal, and in form
> Perfection, a round globe in perfect measure shaped,
> Projecting with no angular discrepancy
> Lest the beginning should not balance with the end)
> (AE, ii, 427-30).

Verbal parallels count for little when they can be traced to contexts which render them different or even opposite in meaning, and for even less when they rely on only a word or two for their similarity. This is frequently the case with the citations of both Edmundson and Taylor. Nor is it uncommon to find parallels in either study assembled by the writers from remote locations by the word, phrase and line, containing a bewildering number of ellipses representing uncertain numbers of words and lines. Such comparisons can distort relationships every bit as much as interpolations can.

In general, R. M. Adams' complaint against Taylor and Grant McColley, that "both fall on the dilemma that the parallels between Milton's poetic expression and that of DuBartas rarely involves anything more than the crudest sort of raw

materials,"[69] is equally valid for Edmundson's treatment of Vondel. It must be owned however, that McColley takes greater care than his predecessors to compare large units of verse, event sequences, relative inclusiveness of catalogues; matters more nearly of structure than of style in its narrowest sense. And he occasionally acknowledges great similarity of Paradise Lost to works other than the Divine Weeks. This carries him into another classic pitfall of source study, however, as he presents portions of Milton's poem against thickets of potential sources common and obscure, substantial and trivial, suggesting a Milton with incredibly undiscriminating packrat tendencies. Further, it is frequently unclear whether such assemblages represent precedents of indirect or direct influence, proof of commonplaceness, intellectual background, or explanatory paraphrases. Noting, for example, "the Spirit of God descending like a dove" in Matthew, 3.16, he points to similar usages in the works of Hugo of St. Victor, Joseph Beaumont, Basil, Abelard, Diodati, and DuBartas as well as in Milton.[70] Any one of these might have suggested the image to Milton, but none is so certainly known to him as St. Matthew.

It is in these lists of precedent that McColley's

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[69] Milton and the Modern Critics (Ithaca, N. Y., 1955, 1966), p. 157. He refers to McColley's Paradise Lost: an Account of Its Growth and Major Origins (Chicago, 1940).

[70] McColley, p. 51-2.

scattered references to Grotius' Adamus Exul are to be found, together with references to Hayward, Cedrenus, Valmarana, Andreini, Andrew Willer and Campanella, for example, as precedent for the use of an instructing angel.[71]

It might be noted that, like the earliest studies of Paradise Lost, the later source studies — with the obvious exception of Barham's "Prolegomena" — assume that whatever processes of acquiring material and planning its distribution may have taken place, there was a point at which Milton held both his early plans and his knowledge of precedent in some sort of suspension while he decided to write the "diffuse epic" referred to in The Reason of Church Government. Thus Edmundson sees the "great idea" maturing slowly for a long time "before it issued from the poet's brain in its full perfection of form and beauty."[72] Taylor argues DuBartas as a source partly on the ground that La Semaine contains so much of "the same basic stuff of Paradise Lost, arranged in very much the same form, devoted to the same grand objectives",[73] there being no such similarity in "any other epic".[74] McColley,

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[71]McColley, p. 68-9. Bibliographic reference to Miss Woodhull's book, which "includes valuable digests of such works as Grotius' Adamus Exul" (p. 347), suggests that this is the extent of McColley's knowledge of the play.

[72]Edmundson, p. 6.

[73]Taylor, p. 14.

[74]Ibid., p. 12-13.

though he subscribes to no such simplistic idea of the poem's growth as Edmundson's, envisions Milton's desire for "scope and comprehension" working to "persuade /him/ to abandon the long contemplated dramatic form" in favor of a modification of "conventional epic treatment".[75]

Even criticism which focuses on specifically dramatic elements in the poem, though, shares the epic assumption. Hanford, for example, rejects the judgment of Sir Walter Raleigh that Milton is "an epic, not a dramatic poet", but his own view is that "Milton's habit of dramatic expression led him to a far-reaching modification of the epic form," or that he "goes beyond all previous epics in his approximation to dramatic form."[76] Laurence Sasek, discussing the importance of Books XI and XII as a dramatic resolution of the whole poem, "a drama in which the character of Adam is molded into an example of Christian fortitude," relates the matter to the epic precedents of Homer, Virgil, Tasso, and DuBartas.[77] Though he sees Milton's presentation of the Fall as both tragic and dramatic, the action is nonetheless, for him, no more than "action dramatically presented in the epic".[78]

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[75]McColley, p. 14.

[76]"The Dramatic Element in Paradise Lost", SP, XIV (1917), 181.

[77]"The Drama of Paradise Lost", Studies in English Renaissance Literature (Baton Rough, 1958), p. 196.

[78]Ibid., p. 186.

Douglas Knight sees "the discovery by /Adam and Eve/ of a character and a course of action /as/ the dramatic center of the poem" but contends that this sets Paradise Lost as far apart from Greek and Elizabethan tragedy as from Genesis and the Iliad, also "a tragedy in the formal sense".[79]

Clearly, the term 'dramatic' is not used in the same sense by the three writers. Hanford's concept of a 'habit of expression', Sasek's of a manner of thematic resolution, Knight's of a depth and complexity of character development, are very different but they share an equally vague and shifting relationship to any strict notion of likeness to a play — whether 'play' be taken to denote either a peculiar set of structural relationships or a generic category capable of conveying certain kinds of meaning, distinct from those of lyric, epic, history, argument or commentary. That Milton devoted considerable thought to genre both as structure and as meaning is attested by the Cambridge Manuscript, the remarks on his aspirations in The Reason of Church Government, the preface to Samson, at too many points in his work to be slighted or overlooked.

I have suggested that there has always been a 'question of Paradise Lost'. For the Eighteenth Century the question was chiefly, how does Paradise Lost accomplish its meaning? For later students, including many in the present era, it has

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79"The Dramatic Center of Paradise Lost", SAQ, VXIII (1964), 54-55.

been, in the words of A. J. A. Waldock, "what does Milton mean in Paradise Lost?"[80] The question has usually resolved itself into discussion of the poem in generic terms. But source study, which might have been expected to cast some light on a question of genre, has produced mainly a confusing variety of candidates for the poem's paternity. If C. S. Lewis is right in calling "the pre-existing form" the father of poetry,[81] and if we may credit even a fraction of the source-candidates, then Paradise Lost is rather more like the seven-headed dragon of Revelation than any poetic form yet identified, and it is meaningless.

What has been lacking is a study of the composition of the poem like that sketched by Johnson; one which would show "the fabric gradually rising, perhaps from small beginnings, till its foundation rests in the centre, and its turrets sparkle in the skies". Such a study, to be useful in answering the 'question of Paradise Lost', however, must meet two major requirements: it must make full use of the available clues to the compositional process, and it must pay particular attention to the transforming influence of new and old matter upon one another.

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[80] Paradise Lost and Its Critics (Cambridge, 1947), p. 1.

[81] A Preface to Paradise Lost (Oxford, 1942), p. 3.

Two recent studies do undertake to examine the growth of Paradise Lost. Both are valuable and I will have many occasions to acknowledge their lead in the following pages. But both, it seems to me, fall short of full use of the clues to composition, and neither gives enough consideration to the impact of new upon old matter to provide the basis of an examination of the poem's growth as a generic entity.

The study of Grant McColley I have already discussed in part. In taking for granted the value of Miss Woodhull's 'digest' of Adamus Exul, he is led to dismiss from close consideration one of the most valuable clues to Milton's compositional process outside the Cambridge Manuscript. Though his treatment of the early plans is careful and thorough, and though the techniques he uses for locating compositional strata are sound, his study is less valuable than it might be to the expositor because he assumes a very early date at which Milton must have set as his objective the building of a 'diffuse epic'.

There is a very old tradition which sees the mature Milton as an almost compulsive executor of that casual listing of forms in the Reason of Church Government wherein the poet pictures the mind "at home in the spacious circuits of her musing" proposing to herself

> that epic form whereof the two poems of Homer and those other two of Virgil and Tasso are a diffuse, and the book of Job a brief model.... or...those

> dramatic constitutions, wherein Sophocles and Euripides reign... a divine pastoral drama.... Or... those magnific odes and hymns wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in most things worthy.[82]

McColley subscribes to this tradition, going even so far as to suppose that the national epic mentioned by Milton "received being in the History of Britain" and that the writing of Paradise Lost as an epic created a "gap" which Milton "filled with the tragedy Samson Agonistes".[83] Assuming ever that he is describing the growth of a diffuse epic, he naturally answers none of the questions about what sort of poem Milton wrote. The parts of the poem are considered in their spatial and chronological relations, but very little is said about their formal relationships as ways of meaning. He shows us here the ground-line, there the possible source of a brick, here the closing of an arch; but never the shape, whether of a cathedral, a fortress or a palace. He leaves us with the Milton who has not only done less than 'spirits reprobate' -- whose Pandemonium, if it is neither only a palace nor only a city, is nonetheless identifiable as a feudal "seat" on the order of a castle — but who actually strove for such a diffuseness.

Alan H. Gilbert's work[84] focuses on the compositional

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[82]In Hughes, p. 668-9.

[83]McColley, p. 280.

[84]On the Composition of Paradise Lost (Chapel Hill, 1947).

process and makes no attempt to discuss sources except incidentally. His aim is, as he says in his preface, to "save appearences", to account for inconsistencies in Paradise Lost by showing stratified composition. His techniques are those of Josephine Waters Bennett[85] and McColley. He draws few interpretational conclusions, trusting that his work will be useful for the scholar who writes for the general reader, as, I think, they are. If his work has a major weakness, though, it is as with McColley, in his treatment of the relationship of Milton's early plans and drafts for a tragedy to the finished poem. Unlike McColley, Gilbert never mentions Grotius, but like him links the Cambridge Manuscript plans to Paradise Lost with a hypothetical draft of Milton's play. The two differ in their notions of the contents and form of this "intermediate stage" amd in many particulars of the compositional process, but they share the assumption that the play ultimately served as a source of materials for an epic wholly new in concept, with a design and objectives of its own distinct from those of the drama:

> However dependent he was on the tragedy, he would have thought out the new work as an epic, with ruthless abandonment of anything that did not fit his new plan. His success is made evident by the immediate and continuing acceptance of his work as an epic.[86]

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[85]The Evolution of the Faerie Queene (Chicago, 1942).

[86]Gilbert, p. 211.

Surely the final sentence cannot refer to the storms of controversy which have raged over Paradise Lost as over few other works of English literature, and which touch precisely on the question of its being an epic. To get an idea of the limits of this "acceptance" one need only imagine the reactions of a convention of critics drawn from the three centuries of the poem's life to the first footnote of the Merritt Hughes edition. Citing I. 1-4, he remarks:

> Man is emphatically repeated in a way that recalls the stress upon the corresponding words in the opening lines of the Odyssey and Aeneid and the conviction of Milton's contemporaries that epic poetry should portray a 'virtuous man' as Spenser said... that Homer did 'in the Persons of Agamemnon and Ulysses'. Milton's purpose is to draw two perfect men, Adam and the'greater man', the Son of God, whose portrayal is complete only in PR.[87]

Scarcely any would assent to this simple assertion without extensive qualification of such matters as the meaning of "perfect" and "purpose" in this connection. Many would point out that the Son is, in Paradise Lost, never other than a 'machine'; others that Adam demonstrates not perfection, but a degree of its loss; other, granting the Son a role as 'virtuous man', would concur that his portrayal is completed in Paradise Regained and would point out that this leaves Milton with a portrayal of one imperfect man and one imperfect portrait of perfection; and so on through a tangle of 'immediate and continuing controversy.'

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[87]Hughes, p. 211.

Much of the preceding review of scholarship has had the aim of accounting for the circumstance — strange on the face of it — that a work whose extensive influence on Paradise Lost I am about to champion could have remained unacknowledged for so long. As I have shown, all attempts to consider the Adamus Exul have led back to the ignoble Lauder, there being no readily available text of the play other than those of his Essay and Delectus Auctorem. But most scholars have simply dismissed the play in reaction to the Lauder scandal. It was not until 1952 that Kirkconnel's monumental collection and translation of analogues to Paradise Lost appeared, and with it the first untainted and reliable text.[88]

Though it is far from Kirkconnell's purposes to assert indebtedness, much less undertake minute comparisons, he does remark that "internal evidence is convincing" of Milton's acquaintance with the play, and he points to five major parallels between Adamus Exul and Paradise Lost:

(i) Satan's arrival in Eden and soliloquy (AE, i; PL, IV),

(ii) The visit of an instructing angel (AE, ii; PL, V),

(iii) The chorus of angels or angelic guard (AE, passim; PL. IV, 776 ad fin),

(iv) The serpent's temptation of Eve (AE, iv; PL, IX),

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[88]The text is the apparently unique British Museum copy of the 1601 first edition.

(v) Adam's eating out of passion for Eve, their discord, divine intervention (AE, v; PL, X-XII).[89]

Kirkconnell feels nonetheless that "the debt of Milton to Grotius appears to be general rather than specific".[90] I think this judgment is as much determined by as productive of the belief that "Paradise Lost is an epic and as such is clearly distinguished in form and style from the great majority of its analogues." [91]

Though this edition became available in 1952, it was not until 1968 that a major study took the play into consideration as an influence on Paradise Lost.[92] Comparison of the two works in Evans' book is not detailed, but it is evident that the has given the play closer scrutiny than any previous student of Paradise Lost, perhaps including Lauder. But whether because he had not time enough to execute a really thorough study — the scope of his excellent book is enormous — or because he had no wish to be classed with the 'ghosts of Lauder' for the sake of what is really only a small, if important, part of his work, Evans stresses that "the relationship between Paradise Lost and Adamus Exul. . . is primarily a structural one".[93] He contends, rightly I think,

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[89] Kirkconnell, p. 584.

[90] Ibid., p. 585

[91] Ibid., p. xii.

[92] J. M. Evans, Paradise Lost and the Genesis Tradition (Oxford, 1968), p. 207-16. Editor Hughes, for example, follows Kirkconnell in acknowledging the "many things that they have in common", though he includes Andreini's L'Adamo in the comparison (p. 174).

[93] Evans, p. 216.

that the finished poem presents "a narrative structure modelled partly on the Aeneid, partly on Adamus Exul".[94]

Evans' brief discussion of the play's structural relationship to Paradise Lost, however, is unfortunately obscured by his arrangement of the latter according to the 'Five Act Epic' plan advanced some years ago by Arthur Barker.[95] This is a point of some importance, since the use of the Barker arrangement suggests something neither Evans nor I believe; that Milton converted a five-act play into a five-act epic act for act. More important, though, is the fact that the Barker arrangement simply is not valid and it severely distorts the structural movement of Paradise Lost. The problem is worth some discussion here.

Evans' acceptance of the Barker arrangement rests on his feeling that "the 1667 ten-book version of the poem falls naturally into five acts consisting of two books each".[96] Barker's own discussion indicates only that ten and twelve are naturally even numbers. The pairing of books which he undertakes is on the contrary very unnatural, resting as it does on the premise that "the mind of a responsive reader

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[94]Evans, p. 219.

[95]"Structural Pattern in Paradise Lost", PQ, XXVIII (1949), 17-30.

[96]Evans, p. 214-15.

does rest, consciously or unconsciously, at the end of each book of a long poem, and at the end of each pair."[97] That the reader should pause after each book seems natural enough, but that the pause after the first pair is differentiable from the pause to be expected after the second book is an utterly unsupportable notion. True, the reader pausing after Book II might take a retrospective view of the first two books together, but he would also cast a glance over the first three after reading the third and so on, unless he were somehow propelled into even-numbered books and arrested forcibly at their conclusion.

But Barker contends that "the reader is so induced to rest in Paradise Lost by the invocations and the new departures in subject matter in the first three pairs of the poem".[98] Of course the reader can not be made to rest by material he has yet to encounter. Even granting that the invocation in Book III of Paradise Lost could serve such a function, only a new departure in subject matter could serve it at the beginning of Book V. Yet the passage from the expulsion of Satan discovered at Eve's ear in Book IV to her relation of her dream in Book V is far easier than that from the celestial to the Edenic setting between Books III and IV.

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[97]Barker, p. 24.

[98]Ibid., p. 24-5.

Such difficulties can only be overcome through reliance on the style of one's argument to carry the persuasive burden, and Barker does so fairly often. He speculates, for example, that the recension of 1674 was designed to "shift the weight of emphasis from the Fall".[99] Examining the five-act structure, he sees too much stress on the Fall, each act ending as it were on a somber note. The obvious problem is that whatever note is sounded by the last act of a five-act poem must also be sounded by the sixth of a six-act version of the same poem, unless substantive changes are made. Thus in describing the last of the five acts of the 1667 arrangement Barker says, "What follows in the final act, the vision of unending earthly misery and the expulsion from Paradise serves only to make clear the pattern of woe which makes the contexture of the whole."[100] But the 1674 'last act' appears to be different only because he describes it differently: "And the sixth /presents/ the vision of human misery, and Michael's prophecy of the Messiah with the expulsion" (italics mine).[101]

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[99]Barker, p. 22.

[100]Ibid., p. 23.

[101]Ibid., p. 24.

In addition to distinct pairings, Barker finds three distinct "movements" in Paradise Lost, comparable to the three movements ascribed to the Aeneid. This, of course, is not apparent in the 1667 ten-book division. With the 1674 recension, however, division by three becomes possible and with it a new kind of mental "rest":

> The rests at the ends of the first two movements fall upon the scales seen in heaven and on the delicate balance of Adam's original perfection, of the third on the balance to be made up at the last.[102]

A structure whose delineation depends heavily upon implicit word play — 'scales' = 'balance', unresolved action = 'balance', resolution = 'balanced ledgers' — is both vague and superficial.

The point to be made here is that structure in Paradise Lost just is not a matter of numbers. The structural importance of Adamus Exul has no more to do with the 'five-act epic' of 1667 than it does with the poem as we have it. A glance at the brief comparisons of play to poem in Evans and Kirkconnell reveals that the superficial equation of 'acts' must be forgotten when the texts are placed together, for the impact of the play is to be marked in only three of Milton's five 'acts', and then unevenly. It also has nothing to do with the number of books in Paradise Lost. But the structure of Paradise Lost has nothing to do with

its quantity of books either. In fact, as I hope to show, even the places at which books begin and end are more a matter of convenient sizing than of anything significant for interpretation.

But Evans' perception of the importance of Adamus Exul is not less valid for his subscription to Barker. Both Barker and Evans act out of what I have called the epic assumption. This phenomenon has taken many forms, but the most misleading of them is the will to see the flower in its bud; to see in Milton at all points, young and old, the Christian and the classicist, the epic poet and the dramatist, to make portraiture of the foreshortened contemporary view.

Much of the following section has the aim of reasserting the obvious. Milton's beginnings are examined without the 'advantage' of prescience in the hope that the growth of Paradise Lost will reveal the nature of the finished poem. The key to that growth, it will become clear, is Adamus Exul.

II

Adam Unparadis'd and Adamus Exul

> ...what the mind at home in the
> spacious circuits of her musing
> hath liberty to propose to herself...

Of Milton's early poetic aspirations we know fairly little and we know it fairly well. Critics have tended to feel, though, that the apparently obvious evolution of the poet's goals, and of the literary values which were their foundation, is deceptive. The poet's early statements have been read in light of judgments of the entire canon which find there discrete epic and dramatic impulses productive each of separate works. An appearance of consistency in practice is thus obtained but, ironically, at the expense of consistency in the poet's theory. A feature of this view is the cognate notion that Milton's early judgment of the drama as the most doctrinally exemplary genre was rejected prior to the writing of Paradise Lost, but revived for the writing of Samson Agonistes. Yet the poet nowhere asserts the superiority of epic over drama and even in Paradise Lost suggests that his higher regard for the latter never varied. I will return to this later. At this

point it is well to recall the obvious progress of the early projections.

The Italian sojourn of 1638-9 was profoundly significant for Milton in a number of ways. It produced a strengthened sense of poetic vocation and of his potential worth as a poet. He had made a pilgrimage to the center of literary greatness and found himself praised there. His admiration for the great calssical poets, already strong, had been given exercise, and he had also met and been entertained by the famed Giovanni Battista Manso, friend and patron to Tasso and Marini. The Mansus, a tribute written while Milton was still in Naples, expresses his reverence for both the Italian poets and their patron, and for their classical literary progenitors. Its very form — one hundred Latin hexameters — is an expression of this reverence. But the Catholic Mediteranean world had also sharpened his sense of being English and Protestant. This self-consciousness produced both lofty goals and an awareness of their rashness:

> You, who are so good, will not despise an alien Muse, which, though poorly nourished under the frozen Bear, has recently presumed to make her rash flight through the cities of Italy.... Yet we, who in the long nights endure the wintry Bootes in that zone of the world which is furrowed by the seven-fold Wain, are no uncultivated race, profitless to Phoebus.[1]

It is as a "devotee of Phoebus" that the thirty-year-old

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[1]Hughes, p. 128.

Milton hopes to one day

> ... summon back our native kings into our songs, and Arthur waging his wars beneath the earth... /to/ proclaim the magnanimous heroes of the table which their mutual fidelity made invincible, and (if only the spirit be with me) ... shatter the Saxon phalanxes under the British Mars![2]

His final wish is that, having died satisfied in these accomplishments, he might "congratulate" himself on "etherial Olympus". Hughes comments that this "might mean the Christian heaven as well as the seat of Zeus and the gods of Greece",[3] but it is not the religious poet who plans these epic efforts; it is the glorifier of his nation and the "devotee of Phoebus", envisioning a patron like Manso who

> ... would see to it that, when livid death had relaxed them, my limbs were gently bestowed in a little urn. Perhaps he might even cause my features to take form in marble and wreathe my locks with Paphian myrtle and Parnassian laurel.[4]

The same spirit informs the "Epitaphium Damonis", written shortly afterward to mourn the death of Milton's close friend Charles Diodati. Here he claims to have begun a long poem which is to contain the themes of

> ... the Trojan ships in the Ruptian sea and of the ancient kingdom of Inogene, the daughter of Pandrasus, and the chiefs, Brennus and Arviragus, and of old Belinus.... of Igraine pregnant with Arthur by fatal

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[2]Hughes, p. 130.

[3]Ibid., n. 100.

[4]Ibid., p. 137.

> deception, the counterfeiting of Gorlois' features and arms by Merlin's treachery,

at the completion of which song, "O my pipe, if life is granted me, you shall be left dangling... or else, quite changed, you shall shrill forth a British theme to your native Muses."[5] The announcement that his song might be inspired by "native Muses", that it would be British song, is part of the same patriotic concern which would set him to searching for proper epic subjects among the figures of English history. There is an incongruity in wanting at the same time to proclaim his native land to the outside world and to intend doing so in a language which would cut him off from all but "blond-haired Ouse... and he who drinks from Alne and the Humber". Yet the choice of an Arthurian subject seems to derive largely from the fact that only Arthur among the British heroes would certainly be known to Continental Europe, including Italy.[6]

Apparently, Milton resolved this problem almost immediately. His remarks in The Reason of Church Government (1641) contain the promise not only "to fix all the industry and art I can to the adorning of my native tongue," but "to be an interpreter of the best and sagest things among mine own citizens throughout this island in the mother dialect".[7]

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[5]Hughes, p. 137.

[6]W. R. Parker, Milton (Oxford, 1968), p. 190.

[7]Hughes, p. 668.

The Arthurian subject had thus less to recommend it, European fame being no necessary qualification, and the question underlying the famous musings upon "diffuse" and "brief" epic constructions became "what king or knight before the conquest might be chosen in whom to lay the pattern of a Christian hero".[8] The poet had already begun those researches in the chronicles which were to produce the History of Britain and, though his disappointment in them appears to be limited to "the unskillful handling of monks and mechanics", yet it occurs to him that perhaps "those dramatic constitutions wherein Sophocles and Euripides reign, shall be found more doctrinal and exemplary to a nation". In this, the dramatic connection, the Biblical precedents are chiefly alluded to; the "pastoral drama in the Song of Solomon" and "the majestic image of a high and stately tragedy" in the Apocalypse of St. John.[9]

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[8]Hughes, p. 668-9.

[9]Ibid., p. 669. Job is cited as the model of "brief epic", but one suspects Milton of citing the first thing to come to mind approximating Aristotle's second category; the "rules" are immediately opposed to "following nature", suggesting dissatisfaction with them. Origen and Pareus are invoked supporting the Biblical dramas. Martin Luther had discussed Job's drama (Table Talk, Works, ed. H. T. Lehmann /Phila., 1967, LIV, 79-80), though he compares it to both Terrence and the Aeneid; and Edward Phillips later called it "no other than a kind of Tragic Poem" (Theatrum Poematum, Lond., 1675). See also Charles W. Jones, "Milton's Brief Epic", SP, XLIV (1947), 209-27.

I have condemned those post hoc ergo propter hoc arguments which find the schedule of Milton's career in the remarks of The Reason of Church Government, and I have no wish to err on that side. All that can confidently be said about them is that they mark Milton's final decision to write in English,[10] that he was open in 1641 to the appeal of all the genres, and that doctrinal utility was a chief criterion for selection of an appropriate subject. But it might be pointed out that insofar as contiguity of genre and subject references indicates a pattern of aesthetic proprieties, Milton considered epic a national-historical form, doctrinally valuable only to the extent that among the kings or knights of a nation's history "the pattern of a Christian hero" might be exhibited. Tasso had exhibited it in Godfrey and presumably he would have done so had he written of the campaigns of Belisarius or Charlemagne. But poetry of a nation is not necessarily the most "doctrinal and exemplary" to a nation. The possibility that "dramatic constitutions" might surpass epic in this respect is clearly conjectural here.[11] Nevertheless, it is the drama which suggests the bulk of Biblical precedent, and when Milton sets about listing specific subjects the association of the dramatic with the Biblical becomes even stronger.

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[10]An option first hinted in "At a Vatican Exercise" (1628).

[11]In a roughly contemporary Commonplace Book note, however, Milton cites the anti-theater arguments of Lactantius with the objection, "what in the whole of philosophy is more impressive, purer, or more uplifting than a noble tragedy — what more helpful to a survey at a glance of the hazards and changes of human life" (Works, Columbia ed., XVIII. 206-7).

The well-known notes for epic and dramatic subjects in the Cambridge Manuscript were made during the period of both the reading of the chronicles and the preparation of The Reason of Church Government.[12] They indicate a thoroughly one-sided judgment of potentially fruitful undertakings. There is a notation for an epic on Alfred, but the genre which suggests itself almost exclusively is the tragic drama.[13] Surprisingly, following a page of notes — really two lists of 'persons' and one brief sketch — on the tragedy of 'Paradise Lost', and one page of Old Testament subjects, there are two pages listing possible tragic themes from British history, an evident departure from the associations suggested in the treatise. On the fifth page, however, he returns to the Bible, noting Abram of Morea for a second time, and outlining dramas on John the Baptist and Sodom. After a list of New Testament subjects, he sketches in greater detail a tragedy of the Fall, this time titling it 'Adam unparadiz'd'.

Having set out, then, to find an historical hero for a national epic, the poet was insistently drawn to casting tragic dramas. In these, he insistently reverts to Biblical subjects ending with his first inspiration, a drama of the Fall. Part of the reason for this, it is tempting to think,

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[12]For dating see Parker, II. 843, n. 15.

[13]My use of this is too extensive to permit thorough page citation; v. Columbia ed., Works XVIII, 228-32

may be hinted at in a Commonplace Book notation on Bede's English church history, one of the first chronicles he perused: "A wonderful and very pleasing little story is told by Bede about an Englishman who was suddenly made a poet by divine Providence." This was Caedmon, who was instructed in his sleep to "Sing the beginning of created things".[14]

But the four 'drafts' of the tragedy on the Fall in the manuscript represent more than a repeated return to the subject. They reveal a progressive development of the plan of the play. The first two are only dramatis personae; the earliest consisting of Michael, Heavenly Love, Angelic Chorus, Lucifer, Adam, Eve, the Serpent, Conscience, Death, Labor, Sickness, Ignorance "with others, Mutes"; Faith, Hope and Charity. This is erased and over it another list is written embodying certain changes. Moses is listed as an alternative to Michael, "(Moses held as preferable)", and to the Chorus and Heavenly Love are added Justice, Mercy, Wisdom, the Evening Star, and Hesperus. Lucifer, Adam, and Eve are listed again and in the same order, but the Serpent is omitted. With the exception of Death, all the personifications of evil are repeated, in the same order, and the note "with others"

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[14]Parker, p. 192. The "Genesis-A" and "Genesis-B" poems of the Junius MS were in the 17th century thought to be Caedmon's, but modern scholarship proves multiple authorship and questions the existence of Caedmon. In any case, it is not certain that Milton knew any more of the poems than the Latin hymn reproduced by Bede (in Kirkconnell, p. 510-12).

is replaced by the enumeration of Fear and Death. "Mutes; Faith; Hope; Charity"[15] are retained in this list.

