MILTON'S SATAN:

A STUDY OF

HIS ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE

by

KATIE SIEMENS

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ABSTRACT

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MILTON'S SATAN: A STUDY OF HIS ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE

My thesis is a study of the poetic origin of Milton's Satan and his significance apart from his dramatic function in Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained.

I have tried to establish Satan's poetic origin by investigating the studies of a number of prominent critics, Milton's own prose works, such as the Eikonoklastes and his Second Defence, and also the correspondences between Satan's speeches and the words of King Charles I in his Eikon Bazilike. From these studies I have drawn the conclusion that Milton used King Charles I as he appears in the Eikon Bazilike as his model for Satan. Since Milton hated the King for his tyranny, Milton's emotional involvement and the human model resulted in the portrayal of a Satan, whose vividness and realism make him one of the most towering Satans in world literature.

Satan's true significance lies in his revelation of Milton's personality. He reflects Milton's thoughts, his political and religious philosophy, his attitudes towards contemporary events, and his personality traits. Milton's development of Satan's personality reveals his unsurpassed craftsmanship as a poetic artist. As we follow Satan's career we discover a new Milton, differing enormously from the generally
accepted conception of a stern Puritan. The Milton revealed in Satan's action has a keen appreciate of all that is beautiful in the universe, besides moral values. He has a sense of humour and a capacity for friendship, hitherto found incompatible with Milton's retiring character. *Paradise Lost* also shows us Milton's hope for the future. In man's regeneration he looks forward to an England liberated from the tyranny of kings, while his spiritual vision embraces the realization of God's initial purpose when he created man; namely, that "Earth be changed to Heaven, and Heaven to Earth."
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INTRODUCTION

Paradise Lost is considered Milton's most outstanding poetic work and Satan his greatest artistic achievement in character portrayal. However, besides presenting his readers with a magnificent work of art, Milton has left posterity an insoluble enigma in the figure of Satan.

How did Milton conceive such dynamic force, such realistic emotions? What is Satan's function in Paradise Lost? What does Milton consciously or unconsciously express through Satan? Why does the Satan on Mount Niphates differ from the Satan of Books One and Two? These questions have preoccupied the minds of literary critics during the last two centuries and have given rise to numerous controversies on the subject of Satan.

To understand Satan a knowledge of Milton's time and of Milton himself as the man, the thinker, and the philosopher is a prime requisite. It is also necessary to get a clear picture of his state of mind at the time of the composition of Books One and Two. Consequently, I have based my conclusions about Satan upon the investigation of Milton's prose works, such as the Eikonoklastes, the Second Defence, the Tenure of Kings, Of Education, Reason of Church Government; on contemporary history; the Eikon Bazilike; and on Miltonic criticism.

A large number of Miltonic critics believe that Milton created Satan in his own image. Guided by the discovery of many correspondences...
between the Eikon in the Eikon Bazilike and Satan in Paradise Lost and by the consideration of Milton's state of mind at the time of the Restoration, I believe that Milton drew upon his hatred and estimation of Charles I in the Eikonoklastes for his origin of Satan.

This inference invalidates the conception that Milton admired his Satan, and indicates that he meant him to appear spurious. Once this is established, the alleged dualism in Satan's characterization disappears, and the much-deplored split in Paradise Lost becomes nonexistent.

The eating of the apple has been considered the crisis in Paradise Lost by most of its readers. This has been responsible for the difficulty in determining the hero of the epic. Dr. Tillyard has shifted the climax to the reconciliation scene between Adam and Eve. By advancing this to their repentance, which becomes the turning point for the destiny of the whole race, the action of man's positive attitude and Satan's humiliation coincide. This proves that Adam is the hero as he rises from his Fall towards a brighter future for mankind.

Satan's significance in the action of the epic lies in his role as seducer of man. Milton, in accordance with his conception of the poet as instructor, warns man of Satan's continuing powers of seduction through which he "still destroys". To the twentieth-century reader Satan represents the embodiment of the powers of rebellion against all order and all positive values, the dictator type who subverts everything to the realization of his own ends. Moreover, Satan reflects Milton's time, his personality, his religious and political philosophy.
In conclusion I should like to point out that, though my statements may sound rather too positive, they are not intended to be dogmatic, since I am fully aware of the weakness of some of my arguments. I am fully convinced that I have by no means dissipated the mystery and exploited the wealth of Satan's personality. My endeavour amounts to nothing more than an honest attempt to pierce the secret that shrouds Milton's conception of Satan and to help establish the unity of the author's art, his life, and his thinking.
Chapter I

THE CONCEPTION OF SATAN AS THE SOURCE OF EVIL

The existence of evil has been rendered axiomatic by its universal manifestation in human experience. The seven cardinal sins with their numerous amplifications have been the motivating elements in the shaping of human history, and continue to direct the destiny of mankind and the fate of the individual. Consequently, the persistence of evil has always occupied a dominant place in the field of philosophical and theological thinking and, during the twentieth century, is receiving major attention in psychological investigation.

Many theories have been evolved as a result of this preoccupation with the problem of evil. The earliest records of theological speculation place the most feasible, though by no means rational, solution to this problem in the realm of the supernatural by conceiving of evil as a supernatural force. This early concept remains predominant in all subsequent thinking until it reaches the ultimate in the Middle Ages in a fully developed doctrine of Satan at the head of a
hierarchial realm. This medieval conception is founded upon Hebrew demonology and New Testament doctrine. Satan is a fallen angel and is responsible for the Fall of Man and all evil upon earth.

Popular notion invests Satan with fanciful, distorted characteristics, which make him both grotesque and bizarre. The Reformation modifies these ideas only partially. Nor are they held by the vulgar alone, for we learn on good authority¹ that Luther ascribes various noises to the devil and feels his corporeal presence to such an extent that he throws his inkstand at him.

Jacob Boehme gives expression to the generally accepted orthodox view of the seventeenth century in:

Lucifer envied the Son his glory;
his own beauty deceived him
and he wanted to place himself
on the throne of the Son,

and stresses the fact that woe was brought into the world through Lucifer's malice and envy. The numerous literary works of this century, such as Hugo Grotius' Adamus Excel, Andreini's L'Adamo, Lope de Vega Caspio's Greacion del mundo y primera culpa de hombre, Lancetta's La scena tragica d'Adamo ed Eva, Salandra's Adamo Caduto, Vondel's Lucifer and Adam in Ballings-chap, and Milton's Paradise Lost and

² Loc. cit.
Paradise Regained, attest to an extreme preoccupation with the mystery of evil and the character of Satan.

It appears that the degree of interest in evil and Satan in any one age corresponds to the intensity of pessimism resulting from political, social, or religious perplexities which assume cataclysmic proportions, e.g., the twentieth-century threat of atomic warfare. Werblowsky, in his "Preface" to Lucifer and Prometheus, voices this opinion with respect to a new awareness of the appalling consequences of evil when he states that:

It is not the writers who have reintroduced the devil, but it is our present world which has forced them to take notice of him again.... We are living through times where evil has manifested itself with an almost revelation-like obtrusiveness and power. ... It is understandable therefore that books on the devil have been on the increase lately. Edward Langton calls the last chapter of his study 'The Return of Satan', giving as a recent example Professor C. E. M. Joad's God and Evil. We may add C. S. Lewis' Screwtape Letters, Denis de Rougemont's La Part du Diable and others. The Carmelite Fathers in France have edited a remarkable symposium on Satan. The analytical psychology of Jung has already long insisted on bringing the devil and the problem of the shadow to the fore; mainly in connection with analytical treatment, but, also, more recently, in theoretical research. It suffices here to mention Professor Jung's essay on the Trinity and Miss Scharf's stirring study on the Old Testament Satan.... Novelists too are returning to the habit of introducing the devil, and using him as a dramatis personae. It may therefore be excused if one of the greatest and most towering Satans of literature is made the new subject of a new study.

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In *Paradise Lost* Milton has left to the world a profound enigma in this, "one of the greatest and most towering Satans of literature," that hitherto has defied the penetrative analysis of many outstanding thinkers and literary critics of several centuries. The crux of the problem lies in the persistence of divergences in opinion with regard to the personality and function of Satan.

To Milton's contemporaries Satan evidently presented no special problem. Predisposed by their orthodoxy, they regarded *Paradise Lost* as a purely religious poem and Satan as the archfiend of mankind.

As for the great Satanic defiances, they would have admired them for their strength and deplored them for their perversity. 4

This idea predominated throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century. The absence of characteristics ascribed to Satan by popular notion and manifested in an especially bizarre fashion in Dante's *Inferno* as he depicts Satan thus:

---

At six eyes he wept; the tears
Adown three chins distilled with bloody foam
At every mouth his teeth a sinner champ'd
Bruised as with ponderous engine; so that three
Were in his guise tormented,

was attributed to Milton's respect for the aesthetic feelings
and religious perceptions of his readers. Both Newton in:

A devil all made up of wickedness would
be too shocking to any reader,

and Addison in his essays on Paradise Lost pay tribute to
Milton for his consideration.