The manuscript's third draft, headed Paradise Lost, is a rough sketch of the play to be enacted by the persons of the second list. Moses has been settled upon to speak the prologue,

> recounting how he assumed his true body, that it corrupts not, because of his /being/ with God in the Mount; declares the like of Enoch and Elijah, besides the purity of the place that certain pure winds, dews, and clouds preserve it from corruption; whence exhorts to the sight of God; tells they cannot see Adam in the state of innocence, by reason of their sin.

The lists had evidently been arranged in the order of appearance, for following Moses' prologue Justice, Mercy, and Wisdom are projected "debating what should become of man if he fall". Then the Chorus of Angels "sing a hymn of the Creation". The second act involves Heavenly Love and Evening Star, omitting Hesperus. There is no indication what they do or say, but it presumably has to do with the marriage of Adam and Eve. The Chorus "sing the Marriage Song, and Describe Paradise".

The sequence of the list is followed as in Act III Lucifer is discovered "contriving Adam's ruin". The Chorus concludes with "fears for Adam" and the relation of Lucifer's "rebellion and fall". Adam and Eve, already fallen, appear in the fourth act to Conscience, who "cites them to God's examination". The Chorus "bewails and tells them the good Adam hath lost".

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[15]Erasure of "with others" leaves "Mutes" as an apparent item in the list. It is a categorical term, however, as is clear in the first and third drafts (see p. 63 below).

Act V presents "Adam and Eve, driven out of Paradise", and presented by an unnamed angel with a masque of evils greatly expanded from the list through the insertion between Labor and Sickness of Grief, Hatred, Envy, War, Famine and Pestilence. "Sickness, Discontent, Ignorance, Fear, Mutes" are indicated as in the list, but Death is reserved for separate action. Adam names the evils, the poet adding as an afterthought, "likewise, Winter, Heat, Tempest, etc.", no doubt remembering late the importance of climatic changes. After "Faith, Hope, Charity comfort him /Adam/ and instruct him," the Chorus "briefly concludes".

It is certainly true, as Parker says, that the drafts in the aggregate show that Milton "was still close to the mood of Comus," and that though "he greatly admired the drama of the Greeks... his projected play hovers somewhere between Jacobean masque and Italian neo-classical tragedy."[16] There is movement within the sequence of the drafts, however, away from the mood of Comus and to some extent from the excesses of Italian tragedy, though it is not simply toward Greek practice. In the matter of the prologue, for example, movement is away from Comus and a Euripidean practice and toward a more Sophoclean design.

Moses' prologue is, as Parker notes, Euripidean.[17] What

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[16]Parker, p. 192.

[17]Ibid.

the speaker says is relevant as prefatory matter but he has no role in the drama. He communicates only with the audience, then disappears. This is also Milton's practice in Comus, where the Attendant Spirit as Attendant Spirit — he later appears as Thyris — "descends or enters", delivers prefatory matter, and concludes,

> But I hear now the tread
> Of hateful steps. I must be viewless now.
> (Com., 91-2).

Compare the Phantom of Polydorus in Hecuba, which "hovers", speaks, and concludes,

> But aged Hecuba's sight will I avoid;
> For forth of Agamemnon's tent she sets
> Her feet.[18]

Unlike his Euripidean counterparts, and unlike the Moses of the draft, the Attendant Spirit reappears to deliver an epilogue, a common enough feature of the masque.

The role as well as the name of the prologue speaker changes in draft four. Here we find the Angel Gabriel like Comus' Attendant Spirit "either descending or entering". But he does not remain external to the intercourse of the drama. The angel is projected first "showing, since this globe was created, his frequency as much on Earth as in Heaven — describes Paradise."[19] The poet envisions the Chorus, then,

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[18]Loeb ed., trans. A. S. Way (Lond., 1922), vol. I. 253. See also Hermes in Ion and Aphrodite in Hippolytus.

[19]Gilbert (p. 14) places this prior to the first act; there are no divisions in the sketch. But he may be interpreting prologos over-strictly in light of what follows.

> showing the reason of his /its/ coming — to keep watch, after Lucifers rebellion, by command from God, and withal expressing his desire to see and know more concerning this excellent creature, Man.[20]

There follows an exchange between the Chorus and Gabriel as the latter,

> by his nature signifying a Prince of Power, tracing Paradise with a more free office, passes by the station of the Chorus, and, desired by them, relates what he knew of Man, as the creation of Eve, with their love and marriage.

Gabriel's discussion of the marriage replaces the material of draft three, Act II, together with the figures of Heavenly Love and Evening Star. Later reference suggests that at this point the Chorus concludes the first act with a hymn of the Creation, just as they do in draft three. Omitting the debate of Justice, Mercy and Wisdom, draft four introduces Lucifer one act earlier:

> Lucifer appears after his overthrow, bemoans himself, seeks revenge on Man. The Chorus prepare resistance at his first approach. At last, after discourse of enmity on either side, he departs; whereat the Chorus sings of the battle and victory in Heaven against him and his accomplices, as before, after the first Act was sung a hymn of the Creation.

For the opening of Act III, Milton projects the possibility that "Here again may appear Lucifer relating, & insulting in what he had done to the destruction of man." He continues,

> Man next & Eve having by this time been seduced by the serpent appears confusedly covered with leaves

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[20]Bracketed element is Gilbert's. He argues convincingly (p. 14, n. 7) that "his" can only refer to "Chorus", though the pronoun could seem to refer to Gabriel.

> conscience in a shape accuses him, Justice cites him to the place whither Jehovah called for him in the mean while the chorus entertains the stage, & is informed by some angel the manner of his fall. Here the Chorus bewails Adam's fall.

This concludes Act III.

At this point wholly new matter is introduced, an achievement made possible by the conversion of the debaters of draft three, Act I, into actors. Justice has already served in the third act to cite Adam, a function undertaken by Conscience in draft three, Act IV, where there is no 'accusation'. He appears again in the new Act IV as "Adam then & Eve returne accuse one another but especially Adam lays the blame to his wife, is stubborn in his offense." Justice "appears reasons with him convinces him." The introduction of stubbornness is very important here. It presents matter which is enormously significant in the later Paradise Lost. The Chorus ends the act as it "admonisheth Adam, & bids him beware by Lucifer's example of impenitence".

Act V of the final draft begins as "the angel is sent to banish them out of Paradise," just as in the third draft. Also as in the third draft, the angel here "causes to passe before his eyes in Shapes a mask of all the evils of this life & world", but they are not enumerated here and, more important, Adam does not as previously give them names.[21]

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[21]By interpolating the enumeration of draft three into draft four in his construction of a hypothetical fifth draft, Gilbert (p. 16) obscures their probable loss of importance between the third and fourth drafts.

The masque here is functionally related to Adam's former impenitence (Act IV). At its passing "he is humbled, relents, despairs". It thus has dramatic significance as a whole, rather than in its particulars as an enumeration of the ills of the fallen world.

Finally, Mercy, another personification drawn from draft three, Act II,

> comforts him, promises the Messiah, then callsin
> Faith, Hope, & Charity, instructs him he repents
> gives God the glory submits to his penalty.

Note that, though Faith, Hope and Charity are "called in", the use of the singular "instructs" indicates that Mercy is to do all the talking. "The Chorus briefly concludes", says Milton, appending a note to "compare this with the former draft".

The poet's final note to compare drafts three and four ought not to be taken as a warrant to fuse the two. Gilbert does this and his hypothetical fifth draft fails to reflect the considerable clearing away of clutter accomplished in draft four. The number of evident speakers is cut from fourteen to nine with the elimination of Wisdom (who perishes with the debate of draft three, Act II), Heavenly Love and Evening Star (replaced by Gabriel's narrative of the marriage), and Faith, Hope and Charity (apparently reduced to mutes), and the addition of only Eve, who, surprisingly, says nothing in draft three. In addition, the fourth draft provides an action which begins earlier (with Lucifer's entrance in Act II) and

presents a more clearly causal sequence, since the debate, the action and words of Heavenly Love and Evening Star, and Adam's naming of the evils had all arrested the action with interesting but causally insignificant matter. The new discord of Adam and Eve and the problem of Adam's impenitence reinforce the centrality of the first pair, as that of Lucifer is reinforced by his second appearance. In short, Milton may be seen moving in the direction of the Greeks, and this movement is more nearly toward Sophocles than Euripides in its effect on the prologos.

The only external evidence we have concerning what happened next to the Fall tragedy is the comment of Edward Phillips, Milton's nephew, that the first ten lines of Paradise Lost, Book IV, had been shown him as the beginning of a play on which his uncle was working during the period 1642-3.[22] This would mean that Lucifer (perhaps by then called Satan as in Paradise Lost) had been given the opening speech of the play, a change consistent with his earlier removal from Act III to Act II in previous drafts and probably done for the same reason — to plunge earlier into the conflict.

But this could not have been accomplished as before by simple omission. Matter relating to the creation of the world and Eve and to the marriage is too important to be cut away. It seems likely that the material of Acts I and II

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[22]For discussion of the date see Parker, II. 857, n. 94.

draft four, was simply switched. The sequence thus produced is striking in its resemblance to Paradise Lost, and it is very nearly the sequence of Adamus Exul. In the parallel comparison below I have altered draft four of Milton's tragedy only as permitted by Phillip's comment. The sketch of Adamus Exul is my own.[23]

Draft four (Adam unparadiz'd)	Adamus Exul
Act I	
Lucifer appears... bemoans himself, seeks revenge on man... Chorus prepare resistance... discourse of enmity... Chorus sings of Battle & victory in Heaven.	Satan bemoans himself, describes Paradise, plans seduction of Adam and Eve. Chorus sings War in Heaven, Michael's victory, Satan's exile.
Act II	
Gabriel... describes Paradise... Chorus expresses desire to... know more concerning man... Gabriel... relates... creation of Eve with their love, & marriage. Chorus sings a hymn of the Creation.	Adam and anonymous angel converse, angel describes Creation, departs, Eve enters, Adam describes her creation, Chorus sings hymn of the Creation.
Act III	
	Satan attempts to win Adam to his cause, discourse of enmity, Satan departs, Chorus fears for man, urges obedience to God's law.

[23]After Act II the material, not act division, is the principle of parallel arrangement. Act headings are those of Adamus Exul, with divisions of draft four in parentheses.

Draft four	Adamus Exul
	Act IV
	Eve tempted by serpent, Adam by Eve, they tremble, Chorus bewails Fall, anticipates consequences.
	Act V
(Act III) Lucifer relating, & insulting... Man next & Eve... covered with leaves, Conscience accuses... Justice cites... whither Jehovah called. Chorus bewails Adam's fall. (Act IV) Adam then & Eve return accuse one another... especially Adam lays the blame to his wife, is stubborn... Justice reasons... Chorus admonisheth... by Lucifer's example. (Act V) Angel is sent to banish them... causes a mask of all the evils... Mercy comforts... promises the Messiah... instructs he repents... submits. Chorus briefly concludes.	Satan exults, hides — Adam and Eve, Adam sees phantom evils, despairs, wishes death. Eve counsels against 'further crime'. Vox Dei interrogates, Adam blames Eve, she the serpent. The judgment, they are clothed, submit, are expelled.

Obviously, there are still major differences between Milton's draft and Grotius' tragedy. Chief among these is the absence from the draft of a temptation scene. There is a highly dramatic one in Paradise Lost, however, and it resembles Grotius' Act IV in its sequential position and, as I will show later, in many details. The only suggestion of Grotius' rather eccentric Act III to be found in Paradise Lost or the draft is the discourse of enmity between Chorus and Lucifer in draft Act I and between the guards and Satan in Paradise Lost IV. I incline

to believe that no such encounter ever occupied a full act in any of Milton's plans.

It should be remembered that the lines Phillips saw were part of an actual play, however incomplete, and not a mere outline or sketch. Milton's practice in the drafts we have shows him to be a very thorough reviser, the sort who would be unlikely to so radically alter the beginning of his play without changing its middle and end. As draft four in the preceeding comparison shows, the Phillips alteration alone would have left the play without a middle. Since the Grotius tragedy resembles Paradise Lost where the draft fails to resemble Adamus Exul, and since the revised opening of the Milton tragedy indicated by Phillips brings it into alignment with Adamus Exul, it appears not at all whimsical to think that the play upon which Milton embarked was much more like Grotius' play than Acts III-V of draft four indicate. Moreover, further changes in the direction of Adamus Exul would have been entirely consistent with those tendencies already discernable in the series of extant drafts — the paring away of personifications, the expansion of dialogue among the three principals, and the growing emphasis upon motivation and cause rather than simple inclusiveness — in short, away from masque and Italian neo-classical drama and

toward true tragedy, as approximated by Grotius.[24]

Comparison of Adamus Exul with Paradise Lost will support strongly the belief that Milton's tragedy did have a middle and an end. It probably included a temptation and this was probably in Act IV, as it is in Grotius. The material of Acts III-V, draft four, was probably compressed into one act through the elimination of the rest of the personifications, allowing for perhaps a brief procession of evils.[25] The discussion of the Creation and of the origin of Eve was probably the property of an angel (either Gabriel, as in the draft or Raphael as in PL) together with Adam, as it is in both Adamus Exul and Paradise Lost, and may have been long enough in the play to occupy Acts II and III, the confrontation of Satan with Adam being rejected. Finally, the Adversary appears to have been called Satan — Phillips does not remark otherwise — as he is in both Adamus Exul and Paradise Lost.

I should emphasize here that Milton's progress from draft three through the tragedy mentioned by Phillips need not be viewed as a succession of attempts to imitate Grotius. It were a lame poet who took so long to do that. My view is

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[24]The rhetorical flourish of Seneca marks the language of Adamus Exul (Cf. Satan in Act I with Juno of Hercules Furens, Prologue) and has its counterpart in Paradise Lost as well, though it must contend with Elizabethan drama for paternity here.

[25]The procession of evils is a possibility, but a stronger one is Grotius' device of a vision of evils related by Adam. (See p. 145-8 below).

that the alterations represent a series of conscious deviations from Grotius, for each of which Milton had reasons: the desire for the doctrinal inclusiveness afforded by personification, the desire to keep the catastrophe off-stage, even, perhaps, the oft-cited squeamishness about pre-lapsarian nudity. But he was convinced successively of the unwisdom of each deviation; the personifications were not doctrinally precise and threatened to become a clutter of inclusiveness, the off-stage catastrophe was very Attic, but it deprived the play of its most interesting and instructive scene, nudity was no problem in a play which had little hope of ever seeing the stage. Finally, Milton was led to embrace Grotius' design in all its major parts save the third act, for which there was no precedent in Genesis, and whose contribution to the meaning of the Fall is dubious.[26]

While the evidence I have thus far cited is strongly suggestive of direct influence of an extensive sort, conclusive proof awaits the detailed comparison which follows of Adamus Exul with Paradise Lost. There is no external evidence that Milton ever heard of the play. It is known that he met "the learned Hugo Grotius, at that time ambassador from the Queen of Sweden to the King of France, and whom I was very desirous of seeing," on the way to Italy in 1638.[27]

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[26]In both the Old English "Genesis B" and the Twelfth-Century French Mystere d'Adam Adam is tempted first and his resistance later interpreted by the Adversary to Eve as timidity. See Evans, p. 200-202.

[27]Second Defense (1654), quoted in John S. Diekhoff, Milton on Himself (Lond., 1939, 1965), p. 18-19.

Milton certainly had a high regard for the older man, praising him in the Tetrachordon and invoking his authority in The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce.[28] But that Adamus Exul served as a model for the Edenic passages of Paradise Lost, through the lost tragedy or directly — the former being the most likely — can only be shown through direct comparison.

AE, Act I; PL, Bk. IV

Satan's opening speech in the tragedy to which Phillips refers began with lines sufficiently like those of PL, Bk. IV, to cause him to think them identical:

> O thou that with surpassing Glory crown'd,
> Look'st from thy sole Dominion like the God
> Of this new World; at whose sight all the Stars
> Hide thir diminisht heads; to thee I call,
> But with no friendly voice, and add thy name
> O Sun, to tell thee how I hate thy beams
> That bring to my remembrance from what state
> I fell, how glorious once above thy Sphere;
> Till Pride and worse Ambition threw me down
> Warring in Heav'n against Heav'n's matchless King
> (IV. 32-41).[29]

These are the words of a Satan both mourful and vengeful, like the fiend of drafts three and four. We might expect him to "bemoan himself" (draft 4) in such a way as to provide a brief biography, including a statement of his condition, perhaps mention of the torments of Hell, and his motives

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[28]For discussion of these and other connections see Parker, II. 823-4, n. 10.

[29]I agree with Gilbert (p. 16-17) that Phillips' substitution of 'glorious' for 'matchless' in the last line is an error caused by the occurrance of 'Glory' and 'glorious' previously in the passage; not by a difference in the remembered passage.

for being in Eden. But his being in the first act of the drama would necessarily place additional burdens upon this character. The description of Eden in drafts three and four had been the task of Moses and Gabriel not through any special faculty of theirs, but because they had held the stage at the play's opening. Satan must now do this. He must also now provide the introduction of man as a preliminary to his 'contriving Adam's ruin'. These are done by the Satan of AE and by Satan with the narrator in PL. IV — this is the case in the latter even though, coming now after the first three books of the narrative, much of the material is redundant. In recasting the tragedy as a narrative, Milton certainly rewrote a great deal of it and evidently added material, but the outlines of the play become clear when the text is placed against the dramatic exigencies just mentioned and the first act of the Grotius play. Comparison also explains the otherwise baffling manipulation of the perspectives of Satan and the narrator in this book.

Adamus Exul opens with Satan standing on an elevation near Eden, the entire garden within his view. He delivers seventeen lines which identify him and his intentions:

> Saevi tonantis hostis, exul patriae
> Caelestis, adsum, Tartari tristem specum
> Fugiens, et atram Noctus aeternae plagam.
> Odium bonorum sede me infausta extrahit,
> Diros scelesta mente versantem dolos.
> Terrible iniquum, triste, formidabile,
> Quod et ipse Sathan horream, quaero scelus.
> Hac spe per omnes Orbis ibe terminos,
> Hac spe citatus clausa littoribus vagis
> Transibo timendus per locorum devia

Quaerit quod avido dente dilaniet pecus.[30]
Hac spe, quod unum maximum fugio malum,
Superos videbo. Fallor? an certe meo
Concussa Tellus tota trepidat pondere?
Bene est. Abunde est. Fiat hoc, fiat, nefas
Quod Mundus horret (I. 1-17)

(The savage Thunderer's foe, exiled from heaven, my home,/ I hither come in flight from Tartarus' grim cave/ And the black wilderness of everlasting Night./ Hatred has drawn me forth from that unblest abode,/ Planning in wicked mind dire plots against the good./ Some awful wrong I seek, most terrible and grim,/ A crime that even I, the Devil, tremble at./ In this hope, I shall go through all the Globe's wide bounds;/ Spurr'd by this hope I'll cross the seas, hemm'd in/ By wandering shores; just as a cruel lion seeks/ Through wandering ways, with formidable open jaws,/ Some hapless flock that he may rend with greedy fangs.[30] By this hope, fleeing from the greatest ill of all,/ I shall attain to Heaven! Can I be wrong? Or does/ The whole earth truly tremble, smitten by my weight?/ 'Tis well. It is enough. Come, let this wrong be done,/ Shaking the Universe.)

The Satan of Paradise Lost is given a far longer passage and a more thoroughly developed psychology as

Sometimes towards Eden which now in his view
Lay pleasant, his griev'd look fixes sad,
Sometimes towards Heav'n and the full-blazing Sun
(IV. 27-9).

His prospect is, the narrator tells us, Mt. Niphates. But nothing is made of the view of the Garden in his soliloquy. He concludes,

Evil be thou my Good; by thee at least
Divided Empire with Heav'n's King I hold
By thee, and more than half perhaps will reign
As Man ere long, and this new World shall know
(IV. 110-13).

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[30]This is, of course, anachronistic. Milton's similar slip in Bk. IV is discussed below, p. 87.

The narrator informs us (IV. 114-30) that Uriel has detected the Adversary's "mad demeanor", and Satan abandons Mt. Nephates. What purpose has been served by placing him there at all? Adamus Exul provides a clue, for Grotius' Satan requires the prospect for his description of Eden:

> Ecce, quae petitur, prope
> Apparat Heden (I. 17-18)
> (Lo, Eden shows near by,/The object of my search.)

He proceeds to describe it, beginning with large geographic features and, by a smooth constriction of scope, finishing with a view of Adam and Eve.

In Paradise Lost, description which must have been Satan's in the play has been appropriated by the narrator, who, in his efforts to keep Satan at what is really his own viewing range, scrambles the elements of the description and disturbs the original smoothness of constriction. Having delivered his soliloquy, the narrator tells us, Satan

> to the border comes
> Of Eden, where delicious Paradise,
> Now nearer, Crowns with her enclosure green,
> As with a rural mound the champaign head
> Of a steep wilderness, whose hairy sides
> With thicket overgrown, grotesque and wild,
> Access den'd; and over head up grew
> Insuperable highth of loftiest shade
> (IV. 131-38).

Above these reaches the "verdurous wall of Paradise", itself topped by

> a circling row
> Of goodliest Trees loaden with fairest Fruit,
> Blossoms and Fruits at once of golden hue
> Appear'd with gay enamell'd colors mixt.
> On which the Sun more glad impress'd his beams

> Than in fair Evening Cloud, or humid Bow,
> When God hath show'r'd the earth; so lovely seem'd
> That Lantskip (IV. 146-53).

The Argument to Book IV stipulates that at this point the Garden's "outward prospect and situaltion" are described, but what we have is a fairly minute 'closeup' of the trees, and nothing of the "situation" is suggested. The comparable description in Adamus Exul occurs much later, after the geographic situation has been described.

> Hic densa tenuis languidos Zephyri sonos
> Arbusta referunt, silvaque arguto tremens
> Ludit susurro (I. 40-42)
> (Here the dense groves give back the languid harmonies/ Of the light Zephyr; and the woods all tremulous/ Sport with melodious whisper.)

Milton's Satan is delighted as

> now gentle gales
> Fanning thir odoriferous wings dispense
> Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole
> Those balmy spoils (IV. 156-60).

Grotius' Satan remarks that

> semper hic placido nitet
> Solare vultu lumen: adridet favor
> Constantis aurae (I. 42-44).
> (Ever the sunlight here/ Shines with calm countenance; a constant breeze's grace/ Smiles on it.)

Milton's narrator provides an epic simile which could not have been in a tragedy, but which may be based on verses like those just cited:

> As when to them who sail
> Beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are past
> Mozambic, off at Sea North-East winds blow

> Sabean Odors from the spicy shore
> Of Araby the blest, with such delay
> Well pleas'd they slack thir course, and many a League
> Cheer'd with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles
> (IV. 159-65).[31]

Milton treats geography here (IV. 210ff.), a difficult thing to do, since Satan, whose view he has been sharing, has just been said to have "overleap'd all bound/ Of Hill or highest Wall" (IV. 181-2). Further, he has been compared to a wolf entering a sheepfold (IV. 183-7) and to a thief entering "In at the window... or o'er the tiles" (IV. 191).[32] He and the narrator ought only to be able to see the interior of the Garden at this point. The famous Cormorant comparison is designed to re-establish a suitable "prospect":

> Thence up he flew, and on the Tree of Life,
> The middle Tree and highest there that grew,
> Sat like a Cormorant; yet not true Life
> Thereby regain'd, but sat devising Death
> To them who liv'd; nor on the virtue thought
> Of that life-giving Plant, but only us'd
> For prospect (IV. 194-200).

Mention that "Beneath him... now he views" (IV. 205) reaffirms the identity of Satan's and the narrator's views. The descrip-

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[31]Milton may be thinking here of Diodorus' Arabia Felix (III, xlv). Avitus, whom both Milton and Grotius may have known, says of Eden that "The whole rich forrest, moved by whispering breezes/ Trembles throughout its leaves and healthful flowers/ Dispensing fragrant odors to the earth" (Poematum de Mosaicae, etc., (A. D. 507), I. 252-54, in Kirkconnell p. 7).

[32]Anachronism is avoided, since similes are in the reader present.

tion proceeds:

> Eden stretch'd her Line
> From Auran Eastward to the Royal Tow'rs
> Of Great Selucia built by Grecian Kings,
> Or where the Sons of Eden long before
> Dwelt in Telassar (IV. 210-14).

This is precisely the view of Grotius' Satan from his Nephates--like prospect:

> proxima Auranitidos
> Amoena cerno; Lambit hic Babylonios
> Narmalca campos, Susianes intimis
> Fugiens (I. 18-21)
> (I see the neighborhood/ Of pleasant Auranitis; here Narmalca laves/ The Babylonian fields, fleeing the innermost/ Confines of Susa.)

Included in his view are the Euphrates (the location of Telassar)[33] and the Tigris (site of the Alexandrian capitol of Selucia). Both viewers describe the region of Upper Chaldea (Auranitis). In a drama, with Satan as describer, Milton would have had to name the Biblical rivers rather than the fabled cities in order to avoid anachronism, though, as it is, neither poet avoids it entirely.[34]

Both poets pass from geography to mention of the trees of Eden (AE, I. 40ff.; PL, IV. 216ff.). For Milton this is the second mention and, since it includes the Tree of Life, "all amid them... High eminent" (IV. 218-19), it presents the awkward situation of a view, purportedly Satan's, which includes evidently at some distance the very tree in which he sits.

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[33]See 2 Kings, 19.12 and Isaiah, 37.12.

[34]For the most part, Grotius stays close to Genesis here, naming even the minerals gold, bedellium and onyx.(I. 21-23).

Here Milton does mention the prime river of Gen. 2.10, calling it only a "River large" (IV. 223), pointing out that it nurtures Eden's plants, and noting its division into "four main streams" (IV. 233).[35] The passage ends with yet another reference to the

> Groves whose rich Trees wept odorous Gums and Balm,
> Others whose fruit burnisht with Golden Rind
> Hung amiable (IV. 248-50).

The descriptions of Eden in both Adamus Exul and Paradise Lost are comparatively simple, restrained examples of pastoral portraiture.[36] But Milton does introduce a certain ambiguity concerning the difference between Eden and the teeming gardens of pagan fable. The burnished fruits just mentioned, for example, are said to be "Hesperian fables true,/ If true, here only" (IV. 250-51), underscoring the priority and pre-eminence of Eden. Yet sixteen lines later it is said that

> Universal Pan
> Knit with the Graces and the Hours in dance
> Led on th' Eternal Spring (IV. 266-68).

This is carrying the image of Spenser's Acidale rather too far. Earlier suggestions of Spenser's mount had quite appropriately highlighted Satan as an interloper and voyeur, his circumstance comparable to that of Spenser's Calidore as

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[35]Cf. Grotius' "Sectus quaternis" (I. 39), which Kirkconnell translates 'fourfold arteries', inadvertently raising the false possibility that Milton's "veins"(IV. 227) is a direct echo.

[36]Appropriately, as J. B. Broadbent says (MP, LI /1954/, 171), since "the riches of God" are being described and effusiveness would suggest decadence.

he approaches the hill

> bordered with a wood
> Of matchless hight, that seem'd th' earth to disdaine,
> In which all trees of honor stately stood
> ....
> Ne mote wylde beasts, ne mote the ruder clowne
> Thereto approach (FQ, VI. x. 6-7).

Comparison is so logical that Milton follows it even to the barring of "Man or Beast" (IV. 176), despite the obvious fact that earth's only man is already within the Garden. The presence of Pan, the Graces and the Hours, then, is consistent with part of the narrator's description, for Calidore witnesses just such a dance. But immediately following mention of these figures Milton has another of those negative similes designed to differentiate Eden from such gardens. "Not that fair field/ Of Enna," he says, "nor that sweet Grove/ Of Daphne," might "with this Paradise/ Of Eden strive; nor that Nyseian Isle", "Nor... Mount Amara" (IV. 268-85). Thus, in the aggregate, he asserts that this paradise is better, though composed of the same ingredients, pre-historical, but containing the mythic figures of the pagan Golden Age. In this inconsistency, as in the shifting perspective of the description as a whole, the struggle to adapt dramatic speech to the narrative is clearly marked.

By line 287 in Paradise Lost, IV, and line 65 in Adamus Exul, I, the same items have been covered in the respective works: Satan is identified, his oath of vengeance has been uttered, he has seen the Garden and its geographic situation

has been indicated. Its topographic and floral features have been lined. Each devil gets his first view of man at this point; man,

> Quo nil sub astris majus Orbis cerneret
> ... creavit, pulveremque ignobilem
> In justa finxit membra, et inflata pater
> Vegetavit aura, nec tamen vitam dedit
> Sensusque solos, propriae sed imaginis
> Expressit altum mente in humana decus,
> Docuitque eundem qualis, et cuia manu
> Formatus esset nunc, prius qui non erat (I. 65-71)
> (... than whom, beneath the stars, Earth saw/ No thing created greater; from the ignoble dust/ The Almighty Father shaped the human form and quickened/ The body with His breath; nor gave He life alone/ And lively sense, but deep within the human mind/ He stamped at last the glorious image of himself./ And taught that same Man who he was and by whose hand/ He had been fashion'd, who before had had no being;)
>
> Of living Creatures new to sight and strange:
> Two of far nobler shape erect and tall,
> Godlike erect, with native Honor clad
> In naked Majesty seem'd Lords of all,
> And worthy seem'd, for in thir looks Divine
> The image of thir glorious Maker shone (IV. 287-92)

Both Grotius' Satan and Milton's narrator stress the nudity of the first couple:

> nunc uterque in florido
> Spatiatur horto nudus: omnis abest Pudor
> Rudibus malorum: fraudis expers, et doli
> Sincera virtus colitur (I. 85-8)
> (... now both in flowering garden/ Walk wholly naked, for no sense of shame have they,/ To evil uninitiate; virtue is cherish'd,/ exempt from fraud and guile;)
>
> Nor those mysterious parts were then conceal'd,
> Then was not guilty shame: dishonest shame
> Of Nature's works, honor dishonorable,
> Sin-bred....
> So pass'd they naked on, nor shunn'd the sight
> Of God or Angel, for they thought no ill (IV. 312-20).

The succeeding thirty lines stress the docility and obedience of the animals to man, material included also in the view of Grotius' Satan (I. 72-4). The tranquil beauty of the scene and the happy pair provokes an outburst from each devil:

> Sorte, Proh, quantum mea
> Sors distat ista! (I. 93-4)
> (Ah, how different is that lot of theirs/ From my harsh lot!)
> Iamjam parata tendit ad coelum via (I. 138)
> (He presses on towards heaven by the way prepared;)

> O Hell! what do mine eyes with grief behold,
> Into our room of bliss thus high advanc't (IV. 357-8).

The "pestis Tartaro" (I. 159) of Grotius' Satan are invoked:

> poenas poscite exilii graves,
> Ruptoque Averni carcere, et nigri specus
> Portis ahenis, latiorem invadite
> Telluris orbem (I. 161-4)
> (... exact strickt penalties for exile,/ And having burst the brazen prison-doors of Hell/ And issued from its melancholy cave, invade/ Earth's broader sphere.)

Vows Milton's Satan,

> Hell shall unfold,
> To entertain you two, her widest Gates,
> And send forth all her Kings (IV. 381-3).

Grotius' Satan, who already knows the significance of the fruit, promises that upon Adam's tasting of it,

> subito in exitium ruet,
> Poenasque socius, Tartari et novus incola
> Pro perpetrato scelere communes dabit (I. 186-8)
> (... he will rush straight to ruin,/ And will, as Hell's new inmate and my sworn ally,/ Share in our common penalties for sin and crime;)

"League with you I seek", says Milton's Satan,

> And mutual amity so straight, so close,
> That I with you must dwell, or you with me (IV. 375-7).

The Satan of the play promises that,

> ista quae lucet dies
> Homini parem me reddat, aut hominem mihi (I. 231-2)
> (this very day that dawns/ Shall make me peer to man or man to me.[37])

After a brief statement of his plan, Satan's role in Act I of Adamus Exul ends. The act's last seventy-nine lines are choral, expressing Satan's peril,[38] giving a brief history of his rebellion and fall, and concluding with the hope that man might not be tempted; exactly those things planned by Milton in draft four of the Cambridge Manuscript.

One of the most important differences between the two works up to this point is Satan's prior knowledge of the forbidden fruit in the play. His lack of such knowledge in Milton's narrative provides the motive for the fiend's inhabitation of the animals, in the course of which an anachronism very much like one of Grotius' is committed. In both works the point is made that all the beasts are the tame subjects of lordly man. In Paradise Lost there is even a short list of "Beasts of th' Earth since wild":

> Sporting the Lion romp'd, and in his paw
> Dandl'd the Kid; Bears, Tigres, Ounces, Pards
> Gamboll'd before them (IV. 343-5).

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[37]My translation. See p. 18, n. 28 above.

[38]In the course of this are the lines, "gravior semper/ Casus ab alto est. Levius contra/ Leviora cadunt. Sequitur major/ Cura beatos, quo plus nactos/ Plura timentes" (I. 238-42) '... the descent/ Is graver to the eminent./ While lighter things more lightly fall,/ Intenser cares the blest enthral.' In one of Lauder's honest citations (GM, XVII, 85) he compares these to PL IX. 169-71 (IX. 168 in 2d ed.).

In all there are seven beasts "since wild" (including the elephant and serpent), and one might see in them a pre-lapsarian counterpoint to the seven-headed beast of Rev. 13. 1-2, "like unto a leopard, and his feet were the feet of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion: and the dragon gave him his power."[39] This association intensifies Satan's inhabitation of the beasts as an ironic forecast; but the inhabited beasts are themselves anachronistic, and inconsistent with their earlier portraits:

> A Lion now he stalks with fiery glare,
> Then as a Tiger, who by chance hath spi'd
> In some Purlieu two gentle Fawns at play,
> Straight couches close, then rising changes oft
> His couchant watch (IV. 402-6).

Previous comparisons of Satan to a wolf (IV. 183) and a cormorant (IV. 196)[40] have been in the reader present. Here, however, it is clear that Satan chooses the shapes of these animals so that he might indulge in stalking, glaring, and crouching without alarming Adam and Eve, forgetting with his author that such behavior would be alarming indeed in herbivores.[41]

Interposed between these conflicting concepts of the

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[39]The opening four lines of the book and reference to "hesperian Fables" (IV. 250) prepare the reader for such an association.

[40]It is often forgotten that, though in the Argument Satan is said to sit "in the shape of a Cormorant", the verse says only that he sits "like a cormorant".

[41]The sight of just such behavior stimulates Adam's despair after the Fall (X. 706-16).

animals is the Satanic soliloquy (IV. 358-92) so much in the manner of Grotuis' Satan. It is possible that the passage on the incarnation is derived from the tragedy where it formed a simile or an option to the serpent ruminated upon by Satan. Grotius' Satan, it will be recalled, compares himself to an anachronistic lion[42] and he later considers the tactics of the preying wolf (III. 855-7).

But the incarnations in their present form mark the point at which Book IV departs from the material that could have dramatic origin. The conversations of Adam and Eve (IV. 411-91, 610-88, 724-35) are play-like to be sure, but there is no provision in Milton's dramatic drafts for Satan to share this act with anyone other than the chorus. The mission of Uriel to Gabriel's guard, the discovery of the Satanic toad, or toad-like Satan, "close at the ear of Eve" (IV. 800), the epic confrontation of the angel guard with Satan (IV. 823-end); all these depend heavily upon narrative for their effectiveness. There may be a suggestion of the last in the "discourse of enmity" of draft plan four, and much of Grotius' Act III might be so described, but the passage as it appears clearly owes little to either Grotius or anything Milton might have composed for the chorus and Satan of a tragedy; its importance as a visual spectacle is a narrative dividend.

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[42]See p. 76 above.

AE, Act II; PL, Bks. V-VIII

Among the inconsistencies in Paradise Lost pointed out by Gilbert is that, while the Argument to Book V refers to the charge that Raphael "admonish" Adam, warning of "his enemy near at hand", the warning itself does not occur until line 895 of Book VI, the Argument to which makes no mention of it.[43] He also notes that Eve's reference at IX. 274-8, to the departing angel's warning overheard at dusk is inconsistent with both the actual warning at VII. 524-47 — after which the angel does not depart — and the evening departure at VIII. 630 — where there is no warning against Satan, only against passion. The warning she seems to be referring to, he says, is that of Book VI. 895, "once immediately followed by the departure of the angel at evening".[44] The inescapable conclusion is that when Book V, as reflected by its Argument, and Book IX were composed, the greater bulk of Books VI-VIII simply were not there.

Numerous minor inconsistencies within the central books also point to successive growths by addition, but they do not, as Gilbert thinks they do, indicate radical changes either in the poem's chronology or its ingredients as

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[43]Gilbert, p. 30-31.

[44]Ibid., p. 76.

compared to those of the hypothetical tragedy.[45]

If, as I have indicated, the events surrounding Satan's incarnations, his discovery by the guards, and his expulsion from the Garden are epic narrative conceptions without dramatic origin, the early portion of Book V is too. Eve's dream is the product of the toad's efforts

> to reach
> The Organs of her Fancy, and with them forge
> Illusions as he list, Phantasms and Dreams
> (IV. 801-3).

Adam's and Eve's discussion of dreams in Book V is beautifully concluded with his comforting her:

> So cheer'd he his fair Spouse, and she was cheer'd,
> But silently a gentle tear let fall
> From either eye, and wip'd them with her hair;
> Two other precious drops that ready stood,
> Each in thir crystal sluice, hee ere they fell
> Kiss'd as the gracious signs of sweet remorse
> And pious awe, that fear'd to have offended
> (V. 129-35).

But the thoroughness with which the dream is forgotten as "all was clear'd, and to the Field they haste" (V. 136) is odd. It is never mentioned again, even in the temptation scene of Book IX, where one would expect the analogy to become obvious to Adam if not to Eve. The point at which this

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[45]Space prohibits detailed answering of his conclusions (e. g., that the War in Heaven once preceded Book III, and that "in an early arrangement Books V and VI were placed before Books I and II")(p. 69-70), but I will cite a number of them in what follows.

forgetting takes place, then, might be expected to mark the return to dramatic material and, as it happens, it is here that a passage analogous to the opening of Adamus Exul, Act II, appears.

It is morning as the second act begins in Grotius' play. The angel with whom Adam will converse during this act is already present, but the first words are Adam's and they are, quite appropriately, those of a traditional aubade:

> Dies tenebras legis aeternae vice
> Fugans resurgit: Certus ordo temporum
> Solis reducit aureum terris caput.
> Stellis fugatis majus exoritur jubar;
> Nox jussa luci cedit, et Phoebe soror.
> O quantus ille est, cujus ingenti manu
> Coeli rotatur axis, et turbo celer
> Refert Olympum duplici fultum Polo,
> Vastumque mundi pondus aequalem trahit
> Retrahitque in orbem! Sidera authoris sui
> Secuta legem temperant anni vices,
> Titan coruscis explicat lucem comis,
> Et Luna ducens mille stellarum choros
> Tenebrosa noctis rumpit. Aetherei sacer
> Sonus ille motus cantat artificem manum,
> Omnesque stellae celeris ad coeli modos
> Plaudunt choreis: Ipse nos Mundus monet
> Haerere terris: supera nos rapit in loca,
> Mentesque proprium ducit ad primordium (V. 311-31).
>
> (Day, rising in the course of everlasting law/ Drives Night away once more. Fix'd sequences of time/ Bring back to earth the Sun's resplendent head of gold;/ His greater radiance, rising, puts the stars to flight;/ Night and the Moon at God's great bidding flee away./ Behold how great is He, in whose gigantic Hand/ The Sky's vast axle turns, as its swift wheeling brings/ The heavens about, supported on a double Pole,/ In a due circle! Loyal to their Author's law,/ Th' obedient stars control the changes of the year,/ The Sun shakes out white glory from his glittering hair,/ And the Moon leads a thousand choruses of stars/ To break the gloom of Night. The ethereal motion's sound/ Sings holily the hand of the Artificer,/ And all the stars dance to those measures of the sky/ In swift delight; The Universe itself exhorts us/ To serve God the Creator, not to cling to earth;/ Its voice would speed us rather

to the realms above/ And lead our minds back to their own high origin.)

Given even the traditional character of such dawnsongs, the similarity of the words of Milton's Adam and Eve as they sing "Thir Orisons, each Morning duly paid" is striking:

> Fairest of Stars, last in the train of Night,
> If better thou belong not to the dawn,
> Sure pledge of day, that crown'st the smiling Morn
> With thy bright Circlet, praise him in thy Sphere
> While day arises, that sweet hour of Prime.
> Thou Sun, of this great World both Eye and Soul,
> Acknowledge him thy Greater, sound his praise
> In thy eternal course, both when thou climb'st
> And when high Noon hast gain'd, and when thou fall'st.
> Moon, that now meet'st the orient Sun, now fli'st
> With the fixt Stars, fixt in thir Orb that flies,
> And yee five other wand'ring Fires that move
> In mystic Dance not without Song, resound
> His praise, who out of Darkness call'd up Light
> (V. 166-79).

The song in Paradise Lost is longer than the one in Adamus Exul. Thirteen lines preface the portion quoted here and twenty-eight follow it which deal in some detail with mundane phenomena, the only such reference in Grotius being that the stars "temperant anni vices" (II. 322). The songs are nevertheless so similar in their inclusiveness and in their treatment of natural objects as worshipers as to suggest direct influence. This possibility is further strengthened by their presence in the mouth of Adam at a point just prior to the conversation with the instructing angel.[46]

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[46]Gilbert's speculation that the song was originally the narrator's (p. 47) is based upon a false 'inconsistency' in pronoun use. "Us" at V. 157 and 206 is probably, like "our" (184) inclusive of "Air" and "Elements", all created things. "I" (202) and "my" (204) differentiate human song from that of the elements and phenomena, which also "witness and praise".

At the conclusion of Adam's song, Milton passes again to epic narrative, describing the commissioning of Raphael and the angel's journey to Eden, material impossible of representation in a tragedy. He also sets the fictive scene of the dialogue in some detail, portraying the approach of Raphael and the laying out of a table of honor for him, much of which could have been staged for a drama. Adam's announcement of the angel's approach, for example,

> Haste hither Eve, and worth thy sight behold
> Eastward among those Trees, what glorious shape
> Comes this way moving (V. 308-10),

is a conventional preparation for stage entrance. The tragedy would have provided for Eve's early departure or left her virtually without speech throughout the act, for the dialogue with Raphael, like that in Adamus Exul, is exclusively Adam's.

Among the most impressive similarities between the conversations in the two works is the order in which topics of concern to Adam occur. Discussion in each work begins with the angel's reminding Adam of the universal hierarchy. In the play the angel acknowledges it in answer to Adam's opening song of praise:

> O te beatum, cujus in Praecordiis
> Imago magni nobilis fulgent Dei,
> Et cui, quod unum maximum et summum bonum est,
> Rationis usus com Dei cultu datur.
> Adame, quantum cerne praestes caeteris
> Rebus creatis: Saxa et hos lapides vide:
> Sunt ista, qua tu maximi authoris manu
> Formata: nullos sed quibus tribuit parens
> Natura motus (II. 332-40)
> (Blessed art thou, within whose human breast there
> shines/ The high and noble image of Almighty God,/ To

> whom is given that sole and highest good of all —/ The use of reason join'd with piety towards God!/ Perceive, O Adam, how thou dost surpass the rest/ Of things created! For behold these rocks and stones,/ Form'd like thyself by the supreme Creator's hand:/ To these, their parent Nature has assign'd no life,/ Nor aught of movement.)

Trees, he continues, grow green and bear fruit but are senseless and suffer age (II. 340-44).[47] Birds, beasts and fish are animate and sensible but lack mind, are incapable of reason hence of religion (II. 345-53). But man,

> praeter illa mortis expers et mali
> Anima tributa est imperatrix sensuum.
> Laudum suarum te Deus testem sacris
> Parere jussis voluit, haec lex est data:
> Tibi benignus reliqua, te fecit sibi (II. 355-9)
> (... beyond these, is assign'd a soul, exempt/ From death and sin, and mistress of the body's senses./ God has ordain'd thee as a witness to extol/ And serve His will; has given this law; all other things/ He kindly made for thee, but made thee for Himself.)

In Paradise Lost the comment arises out of Adam's doubt concerning the sufficiency of his food. It is sufficient, Raphael says, because God created of

> one first matter all,
> Indu'd 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't or nearer tending (V. 472-6).

Thus,

> Flow'rs and their fruit
> Man's nourishment, by gradual scale sublim'd
> To vital spirits aspire, to animal,
> To intellectual, give both life and sense,
> Fancy and understanding, whence the Soul
> Reason receives (V. 482-7).

Milton's Adam is attracted by Raphael's statement that man

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[47]Again, Grotius is careless of anachronism.

might ascend through the hierarchy if he "be found obedient" (V. 513). Both angels find it convenient at this point to talk of duty and will. Grotius' angel confirms Adams assertion that God is boundless (II. 366-9) and continues,

> Nostrae actioni temporum non competit
> Mensura, semper non idem facimus tamen:
> Incipimus, et desinimus: Haec absunt Deo.
> Ab eo creati mortis immunes sumus.
> Non vera scimus integre, non omnia,
> Nihili futuri. Nostra rebus de bonis
> Pendet voluntas: Mente ab illus bonum.
> Adame nobis maxima est foelicitas
> Hoc velle solum, quod Deus vult, et facit:
> Parere jussis, sponte rectori obsequi (II. 401-10)
> (No measurement of time is adequate to gauge/ Our action, yet our action does not stay the same:/ For we begin and end. These limits God transcends./ Fashioned by Him, we angels are exempt from Death./ The Truth we know not fully, no, nor everything,/ And nothing of the future. Upon good our will/ Is all dependent; on His Mind all good depends./ It is, O Adam, our supreme felicity/ Only to will the thing that God may will and do,/ With swiftness to obey our Master's governance.)

Upon the question of obedience Raphael is quite precise:

> God made thee perfet, not immutable;
> And good he made thee, but to persevere
> He left it in thy power, ordain'd thy will
> By nature free, not over-rul'd by Fate
> Inextricable, or strict necessity;
> Our voluntary service he requires,
> Not our necessitated, such with him
> Finds no acceptance....
> Myself and all th' Angelic Host that stand
> In sight of God enthron'd, our happy state
> Hold, as you yours, while our obedience holds;
> On other surety none; freely we serve,
> Because we freely love (V. 524-39).

Raphael stresses that "To love or not; in this we stand or fall" (V. 540), and that "some are fall'n" (V. 541). With this the War in Heaven (V. 577-VI) is introduced. Milton's dramatic plans had provided for the "battell and victorie in

heavn" to be recounted as part of the chorus in the act which introduced Lucifer. It is so handled by Grotius (I. 275-302), the conversation of the instructing angel being confined to the Creation. It appears that when the conversion of the play to narrative occurred, Milton saw the value of the War as exemplary material and, starting perhaps with the choral passages built up the narrative in successive stages to its present magnitude. If this large mass is a later interpolation, we might expect to discover, as before, a resumption at its conclusion of material strongly similar to that of Adamus Exul. This does, in fact, occur.

The angel of Adamus Exul, having cited the evidence of God in things created, enjoins Adam to

> rebus conditis
> Utere magistris; quiquid est index Dei est (II. 413-14)
> (Use as thy teachers then/ The things that He has fashion'd. All are guides to God.)

The statement is an effective stimulus to Adam's curiosity about the creation of those things:

> Tacitus revolvo totus extra me feror,
> Stupidusque rerum miror artificem Deum (II. 418-19)
> (In wonder I am wholly rapt beyond myself/ And marvel at the God that fashion'd everything.)

Curiosity in Milton's Adam derives from the same wonder as he requests in Book VII that Raphael describes the Creation "the more/ To magnify his works, the more we know" (VII. 96--7). Both Adams are concerned about how long such a telling might take; Grotius' asking it "si vacabit" (II. 420), Milton's pointing out that "The great Light of Day yet wants to run/ Much of his Race" (VII. 98-9), and that perhaps "we can

bid his /sleep's/ absence, till thy Song/ End" (VII. 107-8). The relation of Grotius' angel follows naturally from his advice that Adam "discere illum quem nihil rerum latet" (II. 412), Raphael emphasises that he will impart such knowledge as "best may serve/ To glorify the Maker, and infer/ Thee also happier" (VII. 115-17), appending a warning against intemperance in the quest for it (VII. 120-30).

What follows in each work is a short hexameron. The hexameral form itself is so common and its elements so strictly determined by Biblical chronology that the assertion of a direct relationship between any two pieces is risky. But there are enough major similarities between Milton and Grotius here to underscore the importance of the minor ones, and together they make a strong case.

The two pieces are, most importantly, angelic narratives. By virtue of this, and of their location in the two works between the introduction of the Adversary and the temptation, their function in the dramatic progress is identical: each serves to assist man in becoming sufficiently aware of himself and his relation to God to survive his impending trial. In addition to this, however, the two accounts share such a high proportion of likeness in the location within them of commonly available concepts as to render the conclusion of indebtedness almost inescapable.[48] The only major difference

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[48]This is not to claim that where the accounts are alike they are often different from all other accounts. Precedents for every concept may be found with enough searching.

in the accounts is that in Paradise Lost Raphael spends some time relating the announcement in Heaven of the Creation, recounting the triumphal return of the Son from the War, and describing the commissioning of the Son as the effective agent of the Father's creative will (VII. 131-223). At least the second of these, and perhaps the others, comes to the narrative with the addition of the War in Heaven itself, without which the events could not make sense to Adam.

Since evidence of the likeness of the two accounts is convincing in a degree proportional to the thoroughness with which the texts are compared, I have arranged the two works in parallel text. Space prohibits comparison of Milton and Grotius to other hexameral poets with any completeness, but I have noted those points where both Milton and Grotius differ most from other poets in similar ways and those where they differ significantly from one another in ways which suggest Milton's independence from Adamus Exul. The degree to which each adheres to the Biblical account is also noted in its major fluctuations.

Moli priori conditae simplex erat
Materia: partes mutuo aequales sibi,
Perfecta speciès, orbis in justi modum
Rotunda, nullis angulis protuberans
Ne discreparet finis a primordio.
....
Magna coeli Machina
Pendebat axi fulta, cui gemini procul
Fines utroque terminabantur Polo.
Concava profundae Molis intra viscera
Latebat expers Lucis, et formae Chaos
(The mass first form'd, with simple substance He endow'd,/ Its parts reciprocally equal, and in form/ Perfection, a round globe in perfect measure shaped,/ Projecting with no angular discrepancy/ Lest the beginning should not balance with the end.... there heaven's great Mechanism hung,/ Supported on an axle which at either end/ Far distant terminated in skyey Pole./ Within the hollow viscera of the Deep Mass/ Lurk'd Chaos, destitute of Light or any form.)

Depressa nondum gravia tunc secesserant.
Nec levia superos evolarant ad locos:
Sed mixta liquidis sicca, frigida fervidis,
Confusa magnis parva, duris mollia
Cumulo latebant:
....
Pars ista medio, quam tui calcant pedes,

He took the golden Compasses, prepar'd
In God's Eternal store, to circumscribe
This Universe, and all created things:
One foot he centred, and the other turn'd
Round through the vast profundity obscure,
And said, Thus far extend, thus far thy bounds.
This be thy just Circumference, O World.[49]
Thus God the Heav'n created, thus the Earth,
Matter unform'd and void: Darkness profound
Cover'd th' Abyss:

but on the wat'ry calm
His brooding wings the Spirit of God outspread,
And vital virtue infus'd and vital warmth
Throughout the fluid Mass, but downward purg'd

[49]Cf. Taylor's comparison of DuBartas (p. 36 above).

Confinis axi pondere oppressam suo
Terram recepit: illa primo turbidis
Submersa in undis delitescebat salo
Cincto tenebris. Subito divina manu
Formatus aer cursibus liber vagis
Incubuit undae

(Things heavy had not yet been separated out;/ Light things had not yet risen to their higher station./ Dry things were mix'd with wet, frost blent with fervent heat,/ Small things confused with great, soft things with hard lay hid.... That midmost part of all, on which thy feet now tread,/ Adjacent to the axis, receiv-ed Earth, oppress'd/ By its own weight; those things submerged in turbid waves/ At first lay hidden in an ocean girt about/ With murky darkness; suddenly the atmosphere,/ Form'd by the Hand divine, free in its wandering courses,/ Brooded upon the wave.)

Itaque ex capaci Mole luciferum Deus
Secedere Ignem jussit....

Natura nondum proximo Lunae loco
Ignem locarat: qui simul in auras Chao
Abiit relicto, non in excelsum fuit
Redactus orbem, flamma sed massam in rudem
Coacta tanquam temere Eois aetheris
Partibus adhaerens, et citato turbine
Correpta coeli mobili luxit face

(And so God bade light-bearing Fire with-draw itself/ From the capacious Mass.... Nature had not yet station'd Fire in its place./ Driv'n in an orbit-circle, compac-ted as flame/ Into a rude mass, held at

The black tartareous cold Infernal dregs
Adverse to life; then founded, then conglob'd
Like things to like, the rest to several place
Disparted, and between spun out the Air,
And Earth self-balanc't on her Centre hung.

Let there be Light, said God, and forth-with Light
Ethereal, first of things, quintessence pure
Sprung from the Deep, and from her Native East
To journey through the airy gloom began,
Spher'd in a radiant Cloud, for yet the Sun
Was not.

random in the East/ And caught in the swift wheeling of the firmament,/ It shone in molten glory as a moving torch.)

(the second day)

Redeunte rebus luce praecepit Deus
Inania auris spatia repleri vagis,
Vastumque vacuis aera expandi locis,
Qui medius undis separaret ab inferis
Superos madores: ille mandate tenax
Diffusus ultro in alta secum pendulos
Vexit liquores
(When dawn returned to Earth, God gave divine command/ That empty space be occupied with wandering winds/ And that the vast air should be spread in hollow places,/ That in the midst they might cut off the floods above/ From waters here below. Air hearken'd to His voice,/ And spreading of its own accord across the heights,/ It bore suspended moisture.)
(Grotius continues with discussion of the activities of the three regions of air, 492-511).
... hac eadem luce compulsu Dei[50]
In maria, et amnes se recepissent aquae,
Et destitutis quos inundarat locis
Littoribus iret clauses, et ripis liquor,
Coeloque nudum Terra monstraret sinum
(... on this same day, compell'd by Might

Again, God said, let there be Firmament
Amid the Waters, and let it divide
The Waters from the Waters: and God made
The Firmament, expanse of liquid, pure,
Transparent, Elemental Air, diffus'd
In circuit to the uttermost convex
Of this great Round:

[50]This is a very eccentric reading of Gen. which places the matter of 1.9 and 10 with the similar matter of 1.6-8. Grotius was perhaps misled by the appearance at 1.11 of "And God said, Let", etc., at other points the signal of a new day.

divine,/ The waters of the Earth were form'd to seas and streams,/ And having left those regions which they erst had flooded,/ Moved on, hemm'd in by banks and circumscribed by shores,/ Then Earth reveal'd her naked bosom to the sky.)

(the third day)

over all the face of Earth 278
Main Ocean flow'd, not idle, but with warm
Prolific humor soft'ning all her Globe,
Fermented the great Mother to conceive,
Satiate with genial mosture, when God said,
Be gather'd now ye Waters under Heav'n
Into one place, and let dry Land appear.
Immediately the Mountains huge appear
Emergent, and thir broad bare backs upheave
Into the Clouds, thir tops ascend the Sky: 287

... Let th' Earth 309
Put forth the verdant Grass, Herb yielding Seed,
And Fruit Tree yielding Fruit after her kind;
Whose Seed is in herself upon the Earth. 312

Fructus sequenti jussa produxit die, 519
Quodcunque germen floridos campos tegit,
Et herba succo quae salutifero viret
Tunc jussa primum crescere est, et vividum
Ejicere
(Upon the following day, God's edicts frought forth fruits:/ Whatever leafy shoot bedecks the flowering fields,/ Whatever grass springs green with health-inducing sap,/ These then at His command began to grow, and cast/ Their live seed forth.)

Orbis figura subjugem Coeli globo
Aptavit ignem, quodque vacuum liquerant
Aether et aer Circulo spatium suo
Media occupavit flamma:[51] post haec siderum
Opus secutum est
(A sphere was yoked beneath the topmost firmament,/ Furnished'd with gleaming fire; and in the space left void/ By air and ether, flame then enter'd in the midst/ With circling orbit. The creation of the stars/ Next follow'd.)

Phoebus ignis fervidi
Terris calorem reddit in speculi modum,
Rector diei, cujus immensum jubar
Obscurat alia lapsa coelo sidera:
Sed Luna noctis domina fraternum sibi

And God made two great Lights; great for thir use
To Man, the greater to have rule by Day,
The less by Night altern....

For of Celestial bodies first the Sun
A mighty Sphere he fram'd, unlightsome first,
Though of Ethereal Mould: then form'd the Moon
Globose, and every magnitude of Stars,
And sow'd with Stars the Heav'n thick as a field:
Of Light by far the greater part he took,
Transplanted from her cloudy Shrine, and plac'd
In the Sun's Orb, made porous to receive
And drink the liquid Light....

Hither as to thir Fountain other Stars
Repairing, in thir gold'n Urns draw Light.

First in his East the glorious Lamp was seen,
Regent of Day, and all th' Horizon round
Invested with bright Ray....

[51]Cf. Sylvester's DuBartas, who reports only that "God, selecting lightest of that Light,/ Garnished Heavn's sieling with those torches bright:/ Or else divided it, and pressing close/ The parts, did make the Sun and Stars of those." Fourth Day, First Week, Divine Weeks, l. 88-91, in Sylvester, Works, ed. A. B. Grosart (Edinburgh, 1880), p. 53.