The romantic school of Miltonic criticism veered
drastically from any preceding idea by imputing Promethean
qualities to Milton's Satan. Blake, who originated this idea,
and Shelley represent the ultimate in Romantic thought. In
his Marriage of Heaven and Hell Blake becomes the protagonist
of a fascinating and inspiring Satan in Paradise Lost and
ascribes Milton's conception of such to the fact that Milton
"was a true poet and of the Devil's party without knowing it!"

5 Welsh, Henry C., editor, Dante's Inferno, translated from
the original of Dante Alighieri by H. F. Cory, Philadelphia,
Henry Altemus, p. 160.

6 Newton's note to Paradise Lost II. 483, in Werblowsky
Zwi, Lucifer and Prometheus, p. 3.

7 Blake, "The Marriage of Heaven and Hell", Poetical Works,
ed. Sampson (Oxford, 1914) p. 249, cited in Denis Saurat,
Milton: Man and Thinker, London, J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1946,
p. 175.
Shelley looks upon Milton's Satan as a refutation of orthodox teaching when he argues that:

Nothing can exceed the energy and magnificence of the character of Satan as expressed in Paradise Lost. It is a mistake to suppose that he could ever have been intended for the popular personification of evil. Implacable hate, patient cunning, and a sleepless refinement of device to inflict the extremest anguish on an enemy, these things are evil, and although venial in a slave, are not to be forgiven in a tyrant; although redeemed by much that enables his defeat in one subdued, are marked by all that dishonours his conquest in the victor. Milton's devil as a moral being is as far superior to his God, as one who perseveres in some purpose which he has conceived to be excellent in spite of adversity and torture, is to one who in the cold security of undoubted triumph inflicts the most horrible revenge upon his enemy, not from any mistaken notion of inducing him to repent of a perseverance in enmity, but with the alleged design of exasperating him to deserve new torments. Milton has so far violated the popular creed (if this shall be judged to be a violation) as to have alleged no superiority of moral virtue to his God over his Devil."

Shelley, apparently, attributes to Milton the intentional glorification of Satan; and this conception, though in less extreme form, persisted throughout the nineteenth century.

A new approach to Milton's works added impetus to the interest in the Miltonic criticism of the twentieth century. Led by Denis Saurat, a great many literary critics have recently attempted "to reveal the unity of the man himself" by linking "Milton's art to his thought, and both art and thought to his life, one in itself, varied in its expression, political,

private, philosophical or artistic." 9  

Paradise Lost, on the whole, and the towering personality of Satan, in particular, provide the critics with the widest scope for investigation.

With regard to Satan, criticism has divided Miltonic scholars largely into two camps, Satanists and Anti-Satanists, each of them by no means a unanimous entity. The Satanists accept the Satan in Books One and Two at face value: he is admirable; he was meant to be admirable. Moreover, they try to assert that Milton, consciously or unconsciously, poured into the personality of Satan his own "powerful feeling of egotism and pride." 10 To all of them, in various degrees, Satan represents Milton. The anti-Satanists refuse to accept Satan on first impressions. Keeping forever in mind the pre-conceived orthodox notion about Satan's character, they prefer to see under the grandiose veneer his hollowness and repulsiveness. Some, such as Mr. C. S. Lewis, have explored this attitude to the point where Satan appears ludicrous.

The protagonists of the Satanist theory are Mr. Hamilton, Professor Stoll, Professor Waldock and Mr. D. Saurat. Messrs. C. Williams, C.S. Lewis, and Professor Musgrove are exponents of the anti-Satanist view. Dr. Tillyard, in his Milton, expresses Satanist tendencies when he states that "Milton did partly ally himself with Satan, that unwittingly

10 Ibid., p. XIII.
he was led away by the creature of his own imagination."\textsuperscript{11}

However, he has recently shifted his position in \textit{Studies on Milton} (1951), when he definitely takes his stand as an anti-Satanist and refutes his own error.

Although no two critics agree in their interpretation of Satan, all are unanimous in according Milton's Satan unsurpassed excellence as a work of poetic art. The romantics do not quarrel with Shelley's tribute, "Nothing can exceed the energy and magnificence of the character of Satan as expressed in \textit{Paradise Lost}."\textsuperscript{12} Nor do the twentieth-century writers disagree with A. Gardner who assesses the Satan in \textit{Paradise Lost} as "a figure of heroic magnitude and heroic energy, developed by Milton with dramatic emphasis and dramatic intensity."\textsuperscript{13}

The question arises why Satan's grandeur is not matched poetically by God, the Messiah, and the Heavenly Host. Milton approaches these characters with diffidence and evidently anticipates difficulties, evidenced by his plea that the "Celestial Light":

"Shine inward, and the mind through all her power Irradiate; there plant eyes; all mist from thence Purge and disperse, that I may see and tell Of things invisible to mortal sight."\textsuperscript{14}


\textsuperscript{12} Shelley, \textit{A Defense of Poetry}, p. 513.


In dealing with heavenly characters, Milton is largely thrown upon his own imagination, especially in his characterization of God, for whom heathen mythology presents inadequate counterparts and Hebrew teaching and Christian theology insufficient scope for poetic elaboration. Satan, too, belongs to the realm of the supernatural. Yet he presents no difficulties to Milton. Throughout the epic there is no sense of hesitation. On the contrary, Milton's spontenity of deliniation and his psychological penetration strike the reader as uncanny and vividly demonstrate the author's profound familiarity with his subject.

Hence arises the assumption of many of his critics that Milton expressed his own ruling passions of boundless pride, unyielding nature, and intellectual arrogance; and, greatly self-opiniated, admired his own image in Satan. Saurat asserts emphatically that:

Satan's first speeches are pure Miltonic lyricism.... Here we have the rage and defiance Milton himself felt when he saw the Restoration coming, and which we have seen him expressing in prose in his Ready and Easy Way, 15

and that:

Milton had Satan in him and wanted to drive him out. He had felt passion, pride, and sensuality. 16

However, Mr. Saurat seems to invalidate his theory of the poetic derivation of Satan by his evaluation of Milton's

15 Saurat, Milton: Man and Thinker, p. 179.

16 Ibid., p. 184.
character. He commences with, "The very centre of Milton's personality seems to me to consist in a powerful feeling of egotism and pride, in the fullest self-consciousness of a tremendous individuality." Then he modifies his statement by explaining that Milton looked upon himself as a representative man and, therefore, "His high opinion of himself is also a high opinion of man." He adds that Milton manifested a "noble humility" in remembering that he was the servant of his people, in sacrificing his literary ambition to a cause, when he "gave up his throne of poetical glory, and eagerly became an obscure workman in the service of God."

Some Satanists base their argument for the identification of Milton with Satan on the assumption that the great regicide against the Stuarts is hurling, through Satan, defiance against God's providence in the failure of the Revolution. But we must not ignore Milton's conception of leadership. According to his political principles the Stuarts had incurred their own downfall, for:

When Kings or Rulers become blasphemers of God, oppressions and murderers of their subjects, they ought no more to be accounted Kings or lawful Magistrates, but as privat men to be examin'd, accus'd, condemn'd and punisht by the law of God.... 20.

17 Saurat, Denis, Milton: Man and Thinker, Introduction, pXIII.
18 Loc. cit.
19 Saurat, op. cit., p. 21.
Hence it was not only legitimate, but imperative for the subjects to reject their rule. Yet God's prerogative to Man's obedience Milton never questions. Even during the catastrophic days of the Restoration he justifies God's way by placing the blame for the failure of the Revolution on the English people for their defection in character. He expresses this conviction in *Paradise Lost* in:

"Yet sometimes nations will decline so low From virtue, which is reason, that no wrong, But justice and some fatal curse annexed, Deprives them of their outward liberty, Their inward lost." 21

Mr. Lewis, as anti-Satanist, rejects the idea that Milton identified himself with Satan. He ascribes the poetical excellence of Satan to the fact that it is easier to draw a bad character than a good one because of the author's as well as the reader's inner depravity. "The Satan in Milton enables him to draw the character well, just as the Satan in us enables us to receive it." 22

Dr. Tillyard, in his *Milton*, agrees with Mr. Saurat when he writes that "Satan is the very essence of Milton's nature" 23 and that the latter admired him because "Satan

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expresses heroic energy in what Milton believed very strongly. However, a few years later Dr. Tillyard revokes his earlier avowals in no uncertain terms by stating that:

... we now see that Milton did not sympathise with Satanic pride, but that recognizing the temptation to pride in himself, he passionately embraced and expressed the ethics of Christian humility. Indeed the very structure of Paradise Lost is an ironic exposure of the weakness of Satanic pride (for all the reverberant protests of its power) when matched with the smallest manifestation of sincere and regenerate human feeling. 25

And he goes on to say:

You might as well argue that the author of the Book of Samuel was really on the side of Goliath against David.... More than ever it is certain that Milton was on the side of Christian humility against pride. 26

Considering Milton's religious orthodoxy, according to which Satan was the archfiend of humanity, causing all evil and all woe, a deliberate identification with the enemy of mankind and his personal antagonist seems inconceivable. On the basis of his political convictions Milton would have rejected the analogy which the Satanists are trying to draw between Satan, the outlaw rebel, and Milton, the defeated regicide. Satan was cast out of Heaven because of a defection in character. He rebelled against his superior in virtue. Milton opposed a dynasty which had forfeited its right to rule through its decadence. Satan was motivated by pride and

24 Loc. cit.


26 Ibid., p. 51.
selfishness. Milton acted under the duress of duty and sacrificed his eyesight and his poetic ambition to the service of his fellow men. At no time during the catastrophe did Milton question God's justice. Consequently, it is difficult to assume that even unconsciously he imputed his own feelings to Satan. Therefore, throughout this thesis, I shall regard the identification of Milton with Satan as an erroneous conception.
Chapter III

SATAN AS A COUNTERPART OF THE EIKON IN THE EIKON BAZILIKE

Dr. Tillyard does not investigate the possible sources for the poetic conception of Milton's Satan. Yet in his statement, "That Milton should have depicted such potentialities in Satan argues not his covert approval but his sound knowledge of the dictator type," he gives the clue. In the Tenure of Kings Milton investigates the regimes of all times. Political and religious developments throughout Europe and especially in England are forcing the characteristics of tyrants upon Milton and his collaborators in personal experience. Moreover,

Milton's pen accompanied the whole Puritan revolution from the modest constitutional opposition in which it commenced, through its unexpected triumph, to its crushing overthrow by the royalist and clerical reaction.

As Secretary for the Commonwealth his duty lay, to a great extent, in refuting the accusations and defamations directed against the regicides by the royalists and their continental


supporters. This he could do effectively only by exploring every intricacy of the manifold and voluminous literature in order to explode the veil of casuistry and thus disabuse the English mind from the effects of its propaganda.

In the *Eikon Bazilike* Milton was challenged by the self-portrayal of Charles I as

> the saint and martyr, the man of sorrows, praying for his murderers; the King, who renounced an earthly kingdom to gain a heavenly,

29
to dissipate the illusion which the book imposed upon the gullible populace. The tone of the *Eikonoklastes*, through which Milton attempted to expose the King's sophistry, reveals a bitter personal antagonism for a tyrant whose rule had been a constant negation of his profession in the *Eikon Bazilike*. This hostile attitude grew in intensity during the years "when his tower of dreams for England's salvation crumbled to desolate ruin," 30 and when the "New Israel" rejected God's providence for idolatrous king-worship. L'Estrange states that Milton "had done more to keep him [Charles II] out, and had attacked him and his more ferociously, more relentlessly, and more successfully, than any other living." 31 He also comments on

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Milton's power of penetration in "... your piercing malice enters into the private agonies of his [Charles I] struggling soul...." 32

All this indicates Milton's intense hatred of kingship and his profound understanding of the nature of a tyrant. Moreover, he needed little imagination to portray his Satan during the early days of the Restoration, when the "apocalyptic beast let loose" became a reality in his experience. He sensed Satan's fury in the frenzied rejoicings of the rioting mobs. He became aware of his cataclysmic violence in the martyrdom of his friends, whose fortitude, expressed in Harrison's dying words:

By God I have leap'd over a Wall, by God I have runn'd through a Troop, and by my God I will go through this death, and he will make it easie to me, 33

and demonstrated by Vane, who "dyed like a Prince," 34 did not abate the diabolic malice. Overshadowed by evil, in constant jeopardy of his own life, out of the bitterness of his soul, Milton brought forth his "towering" Satan in conformity with orthodoxy, yet with King Charles as his psychological prototype. It is natural that Milton, having analyzed the King's thoughts

33 Wolfe, Milton in the Puritan Revolution, p. 338.
34 Ibid., p. 340.
and nature in the *Eikon Bazilike* in minutest detail, should turn to it for his characterization of Satan. Moreover, the numerous correspondences in the *Eikon* and *Paradise Lost* are ample evidence that Milton deliberately identified his Satan with the king. At times the analogy is so close that Satan’s statements strike the reader as the poetic paraphrase of Charles’s arguments.

Both trace the provocation of their opposition to injured merit. The king in his complaint against the curtailment of his powers states,

> God knows, though I had then a sense of Injuries; \(^ {35}\)

while Satan admits that the rebellion was caused by his

> "... sense of injured merit, That with the Mightiest raised me to contend." \(^ {36}\)

Both boast of the invincibility of their soul; the king in

> But I have a soul invincible ... here I am sure to be Conquerour, \(^ {37}\)

and again:

> ...here I am and ever shall be fixt and resolute; \(^ {38}\)

and Satan to Beelzebub:

> "All is not lost - the unconquerable will, and study of revenge, immortal hate,

---


37 Almack, *op. cit.*, p. 56, l. 8

38 Ibid., p. 40, l. 4.
and courage never to submit or yield."\(^{39}\)

The king expresses his determination to persist in his defiance, for he considers it:

better for me to die enjoying the Empire of my soul, ... then live with the Title of King, if it shall carry such vassalage with it, as not to suffer me to use My Reason and Conscience, in which I declare as a King, to like or dislike. \(^{40}\)

Satan incites his follower:

"To wage by force or guile eternal war, Irreconcilable to our grand Foe," \(^{41}\)

The king tries to rationalize his predicament by derogating the success of his opponents, because

They have no great cause to triumph, that they have got my Person into their Power; since my Soule is still my own; nor shall they ever gaine my Consent against my Conscience ... the greatest injuries my enemies seek to inflict upon me, cannot be without my own consent. \(^{42}\)

Satan similarly extols the sovereignty of his soul through the superiority of mind over matter when he persuades himself that

"The mind is its own place, and in itself Can make a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven."\(^{43}\)


\(^{40}\) Op. cit., p. 33, l. 2 ff.

\(^{41}\) Ibid., I, 121-122.

\(^{42}\) Eikon Bazilike, p. 211, l. 19ff.

Both try to find comfort in the theory that true greatness is not contingent upon material circumstances. The king asserts that:

I shall never think my self lesse than my self while I am able thus to preserve the Integrity of my Conscience. 44

Satan tries to reassure himself, in the very centre of Hell, with

"What matter where, if I be still the same, And what I should be ... " 45

The king expresses his self-deception and arrogance by a false optimism for a future when

my reputation shall like the Sun (after Owles and Bats have had their freedome in the night and darker times) rise and recover itself to such a degree of splendour, as those ferall birds shall be grieved to behold, and unable to bear. For never were any Princes more glorious, than those whom God hath suffer'd to be tried in the fornace of affliction, by their injurious Subjects. 46

Satan's argument:

"I give not Heaven for lost: from this descent Celestial Virtues rising will appear More glorious and more dread than from no fall,"

is equally vainglorious.

The king presents himself as a martyr in a great

44 Milton, Paradise Lost, I, p. 209, l. 3 ff.
46 Eikon Bazilike, p. 140, l. 13 ff.
47 Milton, op. cit., II, 14-16.
cause, because:

I would but defend My self so far, as to be able to defend my good Subjects from those mens violence and fraud. 48

Satan, by a similar perversion of truth, gains the acclaim of the fallen angels, as:

... Towards him they bend
With awful reverence prone, and as a God Extol him equal to the Highest in Heaven.
Nor failed they to express how much they praised. That for the general safety he despised. His own.49

A metaphor, in which the Sun represents the king and the moon parliament, and which the king uses to describe his deposition as

occasioned by the interposition and shadow of that body, which as the Moone receiveth its chiefest light from Me, 50

is successfully exploited in Paradise Lost to give a vivid picture of the fallen Satan,

... as when the sun new-risen
Looks through the horizontal misty air
Shorn of his beam, or, from behind the moon,
In dim eclipse, disastrous twilight sheds
On half the nations ... 51

In his Eikonoklastes Milton endeavors to shatter the Eikon the king has created of himself. By revealing the king's power of dissimulation, his hypocrisy, his false pride, and

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48 Eikon Bazilike, p. 72, l. 12 ff.
49 Milton, Paradise Lost, II, 477 - 482.
50 Milton, op. cit., p. 74, l. 11 ff.
51 Milton, op. cit., I, 594 ff.
mental perversion, Milton makes him the embodiment of the orthodox Satan. In *Paradise Lost* he reverses the process in making Satan the adumbration of the king as he sees him in the *Eikon Bazilike*. Moreover, his hatred of the Prelacy causes him to impute also to his Satan the evils he execrates in the Bishops.