Furata lumen splendet aliena face,[52]
Cumque alma Phoebe Solis opposita viae
Regione in orbem redigit, ut plenus nitor
Rumpat tenebras[53]
(... the Sun's perfervid fire/ Bestows heat
on the earth as might a flashing mirror;/
It rules the day and with refulgence most
immense/ Obscures the other stars that glide
across the sky./ The Moon, however, mistress
of the night, herself/ Purloins her brother's
rays and shines with borrow'd brightness;/
And when she walks in grace athwart the
lofty path/ Of the bright Sun, she drinks
the opposing glory in/ And grows to rounded
radiance, till her fullest splendor/ Shat-
ters the gloom with beauty.)

less bright the Moon,
But opposite in levell'd West
was set
His mirror, with full face borrowing
her Light
From him, for other light she needed
none
In that aspect, and still that distance
keeps
Till night, then in the East her turn
she shines,

(the fifth day)

Jussit per amnes, Numen, et vitreos
lacus,
Lunaribusque, reflua momentis freta
Natare Pisces: Jussit et volucres citis
Secare pennes aeris liquidi vias.

And God said, let the Waters
generate
Reptile with Spawn abundant, living
Soul:
And let Fowl fly above the Earth,

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[52]Cf. DuBartas' moon's "Splendor borrowed of thy Brother's grace". He refers to the moon also as "Spouse" (4;727) and "Lover" (4;773) to the sun.

[53]Grotius (II. 558-98) and DuBartas at greater length (4;668-714) discuss seasonal constellations and eclipses at this point. For comparison with PL, VIII. 1-197 see p. 114-15 below.

Ergo creavit monstra foecundi maris
Immensa cete; et omne squammigerum genus,
Alisque fultum: mille species singulis,
Faciesque generum mille Natura suos
Prodente luxus: singulis anima est data,
Quae forma princeps corporum est viventium,

Quae sentit, auget, vegetat, alit, et procreat

(The Deity bade fish, in streams and glassy lakes/ And seas drawn to and fro by lunar tides, to swim;/ Likewise he bade the fowls on fleeting pinions cleave/ The high and pathless region of the liquid air./ Then he created monsters of the teeming sea,/ The mighty whale, and all the scaly breeds that go/ Supported upon fins: a thousand kinds to each,/ Form'd in a thousand different types and shapes He made/ Through fertile Nature's gift. To each a living soul --/ First principle of living bodies -- was assign'd,/ A soul that feels, grows, quickens, nourishes, begets.)

Nam cum videret magnae opus dextrae Deus,
His allocutus comprobavit vocibus:
Alimenta in usus quaeque sumentes suos
Majore mole crescite, et numeros quoque
Augete vestros sobole, et ovis insitas
Excludite animas, quaeque mistis sexibus
Deposita in alma condidistis viscera,

with wings
Display'd on the op'n Firmament of Heav'n,
And God created the great Whales, and each
Soul living, each that crept, which plentiously

The waters generated by thir kinds,
And every Bird of wing.after his kind;[54]

And saw that it was good, and bless'd them, saying,
Be fruitful, multiply, and in the Seas
And Lakes and running Streams the waters fill;
And let the Fowl be multipli'd on the Earth

[54]Cf. the encyclopedist DuBartas, who itemizes nearly forty kinds of fish, interspersing numerous instructive similes, (5, 1-573) before mentioning fowl, which he then treats similarly.

Servate justo redditura in tempore,
Innemerae ut ab humo suspici possint aves,
Vastique Pisces impleant undas sali[620]
(For when God saw the work of His almighty hand,/ He voiced divine approval with this uterance:/ "Go, take the food you need, each for his proper use;/ Grow greater yet in bulk, increase and multiply/ With offspring, hatch out living souls that lodge in eggs,/ And that which after mingling in the act of sex/ You store away to nourish in the pregnant womb,/ Preserve, that in due season you may bring them forth,/ In order that unnumber'd birds may spring from earth And countless fish may fill the waves of the fast sea!".)

(the sixth day)

Conditor jussit Deus 624
Centum cavatis ire serpentes viis,
Centum veneni genera, si Numen sinat,
Vitanda cautis [56] Jussit incultis feras
Errare silvis, pascere et viridantibus
Armenta campis 629
(God the Creator bade/ A hundred serpents go by low and hollow ways,/ A hundred kinds

God said 450
Let th' Earth bring forth Soul[55] living in her kind,
Cattle and Creeping things, and Beast of the Earth,
Each in their kind.... 453
the wild Beast where 457
he wons

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[55] Grotius' use of "anima" at parallel points (II. 609, 617) would support the Bentley ememdation of "Fowle" in early editions to "Soul".

[56] This may be dramatic irony, but it is veiled in an anachronism which makes nonsense of the judgment of the serpent in Adamus Exul (see p. 139-40 below).

whose venom dark, if God permit,/ The cautious must avoid. He bade the wild beasts wander/ In the untill'd woods, and herds their food to seek/ In the green fields;)

cuncta spectant patriam
Quae prona terram, nec suos audent Pole
Monstrare vultus, atque coelestes domos
Contra tueri fixa perpetuum solo.
(... all these look steadfast down/ On earth as their due home, and dare not raise their eyes/ To front the heavens and the abodes above the sky,/ Nay, all their glance is ever fix'd upon the earth.)

Adame tantum est haec quod a te differ-
ant,
Quem vultus ipse destinat majoribus
Te, cum creasset imagine imbutum sua
Deus, quievit septima sancta die
Fecisse fassus ultimo majus nihil.
(This, Adam, is their primal difference from thee/ Whose very countenance predestines greater things/ When God had made thee in the likeness of Himself,/ He rested then upon the holy seventh day,/ Proclaiming that His last creation was the best.)

In Forest wild, in Thicket, Brake or Den;
Among the Trees in Pairs they rose, they walk'd:
The Cattle in the Fields and Meadows green:

There wanted yet the Master work, the end
Of all yet done; 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.

he form'd thee, Adam, thee O Man
Dust of the ground, and in thy nostrils breath'd
The breath of Life; in his own Image hee
Created thee, in the Image of God
Express, and thou becam'st a living Soul.

It is just here that Raphael offers the second of his three warnings. This alone of the three bears no connection with the warning Eve refers to having overheard (IX. 273 ff.). The first specifically mentions Satan, "Who now is plotting how he may seduce/ Thee also from obedience" (VI. 901-2). It thus accords with Eve's later acknowledgment "that such an Enemy we have, who seeks/ Our ruin (IX. 274-5). The third warning (VIII. 630 ff.) shares with Eve's reference the subsequent evening departure of the angel.

But it would be rash to conclude with Gilbert (see p. 88 above) that Eve refers to the warning of Book VI, after which the angel might originally have departed. In fact, there is every reason to believe that <u>none</u> of the present warnings is the "original", the one Eve heard. What has happened is that an originally continuous body of material, concluding with a warning, has both increased and multiplied until it is now three discreet units whose shapes are determined by their contentual differences and by the conclusion of each with a warning <u>keyed to its peculiar theme</u>. Thus the account of the War in Heaven concludes with a warning against God's adversary, now man's. The hexameral narrative concludes with Adam's placement in "This Garden, planted with the Trees of God" (VII. 538), and a warning against the tasting of the fruit of one of those trees. Adam's account of Eve's creation, betraying as it does a touch of excessive passion, is quite appropriately concluded with a warning against that particular aspect of his nature. The

original warning would have been far more inclusive than any of these theme-related warnings, or at least more general.

There are other oddities in Eve's reference in Book IX, however. She stipulates that her arrival at the scene of discourse had been roughly coincidental with the departure of the angel,

> As in a shady nook I stood behind
> Just then return'd at shut of Ev'ning Flow'rs
> (IX. 277-8).

Since her ministry at table (V. 443 ff.) is evidently uninterrupted until just prior to Raphael's discourse concerning celestial motions (VIII. 40 ff.), she must have been present for the first two warnings. This is inconsistent with both her later reference and with Raphael's injunction in the first warning that Adam "warn/ Thy weaker" (VI. 908-9), apparently absent. This last is consistent with the narrator's statement that

> The affable Arch-angel, had forewarn'd
> Adam by dire example to beware
> Apostasy (VII. 41-3),

but again, inconsistent with the immediate indication that

> He /Adam/ with his consort Eve
> The story heard attentive (VII. 50-1),

and with Adam's use of first person plural at VII. 70-97. The reason given for Eve's departure at VIII. 40 ff., is no less strange. Her preference for the conversation of Adam over that of the angel is a beautiful touch in itself, but it jars with her having endured nearly two thousand lines of Raphael's narrative before leaving. Finally, a minor point, Milton includes no indication of Eve's presence when the angel does

depart at the end of Book VIII.

If Adamus Exul is viewed as the model for the original dialogue of Adam with the angel, all these difficulties become explicable with a minimum of speculation. In the play, at the conclusion of the hexameral story, a point exactly analogous to that at which the second warning occurs in Paradise Lost, the angel does depart just at the approach of Eve:

> Sed ad te euntem conjugem video tuam
> Abibo, quo me munus appellat meum (II. 638-9)
> (But now I see thy wife draw near to where we stand./ I shall depart, whither my duty calls me forth.)

There is no warning in Adamus Exul, however, and here it is necessary to speculate. If in his own tragedy Milton had deviated from Grotius in including a four or five line warning, just prior to this, it would be that warning to which Eve would later refer. Her approach at this point, of course, would mean that she had been absent from the dialogue with the angel as in Adamus Exul. That her presence during it in Paradise Lost is a late addition to the story accounts for the inconsistencies related to the warnings and also for the fact that only once in the whole of his discourse does Raphael address Adam and Eve together,[57]

> Your bodies may at last turn all to spirit
> Improv'd by tract of time, and wing'd ascend (V. 497-8),

and this is ambiguous, since it may refer to Adam and his

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[57]He includes her in his salutation, of course (V. 388-90), but this is outside the substance of the dialogue, in the very context in which the narrator elaborately stipulates her presence.

progeny ("men", V. 493). The inclusion of "warn thy weaker" might better have occurred in a warning unheard by Eve.

What then of Adam's description of the creation of Eve? If it follows her arrival and the simultaneous departure of the angel, as it does in Adamus Exul, it can only be addressed after the manner of Grotius to Eve herself. Indeed, this makes far more sense than addressing it to Raphael as Adam does in Paradise Lost, for in its present context it requires the person least likely to know what happened to tell one who has already demonstrated that he knows pretty much everything outside the mind of God. The first problem Milton solves admirably through the mechanism of Adam's vision of the event. Far less satisfactory is his accounting for Raphael's ignorance.[58] First the dream:

> Mine eyes he clos'd, but op'n left the Cell
> Of Fancy my internal sight, by which
> Abstract as in a trance methought I saw,
> Though sleeping, where I lay, and saw the shape
> Still glorious before whom awake I stood (VIII. 460-64).

This is, on the whole, a very happy solution to the problem of Adam's knowledge.[59] Grotius follows Gen. 2.21, apparently unmindful of the problem raised by Adam's relation of the event:

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[58]The pointless scouting mission of Raphael (VIII. 229-46) has often been cited as evidence of Milton's capricious God. But the implications for His character here are the incidental costs of changing Adam's auditor.

[59]A dream during Eve's formation is traditional, but it is not invariably a dream of her formation (see Evans, Ch. VI, p. 169 ff.). Henry More uses the dream in the Conjectura Cabbalistica, which Evans (p. 263) believes "is the basis of Milton's description in Paradise Lost".

> dumque securum quies
> Profunda tenuit, ultimo dorsi loco
> Succincta geminis terga qua lumbis patent,
> Hac parte costam corpori eripuit meo (II. 665-8)
> (... and while profoundest sleep/ Then held me fast, God from the soft base of my back,/ Where girt about with double loins my waist extends,/ Tore out a bloody rib from that part of my body.)

The passage in Paradise Lost, excluding the five lines establishing the dream state of Adam, is very similar:

> /I/ Dazzl'd and spent, sunk down, and sought repair
> Of sleep, which instantly fell on me, call'd
> By Nature as in aid, and clos'd mine eyes.
> ...
> /He/ stooping op'n'd my left side, and took
> From thence a Rib, with cordial spirits warm,
> And Life-blood streaming fresh (VIII. 457-9, 465-7).

The poets share a deviation from the Biblical account in the specification of the bloodiness of the rib,[60] and each adheres to it in noting the closing of the wound: "wide was the wound,/ But suddenly with flesh fill'd up and heal'd" (VIII. 467-8); "Vacuumque hiatum carne supplevit Deus" (II. 669) /(God) fill'd the vacant cavity again with flesh/.[61]

Events leading up to the creation of Eve are no less similar in the two accounts. In each the tradition is followed that Adam's naming of the beasts revealed to him his own loneliness.[62]

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[60]Cf. also More (quoted in Evans) and DuBartas (6, 1040 ff.), who do not include it.

[61]More (loc. cit.) notes this; DuBartas (loc. cit.) does not.

[62]Cf. DuBartas: "God therefore, not to seem less liberall/ To Man, then else to every Animall;/ For perfect patern of a holy Love,/ To Adam's halfe another halfe he gave" (6, 1024-27). The tradition in which Milton and Grotius write is derived from the suggestion in Gen. 2.20.

> Among unequals what society
> Can sort, what harmony or true delight?
> Which must be mutual, in proportion due
> Giv'n and receiv'd (VIII. 383-6);

> Quam bene putavit, nulla quem fugiunt Deus
> Non posse vera me frui sine compari
> Felicitate: semper animos dulcior
> Tangit voluptas, sorte quam gratus pari
> Socius frequentat: ista natura est boni (II. 648-52)
> (How well has God, whom nothing can escape, consider'd/
> That I without a mate could not enjoy a true/ Felicity!
> Spirits are ever touch'd more sweetly/ By that delight
> which kindly comradeship redoubles/ With equal lot. This
> is the nature of true good.)

Milton's Adam, of course, is here relating part of his conversation with his Maker, a circumstance which permits a far more extensive and richer treatment of such matters as the relative imperfection in man that he should need "Collateral love, and dearest amity" (VIII. 426). The need of "animos" (II, 650) for community is so generalized in Adamus Exul as to suggest that God himself might be imperfect in this respect.

It is not simply community or amity that Adam feels upon awakening to Eve's presence, however, but the beginnings of that over-fondness which is to be his undoing. Raphael's third warning, "with contracted brow", is prompted by the sort of touchingly ingenuous first disclosure of psychological weakness which is a feature of well-constructed drama:

> here passion first I felt,
> Commotion strange, in all enjoyments else
> Superior and unmov'd, here only weak
> Against the charm of Beauty's powerful glance
> (VIII. 530-33).

Just such weakness shows in Grotius' Adam, who recalls to Eve his first sight of her

> Somnus reliquit, ex meis, uxor tua
> Formata membris astitit species mihi,
> Quam cum viderem, languidos artus adhuc
> Stupor occupavit, flamma quem solvit nova,
> Et amoris ignis (II. 671-5)
> (... the former sleep/ Deserted me, and thy form, O my wife, stood by,/ Fashion'd in beauty from my proper flesh and blood;/ And when I saw thee, sweet amazement seized upon My still inactive limbs; a new flame melted me/ With all the fires of love.)

Eve's response in Adamus Exul is an important part of the dramatic irony here, for it forecasts her later need to include Adam in her own altered state:

> Felicitatis magna pars, aut unica
> Vir est maritae: dulce nunc quiquid mihi est
> Te sine nocebit (II. 682-4)
> (Her husband, to a wife, is happiness' chief part,/ Her one true joy. Whatever now in me is sweet,/ Without thee would be bane.)

The depth of irony in her statement is further extended by our knowledge that its truth will come to her only after she has violated it in seeking the virtues of the fruit. The same sentiment, of course, leads directly to Adam's ruin, and in Paradise Lost a virtual paraphrase of its expression by Grotius' Eve comes from his lips:

> I wak'd
> To find her, or forever to deplore
> Her loss, and other pleasures all abjure (VIII. 478-80).

The effect of this is to make much clearer in Paradise Lost the extent of Adam's culpability in the impending Fall. Milton achieves a balance of blame scarcely approached by his predecessors. Even Grotius undercuts his excessively enamored Adam with his steadfast Adam of Act III and his suffering husband of Act IV.

Among those other elements in Paradise Lost which further

the balancing of blame is a passage imbedded in the two narratives of creation. Adam's inquiry concerning celestial motions establishes him as a potential over-reacher, one whose speculative curiosity would, if unchecked by reasonable humility render him.

> in things that most concern
> Unpractic'd, unprepar'd and still to seek (VIII. 196-7).

His question and Raphael's answer, whatever they may indicate about Milton's own views on astronomy,[63] serve this dramatic purpose very well indeed. Grotius' treatment of astronomy takes the form of a simplistic account by the angel of the seasonal relevance of the constellations and the "motus duo" of the seven planetary spheres.[64] The first of these Raphael approves,

> for Heav'n
> Is as the Book of God before thee set,
> Wherein to read his wond'rous Works, and learn
> His Seasons, Hours, or Days, or Months, or Years
> (VIII. 66-9).

The second, however, like the issue of the centrality of Earth, is treated with perhaps too much defensive energy, as by a man without an answer satisfactory even to himself:

> God to remove his ways from human sense,
> Plac'd Heav'n from Earth so far, that earthly sight,
> If it presume, might err in things too high,
> And no advantage gain. What if the Sun
> Be Centre to the World, and other Stars
> By his attractive virtue and their own

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[63]They suggest that "Milton took a conservative, almost obscurantist position", (R. M. Adams, p. 170).

[64]This occurs in the context of their creation. See p. 103, n. 53 above.

> Incited, dance about him various rounds?
> Thir wandring course now high, now low, then hid,
> Progressive, retrograde, or standing still (VIII. 119-27).

This exchange was evidently interposed late between the two narratives of creation. These were once contiguous and formed one act of Milton's tragedy as they do of Grotius'. This accounts for the original 1667 edition's arrangement as Book 7 of the present Books VII and VIII, the impulse being to transpose units of material as units even though in their final form they produced a book of 1289 lines, nearly four hundred lines longer than the average, excluding Book 10, in that edition.[65] The division of Book 7 (1667), like that of Book 10, resulted primarily from Milton's late recognition of how bulky the originally manageable unit had become; but it had other dividends as well. It emphasizes the refrain-like quality of Raphael's warnings, each of which now falls at the end of a book, and it isolates in Book VIII those passages in which Adam's susceptibilities are most clearly revealed.

With Raphael's warning against passion and his evening departure, Book VIII concludes. This is the third and final segment of the conversation between man and angel. I have hypothesized that in its tragic-dramatic stage Paradise Lost contained a single warning, at a point coincidental with the arrival on the scene of Eve, after which the angel departed.

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[65]Book 10 (1667), since 1674 Books XI and XII, had 1545 lines.

The relation of Eve's creation to her instead of to the angel would have followed this as it does in Adamus Exul. With the end of Book VIII, then, we reach the end of material removed from a context immediately posterior to Book VII's hexameron. Further evidence that this is so is afforded by the circumstance that both the second warning in Paradise Lost (VII. 542-7) and Adam's account of Eve's creation in Adamus Exul (II. 640-81) are followed by choral hymns of the Creation. This in the play is just that long chorus (146 lines) which would be expected to conclude the act, but it is joined by Adam and Eve, who alone sing the last six lines:

> Aeternumque modis sacris
> Indulgere juvabit,
> Gaudioque maximo
> Tollere in astra Deum.
> Si quid erit malorum
> Benignus ille tollet,
> Sanctorumque Chorus modulabitur omnis Allelvia (II. 835-41) (I, too, shall sing and shall rejoice[68]/ To hail the Eternal One in sacred measures;/ To praise Him to high heaven with my voice/ Will e'er surpass the rarest of all pleasures./ If there in me be aught of ill,/ May he remove it by His gracious will,/ While all the heavenly host sing "Hallelujah" still!)

As is the case with the choruses generally, very little similarity to Paradise Lost can be seen. Such passages would have been absorbed into both dialogue and narrative statement in

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[68]Whether 'juvabit' is a typographical error in Kirkconnell or appears in Grotius, the translation in first person is clearly appropriate in light of the rest of the passage. There is no third person possibility beyond God, who is being praised (837-8), and the Chorus, which should be plural and which is referred to by this speaker (840).

Paradise Lost, but a few traces may remain. The angel chorus quoted by Raphael in Book VI devotes about half its length to praise of Jehovah as the Thunderer who defeated the "Giant Angels", half to the creator of the world and man; but it ends with as direct an application to Adam and Eve as does the chorus of the play:

> Thrice happy men,
> And sons of men, whom God hath thus advanc't,
> Created in his Image, there to dwell
> ....
> And multiply a Race of Worshippers
> Holy and just: thrice happy if they know
> Thir happiness, and persevere upright.
> So sung they, and the Empyrean rung,
> With Halleluias (VII. 625-7, 630-34).

AE, Act IV; PL, Bk. IX

Act IV of Adamus Exul sheds a great deal of light on Grotius' handling of Act II. The Biblical account of the Temptation accords nicely with classical dramatic practice in providing an action in two phases, two of its principals appearing in sequence to engage the third. Thus an obvious movement of the drama can be achieved with a minimum of present speakers at any one time. Grotius appears to have designed Act II in two similar phases (Adam with Angel, Adam with Eve) as a structural parallel which underscores the polar difference between the visits of the Heavenly and Hellis spirits. Comparisons with Paradise Lost reveal that the altered dynamics of the story in its narrative form permitted Milton to sacrifice this sort of parallel with little cost

compared to the dramatic benefits of extending the angelic visit to a point just prior to the Temptation itself.

But Book IV, postpones the circumstance of the central dramatic occurrence in order to present more richly the developing relationship of Adam and Eve. The conversation of the First Pair provides an effective heightening of tension prior to the climactic scene, and at the same time contributes to the case against Adam. His submission to Eve's will is as important as her assertion of it.

Space is also afforded here for sufficient reintroduction of Satan to compensate his very long absence in the late narrative version of the work. His selection of the serpent as that creature "which of all/ Most opportune might serve his wiles" is based, like the earlier use of the anachronistic predators, on the natural behavior of this beast,

> for in the wily Snake,
> Whatever slights none would suspicions mark,
> As from his wit and native subtlety
> Proceeding, which in other Beasts observ'd
> Doubt might beget of Diabolic pow'r (IX. 91-5).

Stressing thus the "sleights", the wily and subtle movements of the serpent, Milton avoids both the imputation to him of complicity in the crime and the simple anachronism of Grotius.[67] The complexity of Satan's character is reaffirmed as he experiences the delight in the Garden and the hatred of its Creator, that "seige/ Of contraries" (IX. 121-2) so fully portrayed by

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[67]Whose Satan remarks in Act I (226-7), "Et qui venenum maximum spirat draco/ Majis loquetur" So shall the snake, most venomous of things created,/ A greater venom speak.

both Milton and Grotius in his first visit. Satan's soliloquy here (IX. 99-178) may well have occurred in Milton's own tragedy. It certainly dates from an earlier period than the epic conclusion of Book IV, for the outburst at IX. 163 could only come from a spirit who had never before taken the form of any beast, much less that of a toad:[68]

> O foul descent! that I who erst contended
> With the Gods to sit the highest, am now constrain'd
> Into a Beast, and mixt with bestial slime
> This essence to incarnate and imbrute,
> That to the highth of Deity aspir'd.

Quite unlike the toad of Book IV, the serpent is gorgeous;

> pleasing was his shape,
> And lovely, never since of Serpent kind
> Lovlier, not those that in Illyria chang'd
> Hermione and Cadmus, or the God
> In Epidaurus; nor to which transform'd
> Ammonian Jove, or Capitoline was seen,
> Hee with Olympias, this with her who bore
> Scipio the highth of Rome (IX. 503-10).

This is the third of three clustered similes (others at IX. 385-95 and 439-43) which, like those of Book IV, recall the fabulous only to denigrate it in favor of the Edenic truth. The one I quote appears in the middle of a description of the serpent and his actions very much like the one rendered by Grotius' Eve. Milton presents a clear visual picture, stipulating her presence in advance as the serpent "toward

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[68]While Milton says first only that Satan was found "Squat like a Toad", he also points out that the touch of Ithuriel's spear would cause "falsehood" to "return/ Of force to its own likeness", and that at the touch

> So started up in his own shape the Fiend.
> Back stepp'd those two fair Angels half amaz'd
> So sudden to behold the grisly King (IV. 800-821).

Eve/ Address'd his way" (IX. 495-6). One watches his approach in both descriptions as he veers and tacks toward Eve's feet. One sees a

> Circular base of rising folds, that tow'r'd
> Fold above fold a surging Maze, his Head
> Crested aloft, and Carbuncle his Eyes;
> With burnisht Neck of verdant Gold, erect
> Amidst his circling Spires, that on the grass
> Floated redundant (IX. 498-503).

In the play,

> Sibila retorquet ora setosum caput,
> Trifidamque linguam vibrat: oculi ardent duo.
> Arrecto cervix surgit, et maculis nitet
> Pectus superbis: coerulis picti notis
> Sinuantur orbes, tortiles spirae[69] micant
> Auri colore: lubricos longos sinus
> Tendit volumen, terga se in gyros plicant (IV. 1037-43)
> (Its flat and scaly head twists back a hissing mouth/ And shakes a three-fork'd tongue; its two eyes gleam like fire;/ Its rampant neck arises and its clammy[70] breast/ Shines with proud spots; painted with azure markings,/ Its coiling spirals twine, and twist, with hue of gold/ Resplendent; in long slippery volutes it extends,/ And folds its back in many a sinuous labyrinth.)

In their coal-like eyes, their golden color, their erect stature on spiral base, these are identical. Further, while Milton, unlike Grotius, specifies the serpent's movement

> not with indented wave,
> Prone on the ground, as since, but on his rear (IX. 496-7),

and while Grotius refers to his "pronos anfractus" (IV. 1048), the postures of the two are clearly the same and resemble the familiar striking coil of any venomous snake. Indeed, Milton

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[69]Cf. Milton's Latinism "Spires" (IX. 502).

[70]This zoological inaccuracy is the translator's. "Lubricos" (l. 1042) need not carry the sense of 'moist', but may mean something like Milton's "sleek" (IX. 525).

also refers to the "tortuous Train" of the beast (IX. 516), and where Grotius' Eve notes his travel in "obliquo means" (IV. 1035), Milton's narrator describes his "tract oblique" (IX. 510). Grotius' Eve describes the serpent's final pose in words which call to the mind's eye precisely the speaker of Paradise Lost

> in act
> Rais'd, as of some great matter to begin.
> As when of old some Orator renown'd
> In Athens or free Rome, where Eloquence
> Florish'd, since mute, to some great cause addrest
> (IX. 668-72).[71]

In Paradise Lost the serpent is the first to speak. His words are a stream of flattery designed to snare Eve's incipient self-love. Of course, she is filled with wonder:

> Language of Man pronounc't
> By Tongue of Brute, and human sense exprest? (IX. 553-4).

The oratorical posture of Grotius' Tempter fills his Eve with similar awe:

> Miror an queat et loqui (IV. 1050)
> (I wonder whether it can speak.[72])

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[71]Cf. Grotius' "Attollit ora" (IV. 1050). Kirkconnell renders this simply "It rears its head", but a most accurate equivalent is Milton's own line 669 above.

[72]Again, Kirkconnell's rendering fails to convey in the English "wonder" the force of 'wonderment' or 'astonishment' of "miror". The very logical reaction is yet unusual. It is absent from DuBartas (v. 2d Sem., "The Imposture", 291 ff.), Andreinni (v. L'Adamo in Kirk., p. 244-5), Avitus (in Kirk., p. 11). Valvasone includes it (v. Adamo Caduto in Kirk., p. 316), linked with awe there, as in Andreini, at the serpent's human face.

Each snake claims special knowledge and each pretends to feel duty-bound to convey it to this monarch of Eden:

> Utilia certe proloqui, et possum tibi,
> Et non omittam. Gratulor vestris ego
> Cessisse regnis, quiquid, immenso ambitu
> Spatiosus aer claudit: Omnes bestiae,
> Quas Terra, vel quae pelagus aut aer habet,
> Gaudemus illa sorte: res est maxima
> Parere notis non feros dominos pati,
> Sed jussa capere humana (IV. 1051-58)
> (Things profiting thee I can most surely speak,/ Nor shall forbear. I bring congratulations/ That all that spacious air in its vast range encloses/ Has yielded to your sway. All we beasts indeed/ Whom earth and sea and air possess within their bounds/ Rejoice in our good fortune. 'Tis a privilege,/ For those born to obey, not to endure wild tyrants/ But to receive the clemency of human sway;)
>
> Fairest resemblance of thy Maker fair,
> Thee all things living gaze on, all things thine
> By gift, and thy Celestial Beauty adore
> With ravishment beheld, there best beheld
> Where universally admired
> ....
> Empress of this fair World, resplendent Eve,
> Easy to me it is to tell thee all
> What thou command'st and right thou should'st be obey'd
> (IX. 538-42, 568-70).

Milton's Tempter includes at this point the attribution to the fruit of his loquacity and his ability to reason, a very telling argument later extended to discount the threat of death. He then leads Eve to the Tree, which she recognizes as the one prohibited. "Indeed?" replies the serpent,

> hath God then said that of the Fruit
> Of all these Garden Trees ye shall not eat,
> Yet Lords declar'd of all in Earth or Air? (IX. 656-8).

This is matter into which the serpent of Adamus Exul, like that of most analogues of the Fall, has immediately plunged:

> Miramur unum hoc, omnis authorem boni

(Nam sic vocari gaudet) istis fructibus
Vetuisse vesci (IV. 1060-62)
(We marvel only that the Author of all Good/ (A title
He delights in) has forbidden you/ To feed on yonder
fruits.)

And he imputes a motive to God immediately:

Tanta quae menti sedet
Invidia? qui Telluris imperium dedit
Is vos nec uno patitur horto perfrui? (IV. 1062-4)[73]
(Does such great envy dwell/ Within His mind? Does He
who hast bestow'd on you/ The rule of Earth not suffer
you to use one garden?)

To this Eve responds with the words of Genesis:

Hortem per omnem, queis libet, vesci licet
Sed arbor una, qua Nemus medium patet,
Vitanda ramis poma curvatis girit.
His abstinere Lex monet magni patris,
Ne forte vitae consequamur terminum (IV. 1067-71)
(Through all the Garden we may eat whate'er we like./
Only one tree, where spreads the middle of the Garden,/
Bears, on its curving branches, apples we must shun./
The Law of the Great Father warns us to abstain,/ Lest
we perchance be smitten and should surely die;[74])

Of the Fruit
Of each Tree in the Garden we may eat,
But of the Fruit of this fair Tree amidst
The Garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eat
Thereof, nor shall ye touch it lest ye die (IX. 659-63).[75]

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[73]Cf. Gen. 3.1, "Yea, hath God said, Ye shall not eat of every tree of the garden?" For this surprise at <u>any</u> prohibition, both Milton and Grotius substitute the deliberately suggestive assumption by the serpent that the prohibition is vast ("all these... Trees" and "uno horto").

[74]Translator's "Lest we perchance be smitten" introduces the possibility of accidental poisoning. "Ne forte" might better be rendered 'Lest it happen that' or, more simply, 'Lest'.

[75]Cf. DuBartas: "But, all-good God (Alas! I wot not why)/ Forbad us touch that Tree (<u>2d Sem</u>., "Imposture", 297-8).

Each Tempter delivers at this point the substance of his argument. The serpent of the play, beginning with the assertion of the Biblical serpent that death would not result, goes on to explain that death is really only a metamorphosis and one which might be the vehicle of deification:

> Metuere lethum non decet: poteris mori
> Certe, et renasci in melius: haec lex corporum est,
> Perfectiorum semper ad sortem trahi (IV. 1094-6)
> (To fear death is not meet; for thou canst surely die/ To live in higher state; this is a law of bodies,/ Ever to be drawn on towards a more perfect lot.)

Milton's serpent makes the same ultimate point:

> So shall ye die perhaps, by putting off
> Human to put on Gods, death to be wisht (IX. 713-14).

But the mechanism to the attainment of the higher state, in contrast to the natural process asserted by Grotius' serpent, is avowedly a violation of nature in Paradise Lost:

> ye shall not Die:
> How should ye? by the Fruit? it gives you life
> To knowledge: By the Threat'ner? look on mee,
> Mee who have touch'd and tasted, yet both live,
> And life more perfet have attain'd than Fate
> Meant mee, by vent'ring higher than my lot (IX. 685-90).

The same basic argument, in each case meant by the poet to recall the natural ascension to spirit promised by the visiting angel, is thus altered by Milton so as to make Eve's failure to be warned less excusable in Paradise Lost. But his serpent ends, as Grotius' begins, with the rhetorical question,

> Or is it envy, and can envy dwell
> In heav'nly breasts? (IX. 729-30).

It is a mark of Milton's genius that in making the dwelling-- place of this envy "heav'nly breasts", rather than "his breast"

or "his mind", he introduces a whole new dimension of irony.[76] When Satan rebelled in Heaven his breast was still, in a very important sense, 'heavenly', and Eve should have an answer to his question whether or not she suspects the serpent's true identity.

At this point the play includes an exchange not in Paradise Lost. Eve is wavering, "Incerta jussi causa" (IV. 1112) (The cause of the command is doubtful), but still feels that "Dare quenque jus est muneri legem suo" (IV. 1118) ('Tis right that one should join conditions to his gift). The serpent rejoins with the matter of Gen., 3.5[77] and goes on in an effort to prove God's envy with a reference which should have been disastrous to his case: God's implacability toward the fallen spirits in Hell. Grotius blunders here, for such a reference makes Eve's eventual eating of the fruit an act of incredible stupidity, not aspiration. She rejects the mention of the fallen as irrelevant:

> Dira Sathanum suae
> Rebellionis quod luat poenam cohors,
> Nihil illud ad me (IV. 1166-8)
> (That the dread soldiery/ Of devils suffers castigation
> for revolt,/ Does not concern me.)

Her concern is to know more about the virtues of the fruit.

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[76]Cf. Grotius' "Tanta quae menti sedit/ Invidia?" (IV. 1062-3, p. 123 above), and Vergil, Aeneid, I. 11, "Tantaene animis caelestibus irae?" Similarity between Grotius and Milton here could reflect mutual reliance on Vergil, but specification of envy for Vergil's "ira", and the extreme contextual parallel between Milton and Grotius suggest that Milton was reminded of the Aeneid by Grotius.

[77]"For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened and ye shall be as gods, knowing of good and evil." Milton's serpent virtually quotes this (IX. 705-10).

Still, she is not won. The serpent's long restatement of the fruit's powers is impressive in itself, however, and, like the Eve of Paradise Lost, Grotius' Eve is drawn by both the fruit's attraction of her senses and fascination with the animal:

> Adeone et alia praeter hominum pectora
> Ratio occupavit? bruta namque haec bestia est,
> At bruta certe verba non visa est loqui.
> Ferme ut prohibitos edere fructus audeam
> Facerent et eius pervicax persuasio,
> Et mea cupido (IV. 1219-24)
> (Can this be so? Does reason dwell indeed in breasts/ Other than man's? Surely this creature is a brute,/ But never has a brute been known to utter words./ His resolute persuasion and my own desire/ Doubtless would almost make me dare to eat the fruit/ Against commandment.)

One last urging from the serpent and Eve's doom is sealed.

At this point the two works come together in remarkable fashion; in both the play and Paradise Lost Eve delivers two apostrophes to the fruit, one prior to eating and one afterward which leads her to think of Adam.[78]

> O dulce pomum, quam tua haec species meis
> Arridet oculis, quam vel olfactus juvat?
> Utinam soluto te metu possem frui,
> Tuosque succos discere, et magnas mihi
> Vires, vel uno hoc, quod sub aspectu latent (IV. 1249-53)
> (O sweetest apple, how thy fragrance raptures me!/ Would that, discarding fear, I might enjoy thee now,/ And learn to know thy juices and thy mighty powers,/ That virtue above all that lurks beneath thy beauty!;)

> Great are thy Virtues, doubtless, best of Fruits,
> Though dept from Man, and worthy to be admir'd,
> ....
> Here grows the cure of all, this Fruit Divine,
> Fair to the Eye, inviting to the Taste,
> Of virtue to make wise: what hinders then

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[78]Nothing of the sort occurs in Avitus, DuBartas, Andreini or Salandra. In the last two Eve is immediately stricken with pain upon eating.

To reach and feed at once both Body and Mind?
(IX. 745-6, 776-9)

Each of the speakers keys her speech to the arguments of the serpent, of course, and to the extent that the latter differ so do the apostrophes. Grotius' Eve, moreover, conveys considerably more doubt and indecision:

> Quid hoc quod artus horror incussit meas,
> Et ima gelidus ossa perrupit tremor?
> Causam timoris nescio: timeo tamen.
> Placet admovere poma, sed renuit manus
> Parere, dextra pondus accusat suum,
> Alioque fertur.
> ....
> Pendula est sententia.
> Mens ipsa dubio trepida consilio labat (IV. 1262-7, 1279-80) (What is this horror, that has smitten all my limbs?/ What trembling shudder penetrates my inmost bones?/ The cause of fear I know not; yet I surely fear./ I long to pluck the apple, but my hand refuses/ To do my will, accuses its reluctant weight,/ And elsewhere moves.... Decision is uncertain/ The hesitating mind in doubtful counsel wavers.)

These passages render the Eve of Adamus Exul among the most appealing of her kind in literature, particularly when it is considered that among her motives is generosity:

> audendum puto.
> Humana morsu pendet ex uno salus.
> Non sola tua res agitur: hac hora potes
> Prodesse mille saculorum posteris (IV. 1287-90)
> (I think this must be dared./ The welfare of mankind depends upon one bite./ Not thy lot only is at stake; for by this hour/ Thou canst enrich a thousand ages yet to come.)

It is this genuine generosity, carrying into her post-prandial apostrophe, which leads to consideration of Adam:

> O persuavis gustus, o tenero sapor.
> Gratus palato, quam tuus succus juvat,
> Quam me beasti! restat hoc unum modo,
> Tanti ut maritus particeps fiat boni (IV. 1314-17)

> (O most sweet taste, O flavor to the tender palate/ Above all else delicious, how thy juice delights,/ How thou hast blest me! Now one privilege remains:/ To make my husband sharer in so great a good!)

In Paradise Lost Eve's first reaction to eating is the same;

> O Sovran, virtuous, precious of all Trees
> In Paradise, of operation blest
> To Sapience, hitherto obscur'd, inflam'd (IX. 795-7),

but she passes to the promise that she will henceforth pay her devotions to the tree, and she thinks of Adam in far more complicated terms than does her sister in the play:

> But to Adam in what sort
> Shall I appear? Shall I to him make known
> As yet my change, and give him to partake
> Full happiness with mee, or rather not,
> But keep the odds of Knowledge in my power
> Without Copartner? (IX. 816-21).

She determines to share her discovery, for

> what if God have seen
> And Death ensue? then I shall be no more,
> And Adam wedded to another Eve (IX. 826-8).

Thoughts of Adam cue his entrance in both works, the serpent having slunk away before Eve's final apostrophe in Paradise Lost, after it in Adamus Exul.[79] In the play, as in Paradise Lost, Adam comes upon his mate in the course of an active search.

Genesis is of no use to the poet depicting Adam's temptation and fall. Its half-sentence statement is more a challenge

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[79]Grotius gives him a ten line aside which includes the announcement of Adam's approach (IV. 1318-28).

than an aid.[80] Both Milton and Grotius include his temptation in some detail, but their variance from one another here is considerable. The former, perhaps again under Senecan influence, presents the dialogue of the scene in extended stichomythia:

> Ad. Herile jussum jure contemni putas?
> Ev. Si sceptra iniquo rector imperio tenet.
> Ad. Si dominus aequus est, ames; si non, feras,[81]
> Ev. Servire et ipso turpius letho putes.
> Ad. Servire magno est summa libertas Deo.
> Ev. Quin hoc laboras potius ut fias Deus?
> Ad. Ex homine Numen effici ratio negat (IV. 1370-76)
> (Ad. Dost thou then think our Master's edicts justly scorn'd?/ Ev. Yes, if the Ruler holds His sway in unjust rule./ Ad. If He's just, thou shouldst love Him; and if not endure./ Ev. Thou shouldst consider servitude more base than death./ Ad. Service to God Almighty is the highest freedom./ Ev. Wouldst thou not rather toil that thou shouldst be a god?/ Ad. Reason denies that man can rise to deity.)

To this are added sections of more complex dialogue, Eve's twenty-nine line primary supplication,[82] and a fifteen line final statement for Adam.

Milton's Adam resembles the Adam of Grotius very closely both in his initial reaction, as he,

> soon as he heard
> The fatal Tresspass done by Eve, amaz'd
> Astonied stood and Blank, while horror chill

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[80]DuBartas rejects the challenge, saying only "She so prevails, that her blind Lord, at last,/ A morsell of the sharp sweet fruit doth taste" (2d Sem., "Imposture", 364-5).

[81]The unfallen Adam of Paradise Lost, of course, could never have entertained both these possibilities, and the pious Grotius allows his to do so only through inattentiveness to the doctrinal implications of the statement.

[82]Concluding, in the tradition of Avitus (v. Kirk., p. 14), with a challenge to Adam's manhood. Grotius' Adam, however, unlike Avitus', resists this ploy (IV. 1428-30).

Ran through his veins, and all his joints relax'd
(IX. 887-90),[83]

and in the cause of his own tresspass:

> within my heart I feel
> The Bond of Nature draw me to my own
> My own in thee, for what thou art is mine;
> Our State cannot be sever'd, we are one,
> One Flesh; to lose the were to lose myself
> (IX. 955-9).[84]

But there is no debate in his temptation. Presented by Eve with the situation (IX. 856-85), he speaks some sixty lines which only express his awareness of both the seriousness of the crime and his own inability to refuse complicity in it (IX. 896-916, 920-59).

The scene in Paradise Lost may nevertheless be of dramatic origin. Milton shows no fondness for stichomythia, eschewing its use even in the highly charged scene of Delila's visit in Samson, so its absence here does not mark a passage conceived exclusively for a narrative work. Further, the burden of Grotius' debate is to recall his Adam's successful resistance of these arguments in his Act III temptation by Satan, an event without a parallel in Paradise Lost.

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[83]Cf. AE, IV. 1351-4: "Gelidus per artus vadit excussos tremor,/ Exanguis asto, crinis erectus riget./ Vix ipse valido spiritus gemitu viam/ Perrupit" (A frosty trembling runs through all my smitten limbs;/ Bloodless I stand, with hair erect and terrified:/ My very breath, with mighty groan, can scarce breathe forth.)

[84]Cf. AE, IV. 1455-7: "Sociae bonorum, vita quo auxillio mea/ Sustenta floret, una quaemecum caro est./ Quid huic negandum?" (To the companion of my blessings, by whose aid/ My glad life is upheld, who is one flesh with me,/ What is to be refused.)

With the poignant cry of Eve,

> Caputque nutat? omne ruat in me malum,
> Si quod futurum est: Parcat, o, parcat viro (IV. 1467-8)
> (Why droops thy head? If an evil is to follow,/ Let it
> all fall on me; but spare, ah spare my man!),

Grotius concludes the Temptation. The chorus very briefly anticipates the imminent sorrows of the couple and the race, and Act IV of Adamus Exul ends.

AE, Act V; PL, Bks. IX. and X

Paradise Lost shares with the fifth act of Adamus Exul three major actions: the exultation of Satan, the recriminatory conversation of Adam and Eve, and the Judgment. As I have pointed out in discussing Milton's early plans (p. 70-73 above), the elimination of personifications from "Adam unparadis'd", Acts III-V, coupled with the inclusion earlier in the play of both a long passage of conversation with a friendly angel and an act presenting the Fall, would necessarily have compressed the events of those three acts into at most two and probably only one act,

The removal of Conscience and Justice from Act III of Milton's last plan would have left "Lucifer relating and insulting" to open the act, a mute Adam and Eve "covered with leaves", and a bewailing chorus. The Judgment was evidently planned to occur off stage, at the place "whither Jehovah called".

Removal of Justice from draft Act IV would have left Adam and Eve in mutual recrimination and an admonishing chorus. Removal of Mercy (who "promises the Messiah") from the last act would

have left the banishing angel and a briefly concluding chorus. This is clearly manageable in a single fifth act consisting of

1) Satan's assertion of victory,

2) Adam and Eve's grief and accusations,

3) The instrction and expulsion of Adam and Eve, and

4) A concluding chorus.

The contents of Adamus Exul, Act V differ only in that in the third place the Judgment and expulsion are represented, and that there is no choral conclusion.[85] The last is a minor difference, of course, and it might be assumed in light of his practice in Samson that Milton would have kept a choral conclusion of roughly a dozen lines.

The major point of difference between the hypothetical Milton tragedy and Adamus Exul in this act is, then, the nature of the third event. When Milton cast his fourth plan he obviously had reservations about presenting not only the Fall but the Judgment as well. He stipulates that Adam be cited to the place of judgment and that "mean while the chorus entertains the stage and is informed by some angel the manner of his fall" (see p. 66 above). The problem of propriety was a real one for the poet, for it would have been unthinkable

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[85]One suspects again the influence of Senecan practice. Only twice (in Hercules Oetaeus and Octavia) does Seneca conclude with a choral passage. Among the Greeks, such conclusions are the rule.

to substitute a mere messenger for the Judge, and the representation of divinity itself was a thing to be considered thoroughly even though only a voice need be represented.[86] Milton solved the problem, I think, by reference to Adamus Exul, in which the offstage Vox Dei accomplishes both the Judgment and the Expulsion.

It should be noted, however, that the early plans reveal Milton's consistent preference for widely separated Judgment and Expulsion, and it is entirely possible that their separation in Paradise Lost is the result of continuous development of this feature throughout the various stages of the work. If so, it is one of the few major resemblances to Andreini's L'Adamo to survive.[87] But it is equally possible that Milton returned to the concept of separate events only after his decision to convert the work to a narrative freed him to treat

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[86]"And they heard the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden in the cool of the day" (Gen. 3.8). Salandra has God physically enter to judge Adam and Eve (v. Kirk., p. 336) and Andreini represents the Eternal Father both creating and judging them (v. Kirk., p. 228-33 and 257 respectively). In England civil and ecclesiastical law provided that "no pageant be used or set furthe wherin the Matye of God the Father, God the Sonne, or God the Holie Ghoste... be counterfeyted or represented" (from a 1576 order of the Privy Council of the North to the village of Wakefield). Harold C. Gardiner, Mysteries' End (New Haven, Conn., 1946), p. 78.

[87]The expelling angel is unspecified in the plans, but he is Michael in both PL and L'Adamo. An unnamed angel does this in Salandra immediately after the Judgment. The consolatory and instructional functions of Mercy in the plans appears to derive from Salandra's Act III, Scene vi, but these are Michael's duties in both L'Adamo (V, ix) and PL.

them both in the proper detail. The following pages will show that those passages of Book X which resemble Grotius closely and are of likely dramatic origin leave little room for other material in the same act.

But a word about the final lines of Book IX is in order first. It is in the nature of the Fall story, with its double protagonist and its overpoweringly present antagonist, that a sharply focused catastrophe is difficult to manage. There is, of course, a single catastrophic act, but its affective value is greatly reduced by auditor awareness that it is the product of three wills, not one, and that a very complex and often subtle interplay of motives and circumstances, not a single course of overreaching aspiration, has reached its climactic moment. That moment in the ideal tragic mythos at which the hero's self-absorption is total, and he has reached the point at which, the auditor knows, his wings must melt, is the emotional apogee of the dramatic movement. Here, ideally, his hubristic speech draws together the threads of apprehension, sympathy and repulsion. His coincident near-perfection and nearly total error are held up to view for a motionless moment before the fatal crash — a moment the auditor needs if he is to follow the remaining action with complete emotional comprehension; that is, if he is to experience catharsis.

None of the analogues of Paradise Lost provides a very effective moment of this sort for Adam. Indeed, Grotius almost permits Eve to usurp it in her apostrophes to the fruit.

Milton follows him in this but includes a speech for Adam after he has eaten which provides exactly the touch needed to reassert both his centrality and the extent of his responsibility for the Fall. It is pure hubris:

> Eve, now I see thou are exact of taste,
> And elegant, of Sapience no small part,
> Since to each meaning savor 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; if such pleasure be
> In things to us forbidden, it might be wish'd,
> For this one Tree had been forbidden ten
> (IX. 1017-26).

The debased reasoning of the first lines and the self-conscious irony of the last — they recall Satan's "evil be thou my good" — are worthy of the Adversary himself. Nor is the speech doctrinally ambiguous. That Adam, who once called Eve "Daughter of God and Man" (IV. 660), should praise her attractions now as the "bounty of this virtuous Tree" (IX. 1033), makes clear his denial of the Creator.

The dalliance which follows, "of thir mutual guilt the Seal/ The solace of thir sin" (IX. 1043-4), is an exclusively narrative possibility. But it is tempting to credit Milton with the wisdom to have included Adam's lines in his tragedy. They would have made a fitting close to Act IV; a better one than the lament of Grotius' Eve, which nearly gains her heroic centrality.

If Adam's words did occur in Act IV of Milton's tragedy they

could hardly have been followed by the mutual accusations which close Book IX of Paradise Lost. The present location of this conversation is made possible by the intercession of the narrated "Loves disport" and "grosser sleep" and the making of leaf loincloths, sufficient event and elapsed time to permit the great alteration of mood. The poet's early plans (see p. 70 above) had called for Adam and Eve to "accuse one another" as part of the post-lapsarian sequence, but this was to have occurred after the offstage Judgment. Clearly then, the present sequence is the product of much alteration in the process of narrative recasting.

The most likely fifth-act arrangment, and the most effective, would have been to open, as both the post-lapsarian sequence in the drafts and the fifth act of Adamus Exul do, with the exulting Satan. This is particularly true if Adam's dazed exhilaration closed Act IV, for the latter's nearness to Satan would thus be strongly underscored. Satan would also prepare the auditor for the scene of human confusion and strife, perhaps by reference to the evils already beginning. Satan's behavior in Paradise Lost, is of course, epic. His flight, the meeting with Sin and Death, and his return to Pandemonium are presented almost wholly in narrative. I can find little that looks as though it could derive from a tragedy. Certainly there is almost nothing resembling Grotius.

A few minor similarities do appear, however. The first is merely verbal. At the end of his interview with Sin and Death Milton's Satan gives them their charge:

> You two this way, among those numerous Orbs
> All yours, right down to Paradise descend;
> There dwell and Reign in bliss, thence on the Earth
> Dominion exercise and in the Air (X. 397-400).

The exultation of Grotius' Satan begins,

> Cessare voto cuncta: sublimem meo
> Superis superior vertice exaequo Polum.
> Nunc regna Terrae teneo, nunc Sceptrum maris
> Aeria spatia sub meum misi jugum (V. 1531-34)
> (My hopes are all fulfill'd. Higher than all things high,/
> I now shall smite the stars with my triumphant head!/
> Now I possess Earth's rule, the sceptre of the Sea,/ And
> I have placed the realms of Air beneath my yoke.)

The second is the shared concept of Satan's mistaken idea that God would forsake man because of his sin, that,

> he thereat
> Offended... hath giv'n up
> Both his beloved Man and all his World (X. 487-9).

Grotius' Satan invokes increase of sin and Fury "paeniteat Deum/ Hominis creati" (V. 1558-9) (until God repent/ Of man's crea-
tion). [88]

Finally, the two poets share concern for the tradition that Adam received a vision of the future. Each assumes, with certain Jewish rather than Christian commentators, that such a vision would follow the Fall rather than accompany the creation of Eve.[89] But Grotius faces severe limitations in presenting such an event in the economical form of classical

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[88]Cf. also Satan's proposal in Book II, written soon after the narrative recasting (see p. 167 below), "thir God/ May prove thir foe, and with repenting hand/ Abolish his own works" (II. 369-70).

[89]For discussion of this tradition see Evans, p. 54-7, 169, 291-2. As Evans notes, Milton does associate the two events at XI. 367-9.

tragedy. Milton's early plans indicate that he considered presenting the opening of Adam's eyes through the device of a masque of mute evils, but this is far from the representation of events.[90] Grotius attacks the problem by having Satan announce, quite gratuitously, that there will be no revelation:

> ... nil vetitum sibi
> Putet ira: frater dirus in fratrem ruat
> ... nec suarum pignorum
> Aspicare nutrex Terra sustinest nefas,
> Redire ut iterum tentet ad priscum Chaos,
> Sesque, et illos vindici immergat salo.
> Adame, quantum est haec quod ignoras mala?
> Sed et hoc peribit: cuncta non uno impetu
> Simil patebunt (V. 1555-6, 1559-65)
> (... let rage consider naught/ Forbidden it. Let ruthless brother slaughter brother/ ... nor may Earth, his nurse, endure/ The spectacle of all her children's felonies,/ So may she try to turn again to ancient Chaos/ And plunge herself and them in an avenging sea!/ How strange, O Adam, that of this thou knowest naught!/ But this will pass; though all things will not be reveal'd/ By one swift act of God.[91])

Both poets, but especially Milton, must have felt the dramatic importance of the vision, and in light of the present Paradise Lost it seems inevitable that any comforting and instruction of Adam should be intimately connected with it. Yet in Milton's draft four it is Mercy who comforts, instructs and promises the Messiah. At some point, obviously, Milton recognized both that

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[90]Salandra tries to represent the murder of Abel in his fourth act, but this only further extends an already awkward play.

[91]"... of God" is a translator's liberty, but I think the context warrants it.

a vision was needed and that it should be integrated with these other matters, and if he attempted such an integration in his drama the unwieldy result must have confirmed that Grotius' omission of the vision was as wise as his mention of it was not. This problem was surely among the most important and perhaps among the first factors leading finally to Milton's decision to rework the play as a narrative.

Book X of Paradise Lost, after a short narrative of the Son's journey to the Garden, moves quickly to the Judgment. Milton adheres rather closely to Genesis throughout this scene, deviating significantly only to provide Adam with an expression of doubts about blaming Eve (X. 125-36), the Son with a direct answer to Adam's explanation of his eating (X. 145-56), and the reader with a reminder that the judgment of the serpent is to be given "in mysterious terms, judg'd as then best" (X. 173, 182-92). In addition, he appends to the account the clothing of Adam and Eve's

> inward nakedness, much more
> Opprobrious, with his Robe of Righteousness
> (X. 221-2).

Grotius diverges a little more often in the Judgment from Biblical text, paraphrasing often but seldom quoting as Milton frequently does. He does not give Adam "qualms" about accusing Eve.[92]

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[92]I cannot agree with Evans (p. 290, "qualms" is his word) that this speech reduces Adam's apparent cowardice. Adam's "strict necessity/ Subdues me" (X. 131-2), since it calls to mind Satan in Book IV (393-4) who "with necessity/ The Tyrant's plea, excus'd his devilish deeds", serves rather to intensify it.

In Grotius, Vox Dei's judgment of Adam combines the extra matter of Paradise Lost, X. 145-56 with a paraphrase of the Biblical Judgment somewhat looser than Milton's:

> Cape tuas, Adame poenas, quem ducem, non asseclam
> Esse oportuerat maritae, quique culpam feminae
> Praepedire debuisti mascula prudentia,
> Non inire perpetrati criminis consortium,
> Quique muliebri lepori posthabens legem meam
> Vetita persuasus profana poma violasti gula (V. 1940-45)
> (Adam, accept thy punishment, for thou in truth/ Shouldst be the leader, not the follower, of thy wife,/ And with male prudence shouldst have check'd a woman's fault,/ Not entered into partnership in acts of crime./ And thou, who thought my edicts less than female charm,/ Wert moved with greed to violate forbidden fruit.)

Compare

> Was she thy God, that her thou didst obey
> Before his voice, or was she made thy guide,
> Superior, or but equal, that to her
> Thou didst resign thy Manhood, and the Place
> Wherein God set thee above her made of thee,
> And for thee, whose perfection far excell'd
> Hers in all real dignity: Adorn'd
> She was indeed, and lovely to attract
> Thy Love, not thy Subjection, and her Gifts
> Were such as under Government well receiv'd,
> Unseemly to bear rule, which was thy part (X. 145-55).

The two judgments of the serpent bear close comparison. Milton, having rendered the Biblical Judgment almost verbatim, interjects a narrative explanation of its "mysterious terms":

> So spake this Oracle, then verifi'd
> When Jesus son of Mary second Eve,
> Saw Satan fall like lightning down from Heav'n
> Prince of the Air; then rising from his Grave
> Spoil'd Principalities and Powers, triumpht
> In open show, and with ascension bright
> Captivity led captive through the Air,
> The Realm itself of Satan long usurpt,
> Whom he shall tread at last under our feet;
> Ev'n hee who now foretold his fatal bruise (X. 182-91).