Thus the Satan of *Paradise Lost* is not Milton, but is deliberately created in the image of Charles. The use of a human model results in a humanized Satan and produces the startling realism so lacking in God, the Son, and the Heavenly Host. Moreover, the immediacy of the experience and Milton's intense emotional involvement lend his characterization a dramatic force which renders the Satan of *Paradise Lost* unsurpassed in the literature of the world.
Chapter IV

THE MAGNIFICENCE OF SATAN BASED UPON HIS OWN DEMONSTRATIONS AND ALLEGATIONS

The epic convention permits Milton to start "in medias res" and present his Satan to the reader before working out an exposition and thus conditioning him for the encounter. In the introduction Milton effectively reveals his plot in epigrammatic form. Satan's part he sums up thus:

Th' infernal Serpent; he it was whose guile,
Stirred up with envy and revenge, deceived
The mother of mankind, what time his pride
Had cast him out from Heaven, with all his Host
Of rebel Angels, by whose aid, aspiring
To set himself in glory above his peers,
He trusted to have equalled the Most High,
If He opposed, and with ambitions aim
Against the throne and monarchy of God,
Raised impious war in Heaven and battle proud,
With vain attempt. Him the Almighty Power
Hurled headlong flaming from th' ethereal sky,
With hideous ruin and combustion, down
To bottomless perdition, there to dwell
In adamantine chains and penal fire, 52
Who durst defy th' Omnipotent to arms.

In these few lines the poet apprises the reader of his personal attitude towards Satan. He stigmatizes him as "th' infernal Serpent," filled with "envy and revenge," disrupting the natural order by aspiring "above his peers." He calls him "impious", "proud", "a rebel", the seducer of "the

52 Milton, Paradise Lost, I, 34-49.
mother of mankind." He depicts him in the ludicrous, un-heroic state of being

Hurled headlong flaming from th' ethereal sky.\(^{53}\)

There is a note of satisfaction over God's punishing of him, Who durst defy th' Omnipotent to arms,\(^{54}\)
as Milton goes on to describe without a vestige of compassion:

The dismal situation waste and wilde.  
A dungeon horrible, on all sides round,  
As one great furnace flamed; yet from those flames  
No light; but rather darkness visible  
Served only to discover sights of woe,  
Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace  
And rest can never dwell, hope never comes  
That comes to all, . . . \(^{55}\)

Satan's predicament does not mitigate Milton's abhorrence for the "horrid crew ... rolling in the fiery gulf"\(^{56}\) nor for their leader, whose "baleful eyes" instead of remorse over his sinful ambition, show only "steadfast hate."

Having thus clarified his own feelings, Milton exposes the reader directly to the influence of Satan's demonstrations and allegations. He lets Satan speak for himself, even as Charles I spoke in the Eikon Bazilike. Through the realistic description of hell as:

... a fiery deluge, fed  
With ever-burning sulphur unconsumed \(^{57}\)

\(^{53}\) Milton, Paradise Lost, I, 45.  
\(^{54}\) Ibid., I, 49.  
\(^{55}\) Ibid., I, 60-67.  
\(^{56}\) Ibid., I, 52.  
\(^{57}\) Ibid., I, 68. -67.
and the fallen angels:

... o'erwhelmed
With floods and whirlwinds of tempestuous fire
... weltering by his side, 58

Milton successfully stimulates the imagination and incites curiosity to learn from Satan the cause of such deep affliction, for which there is little Biblical explanation. Where groans and self pity would have been quite in order, Satan voices an admirable courage in:

"All is not lost, - the unconquerable will,
And courage never to submit or yield:
And what is else not to be overcome?"59

His determination and optimism in the face of such recent calamity causes his rationalizing:

"Since, through experience of this great event
In arms not worse, in foresight much advanced,
We may with more successful hope resolve
To wage by force or guile eternal war,
Irreconcilable to our grand Foe,"60

to lose its ludicrousness. The contagion of his invincibility communicates itself to Beelzebub, who at first challenges Satan's optimism by questioning:

"What can it then avail though yet we feel
Strength undiminished, or eternal being
To undergo eternal punishment?" 61

His leadership lifts a numerous army from utter despair, where:

58 Milton, Paradise Lost, I, 86 - 88.
60 Ibid., I. 118-122.
61 Ibid., I. 150-152.
Abject and lost, lay these, covering the flood,
Under amazement of their hideous change. 62

His high reputation makes his military discipline effective
even in Hell, for:

They heard, and were abashed, and up they sprung
Upon the wing, as when men wont to watch
On duty, sleeping found by whom they dread,
Rouse and bestir themselves ere well awake.
Nor did they not perceive the evil plight
In which they were, or the fierce pain not feel;
Yet to their General's voice they soon obeyed
Innumerable. 63

From his point of vantage on the burning land, Satan surveys
his predicament undismayed, yet with the full realization of
its cataclysmal nature. He accepts the situation defiantly:
"Be it so." 64 But he is convinced of the superiority of his
mind over matter and is determined to impose his will upon his
environment, upon Hell itself, for

"The mind is its own place, and in itself
Can make a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven." 65

Since the glories of Heaven left him unhappy, there will be
more inner satisfaction for him "to reign in Hell, than serve
in Heaven." 66 His over-bearing self-confidence is heightened
by the success of his first overt defiance of God's punishment
as he and Beelzebub shake off their chains and rise:

As Gods, and by their own recovered strength,
Not by the sufferance of supernal Power. 67

63 Ibid., I, 331-338.
64 Ibid., I, 245.
65 Ibid., I, 254 - 255.
66 Ibid., I, 263.
67 Ibid., I, 240-241.
Satan's heroic qualities are matched by his grandiose figure. His

... eyes
That sparkling blazed ... 68

are fascinating as they mirror the intensity of his emotions. The vagueness in the description of his figure as:

... long and large,
... in bulk as huge
as whom the fables name of monstrous size, 69

leaves the imagination free to conjecture up a picture of an incomparable Titan.

His armour bears tribute to his great physical strength and his courage.

... his ponderous shield,
... massy, large, and round.
... The broad circumference
Hung on his shoulders like a moon, 70

gives, by its battered appearance, ample evidence of many an intercepted blow and many an adversary valorously met.

Under the impact of so much physical vigour and intellectual energy any preconceived notion about Satan gives way to a sense of respect and admiration. His dramatic force completely eclipses Milton's interspersed maledictions, such as "unblest feet" 71, "the superior Fiend," 72 "bad angels," 73

69 Ibid., I, 195 - 197.
70 Ibid., I, 284 - 291.
71 Ibid., I, 238.
72 Ibid., I, 283.
73 Ibid., I, 344.
and "Sultan" — "a name hateful in Milton's day to all Europeans both as freemen and as Christians." Even the extensive analogy to Leviathan, whom:

the pilot of some small night-foundered skiff,
Deeming some island, oft, as seamen tell,

finds a treacherous counterfeit, interferes little with the reader's predisposition in favour of Satan.

The impressiveness of his companion chiefs,

... - godlike Shapes, and Forms
Excelling human; princely Dignities
And Powers that erst in Heaven sat on thrones,
augments the grandeur of "their great Commander." Milton's subsequent description of these epic companions sounds a note of caution. They seem also to lack the heroic lustre of their chief. But

Courage in a gangster is still, courage and therefore good

is Mr. Waldock's opinion. Moreover, the display of a mighty army, the Dorian music creating an atmosphere of steadfastness and sublimity, quickly dissipates the unpleasant impression, as Satan again projects his powerful personality into the

74 Milton, Paradise Lost, I, 348.
75 Lewis, C. S., A Preface to Paradise Lost, p. 77, 11.9,10.
76 Milton, Paradise Lost, I. 358-360.
77 Loc. cit.
foreground, against a dramatic background of:

*The* imperial ensign; which, full high advanced,
Shone like a meteor streaming to the wind,
With gems and golden lustre rich emblazoned, 79

and

Ten thousand banners ... 
With orient colours waving,

and

A forest huge of spears; and thronging helms ...
, and serried shields in thick array
of depth immeasurable. 80

Satan, who

... above the rest
In shape and gesture proudly eminent
Stood like a tower, 81

has grown to such heroic proportions and magnificence at this
point that Milton's appeals to the reader's reason, such as his
reference to Satan's speech:

... high words, that bore
Semblance of worth not substance, 82

pass henceforth unheeded.