Grotius' Voice, having rendered judgments of both the serpent and

> Tu ferox homicida Sathan, angue qui tectus latens
> Perfidis effascinati feminam mendaciis (V. 1895-6)
> (Thou, fierce murderer Satan, who conceal'd within/ The serpent didst bewitch the woman with base lies.)

continues thus:

> IPSE veniet, ipse carnem sumet humanam Deus,
> Non viro genitus, sed uno feminino ex semine,
> Virginali natus alvo, generis humani Salus,
> Qui Triumphator superbum conteret tibi verticem,
> Et feri victor veneni tempus utrunque opprimet.
> Illius ductu piorum coetus armata manu
> Spolia referet saepe opima, vimque superabit tuam
> Non tibi tuto licebit Marte aperto cernere,
> Non in os prodire contra: semper aversos petes,
> Ausus inflixisse tantum caeca calci vulnera (V. 1915-24)
> (HIMSELF shall come, for God shall take on human flesh,/ By mankind not begotten, yet from woman's seed,/ Born of a Virgin's womb, the Savior of mankind,/ And He as Conqueror shall bruise thy haughty head,/ And tramp triumphantly on both thy venom'd temples./ Often, with Him their Head, the just, with armed hand/ Shall bring back spolia opima, routing thee./ Nor shall I suffer thee to strive in open warfare,/ Nor meet them face to face. Ever behind thou'lt lurk,/ Venturing nought but hidden ravage on their heel.)

Each poet returns to Biblical precedent at this point taking up the judgment of Eve.

It appears very likely that the substance of the narrative interjection was, in Milton's play as in Adamus Exul, the property of the "voice of God" (X. 97). When in recasting the work the poet determined to sustain Satan's delusion of victory until his return to Hell (see X. 494-6), and to reserve the revelation to Adam of the incarnation for Michael's interview (XII. 356-456) — the first of which is certainly a

later, narrative addition, and the second probably — he simply rewrote this passage for the narrator, unwilling to let go the opportunity of stressing to the reader this most important connection.[93]

Only one element of the Fall story as told by Milton and Grotius remains to be discussed. As I have said, the post-lapsarian discord and despair of Adam and Eve must have occurred in Milton's tragedy. The sequence may have been split by the Judgment as it is in Paradise Lost and therefore suffered little alteration in the process of recasting. But oddly enough, in comparing this portion of Adamus Exul with Paradise Lost, one finds first a passage in the play which points clearly to Milton's manuscript plans but which in only hinted at in the narrative poem.

The masque of evils which was intended in the early plans to cause Adam's despair leaves only a trace in Paradise Lost. It occurs at the end of the narrative of the onset of climatic changes in Book X. Having noted these changes the narrator continues,

> Thus began
> Outrage from lifeless things; but Discord first
> Daughter of Sin, anong th' irrational,
> Death introduc'd through fierce antipathy:

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[93]Nothing of the kind is to be found in Avitus, Andreini, Salandra or DuBartas.

> Beast now with Beast gan war, and Fowl with Fowl,
> And Fish with Fish; to graze the Herb all leaving,
> Devour'd each other; nor stood much in awe
> Of Man, but fled him, or with count'nance grim
> Glar'd on him passing: these were from without
> The growing miseries, which Adam saw
> Already in part, though hid in gloomiest shade (X. 706-16).

Thus is Adam's lament introduced. As we have seen before, such narrative introductions sometimes mark points where dramatic material has been recast, some of it passing from dialogue to the narrator, and traces of the original material can be discovered by reference to Adamus Exul. It appears that the dramatic material replaced by narrative here is the masque procession of the plans, but this would require an author of the drama utterly inconsistent with the Milton I have pictured — one steadily moving away from personification and masque elements and toward classical practice. Grotius provides a clue which may clear Milton of such an inconsistency (or me of hasty judgment).

Adam's first speech in Act V of the Grotius play is in fact a description of a masque of personified evils:

> dira Furiarum loca
> Aspicere videor: Mors quid a tergo mihi
> Crudelis instas: pectus hoc, pectus feri
> Miseranda coniunx agmen infernum vides?
> Ego video: dirum Noctis obscurae genus
> Me circum oberrat: ducit omnem exercitum
> Scelus, et rebellis fastus, et facti pudor.
> Hinc pallidorum longa morborum cohors,
> Turpisque egestas sequitur, et duri labos
> Sudoris author: parte ab hac luctus venit:
> Tremulo senectus tarda procedit gradu
> Vicina lethi. Turba curarum ingerit
> Se parte ab omni: nec procul tristi Fames
> Bellique nutrix impotens Discordia
> Tollit, cruentas sanguine innocuo, manus.

> Perspicere nequeo: semper ulterius malum est (V. 1593-1609). (I seem to see th' abode/ Of the grim Furies. Why, O cruel death, ah why/ Dost thou behind me stalk? Strike, strike this breast of mine!/ O wretched wife, dost thou behold their hellish train?/ I see them. Round me wander the insensate brood/ Of sable-vested Night:[94] Sin marshals all their host,/ And hot rebellious Pride, and melancholy Shame;/ Thereafter come long, livid Legions of Disease,/ And squalid Poverty, and Toil that still engenders/ Swooning and Sweat. From that same quarter issues Grief;/ And tardy age, the neighbor of pale Death, advances/ With tottering step. A multitude of Cares draws near/ From all directions; while from close at hand dread Hunger,/ And Discord, the outrageous nurse of wanton War,/ Lifts hands bedabbled with the blood of Innocence./ I cannot look: ever worse evils lie beyond.)

It is for Adam exactly the experience Milton had desired for his Adam in the plans, but it is achieved without crowding the stage with a collection of mutes. The evils are products of his delirium and, while this in itself would not prevent their presence on stage, Eve's response to the speech makes it clear that Grotius did not envision this:

> Quae fingis amens spectra? quis te agitat furor?
> Quove aestuantes huc et huc vultus refers,
> Acieque falsas turbida species vides?
> Compesce sensus: comprime affectus truces,
> Parumque sanae mentis affectum doma
> Resipisce, et animos ipse pacifica tuos (V. 1610-15)
> (What phantoms of delirium oppress thy brain?/ In what hot frenzy dost thou glower to and fro/ And see illusive semblances with blood-shot glance?/ Control thy senses! Damp these wild emotions down,/ And tame thy spirit, that just now is far from sane!/ Come to thy senses, pray, and calm thy soul thyself!)

The immediate dramatic source of Milton's narrative reference, then, need not have been a masque procession. It may have been what it is in Adamus Exul, a vision reported. The decline

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[94]Cf. "Noctis obscurae". Kirkconnell is not immune to Miltonizing.

in importance — and the change in function — noted in my discussion of the drafts (p. 66-7 above) would have produced as a logical next step just such treatment as Grotius gives the vision.

Grotius' Adam, like Milton's, is aware of tangible change:

> Pisces, volucres, cumque jumentis ferae
> Sentire video criminis poenas mei:
> Ea cuncta clamant: Morere, decede, occide (V. 1713-15)
> (I see that fishes, birds, wild beasts, and cattle feel/
> The fatal consequences of my awful crime./ All these
> cry out to me: "Die! Perish! Pass away!")

This is a more specific and a more telling condemnation than Milton's Adam receives from the glaring or fleeting beasts, and the difference suggests what may have been another important reason for Milton's rendering the detail in narrative. Milton's purpose, at least by the time of the narrative and perhaps in the drama, required him to make clear at this point both the fact of external changes and the growing degree to which consciousness of the consequences of his sin already impresses itself upon Adam. But he had to maintain a delicate balance between sufficient despair to make clear Adam's knowledge of his sin and sufficient retained reason to permit Adam to reassert himself as Eve's superior later in the book. Grotius' aims permitted, indeed they required, the clear demonstration of absolute despair in his Adam. By rendering this passage in the relatively less affective narrative form, Milton allows Adam the retention of a credible amount of reason, and he takes the

opportunity to point out, as narrator, that the changed climate and behavior of the animals were seen by Adam only "in part" and "hid in gloomiest shade" (X. 716).

Again, the difference is a function of the radically different subsequent behavior of the two Adams. The focal point of this difference is the question of suicide. In Paradise Lost, of course, it is Eve who suggests suicide. Adam's dissuasion of her is the important first mark of his redeemability; the first mark of hers is her corresponding submission to his guidance. In Adamus Exul the positions of Adam and Eve on the question of suicide are exactly the opposite.

But Milton is not so careful of balance as to deny Adam considerable anguish. At the outset his Adam is indistinguishable from Grotius':

> dust I am, and shall to dust return:
> O welcome hour whenever! why delays
> His hand to execute what his Decree
> Fix'd on this day? why do I overlive
> Why am I mockt with death, and length'n'd out
> To deathless pain? How gladly would I meet
> Mortality my sentence, and be Earth
> Insensible (X. 770-77).

Compare the Adam of Adamus Exul:

> Mors quid a tergo mihi
> Crudelis instas? pectus hoc, pectus feri
> ....
> Quin parte ab omni rector astrorum tonas?
> Quin motus ira bella ventorum indique
> Immittis: imbres cadere collectos jubes?
> Oppono cuivis vile supplicio caput.
> Intende dextram
> ....
> eripe hoc cruciatibus
> Vivum cadaver. quid juvat poenas tuas

> Proferre? possum, debeo, cupio mori (V. 1593-4, 1620-24, 1676-78) (Why, O cruel Death, ah why/ Dost thou behind me stalk? Strike, strike this breast of mine! ... Why Ruler of the stars, dost thou not everywhere/ Thunder, and send in anger on all sides the winds/ To battle? Why not enwrap the sky in dreadful clouds?/ Why not command the gathered rains to fall on me?/ To any penalty I offer my vile head./ Stretch forth Thine hand!... snatch this living corpse from pain!/ What pleasure is there in prolonging punishment?/ I can, indeed I ought, and so desire to die.)

So similar are these that one cannot say with any confidence that Milton did not at some point have his Adam conclude in the manner of Grotius',

> Longas omittam languidae poenae moras,
> Nec aeger ultro fumus extendam meum
> ....
> Tu manus potius veni
> Ministra poenae, quae fuisti criminum (V. 1684-5, 1692-3)
> (I shall forgo the long delays of lingering pain/ Nor further, nauseate at heart, postpone my death.... O thou my hand, come rather,/ My minister of punishment, as once of crime!)

The anguish of Milton's Adam, including the prominent feature of distress at the effects of his crime on posterity, continues "through the still Night" (X. 846) unabated. This

> when sad Eve beheld
> Desolate where she sat, approaching nigh,
> Soft words to his fierce passion she assay'd (X. 863-5).

She is rebuffed but perseveres, pleading,

> I beg, and clasp thy knees; bereave me not,
> Whereon I live, thy gentle looks, thy aid,
> Thy counsel in the uttermost distress,
> My only strength and stay (X. 918-21).

The Eve of Adamus Exul has preceeded her:

> Ne me relinquas: nunc tuo auxilio est opus,
> Cum versa sors est. unicam lapsae mihi
> Firmamen, unum spem gravi afflictae malo
> Te mihi reserva dum licet (V. 1768-71)

(I beg thee, leave me not! I need thy succour now,/
When thus our lot is overthrown! But while thou mayst,/
In this my fall preserve for me my one support,/ One
hope in adversity.)

Milton's Eve is sensitive of her double sin:

both have sinn'd, but thou
Against God only, I against God and thee (X. 930-31).

Compare:

Poenas rependam scleribus tantis pare
Sclerata conjunx.... ego duplex feci nefas,
Cum fallor, et cum fallo (V. 1793-4, 1796-7)
(Curst consort that I am! My own sin not enough,/ I made
my husband sin.... Mine was a two-fold crime,/ Deceived
and then deceiving.)

The Eve of Paradise Lost vows to

With my cries importune Heaven, that all
The sentence from thy head remov'd may light
On me, sole cause to thee of all this woe,
Mee mee only just object of his ire (X. 933-6).

Precisely this has Grotius' Eve importuned at the conclusion of Act IV.[95]

Milton's Eve proposes suicide:

miserable it is
To be to others cause of misery,
Our own begott'n, and of our Loins to bring
Into this cursed World a woeful Race,
That after wretched Life must be at last
Food for so foul a Monster, in thy power
It lies, yet ere Conception to prevent
The Race unblest, to being yet unbegot
....
But if thou judge it hard and difficult,
Conversing, looking, loving, to abstain
From Love's due Rite, Nuptual embraces sweet
....

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[95]See p. 133 above.

> Then both ourselves and Seed at once to free,
> From what we fear for both, let us make short,
> Let us seek Death, or he not found, supply
> With our own hands his Office on ourselves (X. 981-8, 992-4, 999-1002).

So does the Eve of Adamus Exul:

> Si, Adame, pietas vera quaeranda est tibi,
> Ne perime meritam: si tibi ignotum est scelus,
> Ego sum majistra: sine tu jugulum petis,
> Praebo jugulum
> ....
> Si tu recusas feminae facient manus
> Opus virile (V. 1782-5, 1789-90)
> If, Adam, thou wouldst seek to do thy duty now,/ Slay me, who merit it! If crime's unknown to thee,/ I shall instruct thee. If thou seek'st a throat to cut,/ I shall present my throat.... If thou refusest, with my female hands I'll do/ A man's stark work!.

The difference between the scenes is this: Milton's Eve attempts to assuage Adam's despair and, failing that, suggests death as a selfless gesture, a well-meant, if erroneous, sacrifice. The words of Grotius' Eve are a ploy. Her Adam has already vowed to die by his own hand. Having failed to dissuade him, she promises to preceed him in the well-founded hope that he could not bear her death and will assent to live in order to prevent it. In Paradise Lost Adam answers the suggestion of suicide with essentially the same argument already used by Grotius' Eve.

> No more mention'd then of violence
> Against ourselves, and wilful bareness,[96]
> That cuts us off from hope, and savors only
> Rancor and pride, impatience and despite,
> Reluctance against God and his just yoke
> Laid on our Necks (X. 1041-6).

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[96]Though both Eves and both Adams dread the evils to befall posterity, only in Paradise Lost is "wilful bareness" contemplated.

Compare,

> nemo sic perit
> Ut non salutis spe foveri debat
> ....
> Quod odit auget, scelere qui punit scelus,
> Dignum esse vita monstrat hoc, dignum nece
> Quod te putoris. Majus isto crimine
> Crimen relinquet vata, si mortem petis.[97]
> ....
> Iam facies scelus
> Ultro, atque certis? unicum hoc aufer malum (V. 1651-2, 1700-1703, 1729-30) (No one is so far lost/ That he should not still hope for some deliverance....He who pays crime for crime, increases what he hates./ That thou dost think thyself deserving death but shows/ That thou deservest life. For if thou seekest death/ Thou wilt but aggravate thy sin by further sin.... Wilt thou now commit/ A conscious further crime? At least avoid this evil!)

It is impossible to determine whether the alterations in Milton's scene were made at the outset, for his drama, or were coincidental with his narrative recasting. It is also impossible to doubt that these were alterations — impressively few — in a scene for whose substance and shape Milton is indebted to Hugo Grotius.

The scene of Adamus Exùl just discussed takes place, it will be recalled, just prior to the Judgment. Grotius concludes the fifth act, and the play, with Vox Dei's summoning his cherubim to guard the east gate of the Garden, lest man return to eat also of the Tree of Life.

It has been my aim throughout the preceeding comparison to prove Milton's direct indebtedness to Adamus Exul for many

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[97]Cf. Milton's Adam: "Eve, thy contempt of life and pleasure seems/ To argue in thee something more sublime/ And excellent than what thy mind contemns;/ But self-destruction therefore sought, refutes/ That excellence" (X. 1013-17).

of the most important structural features and a great deal of the detail of Paradise Lost. I have hoped too to demonstrate the very high degree of probability that this debt was first incurred in the composition of a tragedy now lost. Many of the features of Paradise Lost derived from Grotius' play could have been incorporated directly into narrative only with enormous difficulty. But I hope also to have thrown into clearer relief the contours of that portion of Paradise Lost which still is a tragic drama, with a coherence and unity of action that could only have been consciously cultivated and carefully preserved by the poet.

Paradise in Paradise Lost is a stage, just as it is in Adamus Exul. Great, indeed epic actions rage above and below. Glorious confrontations, great councils, war, hazardous quest, the opposition of implacable foes with indomitable wills; these form the larger context in which the primal tragedy is acted out, just as events of public moment, the affairs of states and parties, form the context of both Greek and English theater. And they provide the terms in which any tragedy is acted. But what happens in Eden is personal, immediate, individual. It happens in a quiet world in which the fatal blows do not resound the thunder of steel on bronze because they are struck by the spirit against itself and with a subtlety whose opposite is epic confrontation.

That human life has this doubleness as a fundamental

characteristic is, for Milton, directly attributable to the Fall, and the tracing of its sources is among his purposes in Paradise Lost. The doctrinally critical point in the poem is not the Fall itself, but the decision of Adam and Eve to avoid further crime. Fallen they are tragic, but redeemable. Their moment of heroic exhilaration is forever over, but they will know grace. Were they to choose to repeat their crime, they might know again that heroic moment when the stakes of a single action are large beyond calculation and the enemy a worthy one. They would then have embarked upon a life of action, a style which, to fallen eyes, has a certain grandeur, but they would have lost their souls eternally, for that style is Satanic.

The choice is there in the tragedy Milton wrote. It is in Adamus Exul. But its meaning in the tragedy is only fully felt in terms of the option chosen by the "first pair". The poet of 'first things', who would "justify the ways of God to men" (I. 26) rather than only the ways of God to those who choose Him, must do more. He must write the tragedy, of course, but he must also go beyond tragedy to find a form expressive of the other choice, the choice of perpetual conflict and the never-ending quest for violent victory, the choice of eternal damnation. The choice is Satan's and the form is epic. It is the burden of the next section to explore the means by which Milton achieved his unique double poem, and to examine further his

reasons for producing a narrative which contains both an epic and a drama held in careful suspension in the total work, two stories which are yet inseparable because they are parts of the one first story.

III

The Tragedy Narrated; the Epic Affixed

> Song,
> That with no middle flight intends to soar
> Above th' Aonian Mount, while it pursues
> Things unattempted yet in prose or Rhyme.

The lines are famous — undergraduates by the thousands memorize them — and editors confidently note the echo in them of Ariosto's boast of novelty in the Orlando Furioso.[1] But what do they mean? Surely more than that this 'epic' will contain a more lofty theme than 'previous epics'. While "things unattempted" may be taken to refer to certain aspects of the argument and certain themes, the lines assert far more than the topical superiority or even the exceeding truth of the poem. They claim no less than that the very "Song" will soar above anything ever offered by the Muses. "Song" of course is more than melody; it is structure as well.

When the poet asserts that his song will be superior and that it will pursue the as yet unattempted he is talking about structure and scope. The Creation had been sung before

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[1] See Hughes, p. 212, n. 16 and 379, n. 29-31.

in numerous hexamera. The Fall had been told in both narrative and dramatic form. The War in Heaven had been related in many different ways and Heavenly and Hellish councils had been offered. No poet, however, nor any writer of prose had yet attempted the truly comprehensive story of First Things.

So, having written a tragedy of the Fall, Milton determined to work out from it to include both those events preceeding it which, with the Fall, established the pattern of human life until the Second Coming, and sufficient subsequent events to demonstrate the adherence of the life of fallen man to that pattern.

The pattern of the Creation is already well established in the drama through Raphael's hexameron. The antithesis of this, the destructive pattern, is already strongly suggested in the character of Satan. The movement of man out of the purity of the first toward the absolute impurity of the second is the tragic movement. The arrest of this movement by the couple's choice to re-submit establishes the third pattern of action, the pattern of doomed but redeemable man.

Milton's new narrative, then, might amplify its treatment of the primal pattern, the divine design. Not much could be done to convey to the fallen reader, this first perfection and its absolute harmony, but some conception of it in the abstract might be attempted. The second pattern would be

easy to represent, since it has been the pattern of life of a great portion of humankind in every era. The reader would know the original of his own sinful acts instantly.

Only the third, the pattern of action produced by the tragedy, required development from almost nothing. The play presents clearly the choice between absolute villainy and absolute harmony with God. It also portrays life in each pattern in the pre- and post-lapsarian behavior of Adam and Eve. But the all-important second choice between eternal denial of God, absolute Satanism, and the more ambiguous pattern of error and submission to punishment, sin and repentance, death and life; this in the tragedy is simply a choice made, not a pattern acted out and generalizable. Examples of life in this pattern might be rendered.

In the pages that follow I will examine the manner of Milton's extension of the work to include these patterns.[2] Briefly, it was this: The tragic movement, freed from the 'stage restrictions' of even a closet drama, was amplified chiefly in Adam's conversation with the angel. This made clearer both the divine and the demonic pattern through the

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[2]The order in which I treat compositional increments is not intended to reflect precisely the order of composition itself. Major questions of compositional order may be resolved, but analysis of the substance of the text, like analysis of versification, quickly takes us to the point where "confident conclusions become impossible." (Ants Oras, Blank Verse and Chronology in Milton /Gainsville, Fla., 1966/, p. 40).

addition of the War in Heaven at the beginning and through general expansion of the narrative of the Creation. This, together with the general extension of dialogue between Adam and Eve, effected at once a deepening of the tragedy and an underscoring for the reader of the elements of the primal choice.

The Satanic pattern, however, was further detailed outside the tragedy and exclusively for the reader, first by projecting the character of the Adversary as revealed by his Act I soliloquies onto the larger canvas of detailed action. This produced Books I and II. Second, the extra-tragic activities of the spirits were added (the epic confrontation of Book IV and the epic return of Book X). Similarly, scenes in Heaven were added which, though more abstractly, would amplify outside the tragedy the contours of the divine pattern.

Finally, the repentant character of Adam in Book X was projected onto an historical canvas thus to portray the new dynamics of human choice set up by his fall. To put it another way, Adam's tragic anagnorisis, his personal recognition of the meaning of his choice, is made a true revelation through its projection into a picture of active, historical choice-making.

Notice that the heart of the work is still the tragic mythos or plot. Expansion of Adam's dialogue with Raphael does not alter its dramatic function. But the order in which extra-tragic occurences are presented is also controlled by

the tragic design. The result is that the dramatic value of Satan's holding the stage for the first half of Act I is retained in his extended dominance of the early books of the narrative. The contrast to him provided in the tragedy by the introduction of the perfect couple near the close of the first act is afforded (probably at a later stage of composition) by the Heavenly conversation of Book III. The first three books are thus quite literally a macrocosmic projection of Book IV (Act I).[3] By the same process the character of the lapsed Adam of Book X is projected onto history in the final books to reveal the tragically determined character of fallen human life. Besides its doctrinal significance, this projection provides an extended period of anagnorisis, proportioned to the whole poem as the briefer dramatic version had been proportioned to the whole tragedy.

These, in general, are the means by which the tragedy of the Fall was expanded into a more complete narrative of First Things, one which would account for all subsequent human phenomena, even, implicitly, the literary forms themselves through which these phenomena are expressed. For convenience I will discuss in some detail first those accretions of material added to the tragic movement, reserving the extra-tragic or "epic" additions for separate discussion.

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[3]The effect for the reader, of course, is to sense a microcosm in the Edenic context of Book IV.

The Tragedy Narrated

Milton's chief motive, I have said, for converting his play to narrative was to permit expansion. Conversion itself, however, required certain obvious alterations which add little. Dialogue was instantly fitted into the narrative by simply replacing the play's speaker denominations with short phrases or sentences; "To whom the Angel" or "To whom the patriarch of mankind repli'd". The second of these formulae might be varied within the confines of a single pentameter line; "To whom the Angel with contracted brow", or "Whom thus the Angelic Virtue answer'd mild". This would provide tiny points of description almost like stage directions. A third variety, easily insertable without disturbing lines of extant dialogue, is the two to four line sentence:

> To him she hasted, in her face excuse
> Came Prologue, and Apology to prompt,
> Which with bland words at will she thus addrest
> (IX. 853-5);

> So having said, as one from sad dismay
> Recomforted, and after thoughts disturb'd
> Submitting to what seem'd remediless,
> Thus in calm mood his Words to Eve he turn'd
> (IX. 917-20).

This more complex variety frequently appears also as the concluding sentence of a long narrative passage both in sections of the poem of clearly dramatic origin (as is the case with the second sample quoted) and in those clearly composed from the beginning as part of a narrative poem. Two other formulae for speaker identification, however, rarely occur in material

which might have been carried over from the play. The first of these is the complex and lengthy sentence whose primary burden is to introduce a speaker but which is also laden with descriptive and evaluative phrases and clauses:

> Then Crown'd again thir gold'n Harps they took,
> Harps ever tun'd, that glittering by thir side
> Like Quivers hung, and with Preamble sweet
> Of charming symphony they introduce
> Thir sacred Song, and waken raptures high;
> No voice exempt, no voice but well could join
> Melodious part, such concord is in Heav'n.
> Thee Father first they sung... (III. 365-72).

Finally there is the simple insertion of 'said' (plus name) in speech itself:

> Is this the Region, this the Soil, the Clime,
> Said then the lost Arch-Angel, this the seat
> (I. 242-3).

This is a rarity in the poem as a whole, and of its fourteen occurrences only two (IX. 631 and X. 855) appear in the midst of material I have judged to be drawn from the drama.[4]

Milton's use of these formulae is not of course a reliable guide to the origin or compositional age of passages. They are all useful in all parts of the poem as we have it. There is, however, a preponderance of the first three varieties in passages closely comparable to Adamus Exul and the dramatic drafts. In those portions of Books IV through X compared to Grotius in the previous section these are the incidences of

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[4]The first of these occurs in the serpent's description of the route from where he encounters Eve to the tree; a passage possible in the drama. The second comes in a twenty line passage whose first ten and last four lines are descriptive and whose spoken lines repeat the immediately preceeding speech. These mark it a likely insertion.

the five formulae:

1)	phrases (e. g. 'thus Adam'),	10	
2)	pentameters with verb,	30	
3)	two-five line sentences,	18	Total - 58
4)	long, complex sentences (6-10 ll.),	17	
5)	single word insertions,	2.	Total - 19

Incidences in the rest of the poem (I-III, IV. 776-V. 307, XI-XII, and scattered passages of scenes in Heaven, Chaos and Hell) are as follows:

1)	phrases,	11	
2)	pentameters,	30	
3)	short sentences,	16	Total - 57
4)	long sentences,	46	
5)	single words,	10	Total - 56

The difference in ratios — 3:1 as against 1:1 — arises, I think, from the fact that usages of the sort indicated in items 4 and 5 occur quite naturally in the course of narrative with quoted speech, but can only be added to extant dialogue with some inconvenience unless lengthy narrative passages are inserted or new dialogue is added. A good gauge of Milton's handling of such matters in material of the purest narrative kind may be found in Raphael's hexameron and story of the war. The angel's style is virtually identical to that of Milton's narrative persona. Incidences of the five formulae in Raphael's

narrative are as follows:

1)	phrases,	1	
2)	pentameters,	5	
3)	short sentences,	5	Total - 11
4)	long sentences,	18	
5)	single words,	5	Total - 28

In this clearly narrative verse the ratio is nearly 1:3, the reverse of that for passages most likely from the drama.

The poet's heavy reliance on simple narrative links in the play-related material argues, as I think the comparisons in Section II above do, very strongly that much of the tragic dialogue finds its way into Paradise Lost with a minimum of alteration or supplement, the speech of personages being already well able to carry the movement of many scenes without the narrator's assistance.

There are however a number of other ways in which basically dramatic material was altered and augmented in conversion. The conversation of Adam and Eve in Book IV could only have occurred in a play if Act I were extraordinarily long. Their conversation in Book V (25-135) concerning Eve's dream depends, as I have pointed out (p. 89-90 above), upon the scene of the toad in Book IV (776-end), an obviously late epic addition. Yet both of these are virtually indistinguishable in manner from the rest of their dialogue. At numerous points, no doubt, exchanges were added to extant conversation, individual speeches were lengthened through the addition to them of one or more ideas,

perhaps large segments of dialogue were deleted or replaced to bring the material into line with new elements of narrative. As I have suggested at numerous points, certain passages in the poem appear to have been appropriated by the narrator from one of the personages. Finally, the auditor or speaker of some passages may have been changed. I have argued the likelihood that the first is the case with Adam's relation of Eve's creation (p. 109-12 above). It is possible that aspects of Adam and Eve's despair and recrimination have been shifted since the play in order to emphasize the reassertion of hierarchy between the couple (see discussion, p. 149-54 above).

Far and away the greatest changes Milton made in recasting his drama resulted in the extension of Adam's dialogue with Raphael to its present nearly four book length. We know of the last alteration, for it occurred after the first edition. In 1667 the seventh book consisted of the material in the present Books VII and VIII. It is entirely reasonable that in 1667 Milton should have viewed this body of material as a unit despite its great length and the change at its center of the main speaker. It had originally constituted a single act of his tragedy as it does in Adamus Exul (see p. 115-17 above for comparison). Moreover, in its first narrative form it may have been no longer than the 900 line average for books of the

present poem. Its growth to 1289 lines was probably a slow process of accretion, occasionally of long passages such as the 200 line discussion of astronomy.[5]

That the astronomical material was added as a block is strongly hinted when the transitional lines (1-4) of Book VIII and the 198 lines of discussion are omitted and the preceeding and succeeding passages read as though they were contiguous:

> And thy request now think fulfill'd, that asked (VII. 635)
> How first this World and face of things began,
> And what before thy memory was done
> From the beginning, that posterity
> Inform'd by thee might know, if else thou seek'st
> Aught, not surpassing human measure, say. (VII. 640)
> /Here perhaps a one-line speaker designation.7
> Thee I have heard relating what was done (VIII. 203)
> Ere my remembrance: now hear mee relate
> My story, which perhaps thou hast not heard (VIII. 205).