Moreover, the emotional factor enters pre-eminently
at this point as the loyalty of:

*Millions of Spirits* for his fault amerced 83
Of Heaven, and from eternal splendours flung,
and Satan's "Tears such as Angels weep"\textsuperscript{84} appeal to the reader's sympathy and add to the hitherto purely militaristic heroism the gentler qualities of devotion, remorse, and compassion.

Satan's further speeches portray him as the successful demagogue and shrewd psychologist. He convinces his followers that, in spite of failure, their

\begin{quote}
"... strife,
Was not inglorious, though th'event was dire,"
\end{quote}

thus ensuring continued cooperation. He arouses their optimism by his affirmation that:

\begin{quote}
"... this infernal pit shall never hold Celestial Spirits in bondage, nor th' Abyss Long under darkness cover,"
\end{quote}

and sustains it by action in the building of Pandemonium. The abject despair of failure completely disintegrates with the rising of the counterpart of his former capital,

\begin{quote}
... those proud towers to swift destruction doomed.
\end{quote}

The re-establishment of the hierarchial order and procedure restores the lost sense of security and their confidence that all will be well in the end.

In the "Great Consult" Satan adds diplomatic skill to his other qualities. He keeps the situation at all times

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{84} Milton, \textit{Paradise Lost}, I, 620.
\item \textsuperscript{85} Ibid., I, 623.
\item \textsuperscript{86} Ibid., I, 667-69.
\item \textsuperscript{87} Ibid., V, 997.
\end{itemize}
well under control and seizes upon the right moment to carry his point. His daring plan, artfully presented, focuses the minds of the fallen angels on the future; while his self-sacrifice in undertaking the dangerous exploit personally, captivates their loyalty with a more intense abandonment as:

... towards him they bend  
With awful reverence prone; and as a God  
Extol him equal to the Highest in Heaven.  
Nor failed they to express how much they praised  
That for the general safety he despised  
His own. 88

A provident statesman, Satan makes provision to sustain the climate, which he has worked up laboriously, during his absence. His command:

"... intend at home  
While here shall be our home, what best may ease  
The present misery, and render Hell  
More tolerable; if there be cure or charm  
To respite, or deceive, or slack the pain  
Of this ill mansion," 89

sends the angels in pursuit of occupations that will provide an opiate for their woes till their "great chief return." 90

In his encounter with Sin, Death, and Chaos Satan rises effectively to unexpected situations. The fact that he identifies himself with lust and passion under the most horrible circumstances causes, no doubt, some of the readers to pause and wonder. Yet, on the whole, Satan at this point

88 Milton, Paradise Lost, II, 477-482.
89 Ibid., II, 457-463.
90 Ibid., II, 527.
has succeeded in impairing all logical reasoning and appears as "a figure of heroic magnitude and heroic energy", encouraging the despairing, lifting up the fallen, jeopardizing his life in a Promethean attempt to elevate his followers to a higher level of existence.

Thus the reader of *Paradise Lost* may be easily induced to conceive an admiration and sympathy for Satan on the basis of his rhetorical charm and his actions, without paying due regard to Milton's running commentary. He may yield to the influence of a masterful demagogue who is making capital out of the misery of his followers as well as the gullibility of the careless reader.

Chapter V

TWENTIETH-CENTURY THEORIES OF SATAN'S GREATNESS IN PARADISE LOST

The question arises, naturally, why Milton has given such preponderance to Satan's demonstration over his own commentary. Literary criticism has advanced various theories for this apparently Promethean complex in the conception of Satan, his grandeur and magnificence. Mr. Saurat speaks for the Satanists in his explanation that "Milton admires him." 92 Mr. Wolfe prefers a contrary opinion in:

Had Satan revolted against a ruler inferior to himself, Milton would have acclaimed him; but since Satan rebelled against One supreme in spiritual attainment, Milton has him undergo eternal pain. 93

If Milton's own argument in the Eikonoklastes can be accepted as a criterion for his attitudes in Paradise Lost, the solution is near at hand. To the king's

But I have a soul invincible,

Milton states sarcastically:

'But he had a soul invincible.' What praise is that? The stomach of a Child is oftentimes

92 Saurat, Denis, Milton: Man and Thinker, p. 189, line 32.
94 Eikon Bazilike, p. 56, line 10.
invincible to all correction. The un-teachable man hath a soule to all reason and good advice invincible; and he who is intractable, he whom nothing can persuade, may boast himself invincible; whenas in some things to be overcome is more honest and laudable than to conquer. 95

To the King's second statement:

Is there no way left to make me a glorious King but by my sufferings? 96

Milton replies:

A glorious 'King he would be,' though 'by his sufferings': But that can never be to him whose sufferings are his own doings.

Mr. Waldock's assertion that:

What we feel most of all, I suppose in his Satan's refusal to give in - just that. How can Milton help sympathizing with qualities such as these? Obviously he sympathizes with them, 98

is inconsistent with Milton's attitude towards the same "qualities" in the king. Satan boasts of an equally "invincible" soul where submission would have been more "laudable," and his sufferings "are of his own doings", too. If one accepts Mr. Pattison's estimate of Milton that the latter is:

... not one of the false prophets, who turn round and laugh at their own enthusiasm, who say one thing in their verses, and another thing over their cups. What he writes in his poetry is what he thinks, what he means, and

95 Milton, Eikonoklastes, p. 151, line 8.
96 Eikon Bazilike, p. 56, lines 23-25.
98 Waldock, A. J. H., Paradise Lost and Its Critics, p. 71, lines 14-17.
what he will do, one may feel justified in assuming that Milton did not admire Satan. Why then did he create him great?

Mr. Lewis tries to simplify the problem by assuming that when Milton:

... put the most specious aspects of Satan at the very beginning of his poem he was relying on two predispositions in the minds of his readers, which in that age, would have guarded them from our later misunderstanding. Men still believed that there really was such a person as Satan and, that he was a liar. The poet did not foresee that his work would one day meet the disarming simplicity of critics who take for gospel things said by the father of falsehood in public speeches to his troops.

But Mr. Lewis is not justified in placing such utter confidence in the good sense of Milton's contemporaries. Milton denounces their gullibility when the insidiousness of the Eikon Bazilike causes them:

... to fall flat and give adoration to the Image and Memory of this man, who hath offer'd at more cunning fetches to undermine our Liberties, and putt Tyranny into an Art, then any British King before him.

Mr. Rajan shares his supposition with other critics that the aggrandizement of Satan is necessary to emphasize the magnitude of the struggle and give preponderance to the victorious side.

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99 Pattison, Mark, Milton, p. 147, lines 16-20.
100 Lewis, C. S., A Preface to Paradise Lost, p. 88, lines 1-9.
101 Milton, Eikonoklastes, p. 69.
102 Rajan, B., Paradise Lost and the Seventeenth-Century Reader, p. 99.
Mr. Werblowsky settles the Satanic predicament satisfactorily for himself by questioning Milton's efficiency as poet.

He simply does not do what he was intended to do, and is he not then, according to that very criterion, a bad piece of workmanship?

He enquires. Yet, Mr. Saurat's tribute to Milton's workmanship:

Milton, unlike Blake, is a clear and precise poet, perfectly in command of his ideas and art, who says what he wants to say, all he wants to say and no more, completely contradicts Mr. Werblowsky's criticism.

Since Milton's other works show him as a well-disciplined artist, it seems incredible that in Paradise Lost, his most ambitious literary project and the product of a lifetime, the character of Satan should have gotten out of hand. Hence, I believe that Satan is what Milton meant him to be.

The assumption that Milton creates the Satan in Paradise Lost in the image of the Eikon seems, at first thought to complicate the Satanic problem. Milton knew from bitter experience the tremendous impact the Eikon Basilike had upon the minds of the English people. The king's professions of courage, loyalty to his followers, affection for his subjects, and concern for their liberty "served to make the appeal of the

103 Werblowsky, R. J. Zwi, Lucifer and Prometheus, p. 14, lines 11-12.

104 Saurat, Denis, Milton: Man and Thinker, p. 175.
Eikon irresistible to the multitude of king-revering Englishmen,\(^{105}\) and rendered all attempts to explode the deception ineffectual. Moreover, its influence became more potent with the years and served as the most powerful propaganda weapon to bias the minds of the people in favour of the Restoration. Yet in the very days when the success of the royalists proves its potency, Milton, having been for years quite aware of its fascination and seductiveness, subjects his readers in the Satan of Paradise Lost to the same "Sophistry flashing with Rhetoricke."\(^{106}\)

The logical conclusion seems that Milton creates Satan deliberately and purposely in the image of the Eikon. He intends him to be great and fascinating in order to achieve the same result. Satan has deceived the fallen angels with "that boast so vain"\(^{107}\) that all is not lost. He has deceived Chaos and Night with his promise to "reduce To her original darkness and your sway" \(^{108}\) the new world, which he is determined to conquer for his own ends. Later on, disguised as a spirit of light, through Hypocrisy - the only evil that walks Invisible, except to God alone, \(^{109}\) he deceives Uriel.