Such an addition would, of course, have had to take place very late in composition, after the shift of Adam's auditor from Eve to the angel as I hypothesize. Much of the increase of bulk in the material of 1667's Book 7, however, may have been the result of many afterthoughts of dialogue and narrative.

The narrative of the War in Heaven raises several questions. Both McColley and Gilbert discuss aspects of it which seem to

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[5]Perhaps only the germ of this existed in the play, a treatment in the manner of the hexameral poets and of Grotius (see p. 114 and n. 63 above) without its present thematic import.

them to mark it as an interpolation. The facts that the early plans call for choral treatment of the War, that it is related in Adamus Exul by the chorus of Act I, and that material which in Paradise Lost preceeds and succeeds the War is contiguous in Adamus Exul (see p. 95-6 above); all these argue for its inclusion sometime after the decision to convert the work to narrative. Nevertheless, its specificity and detail are not choragic and very little of a choral passage can have been carried into Raphael's narrative verbatim.[6] There is no reason to suppose, as Gilbert does, that the War in Heaven was originally written for the narrator or for another location in the poem.[7] Gilbert does cite compelling evidence to indicate that the War was composed in more than one segment, the earliest of which ended with Michael and the loyal angels victorious. He points out (p. 121) that in Book VI (lines 864-66 and 880-84) the

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[6]Cf. McColley (p. 319): "With one exception, Raphael's narrative /of the War/ is in the third person, and could have been presented by the chorus which gave it in the Adam." Actually there are five exceptions (V. 628-9; VI. 91, 200, 571-81, 769), but the bulk of the narrative is third person, which, together with one reference to Raphael (VI. 363), suggests that an anonymous (as in Grotius) non-participating angel may have talked to Adam in the play and for some time in the narrative.

[7]Gilbert (p. 58-65) thinks Raphael's Homeric self-doubt (VI. 297-8) more appropriate to Milton as narrator. Yet at V. 563-5 it is clearly the angel's expression, and the convention is employed by the Heavenly Chorus (VII. 603-4). Citing (p. 69) McColley's evidence (p. 318-19) of inconsistencies in the nature of the fallen and the identity of the War's victor, Gilbert places the War before Book I. His evidence argues as well for stratified composition as for altered sequence, however.

Son pursues the rebellious angels to the edge of Heaven. Yet there are five references in Books I and II to pursuit into Chaos by the loyal angels, and one to the devils' fear of "Thunder and the Sword of Michael" (II. 294).[8] Nowhere in Books I and II do the fallen fear, resent or indeed even mention the Son. This is odd not only in light of his having beaten them in battle but also in light of the jealousy of His exaltation later imputed to Satan. In Books I-II the motive for the rebellion is said to be the Adversary's ambition.[9] The discrepancies can be resolved with somewhat less inventiveness than Gilbert employs.

As I have pointed out, comparison of evidently dramatic material with Adamus Exul indicates that the growth of Paradise Lost was by a process of expansion and division of originally whole units. Thus it was with Books 7 and 10 of the 1667 edition (now Books VII-VIII and XI-XII respectively). I have contended that the increment of growth which ultimately made division of Book 7 necessary was the interpolation of the dialogue on astronomy. A similar process yielded the present Books V and VI from an originally undivided whole.

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[8]See also I. 169-71, 325-7; II. 77-9, 165-6, 996-7. Gilbert cites all but I. 325-7.

[9]For discussion of theological and literary traditional connections of this change see A. Williams, "The Motivation of Satan's Rebellion in Paradise Lost", SP, XLII (1945), 253-68.

Milton's early plans, calling for choral treatment of the War, make no mention of who the victor might be, the Son or Michael's host. If, however, Milton followed Grotius in his preparation of the choral conclusion to Act I of the tragedy, he treated Michael and the loyal angels as the victors. Of the rebellion Grotius' chorus says,

> Solque in tenebras
> Capiens regnem tradere lucis
> Jura sorori, nisi magna Dei
> Jussa capessens sumperat audax
> Arma Michael (I. 291-5)
> (The Sun had gone to rule the dark/ Leaving the day to Luna's spark,/ Had Michael not, at God's command,/ Made fearless war on Satan's band.)

Very early in the narrative recasting of the play Milton evidently realized the value of the War as exemplary material and included it in some form in the angel's conversation with Adam. But it was then a sufficiently brief story so as to form, with the preliminaries to the conversation a single book of the poem, the whole conversation then consisting of one book each for the War and the Creation.[10] It then ended with Michael's victory and probably contained most of the present material up to about line 665 of the present Book VI.

The Epic Affixed

At this point, I think, Milton turned to the first extra-tragic narrative. If Satan's rebellion and defeat were

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[10]It is even conceivable that these two, much shorter than now, occupied a single book at one time composed of almost unaltered matter from the Act I chorus and Act II.

exceedingly valuable to the instruction of Adam, how much more so might the continuance of that rebellion be to the reader. If a view of the fiend was the perfect first act of a tragedy of the Fall, how much more compelling might be a view of those proceedings by which he arrived in Eden, revealing as they would the whole complex of motives, values,and justifications which form the primal pattern of sinning unto damnation.

The present Books I and II were then written in a form preliminary to their present one, and as a single unit. The emphasis on pursuit and the contention that they feared "Thunder and the Sword of Michael" accorded with the narrative of the War in Heaven as it then stood.[11] Written just after the War narrative, they contain two other features of Milton's Act I chorus which had been derived from Grotius. Adamus Exul's Act I chorus begins with an idea which the playwright may have found in Avitus. Regarding the plotting Satan they observe,

> gravior semper
> Casus ab alto est. Levius contra
> Leviora cadunt. Sequitur major
> Cura beatos, quo plus nactos
> Plura timentes (I. 237-41)
> ... the descent is graver to the eminent./ While lighter things more lightly fall,/ Intenser cares the blest enthral/ With fears proportion'd to their gains.12

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[11]Assuming, of course, that the War narrative then included a pursuit eliminated when the War was extended to include the Son and His victory.

[12]Cf. Avitus (p. 7 in Kirk.) of Satan: A heavier doom to him is due,/ At whose fall one may marvel, for the author/ Enhances still the crime; in an unknown sinner,/ The guilt is less; transgressions of the great/ Incur with greater evil greater blame.

In Book II Satan twice reminds the rebel angels of this aspect of eminence:

> who here
> Will envy whom the highest place exposes
> Foremost (II. 26-8);

> Wherefore do I assume
> These Royalties, and not refuse to Reign,
> Refusing to accept as great a share
> Of hazard more, as he above the rest
> High honor'd sits? (II. 450-56).

Grotius' chorus laments how the former Lucifer

> mutato
> Nomine surgens dux tenebrarum,
> Noctis et atrae signifer exit
> Hesperus idem (I. 256-9)
> (... changed in title would recur/ And rise as Hesperus again/ And lead the shadows from their den/ As standard-bearer of black Night.)

Milton's Satan stands before the double throne of Chaos and Night asking the way to the world newly created at the expense of their domain:

> no mean recompense it brings
> To your behoof, if I that Region lost,
> All usurpation thence expell'd, reduce
> To her original darkness and your sway
> (Which is my present journey) and once more
> Erect the Standard ther of ancient Night (II. 981-6).

A growth process very much like that already examined in its effect on the present Books V and VI, VII and VIII, perhaps IX and X, and XI and XII appears to have produced the present Books I and II out of Milton's first depiction of Satan's agonies and his resolution to persevere only related by himself at the opening of the tragedy.

Gilbert senses the process in his discussion of inconsistencies in Book I as compared to its argument. Chiefly, he complains that the sentences in the Argument, "To find out the truth of this prophecy, and what to determine thereon he refers to a full Council", and "What his Associates thence attempt", do not reflect events of the book.

> Thence seems to mean either afterward or as a result but there is no result from a council. Nor do the devils merely attempt anything; they actually accomplish the building of Pandemonium.[13]

This, coupled with certain ambiguities in the debate and proposal in council and what Gilbert takes to be inconsistencies in references to Pandemonium here and in Book X, prompt him to conclude that "at one time there was other material here or a different arrangement; perhaps the attempt of Satan's associates mentioned in the Argument was related.[14]

Inconsistencies in the Argument to any book of Paradise Lost must be carefully handled. The arguments were no doubt hastily prepared at the request of the printer Simmons; perhaps as Ants Oras says, the poet regarded them as "last--minute concessions to unintelligent readers".[15] But I think

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[13]Gilbert, p. 108.

[14]Gilbert, p. 105. Again, space prohibits detailed discussion of Gilbert's argument, nor is it my purpose to prove him wrong. My view is that he is once again perceptive of important inconsistencies but overly eager to postulate shifts in the order of the poem.

[15]Oras, p. 8.

there is reason to suppose the Argument to Book I to be the product of an early plan of that book, perhaps quickly read to the poet, slightly and hastily altered, and sent on to Simmons. With the exception of the final sentence, "Pandemonium the Palace of Satan rises, suddenly built out of the Deep: The infernal Peers there sit in Council", the Argument relates, if somewhat cryptically, the events of the present Books I and II without the building of Pandemonium. The "full Council" and the "attempts" which Gilbert thinks lost are in fact the council and subsequent divertissements of the fallen spirits presently in Book II. The building of Pandemonium is a later interpolation, attached to the new Book I at the point of incision.

The place at which the original book was cut in two is clearly marked. The spirits having arisen from the burning lake and arranged themselves about their chief, Satan delivers a short address (40 lines) in which the possibilities of renewing conflict with the Heavenly host and of discovering "new Worlds" to invade are offered. He concludes:

> this Infernal Pit shall never hold
> Celestial Spirits in Bondage, nor th' Abyss
> Long under darkness cover. But these thoughts
> Full Counsel must mature: Peace is despair'd
> For who can think Submission? War then, War
> Open or understood, must be resolv'd (I. 657-62).

Interestingly, his proposal is for "Full Counsel", a thorough debate, not a full council or meeting of a committee of the

whole (everyone is already present); he certainly does not suggest the construction of a place in which to hold such a meeting. The building of Pandemonium is a spontaneous act.

The council of Book II is opened by Satan with a speech of 31 lines and considerable redundancy. It ends with the repetition,

> we now return
> To claim our just inheritance of old,
> Surer to prosper than prosperity
> Could have assur'd us; and by what best way,
> Whether of open War or covert guile,
> We now debate; who can advise, may speak (II. 37-42).

One sees the contiguity of the now separated passages when the points of connection to the new matter are brought together:

> War then, War
> Open or understood, must be resolved. (I. 61-2)
> He ceased and next him Moloch, Scepter'd King (II. 43)
> Stood up, the strongest and the fiercest Spirit
> That fought in Heav'n; now fiercer by despair:
> His trust was with th' Eternal to be deem'd
> Equal in strength, and rather than be less
> Car'd not to be at all; with that care lost
> Went all his fear: of God, or Hell, or worse
> He reck'd not, and these words thereafter spoke.
> My sentence is for open War... (II. 50).

The consultation then proceeded exactly as it does now. This is why when Mammon argues for the potential prosperity of Hell he speaks as though to convince the others that such a structure as Pandemonium is a possibility:

> Our greatness will appear
> Then most conspicuous, when great things of small,
> Useful of hurtfull, prosperous of adverse
> We can create, and in what place soe'er
> Thrive under evil, and work ease of pain

> Through labor and endurance.
> ....
> As he /God/ our darkness, cannot we his Light
> Imitate when we please? This Desert soil
> Wants not her hidden lustre, Gems and Gold;
> Nor want we skill or art, from whence to raise
> Magnificence (II. 257-62, 269-73).

He fails to mention the magnificence, proof both of Hell's riches and the spirits' skills, in which they are all purportedly sitting; and this is yet more odd in light of his being the archetect of the place. In neither the rest of the debate nor in the interstitial narrative is there any hint that it takes place in any building at all. The shore on which they had originally assembled might do as well.

The council or counsel having settled the plan of subversion of the new world, Satan accepts the "dreadful voyage" and leaves standing orders for his legions:

> Go therefore mighty Powers.
> Terror of Heav'n though fall'n; intend at home,
> While here shall be our home, what best may ease
> The present misery, and render Hell
> More tolerable (II. 456-60).

He departs and the others set about the various amusements and adventures. These, it seems to me, are "what his Associates thence attempt", once the conclusion of the first book. Here again there is no mention of "Pandemonium, the high Capitol/ Of Satan and his Peers" (I. 776-7). Some of the spirits engage in Olympiam games,

> Part on the Plain, or in the Air sublime
> Upon the wing, or in swift Race... (II. 528-9)
> ....

> Others with vast Typhoean rage more fell
> Rend up both Rocks and Hills, and ride the Air
> In whirlwind... (II. 539-41)
> ....
> Others more mild,
> Retreated in a silent valley, sing
> With notes Angelical to many a Harp (II. 546-8)
> ....
> Others apart sat on a Hill retir'd,
> In thoughts more elevate, and reason'd high (II. 557-8)
> ....
> Another part in Squadrons and gross Bands,
> On bold adventure... bend
> Four ways thir flying March (II. 570-74).

The "Capitol", it would seem, has completely disappeared.

The Pandemonium question affords an ideal view of the poem's epic growth, for not only Books I and II are affected by it, but also Book X. As I have pointed out, the extra-tragic events of Book X share that book with events certainly drawn from the earlier tragedy. Among these is Satan's exultation which in the present poem is rendered in two installments, one in Chaos and one in Pandemonium. These are radically altered to fit their new epic contexts. Part of this alteration is the careful specification of Pandemonium as the place of Satan's last boast and his humiliation. Even the name of the place, "Pandemonium, City and proud seat/ Of Lucifer (X. 424-5), has the specificity of a first reference. Best advantage is taken in the narrative of the interior scene as Satan, disguised as befits an epic hero returning, in "Plebian garb",

> from the door
> Of that Plutonian Hall, invisible
> Ascended his high Throne (X. 443-5).

At his unmasking, the Peers rush, "raised from thir dark Divan" (X. 457). The din of unexpected hisses with which he is greeted rises not to the roof of Hell, as crowd noises do in Book II, but "through the Hall" (X. 522). The serpentine rout then appear "issuing forth to th' open Field (X. 533). This sort of reference is to be expected in an interior setting, yet there is none of it in Book II.

In addition, an entirely different version of Satan's departing charge to the spirits is rendered in this book. No longer dispersed in various endeavors, the spirts are now said to be

> Far to th' inland retir'd, about the walls
> Of Pandemonium....
> There kept thir Watch the Legions, while the Grand
> In Council sat, solicitous what chance
> Might intercept thir Emperor sent, so hee
> Departing gave command, and they observ'd (X. 423-30).

Again,

> the late
> Heav'n-banisht Host, left desert utmost Hell
> Many a dark League, reduc't in careful Watch
> Round thir Metropolis, and now expecting
> Each hour their great adventurer from the search
> Of Foreign Worlds (X. 436-41).

These passages are so obviously designed to accommodate Satan's epic return and recognition that one suspects them to be the origin of the Pandemonium concept. This portion of Book X presumes the council of the early books and must have been added soon after that episode was written. But, since the early council does not presume the "City and proud seat",

these must enter with the scene in Book X. Milton evidently returned then to add the building of the place, dividing the then Book I in order to accommodate the added bulk, but neglecting to adapt the original "counsel" of the spirits to its new setting, and neglecting also to revise Satan's parting charge and the subsequent behavior of the spirits to the brief references in Book X.

The same process accounts for another of the anomalies discussed by Gilbert. He points out the repeated references to the building of the bridge by Sin and Death in Books II and X, suggesting that

> If Milton had the entire manuscript read straight through to him after it was completed, he would have caught such an obvious repetition,

and that

> If this repetition is intentional, the artistic reasons for it should be apparent; yet it is difficult to find them in this summary of an action later to be described in full.[15]

It is reasonable to suppose that Satan's encounter with Sin and Death in Book X presumes his encounter in the earlier book, just as his boasts in Hell presume the earlier council. The detail of the bridge-building, however, occurred to him in the preparation of the second encounter as a felicitous device demonstrating the new ease with which Chaos could be

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[15]Gilbert, p. 129-30.

traversed. When he returned to add the building of Pandemonium, he added also the twelve line passage (II. 1021-33) predicting the bridge. "Artistic reason" for the forecast lay in the usefulness of the reference as another of many counterpoints to the apparent might and grandeur of Satan. This last determined the location of the short passage in Book II, just at the point where the trials of the Adversary in Chaos (he is favorably compared to Ulysses and Jason at II. 1017-20) threaten to render him rather too gloriously heroic.

With the addition of Book III, brief passages in Books IV, V and X which look back as it were from the vantage of the Garden at the celestial response to Earthly events, and Books XI and XII, the poem was complete. I will not treat these additions in detail, nor is the list above intended to represent the order of their occurrence. My point has been to show the consistency of Milton's methods of adding to his work, a consistency not to be explained by a desire for 'epic inclusiveness' or 'giving full vent to his feelings', but by a steady vision of the structural contrasts to be achieved by adding a coherent epic to his drama. I am reminded by the total effect of those Renaissance paintings, like Messina's Saint Jerome in His Study or Bellini's Saint Frances in Ecstacy, in which great expanses of canvas are given over to the careful delineation of background scenes whose energy and complexity cast into relief the simple quietude of the subject. In

some of them, as in Paradise Lost, one is tempted to see the background as the important thing. One is sometimes tempted to explain the subject as an excuse for a virtuoso performance.

It is impossible to settle with any confidence on dates for any of the narrative additions and changes in Paradise Lost. The closeness with which the Edenic passages follow the design of Adamus Exul, however, indicates that the tragedy was completed not long after Phillips saw the opening lines of Act I in 1642 or 1643; certainly long before Milton's total blindness in 1652. It is possible that the beginnings of the narrative recasting also predate the poet's utter blindness — direct reference to his condition in the invocation to Book III is obviously of very late composition — but the thoroughness with which the narrative additions and changes may be traced in inconsistencies points to the likelihood that nearly all of them were accomplished by the poet with the aid only of memory and a reader-amanuensis guided by that memory to affected passages.[16] Considering the span of time involved, the methods of change, and the poet's other work during the period, Paradise Lost

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[16]Parker (Ch. 13) places half the poem's composition after the Restoration, but he assumes seriatim composition (dating Book III after Milton's blindness) of a work conceived as an epic and making only broad use of the tragic plans.

is truly a remarkable feat of both art and memory.

The Meaning of Genre

I have said that the tragic and epic actions in Paradise Lost represent two major phases of composition. The poet, starting out to account for "the Fruit/ Of that Forbidden Tree", found that this simply could not be done with any comprehensiveness in a tragedy. First, even the sins of Adam and Eve could only be related to immediate causes within the scope of the drama. Second, since Adam and Eve are ultimately found to be worthy of the Messiah, they can only illustrate one of the paths open to fallen man. The tree bore more fruit than that.

Both of these shortcomings were remedied with the addition of the epic action. The introduction of Satan's rebellion in Heaven provided a view of the first in a chain of causes which resulted in the Fall of Man. Together with events in Hell and Chaos, it provided illustration of that pattern of behavior, alternative in its unswervingness to that of the fallen Adam, which men might slavishly follow ever afterward.

Since doctrinally God is the only creative force in the universe, there has always been room for the conjecture that He is the source of evil as well as good, destruction as well as innovation. The epic action provided for emphasis on Satan's actions as a perverted imitation of God's, sinful man's as an imitation of Satan's.

But more. Through the association of the most obvious characteristics of the two genres with certain aspects of Christian doctrine, the doctrine itself could be conveyed in its most

useful form. The most significant associations are as follows: The preoccupation of the sinful with social values, to the neglect or the rejection of an awareness of God, is embodied in the epic-heroic Satan as military and political leader and the type of his society. Pride in the accomplishment of social continuity, patriotism, becomes the imperialism of Satan's adventure. Skill in wiles becomes deceitfulness. Epic indomitability becomes persistence in sin. The epic mode is thus the literary expression, the imitation, in an Aristotelian sense, of damnable acts.

In Paradise Lost, the tragedy is preserved so that it can express in its focus upon the psychological war of self with self, the final accountability of the individual for his error. Detailed depiction of the rise of the individual will against the law is the tragic progress of the first pair to death. Emphasis upon death as the product of tragic action becomes the Judgment in the Garden. Tragic anagnorisis, the recognition as Northrop Frye puts it of "the determined shape of the life [the hero] has created for himself",[17] becomes the prelude to contrition. Catharsis, the subjective sense of purgation, becomes the awareness of Grace. Tragedy is thus the mode through which the passage of man through sin to redeemability may be expressed.

It has often been noted that, to some extent, the careers of Satan and Adam parallel one another. Satan lives a tragedy

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[17]Anatomy of Criticism (Princeton, N. J., 1957), p. 212.

before becoming epic. The poet acknowledges this in his account of the angel's life before the expulsion. It is this life that Adam imitates throughout a great portion of the tragedy in the Garden. But, wisely, Milton renders only a sketch of Satan's tragedy, for, beyond his role as Tempter the devil's chief importance is as the forerunner of the eternally damnable. The point where Adam and Eve stop imitating him is the doctrinal and artistic pivot of the work. This is the point of an anagnorisis which leads to the beginnings of understanding and to an acceptance of the law. It is, doctrinally, a point short of the "fourth degree of death". The best way to illustrate this is to trace again the careers of Satan and Adam.

W. R. Parker remarks that

> There were, in fact, three falls, not one. There was first Adam's fall from responsibility and good judgment when he yielded to Eve's whim to work apart from him in the garden; this made possible the Fall, 'the mortal sin original', when Eve yielded to temptation; and, finally there was the 'completing' of this sin through Adam's inevitable 'compliance bad'. Adam's guilt antedated Eve's, was different from Eve's, but partook of Eve's, as Adam himself recognized and acknowledged.[18]

Parker here recognizes the most important element in the tragic mythos. But equally important is the fact that Adam and Eve are challenged to fall a fourth time when the possibilities of

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[18]Parker, p. 512. For detailed discussion of the logic of the Fall see John M. Steadman, Milton's Epic Characters (Chapel Hill, 1959, 1968), p. 139-159.

'wilful barrenness' and suicide present themselves, and they elect rather to submit to God's will.

In the epic action, the hero, Satan, is when we first see him already well along in commission of the 'further crime' rejected by Adam and Eve after their fall. He falls not once but three times and again a fourth. It is this that seals his eternal doom and locks him into the perpetual striving against odds which is so well represented as epic indomitability.

The doctrinal ground of these two patterns of fall is the concept of the "four degrees of death", treated in some detail by Milton in Christian Doctrine. He begins by pointing out that death is a movement, a developing progress, not a simple condition:

> Under the head of death, in Scripture, all evils whatever, together with every thing which in its consequences tends to death, must be understood as comprehended. Hence divines, not inappropriately, reckon up four several degrees of death.[19]

The first of these, he says, is

> guiltiness; which, though in its primary sense it is an imputation made by God to us, yet it is also, as it were, a commencement or prelude of death dwelling in us, by which we are held as by a bond, and rendered subject to condemnation and punishment.

The autobiography of Sin, added late to Paradise Lost, probably after the addition of the War in Heaven,[20] has as its

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[19]Works, Columbia ed., XV, 203.

[20]Sin claims to have been born during a conspiritorial meeting, but the narrative of the War does not mention her.

first purpose to relate this "commencement or prelude of death" in Satan, then Lucifer. Her birth from the left side of his head, recalling as it does the birth of Minerva from the brow of Zeus, underscores Satan's affecting to be a god capable of creation. It is at the same time the first of two births which produce a parody of the holy trinity, Satan functioning as a perverted imitator of the Holy Spirit; and it foreshadows Eve's birth from Adam's left side (VIII. 465), suggesting that the latter relationship is not immune to perversion.

> The second degree of death is called SPIRITUAL DEATH; by which is meant the loss of divine grace, and that of innate righteousness.... This death consists, first, in the loss, or at least in the obscuration to a great extent of... right reason.[21]

Here Milton cites, among other Scriptural references, John, 8.34, "whosoever committeth sin, is the servant of sin", and Romans, 1.26, "for this cause God gave them up unto vile affections". He comments, "The reason of this is evident; for in proportion to the increasing amount of his sins, the sinner becomes more liable to death", but he cautions that "some remnants of the divine image still exist in [the sinner] not wholly extinguished by this spiritual death".[22]

Satan's arrival at this degree of death is expressed in his lust's service to Sin, those "vile affections" manifested

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[21] Works, p. 203.

[22] Works, p. 209.

when, as Sin puts it,

> full oft
> Thyself in me thy perfect image viewing
> Becam'st enamor'd, and such joy thou took'st
> With me in secret, that my womb conceiv'd
> A growing burden (II. 763-7).

The story provides quite literally for the birth of Death as a product of 'increasing sin', with all the horror inherent in the traditional incest theme.[23] At the same time, Sin's words in this passage prepare the alert reader for unease when Adam as early as Book V addresses Eve as "best Image of myself and dearer half" (V. 95). Nevertheless, Satan does still retain some "permissive glory", some "remnants of the divine image", and continues to retain it until, in Book X (452), the poet suggests that it may have become "false glitter".

> The third degree of death is what is called THE DEATH OF THE BODY. To this all the labors, sorrows, and diseases which afflict the body, are nothing but the prelude.[24]

Milton includes here citation of Romans, 2.19, "tribulations and anguish upon every soul of man that doeth evil". This reference, I think, provides the clearest ground for the poet's expression of Satan's death in the third degree. His difficulty, of course, was that, as a spirit, Satan could not suffer a complete 'death of the body'; yet he must, as the precursor of sinning unto death in man, pass through this degree. Milton's

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[23]Sin incestuously begets Death in Gower's Mirrour de l'Omme and in Andreini's Adamo Caduto.

[24]Works, p. 215.

solution is to portray the physical suffering of Satan and the fallen angels during the War and after. The "labors, sorrows, and diseases" which are physical death's prelude are conveyed, albeit somewhat equivocally, when at the sword--blow of Michael,

> then Satan first knew pain,
> And writh'd him to and fro convolv'd; so sore
> The grinding sword with discontinuous wound
> Pass'd through him, but th' Etherial substance clos'd
> Not long divisible, and from the gash
> A stream of Nectarous humor issuing flow'd
> Sanguine, such as Celestial Spirits may bleed,
> And all his Armor stain'd erewhile so bright (VI. 327-34).

The whole rebellious host is subsequently said to have

> with fear surpris'd and sense of pain
> Fled ignominious, to such evil brought
> By sins of disobedience, till that hour
> Not liable to fear or flight or pain (VI. 394-7).

They are later said to be "crusht and bruis'd" by their armor,

> which wrought them pain
> Implacable, and many a dolorous groan,
> Long struggling underneath, ere they could wind
> Out of such prison, though Spirits of purest light,
> Purest at first, now gross by sinning grown (VI. 657-61).

The fallen, then, stand in the third degree of death, though not physically dead; yet they persevere. The Son's assumption of the battle is attended by a softening of God's militance:

> At his command the uprooted Hills retir'd
> Each to his place, they heard his voice and went
> Obsequious, Heav'n his wonted face renew'd,
> And with fresh Flow'rets Hill and Valley smil'd.
> This saw his hapless Foes, but stood obdur'd,
> And to rebellious fight rallied thir Powers
> Insensate, hope conceiving from despair.

> In heav'nly Spirits could such perverseness dwell?
> But to convince the proud what Signs avail
> Or wonders move th' obdurate to relent?
> They hard'n'd more by what might most reclaim,
> Grieving to see his Glory, at the sight
> Took envy (VI. 781-93).

The importance of line 791 above cannot be over-stressed. It is, I think, a hitherto unremarked point of Milton's interpretation of doctrine that the rebellious angels retain sufficient of the 'divine image' at this time to be 'reclaimable'. The 'renewing' of Heaven's face is an act of mercy, a final appeal to the rebels. Their rejection of it "obdurate to relent" marks their passage to the fourth and final degree of death, in his discussion of which Milton cites Matthew, 10.14, 15:

> And whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words, when ye depart out of that house or city, shake off the dust of your feet. Verily I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrha in the day of judgment, than for that city.

These are the words of Jesus to the apostles. The precedent for them is his own treatment of the rebels who, unlike the hills and valleys of Heaven, neither received nor heard him on that day of the War when He went forth to meet them. Their punishment is that "Eternal wrath" (VI. 865) which is death in the fourth degree. Raphael stresses this most extreme possibility in his subsequent warning to Adam, cautioning against Satan lest

> with him
> Bereav'd of happiness thou mayst partake
> His punishment, Eternal misery (VI. 902-4).

This much of the angel's advice Adam ultimately heeds.