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\(^{105}\) Wolfe, Don, Milton in the Puritan Revolution, p. 219.

\(^{106}\) Ibid., p. 221.

\(^{107}\) Milton, Paradise Lost, IV, 87.

\(^{108}\) Ibid., II, 983.

\(^{109}\) Ibid., III, 683-684.
So far he seems triumphant in his strength, and might well deceive not only himself but the readers of Paradise Lost into thinking him a dauntless hero, states Miss Woodhull. The large number of Satan's admirers attests to the success of the deception, and this is a tribute to Milton's craftsmanship of effecting the desired emotive response in his readers. To Milton pity for Charles amounts to "a carnal admiring of that worldly pomp and greatness" from whence he had fallen. Sympathy and admiration for Satan, aroused by giving too much credence to him, is idolatry and constitutes the fall of the reader in the same measure as Eve's fall was conditioned by a similar weakness. No doubt, a less powerful Satan would have been effective enough to ensnare the average twentieth century reader, whose sensibilities to the orthodox conception of Satan are atrophied. But Milton was writing for men of his own age, fortified by a religious tradition by which:

... the angels and devils of the Jewish Scripture were more real beings, and better vouched, than any historical personages could be.

This should explain Mr. Werblowsky's query why such "insistence and obstrusiveness of the Promethean element" and why "Milton selected it with all its 'charge'."

112 Pattison, Mark, Milton, p. 185.
113 Werblowsky, Zwi, Lucifer and Prometheus, p. 19.
In bringing his reader to a fall, Milton achieves several ends. He conforms to the epic convention by involving the reader emotionally in such a way as to make him feel a participant in the action. He conditions him for a wider sympathy for Adam and Eve as they fail to resist Satan's temptation and thus bring woe upon the world. In his function as poet, he impresses upon his readers the fact that Satan "still destroys." 114

Thus, the Satan in Books One and Two of *Paradise Lost* is conceived by Milton, not in his own image, but modelled on the *Eikon* of the *Eikon Bazilike*. Milton does not admire him, but he endows him with a spurious magnificence to subject the reader to his deception and thus condition him for a more sympathetic participation in the action of the epic. In faithfulness to the role of the poet, Milton warns the reader of Satan's everlasting enmity towards God and man.

The reader's emotional response to Satan inhibits the clarity of his reasoning powers. He accepts Satan on the authority of the latter's highly subjective and biased statements. Only through an intelligent and objective analysis of all circumstances, including Satan's demonstrations, his allegations, and Milton's commentary, can the true nature of Satan in *Paradise Lost* be accurately comprehended.

Chapter VI

AN OBJECTIVE STUDY OF SATAN TO ASSESS
HIS TRUE NATURE

Mr. Waldock criticizes Milton's technique of dealing with Satan on two different levels: the level of demonstration, and the level of commentary. Moreover, he is greatly annoyed at the inconsistencies between the two levels, as "Milton's commentary clashes with Satan's demonstration."^{112}

The difficulty lies in the fact that *Paradise Lost* suffers "from superficial reading rather more generally than any other masterpiece of English literature."^{113} Readers seem to become immediately absorbed by Satan's demonstration; i.e., his performance and eloquence, while they completely disregard Milton's commentary. Mr. Waldock decides to ignore the latter deliberately and accept only the demonstration of Satan as valid.^{117} Moreover, many readers go beyond their preference for Satan's allegations when they identify Milton with Satan and take him for Milton's mouthpiece.

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The technique in *Paradise Lost* follows the basic pattern of the *Eikonoklastes*, in which each statement of the king is elucidated by Milton's commentary to reveal the deception lest "these may happily catch the People, as was intended." A great deal of confusion can be avoided by discarding the idea of the identification between Milton and Satan, and by regarding Milton's commentary as the expression of his sincere beliefs.

In his effort to procure the desired emotive response, Milton, knowing man's nature, bases his presentation of Satan upon the human weakness of predisposition to the spectacular. He, no doubt, expects, as in the *Eikonoklastes*, that those "whom perhaps ignorance without malice, or some error, less than fatal, has for the time misled, on this side Sorcery or abduration, may find the grace and good guidance to bethink themselves, and recover."\(^{119}\)

Mr. Waldock argues that the demonstration must be accorded the higher validity. Even if the reader has disregarded Milton's commentary throughout the scene in Hell, his sympathy and admiration must receive a shock when he learns from Sin that Satan, while aspiring to divine leadership in Heaven, has secretly indulged in lust. He is neither repentant nor appalled when confronted with the horrible consequence.

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of his passion. He does not recoil from the "execrable Shape," 
"the grisly Terror," nor the "yelling monsters," all of which 
attest to his shameful guilt. Instead of evincing remorse, 
he accepts the relationship, recollects its pleasures, and 
provides for its continuance in:

"Dear daughter - since thou claim'st me for thy sire, 
And my fair son here show'st me, the dear pledge 
Of dalliance had with thee in Heaven, and joys 
Then sweet, now sad to mention, through dire change 
Befallen us unforseen, unthought of - know, 
From out this dark and dismal house of pain 
Both him and thee, and all the heavenly host 
Of spirits that, in our just pretences armed, 
Fell with us from on high.

And bring ye to the place where thou and Death 
Shall dwell at ease, and up and down unseen 
Wing silently the buxom air, embalmed 
With odours. There ye shall be fed and filled, all things shall be your prey." 

If this passage is treated as symbolical, the close association 
of Sin and Satan persists and the issue remains unaltered. 
Therefore, in either case this event causes a feeling of mis-
giving as to the validity of claim to the sovereignty of 
Heaven by the progenitor of Sin and Death, no matter how heroic 
his other qualities may be. The reader must begin to surmise 
that his admiration has been based upon deception, which would 
have been avoided had he given the commentaries more attention.

It appears, consequently, of utmost importance that 
the commentary be considered of at least equal significance

120 Milton, John, Paradise Lost, II, 681 ff.
121 Ibid., II, 817.
with the demonstration in order to get an all-comprehensive, realistic picture of Satan. This will greatly facilitate a reassessment. Milton's commentary does not begin, as Mr. Waldock has stated, after Satan's first speech, which captivates the reader's imagination, but precedes Satan's appearance in Hell. As stated in Chapter One, Milton in no uncertain terms expresses his unmitigated hostility towards "the infernal Serpent," envious, proud, revengeful, and impious. He depicts Satan in the unheroic position of being

"Hurled headlong flaming from th' ethereal sky"

and lying for "nine" days

Prone on the flood, extended long and large,

before he is ready with a rationalization for his defeat to save his face before his followers.

His glorious speech loses its impressiveness when we realize that his vaunted courage lies in a determination to persevere in evil not for the achievement of good, but that by it

"... ofttimes may succeed so as perhaps Shall grieve him /God/, if I fail not, and disturb His inmost counsels from their destined aim."

First of all, he disclaims all responsibility for the participation of the other fallen angels who, he alleges, from the

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122 Waldock, A.J.H., Paradise Lost and Its Critics, p. 78.
123 Milton, John, Paradise Lost, I, 45.
124 Ibid., I, 195.
125 Ibid., I, 166.
same "sense of injured merit," "durst dislike his God's reign," 126 and joined the rebellion. In this Milton's Satan is the counterpart of Vondel's Lucifer, who treacherously instigated the rebellion through his companion chiefs, then upon apparent persuasion accepted the leadership, as he explains to Raphael:

I shall maintain the holy Right, compelled
By high necessity, thus urged at length,
Though much against my will, by the complaints
And mournful groans of myriad tongues. 127

In juxtaposition to Beelzebub's rational evaluation of the situation:

"Too well I see and rue the dire event
That, with sad overthrow and foul defeat,
Hath lost us Heaven," 128

Satan's blind fury seems to have completely perverted his judgement as he rationalizes the "foul defeat" into an experience through which,

"In arms not worse, in foresight much advanced,
We may with more successful hope resolve
To wage by force or guile eternal war,
Irreconcilable to our grand Foe." 129

As we consider the speeches of his companion, it becomes evident that Satan's intellect is darkened, for he completely ignores circumstances which are referred to by the others as established facts. He calls upon Hell to receive

126 Milton, John, Paradise Lost, I, 102.
128 Milton, John, op. cit., I, 134.
129 Ibid., I, 119-123.
its "proud possessor" and gives it preference to Heaven
because "Here at least / We shall be free," while Beelzebub
professes his knowledge of God's omnipotence and sarcastically
reprimands the fallen host for foolishly hoping to establish
an empire in Hell:

"... for so the popular vote
Inclines - here to continue and build up here
A growing empire; doubtless! while we dream,
And know not that the King of Heaven hath doomed
This place our dungeon, not our safe retreat
Beyond his potent arm, to live exempt
From Heaven's high jurisdiction, in new league
Banded against his throne, but to remain
In strictest bondage, though thus far removed,
Under th' inevitable curb, reserved
His captive multitude. For he, be sure,
In height or depth, still first and last will reign
Sole king, and of his kingdom lose no part
By our revolt, but over Hell extend
His empire, and with iron sceptre rule
Us here, as with his golden those in Heaven."131

Again, while Satan is planning

"To work in close design, by fraud or guile,"132

Belial opposes such intention, for

"... what can force or guile
With him [God], or who deceive his mind, whose eye
Views all things at one view, He from Heaven's height
All these our motions vain sees and derides,
Not more almighty to resist our might
Than wise to frustrate all our plots and wiles,"133

thus fully recognizing God's omniscience. Beelzebub

130 Milton J. Paradise Lost, I, 258.
131 Ibid., II, 313-328.
132 Ibid., I, 646.
133 Ibid., II, 188-193.
acknowledges God as "Heaven's perpetual King," while Satan represents him as a usurper,

"Who now triumphs, and in th' excess of joy, Sole reigning holds the tyranny of Heaven." Beelzebub's sincere concern for

"... all this mighty host, In horrible destruction laid thus low," evokes no compassion for the prone multitude in Satan. His eye remains cruel. Later, when they stand before him:

Their glory withered: as, when heaven's fire Hath scathed the forest oaks or mountain pines, With singed top their stately growth, though bare, Stands on the blasted heath,

his remorse makes more the impression of the reaction of the fallen angels when they see their "glorious chief" turn into a serpent; and, consequently,

... Horror on them fell, And horrid sympathy, for what they saw They felt themselves now changing,

than repentant regret. Their degradation mirrors his own true state. The potency of his opponent is, no doubt, forcibly brought home to him through the loyalty of his mighty host, whose valour and faithfulness under his glorious

134 Milton, John, Paradise Lost, I, 131.
135 Ibid., I, 125-126, (the italics are my own)
136 Ibid., I, 136-137.
137 Ibid., I, 612-615.
138 Ibid., X, 537.
leadership could not prevail against the "Ministering Spirits, trained up in feast and song," and, allegedly, serving "through sloth" alone. The loyalty of his fallen angels does not convict him of his own disloyalty. His subsequent speech expresses no concern for them, but is again a refusal to accept the situation and the responsibility for their dilemma. He calls the sad victims of his false ambition:

" for me, be witness all the host of Heaven, If counsels different, or danger shunned By me, have lost our hopes." 140

In default of another villain, he finally pins the blame on God, for He,

"... his strength concealed - Which tempted our attempt, and wrought our fall." 141

Surely, this last reasoning is a convincing truth that Satan's "high words ... bore / Semblance of worth, not substance." 142

In his analogies and metaphors; e.g., calling Satan Sultan 143 - a name hateful to all contemporaries of Milton - Milton stimulates hostility and reinforces it by Satan's opposition towards all accepted ideas and values. 144 Satan is blaspheming God by calling Him the "Potent Victor in his rage." In his repudiation of repentance he rejects the

140 Milton, John, Paradise Lost, I, 635-636.
141 Ibid., I, 641-642.
142 Ibid., I, 528.
143 Lewis, C. S., A Preface to Paradise Lost, p. 77.
144 Bush, Douglas, Paradise Lost in Our Time, p. 58.
tenets of Christian teaching. His ambition is not a zeal for the establishing of righteousness and justice, but for personal advancement with an utter disregard for the issues of good and evil involved. His boundless pride permeates his whole demonstration, and Milton frequently refers to it in his commentary. In the introduction we learn that

... his pride
Had cast him out, from Heaven, with all his host of rebel Angels. 145

In Hell his "obdurate pride"146 prevents him from seeking grace "with suppliant knee"147 At the sight of his army he, as

... his heart
Distends with pride, and, hardening in his strength, Glories, 148

is blinded to the fact that all this force at his command avails him nothing in Hell. Pandemonium, "the high capital Of Satan and his peers,"149 is the symbol of his consummate arrogance.

In the Great Consult Satan arrogates to himself sovereign pre-eminence by the very "fixed laws of Heaven," which he has decried; and arbitrarily establishes a hierarch-ial order, against which he revolted in Heaven. Moreover, his followers are enslaved from the beginning by fear and awe of "Hell's dread Emperor", 150 for they:

146 Ibid., I, 58.
147 Ibid., I, 112.
148 Ibid., I, 571-573.
149 Ibid., I, 756.
150 Ibid., II, 510.
Dreaded not more the adventure than his voice
Forbidding; and at once with him they rose

... Towards him they bend

With awful reverence prone, and as a God
Extol him equal to the Highest in Heaven.151

The most profound admiration for Satan must fade at
the proposal of his diabolic plan for revenge through man:

"By sudden onset - either with Hell-fire
To waste his whole creation, or possess
All as our own, and drive, as we were driven,
The puny habitants; or, if not drive,
Seduce them to our party, that their God
May prove their foe, and with repenting hand
Abolish his own works." 152

Milton's denunciation of it leaves no room for doubt about his
attitude. This

... devilish counsel-first devised
By Satan, and in part proposed: for whence,
But from the author of all ill, could spring
So deep a malice, to confound the race
Of mankind in one root, and Earth with Hell
To mingle and involve, done all to spite
The great Creator,  153.

he bitterly satirizes as the "bold design," and thus communic­
ates to the reader his utmost scorn of these:

... godlike Shapes, and Forms
Excelling human; princely Dignities;
And Powers that erst in Heaven sat on thrones. 154

151  Milton, Paradise Lost, II 474-479.
152  Ibid., II, 364-370.
153  Ibid., II, 379-385.
154  Ibid., I, 358.
Satan's highly commended self-sacrifice appears doubtful in the light of Milton's commentary on Moloch. Just when Satan has emphasized the "union, and firm faith, and firm accord"\textsuperscript{155} in Hell, Milton introduces Moloch into the debate as:

\begin{quote}
... - the strongest and the fiercest Spirit
That fought in Heaven, now fiercer by despair.
His trust was with th' Eternal to be deemed
Equal in strength, and rather than be less
Cared not to be at all; with that care lost
Went all his fear: of God, or Hell, or worse,
He recked not....\textsuperscript{156}
\end{quote}

Although Satan may not have known his secret ambition, he must have been aware of Moloch's antagonism when Moloch disdainfully opposed his idea of regaining Heaven through "covert guile", by these words:

\begin{quote}
"My sentence is for open war. Of wiles, 
More unexpert, I boast not: them let those
Contrive who need, or when they need; not now,
For, while they sit contriving, shall the rest -
Millions that stand in arms, and longing wait
The signal to ascend - sit lingering here,
Heaven's fugitives, and for their dwelling-place
Accept this dark approbrious den of Shame,
The prison of his tyranny who reigns
By our delay?"\textsuperscript{157}
\end{quote}

The intense urgency for action to assuage the inner agony vents itself further in:

\begin{quote}
"... No! let us rather choose,
Armed with Hell-flames and fury, all at once,
O'er Heaven's high towers to force resistless way,
Turning our tortures into horrid arms
Against the Torturer;"\textsuperscript{158}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{155} Milton, \textit{Paradise Lost}, II, 36.
\textsuperscript{156} Ibid., II, 44-50.
\textsuperscript{157} Ibid., II, 91-100.
\textsuperscript{158} Ibid., II, 60-64.
and might have easily induced Moloch to volunteer for the dangerous adventure. Thus, Satan's heroic feat appears more like diplomatic expediency than true courage.

"What matter where, if I be still the same, And what I should be," 159

is Satan's self-assurance under the "mournful gloom "of Hell, as he is trying to convince himself of the superiority of his mind over matter, which shall enable him to "make a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven." 160

In the intense activity of the building of Pandemonium and the planning of an eruption, the rigours of Hell seem to have lost their acuity. While Satan is on his way, the fallen angels are greatly humanized through their pursuance of various earthly occupations. This diminishes the sense of physical suffering and the luridness of Hell. Satan himself appears less odious as he wanders through the cosmos in search of the new world. The reader shares with him his curiosity and is eager to view the marvels of the universe. When Satan finally

... a stripling Cherub he appears,
Not of the prime, yet such as in his face
Youth smiled celestial, and to every limb
Suitable grace diffused; ...
Under a coronet his flowing hair
In curls on either cheek played; wings he wore
Of many a coloured plume sprinkled with gold,
His habit fit for speed succinct, and held
Before his decent steps a silver wand. 161

159 Milton, Paradise Lost, I, 256.
160 Ibid., I, 255.
161 Ibid., III, 636-644.
Satan makes more the impression of a mischievous Ariel than a potent power for evil. However, as at the beginning, Milton stands on guard with warning epithets, such as "The Fiend", "the spirit malign", "the spirit impure." Through his disguise as cherub Satan's power to deceive the very elect is manifested. In Hell his deceitfulness prevails upon the fallen angels because it lends a tinge of hope to their desperate situation. Chaos and Night do not connote brilliance of intellect. But to deceive with such ease

The sharpest-sighted Spirit of all in Heaven, must needs accord him the pre-eminence of the father of all liars. As the "stripling Cherub" radiantly bright, in keeping with his outward appearance, Satan, for the first time, speaks the truth in his reference to God as one,

"Who justly has driven out his rebel foes
To deepest Hell, and, to repair that loss,
Created this new happy race of men
To serve him better; wise are all his ways." The irony lies in that he resorts to this truth in order to deceive. He thus reveals another evil trait in being a master in the exercise of

Hypocrisy - the only evil that walks Invisible, except to God alone.