Enough of Satan's progress from life to living death is revealed in these passages to make it clear that the danger to Adam and Eve consists as much in following him as in succumbing to his blandishments as Tempter. His epic career, however, serves to mark a trail which Adam and Eve do not follow but which others after them will. It fills out the poem's objective of accounting for all First Things. Its special relevance lies in the fact that after the Fall humankind can never again face the first choice of Adam and Eve. Their tragedy is universal in the most literal sense; it is transmitted to all posterity. Fallen man's chief interest lies in the fallen couple's choice between three and four degrees of death.

Of course, fallen man must first accept that he does share complicity in the Fall. His affinity for Adam and Eve at all points in the tragic progress must be cultivated so that the Fall is sensed experientially, not merely as a point of doctrine. For this purpose the tragedy is central to Paradise Lost.

Some problems arise in the tragedy out of the need to portray "man's first disobedience" as a single action. Adam and Eve fall as Man, not individually even to the extent suggested in the statement quoted from Parker above (p. 180). For this reason, Milton's Eve can be neither the Eve Miss Woodhull sees in Adamus Exul, "so bold, so hard, so unyielding, that she has no prototype in literature except Medea",[25] nor the Eve

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[25]Woodhull, p. 163.

actually portrayed by Grotius, vain but generous, the temptress of Adam but also the voice of reason who saves him from despair. Nor may Milton's Adam be so nearly the simple victim as are the Adams of Grotius and most treatments of the Fall before Milton's. He must be involved in Eve's fall to such an extent that he seems almost as much to cause it as, in Parker's words, to 'partake of it'.

Part of the importance of the autobiography of Sin is, as I have said, that it prepares the reader to recognize the implications not only of Eve's narcissism (IV. 449-67) but of Adam's early reference to her as "best Image of myself and dearer half" (V. 95). To the extent that these represent a yielding to self, they express "a commencement or prelude of death dwelling in /them/". Adam's responsibility for this 'first fall' is fully conveyed when, having heard the story of Abdiel and his rejoinder to Satan,

> This is servitude,
> To serve th' unwise, or him who hath rebell'd
> Against his worthier, as thine now serve thee,
> Thyself not free, but to thyself enthrall'd (VI. 178-81),

he can still say of Eve that

> here
> Far otherwise, transported I behold,
> Transported touch; here passion first I felt,
> Commotion strange (VIII. 528-31),

and that

> so absolute she seems
> And in herself complete, so well to know
> Her own, that what she wills to do or say,
> Seems wisest, virtuousest, discretest, best (VIII. 547-51).

Raphael, "with contracted brow", points out that Eve is

worthy well
Thy Cherishing, thy honoring, and thy love,
Not thy subjection (VIII. 568-70),

but when this leads Adam to thoughts, not of the danger of subjection or the requirements of honoring, but of the nature of love in Heaven, the reader is prepared to acknowledge his complicity in the 'mortal sin original' of Eve, the sin which makes them both as it were pregnant with death in the second degree, spiritual death, one of whose marks is "the loss, or at least the obscuration to a great degree of... right reason".

The Temptation itself is a masterpiece of unreason even to the point of illogic in Eve's acceptance of the serpent's arguments. But this is preceeded by Adam's submission to her unreasonable arguments to work apart. In this he participates in her sin. Neither is Adam's 'completing sin' his alone, for in tempting him Eve commits further sin of which Satan's tempting of his legions is the original. The pair are thus brought simultaneously to "the death of the body", foreordained by God as the penalty for eating the fruit. The catastrophe is complete.

In the carefully worked out hubris of the pair all the debilities attendant to having "grown gross with sinning" are displayed. The loss of the will to do good is implicit. The loss of reason is perfectly expressed in Adam's confusion of "Sapience" with "taste" (IX. 1017-26). Their lust (IX. 1016-45) is a fit of "vile affections". They sleep

a grosser sleep
Bred of unkindly fumes, with conscious dreams
Encumber'd (IX. 1049-51).

The subsequent shame and rancor of Adam and Eve (IX. 1054-end)

are the beginnings of what must be the most extended anagnorisis in all tragic literature. Such a recognition is implicit in the 'opened eyes' of Genesis, but it is extended here as a growing awareness throughout the remainder of the poem. In Books IX and X, however, it provides the pair with a context in which they are challenged to sin yet once more, and I think it is chiefly to permit this that Milton deviates from Grotius and others in separating the Judgment and the Expulsion so widely.

When the Judgment is rendered the catastrophe is over. But the poet stresses the Son as "both Judge and Saviour sent". He

> th' instant stroke of Death denounc'd that day
> Remov'd far off; then pitying how they stood
> 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 servant's feet, so now
> As Father of his Family he clad
> Thir nakedness, with Skins of Beasts
> ....
> Nor hee thir outward only with the Skins
> Of Beasts, but inward nakedness, much more
> Opprobrious, with his Robe of righteousness,
> Arraying cover'd from his Father's sight (X. 209-23).

This merciful gesture is analogous to the renewing of the face of Heaven offered the rebellious host then in the third degree of death (see p. 185-6 above). In the period to follow Adam and Eve are confronted with the choice whether to <u>remain</u> within the tragic context or, like the rebel spirits, "hard'n'd more by what might most reclaim" (VI. 791), to adopt minds "not to be chang'd by Place or Time" (I. 253) and "courage never to submit or yield" (I. 108); to adopt those essentially epic

virtues which in the fallen lead to the eternally ongoing resistance of a God become "Fixt Fate" (II. 560).

Just at this point the return of Satan to Hell is interposed. It has two major functions. First, it constitutes the final reduction of epic values to absurdity. The "universal shout and high applause" which are the reward of the conquering hero become "a dismal universal hiss, the sound/ Of public scorn" (X. 505-9). Satan the Odyssean disguiser finds the serpentine to be his actual form (X. 515-16) and, since he is epically the type of his society, the others too are converted to snakes through the action of social concord become a "horrid sympathy" (X. 540). They become the deluded victims of Satan's own wily strategem as they compulsively devour the "Fruitage fair" (X. 561).

In addition to these, however, and very importantly, the repetitive, cyclical nature of their lives in sin and punishment is emphasized:

> So oft they fell
> Into the same illusion, not as Man
> Whom they triuph'd, once lapst (X. 570-72).

The poet follows this with speculation that theirs will be an annual humbling and he cites the traditional identifications of the serpent with the Titan Ophion (X. 581), recalling in this way the earlier catalogue (I. 364-521) of the pagan names by which the spirits would corrupt "by falsities and lies the greatest part/ Of Mankind".

The emphasis in this scene on repeated sin and punishment serves in large part to cast into full relief the significance

of Adam and Eve's later decision to reject continued sin. This is preceded by Adam's soliloquy on those evils seen "already in part, though hid in gloomiest shade" (X. 716), which extend his anagnorisis and challenge him to despair.

Eve's proposal comes about only after she has attempted to console Adam and has appealed to him as her 'guide and head':

> bereave me not,
> Whereon I live, thy gentle looks, thy aid,
> Thy counsel in the uttermost distress,
> My only strength and stay (X. 918-21).

She ends weeping "at his feet submissive in distress" (X. 942), a position emblematic of her rediscovered sense of hierarchy. Yet what she takes to be continued despair in her leader,

> I see...
> A long days dying to augment our pain,
> And to our Seed (O hapless Seed!) deriv'd (X. 962-5),

prompts her, quite self-consciously, to attempt again what is Adam's proper role. Thus not only the suicide proposal itself (X. 981-1002) but her daring again to lead are repetitions of the primary sin. Moreover, to the extent that Eve is prompted by Adam's unceasing despair, she is responding to his continued abdication of manhood.[26] When Adam counsels

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[26]This is a complicated matter, not merely a rigid anti-feminism in the poet. Milton allows exceptions to St. Paul's injunction, "wives be subject to your husbands", in some circumstances — such as the wife's demonstrated superiority in prudence, "for then a superior and more natural law comes in, that the wiser should govern the less wise, whether male or female". Tetrachordon, in Works, IV., 76-7.

against violence and 'wilful barreness', therefore,

> That cuts us off from hope, and savors only
> Rancor and pride, impatience and despite,
> Reluctance against God and his just yoke (X. 1043-5),

he both rejects further sin and re-establishes his willingness and worthiness to lead. The original pattern of obedience is fully re-established when, as Eve has already done at Adam's feet, the pair now prostrate themselves, "with tears wat'ring the ground" (X. 1101-2) and "hearts contrite" (X. 1103), in demonstration of their "sorrow unfeign'd, and humiliation meek" (X. 1104).

The key to an as yet unremarked function of Books XI and XII, lies in God's response to the submission of Adam and Eve. In submitting, they have proven themselves worthier than those spirits who, confronted with the Son's glory, yet

> Stood reimbattl'd fierce, by force or fraud
> Weening to prosper, and at length prevail
> Against God and Messiah, or to fall
> In universal ruin last (VI. 794-7).

He therefore spares them the devil's punishment, "Eternal misery", by ordering their removal from the vicinity of the Tree of Life, which else, like their original immortality, had "serv'd but to eternize woe" (XI. 60). But if Man is to be both "Tri'd in sharp tribulation, and refin'd/ By Faith and faithful works, to second Life" (XI. 63-4), he must learn to cultivate that tragic sense of life which is the alternative to epic relentlessness and defiance in despair:

> We may with more successful hope resolve
> To wage by force or guile eternal War

> Irreconcilable to our grand Foe,
> Who now triumphs, and in th' excess of joy
> Sole reigning holds the Tyranny of Heav'n.
> So spake th' Apostate Angel, though in pain,
> Vaunting aloud, but rakt with deep despair (I. 120-26).[27]

Michael is told to

> Dismiss them not disconsolate; reveal
> To Adam what shall come in future day,
> As I shall thee enlighten, intermix
> My Cov'nant in the woman's seed renew'd;
> So send them forth, though sorrowing, yet in peace
> (XI. 113-17).

His mission is to provide Adam with an experience which will prepare him for tragic life by so cultivating his sensibilities that he may become the progenitor of a special human ability, the ability to avoid despair and maintain patience through the purgative mechanism whose aesthetic name is catharsis. Having acted the primal tragedy, Adam must be guided through the purgative experience which will shield future mankind, both actor and witness to tragic life, from despair and loss of faith.

Michael makes it clear that through the visions of the future Adam is

> to learn

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[27]Cf. Aeneas:

> per varios casus, per tot descrimina rerum
> tendimus in Latium, sedes ubi fata quietas
> ostendunt; illic fas regna resurgere Troiae.
> durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundus.
> Talia voce refert, curisque ingentibus aeger
> spem voltu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem

(Through divers mishaps, through so many perilous chances, we fare towards Latium, where the fates point out a home of rest. There 'tis granted to Troy's realm to rise again; endure, and keep yourselves for days of happiness. So spake his tongue; while sick with weighty cares he feigns hope on his face, and deep in his heart stiffles the anguish)(Il., I. 204-9), Loeb Class. Lib. ed., trans., H. R. Fairclough (Lond., 1935), p. 254.

> True patience, and to temper joy with fear
> And pious sorrow, equally innur'd
> By moderation either state to bear (XI. 360-63).

In the Preface to Samson Milton accounts tragedy "the gravest, moralest, and most profitable of all other poems" specifically because it has the power "by raising pity and fear, or terror, to purge the mind of those and such like passions, that is to temper and reduce them to just measure".[28] The importance of the scenes called up in Books XI and XII rests largely upon their completing Adam's anagnorisis and their ability to evoke the fullest range of his passions, thus to purge them.[29] A profile of Adam's responses both narrated and spoken reveals the thoroughness with which this is accomplished:

> /of the murder of Abel/ o sight
> Of terror, foul and ugly to behold,
> Horrid to think, how horrible to feel! (XI. 463-5);

> /of the Lazar-house/ Adam... wept,
> Though not of woman born; compassion quell'd
> His best of Man, and gave him up to tears (XI. 495-7);

> /of death by age/
> Henceforth I fly not Death, nor would prolong
> Life much, but rather how I may be quit
> Fairest and easiest of this cumbrous charge (XI. 547-9).

> /of the sons of Lamech/
> O pity and shame, that they who to live well
> Enter'd so fair, should turn aside (XI. 629-30);

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[28]Hughes, p. 549.

[29]These are their importances to Adam over and above the special significance of any one of them to Milton or the reader, such as the anti-epic import of the 'heroes' and 'conquerors' of the plain of Enoch (XI. 638-73), described in careful echo of the Homeric Shield of Achilles (Il., XVIII. 478-616).

/of the Flood/
O Vision ill foreseen! better had I
Liv'd ignorant of future (XI. 764-5);

/of Noah/
Far less I now lament for one whole World
Of wicked Sons destroy'd, than I rejoice
For one Man found so perfet and so just (XI. 874-6).

The angel's turning in Book XII to description places this book in relation to Book XI as the two books together stand in relation to the whole poem; the relatively less evocative verbal descriptions aim at the calming of spirit with which the poem concludes. But Adam is still responsive:

/of the rebel Nimrod/
O execrable Son so to aspire
Above his Bretheren, to himself assuming
Authority usurpt, from God not giv'n (XII. 64-6);

/of the Exodus/ now first I find
Mine eyes true op'ning, and my heart much eas'd,
Erewhile perplext (XII. 273-5);

/of Christ's victory/ full of doubt I stand,
Whether I should repent me now of sin
By mee done and occasion'd, or rejoice (XII. 473-5);

and, finally,

Greatly instructed I shall hence depart,
Greatly in peace of thought (XII. 557-8).

Adam is the first of God's servants whom, as the chorus of Samson puts it,

he with new aquist
Of true experience from this great event
With peace and consolation hath dismist,
And calm of mind, all passion spent (SA., V. 1755-end).

Eve also has been "calm'd" by Michael "and all her spirits compos'd/ To meek submission" (XII. 596-7), and the quiet of

the closing lines of Paradise Lost, as Adam and Eve

> hand in hand with wand'ring steps and slow,
> Through Eden took their solitary way (XII. 648-9),

is the quiet of achieved catharsis.

Conclusion

Common consent has it that Samson Agonistes is a late work, roughly contemporary with Paradise Regained but probably later, certainly later than Paradise Lost. There has recently been some dissention from this view but it appears to hold sway[1] supported most recently by Professor Oras' statistical analysis of Milton's style. Among the difficulties in the traditional view has been its assumption that, though the order of Milton's early list of genres in The Reason of Church Government represents the planned sequence of his use of genres, his apparent preference there for tragedy was an attitude somehow suppressed or neglected while the 'diffuse' and 'brief' epics were written and then revived for the composition of Samson. I hope to have provided evidence to the exact contrary; that while the list in RCG does not provide accurate labels for Milton's major works (with the exception of Samson), its expression of his view that tragedy is the form most doctrinally useful to a nation represents a view

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[1]The most powerful advocate of an early date is Parker (see esp. his Milton, II, 903-17), who places it as early as 1647-8. He is joined by Gilbert and by J. T. Shawcross in "The Chronology of Milton's Major Poems", PMLA, LXXVI (1961), 345-58.

the poet held throughout his career after 1641.

There simply is no "diffuse epic". Paradise Lost does contain an epic, and the career of Satan is both "brief" in respect of the number of lines treating directly his actions, and "diffuse" in that it is various, containing allusions to and strong conventional and verbal echoes of the Odyssey, the Aenid, and the Iliad fitted on a plot similar to the Aeneid's. But the structural heart of the poem is tragic just as its philosophical center is the Fall of man. To try to fit the poem which contains these two forms into one generic category, even the vaguest, is to risk sacrificing full appreciation of the poem's completeness as an account of First Things.

Generic categories are useful to the extent that they allow us to see the thematic and philosophical purposes of a work in terms of the traditional structure which most effectively conveys them. This being the case, generic labels call up sets of expectancies in readers which, if the work is mislabelled, are bound either to mislead or frustrate them. Readers will be frustrated or misled by Paradise Lost as long as we insist on calling it epic and mean by that anything other than 'long narrative poem'.

Since it was Milton's imperative to illustrate the first patterns of two radically different kinds of behavior, that of the damned and that of the saved, it was necessary for him

to use the two genres in which they could be best expressed. His choice was dictated by fairly broad criteria. Since the unregenerate invariably draw their values and aspirations from the rewards of the world (fame, glory in war, political power, luxury, conquest, etc.) the epic, man's highest device for expressing these values, was chosen to convey Satan's primal exhibition of them. Since saved man is both guilty and aware of the meaning of his guilt, since his first concern is his personal relationship to the Law, tragedy, that most intimate form, containing both error and anagnorisis, was chosen to convey the Adamic pattern.

This is not to say that Milton held epic a morally reprehensible form. Certainly he admired Homer and Virgil and Tasso for their excellence as poets. But for all the presence of divine 'machines' in Homer and Virgil, and for all the virtues of their heroes, it is still earthly glory and terrestrial conquest that they celebrate. The loyalties of their heroes, and indeed of their gods, are after all, tribal.

In this connection one might recall what Milton recorded in his Commonplace Book about Lactantius on amor in patriam:

> This virtue should be sought by philosophers warily. For a blind and carnal love of country should not sweep us to deeds of rapine and slaughter and hatred of neighboring nations in order that we may aggrandize our country by power, wealth, or glory; for so did the heathen act. Christians, however, ought to cultivate mutual peace and not covet other men's goods. For this reason Lactantius assails philosophy.[2]

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[2]Works, XVIII, 164-5.

No matter how much Latium may seem an ideal place, it is still the terrestrial Rome that Aeneas seeks to establish, they are still the values of the Trojan society that he seeks to implant. And Tasso's Jerusalem is still a military objective no matter how badly his God may seem to want it liberated.

It is true, as C. M. Bowra says, that in Jerusalem Liberata

> the effort to take Jerusalem is a test of Christian manhood as Aeneas' efforts are of Roman virtus, and the final success is a sign that, after all, the right qualities have been shown and the right steps taken,

and that the trials of the Crusaders, though "comparable to those of Aeneas" are yet "an essential part of the whole process. By overcoming them the Crusaders become fit to take Jerusalem."[3] But their behavior is undifferentiable from Aeneas' and from that of Camoens' Portugese imperialists in his blatantly patriotic Os Luciadas (1572).[4] A mark of this problem is that one might with no hint of sarcasm paraphrase Bowra's differentiation of the Crusaders from Aeneas and say that 'by overcoming his trials Aeneas becomes fit to take Latium'. As much is often said.

Milton was well aware that heroic effort even unto victory is a morally indifferent matter in itself. He must have been able to see that "the qualities of devotion, perseverance,

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[3]From Virgil to Milton (Lond., 1945), p. 153.

[4]E. M. W. Tillyard points out that Camoens' DaGamma "is a successful and conscienscious military commander and in no sense whatever an allegory of the human soul. And his action is military and political and not religious", The English Epic and Its Background (Lond., 1954), p. 249.

obedience and courage"[5] mark specifically Christian chivalry in Tasso's romance epic only through the imputation of the poet himself. It is to stress the merely putative differences in such matters that Milton's War in Heaven is militarily unresolved, the only advantage gained by the virtuous angels being their knowledge of service to God, the victory of the Son being so quick and overwhelming as to mock war.[6]

Paradise Lost is the result of Milton's resolution to present two actions which would be morally differentiable in themselves and which would reveal qualitatively different behavioral modes quite apart from any extraneous virtues or vices of the actors. He is hardly to be supposed free of imputation, however, for the poem is studded with the narrator's judgments of the actions.[7] But these do not draw differences in otherwise like actions.

The clearest of these evaluations in Paradise Lost is the oft-cited invocation to Book IX, where the poet takes time just prior to the tragic catastrophe to point to the relative values of epic and tragic heroism:

> I now must change
> These Notes to Tragic; foul distrust, and breach

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[5]Bowra, p. 152.

[6]Arnold Stein goes so far as to call this "almost a kind of epic farce", Answerable Style (Minneapolis, 1953), p. 22.

[7]Excellent treatments of the narrator are Anne D. Ferry, Milton's Epic Voice (Cambridge, Mass., 1967) and Stanley E. Fish, Surprised by Sin (Lond., 1967).

> Disloyal on the part of Man....
> ....Sad task, yet argument
> Not less but more Heroic than the wrath
> Of stern Achilles on his Foe pursu'd
> Thrice Fugitive about Troy Wall: or rage
> Of Turnus for Lavinia disespous'd
> Or Neptunes ire or Juno's, that so long
> Perplex'd the Greek and Cytherea's Son;
> If answerable style I can obtain
> Of my Celestial Patroness, who deigns
> Her nightly visitation unimplor'd,
> ....
> Since first this Subject for Heroic Song
> Pleas'd me long choosing and beginning late;
> Not sedulous by Nature to indite
> Wars, hitherto the only Argument
> Heroic deem'd, chief maistry to dissect
> With long and tedious havoc fabl'd Knights
> In Battles feign'd; **the better fortitude**
> **Of Patience and Heroic Martyrdom**
> Unsung, or to describe Races and Games
> ....
> The skill of Artifice or Office mean,
> Not that which justly gives Heroic name
> To person or to Poem. Mee of these
> Nor skill'd nor studious, higher Argument
> Remains (IX. 5-43)

We might take the poet at his word here. First, by argument he means what argument meant in the seventeenth century — story, arrangement of incidents, plot, action. He does not mean theme. By Tragic he means as in a tragedy, not simply involving misfortune. He goes on to contend that this tragic action is not less but more heroic than the actions of three specified epics. His long enumeration of the trappings of epic is clearly designed not to differentiate his from "any other epic poem", as Hughes would have it,[8] but his tragic

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[8]Hughes, p. 379, n. 40-41.

argument for all epics including the one about Satan he himself has written. He concludes by reiterating his conviction, first stated in the invocation to Book I,[9] that this is a "higher Argument", a more worthy, lofty action.

Readers of Paradise Lost confronted with its denigration of epic, but unwilling to let go the term, are forced to do one of two things; to claim that Milton's epic is unique, in which case the term is meaningless, or to posit in the poem a second or true epic which conforms to a number of the genre's broad characteristics but which escapes the poet's own strictures.

Examples of these strategies are numerous. Peter Hagin, for example, says,

> The connections and affinities between the neoclassical epic and Paradise Lost are many. But they are not in the first place those of subject matter and style, and they are not deliberate; they lie in the respective endeavors to solve the question of what a modern epic should be.[10]

J. M. Steadman says:

> Finding the true essence of heroic virtue in divine virtue, recognizing in God himself the heroic archtype of man, he tuned the epic lyre an octave higher than his predecessors. Instead of the praises of men, it sounds the honour of God. This transformation represents, in a sense, the death and resurrection of the

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[9]See my discussion above p. 154-6.

[10]The Epic Hero and the Decline of Epic Poetry (Bern, 1964), p. 148.

> heroic poem.... Adam's defeat tolls the knell of heroic poetry, Christ's victory revives it.[11]

Faced with assertions of the first sort one can only examine the critic's particular statements about the poem and judge each subjectively. The second, far the most frequent sort of statement, rests on the commission of an enormously popular critical distortion — the ascription to the divine figures of far more importance than they actually have in the poem. Critics both to praise and to blame Milton focus an axtraordinary amount of attention on the Father and Son. But, after all, they only occupy one full book and scattered passages elsewhere. The War in Heaven takes place at one remove from the fictive present and is arranged in accordance with the requirements of Adam's tragedy. The only other acts performed by the Son in the poem are the Creation (again at one remove) and the Judgment, the last performable for the most part by an 'offstage' voice and not strictly an act at all. When Steadman says "the Son's humiliation displays the image of true magnanimity, just as Satan's vainglory embodies its idol",[12] he is no longer talking about Paradise Lost, for in the poem the Son's humiliation is only a legal commitment with thousands of lines of actual event involving Satan to balance. The Son is contracted

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[11]Milton and the Renaissance Hero (Oxford, 1967), p. 200-201.

[12]Ibid., p. 147.

to atone for Man, but in the poem this is doctrine not action. To assert that Christ's victory revives heroic poetry is to suggest either that a mere contract has equal weight with extensive and detailed deeds, or that Milton wrote the poem which Steadman himself explains his not writing — "an epic of the Passion and Ressurection".[13]

It must be owned that divinity in Paradise Lost is, as B. Rajan says, "a collection of abstract properties".[14] Conversation between the Father and the Son, modeled as it is on the traditional debat of the four (or three) daughters of God, inevitably produces points of doctrine rather than characterization, and to the extent that the points imply character, God must seem unappealing in the extreme.[15] Other activities in Heaven compound this problem by introducing sufficient anthropomorphism to arouse the antagonism of the very people Milton was perhaps hoping to quiet, those who could not, like him, rest comfortably with "an equation of sin with guilt, an outmoded psychology... and a narrowly legalistic theory of the Atonement".[16]

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[13] Ibid., p. 70.

[14] Paradise Lost and the Seventeenth Century Reader (Lond., 1947), p. 106-7.

[15] See, for this, John Peter, A Critique of Paradise Lost (N. Y., 1960), p. 10-21.

[16] Helen Gardner, A Reading of Paradise Lost (Oxford, 1965), p. 27.

Finally, most of the critical problems attendant to the 'epic assumption' involve a concept of Milton as a poet which is not to be supported by anything we know of him as a man. Proceeding from the premise — often unconscious I am convinced -- that epic poetry is the highest form of poetry, a concept which Milton did not share, critics have undertaken as their prime task to vindicate or vilify him as a bard. This leads to some very misleading assertions about the poet's purposes and about the premises of Paradise Lost. Steadman, for example, points to the epic poet's traditional mode of "investing the epic fable with moral significance" by constructing a causal structure "based largely on poetic justice: heroic virtue → heroic action → merit → reward." Then he says that "Paradise Lost alters this pattern. Adam's fall has destroyed it. It is to God's glory rather than man's honour that Milton dedicates his heroic poems".[17] The traditional causal pattern is accurately stated, and it is true that Milton "dedicates" his poems to God's glory. But Paradise Lost does not alter the pattern because "Adam's fall has distroyed it". Believing in a literal Fall, Milton could not have entertained the notion that its consequences, even for literature, were delayed until the mid-seventeenth century. The implication that he does derives from a confusion of the

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[17]Steadman, p. 196.

historical facts of the poem's composition with the premises of the poem.

Historically, Paradise Lost is a departure from tradition, but a major premise of the poem is that the Fall produced the heroic tradition in both its epic and tragic expressions. The presence in the poem of so many 'traditional elements', pastoral and lyric as well as heroic, derives from the need of the poet of First Things to account for these traditions. It is thus a distortion of the poem to see the War in Heaven as a product of Milton's "skill in adapting to his own theme and purposes a traditional element in ancient epic that had ceased to hold serious meaning for his age."[18]

Not much different in import is Miss Ferry's comment that

> throughout Paradise Lost, the allusions to the fables feigned by pagan poets evoke a sense of all the wealth of knowledge and feeling which has entered the world since Adam's Fall. By his disobedience we lost our original simplicity and innocence, but we gained a multiplicity of choices.[19]

Or Steadman's that Milton rejected the Passion and Resurection as subjects because

> the detailed account in the Gospels left the poet little scope to invent, to alter and arrange his materials in the interests of verisimilitude and the epic marvellous, or to adapt his sources to the laws and conventions of heroic poetry.[20]

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[18]Gardner, p. 70.

[19]Ferry, p. 37.

[20]Steadman, p. 70.

These resemble the assertion of A. J. A. Waldock that

> Adam cannot give Milton much scope to express what he really feels about life; but Satan is there, Satan gives him scope. And the result is that the balance is somewhat disturbed.[21]

One continually gets the impression from students of the poem who share the epic assumption that Milton was a man condemned as if by a witch to wrestle with inadequate materials, an uncomfortable tradition and an uncongenial faith; a man whose greatest moments are when he uses one of his liabilities to free himself from another. Yet we know he took his vision of poetic mission, for him a sacred ministry, far too seriously to be bound by anything but his own notion of truth. I find his vision of truth rather clearly expressed in both the prose and the poetry so long as one does not confuse him with other poets and their different imperatives.

Milton's concept of the utility of poetic skill to God and Man is uncomplicated:

> To inbreed and cherish in a great poeple the seeds of virtue and public civility, to allay the purturbations of the mind and to set the affections in right tune.[22]

These were the objectives of the Christian poet. It is no accident that they are also the desired effects of tragedy (see p. 195-7 above). But, since the primal tragedy and its meaning demanded for their completeness an accounting for the persistence of the bulk of mankind in ignoring that original error's

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[21]Waldock, p. 24.

[22]Reason of Church Government, in Hughes, p. 669.

significance, the primal pattern of blind persistence in sin had also to be discovered.

The inevitable result was a long narrative poem in which the significance of the first tragedy is underscored and strengthened by the epic which explains one side of fallen man's choice. The old heroic values are undermined in the service, not of new heroic values, but of the doctrinal utility and purgative value of tragedy. Even so is the epic strength of Samson destroyed in the service of the will of God, his survivors sent away "calm of mind, all passion spent".

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