162 Milton, Paradise Lost, III, 498-630.
163 Ibid., III, 691.
164 Bible, John 8:44.
166 Ibid., III, 683-684.
Considering Satan's whole course, the Promethean analogy becomes impossible. Satan's rebellion is motivated by ambition to equal the "Most High." Prometheus' opposition to Zeus is based on

... the love that I loved man's seed withal, 
The love unabated. 167

Satan rebels against the Almighty, his superior; while Prometheus rises against Zeus, whom he has established on his throne. Satan is determined to drive "the puny habitants" out of earth to spite his God. Prometheus

... saved the sons of men 
From passing thunder-blasted down to Hades.168

Satan reduces man to the vassalage of Sin and, while yet in Heaven, degrades himself and his followers to ever lower levels; while Prometheus leads man to exalted levels by giving him fire,

... which to mortals shone revealed 
Their teacher of all arts, invention's crown, 169

and by teaching him to use his reason.

On looking at Satan's chief companions through Milton's eyes we realize that they, too, entertained various lusts before the rebellion, while still in Heaven. Moloch, as stated before, shared Satan's ambition "with th' Eternal to

168 Ibid., p. 15, lines 236-237.
169 Ibid., p. 10, lines 110-111.
be deemed/ Equal in strength."

Mammon, the least erected Spirit that fell
From Heaven; for even in Heaven his looks and
thoughts
Were always downward bent, admiring more
The riches of Heaven's pavement, trodden gold,
Than ought divine or holy else enjoyed
In vision beatific, 170

is the epitome of avarice.

Of Belial we learn:

... than whom a Spirit more lewd
Fell not from Heaven, or more gross to love
Vice for itself. 171

During the Great Consult his hypocrisy is revealed in Milton's
commentary:

A fairer person lost not Heaven; he seemed
For dignity composed, and high exploit.
But all was false and hollow; though his tongue
Dropt manna, and could make the worse appear
The better reason, to perplex and dash
Maturest counsels: for his thoughts were low-
To vice industrious, but to nobler deeds
Timorous and slothful. 172

Beelzebub seems the least depraved of them all. However, in
lending himself as Satan's mouthpiece and in submitting on all
occasions to his influence, he exhibits a great lack of will-
power.

In their deliberations they differ greatly in their
proposals, but all are unanimous in that none suggests a

170 Milton, Paradise Lost, I, 679-684.
171 Ibid., I, 490-492.
172 Ibid., II, 110-117.
positive action to re-establish themselves in God's grace. Milton is pointing this out when he comments on Belial's speech in:

Thus Belial with words cloth'd in reason's garb
Counsel'd ignoble ease and peaceful sloth,
Not peace, 174

rather than deliberately derogating him, as Dr. Waldock interprets this criticism when he defends Belial and berates Milton thus:

But Milton dislikes Belial. To 'low thoughts' of this sort he much prefers (although he will not say so) dashing villainy.... Belial's words are not only 'cloth'd in reason's garb'; they are reasonable.... Milton's perfectly brazen object, in short, is to discredit Belial. What he gives with one hand he takes away with the other. Having permitted his character to speak well and wisely he then says that he has spoken meanly and foolishly. What he has just affirmed (through a demonstration) he now denies (in a comment). 175

In any case, it is quite evident that Heaven has become untenable for these chief companions because of their inner degradation. However, in fairness to Satan the "tyranny of Heaven" which he holds responsible for this revolt, remains to be investigated.

Besides keeping a proper balance between demonstration and commentary, it is important to follow the sequence of events as presented by Milton. Satan's denunciation of

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174 Milton, Paradise Lost, I, 226-228.
175 Waldock, A.J.H., Paradise Lost and Its Critics, p. 79-80.
the "Potent victor", who "in his rage" has inflicted abject misery upon millions of spirits, leaves a certain bias in the reader's attitude towards such arbitrary disposition. However, Milton disabuses our minds by depicting the "Potent victor" as

About him all the Sanctities of Heaven
Stood thick as stars, and from his sight received
Beatitude past utterance, 177

and as

Beyond compare the Son of God was seen
Substantially expressed; and in his face
Divine compassion visibly appeared,
Love without end, and without measure grace. 178

In juxtaposition to this harmony, utmost felicity, and sacrificial love, the recollection of Hell's passions and Satan's demoniac hatred grow more lurid and repulsive. His accusations of the Almighty pale in credibility.

Evidently the basis of Heaven's hierarchy is well understood by the angels, for they sing of "Thee, Father, first", "Thee next ... of all created first/ Begotten Son," through whom "He Heaven of Heavens, and all the Powers therein/ ... created. 179 The Heavenly Host, moreover, is in perfect accord with its ruler and there is no feeling of duress as

The multitude of Angels, with a shout
Loud as from numbers without number, swell
As from blest voices, uttering joy, Heaven rung

177 Milton, Paradise Lost, I, 95.
178 Ibid., III, 138-141.
179 Ibid., III, 372 ff.
With jubilee, and loud hosannas filled
Th' eternal regions. 180

While Satan's followers "Dreaded ... his voice forbidding" and "towards him they bend/ With awful reverence prone," 181 The Heavenly Host,

... Lowly reverent
Towards either throne they bow, and to the ground
With solemn adoration down they cast
Their crowns .... 182.

Submission in Hell is based upon arbitrary compulsion and fear; service in heaven, upon love and free will, for God tells the Son:

"Such I created all th' ethereal Powers
And Spirits both them who stood and them who failed;
Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell." 183

Through Satan's rebellion the whole Host of Heaven has been subjected to the test of loyalty, and two-thirds have given proof "sincere / Of true allegiance, constant faith, or love, this casting a doubt on the validity of Satan's denunciation of the "tyranny of Heaven."

The revelation of the element of free will precludes any speculation as to the possibility of Satan's fall having been predestined. It also leads to the assumption that evil

180 Milton, Paradise Lost, III, 345-349.
181 Ibid., II, 474 ff.
182 Ibid., III, 349-352.
183 Ibid., III, 100-102.
184 Ibid., III, 104.
and goodness as forces co-exist in Heaven. "Evil", as expounded later by Adam,

"... into the mind of God or Man
May come and go, so unapproved, and leave
No spot or blame behind...."185

In Heaven it is first approved by Satan in his rebellion against God and thus generated into an overt experience.

In witnessing the perfect felicity in Heaven, we find an explanation for Satan's words:

"... If then his providence
Out of our evil seek to bring forth good."186

Satan's disobedience, though deplorable in itself, accorded God an opportunity to rid Heaven of all its dross.

The reader, guided by Milton's commentary and his picture of Heaven, takes a soberer view of Satan. What appears, on the basis of demonstration, heroic and admirable, reveals itself as diabolic and destructive. Satan's terrifying power is emphasized even in that he is able, in his demonstration, to make that appear desirable which, apart from the force of his personality, would be regarded as detestable and abominable.

Thus, in the light of his own allegations and his demonstration, Satan appears to the reader as he wishes to

185 Milton, John, Paradise Lost, V, 117.
186 Ibid., I, 162.
appear to his fallen angels except in the encounter with Sin and Death, where demonstration and commentary harmonize and apprise the reader that he has been deceived: partly, because of Satan's speciousness, but mainly, through superficial reading. A Satan and his companions, committed in Heaven to envy, pride, and lust; blasphemous, perverted in judgment, and obdurate in the rejection of all accepted values of virtue, compassion, and responsibility, hardly necessitates the degrading process, which Mr. Waldock so bitterly denounces and all Satanists deeply deplore.

For orientation and easy reference it may be advisable to sum up the conceptions presented in this chapter. There seems to be little development in the character of Satan in Hell: the passions which originated in Heaven are the passions which animate him in Hell. The angels in Heaven and Hell are aware of God's omnipotence and omniscience manifested in Christ. Satan in his denunciation of "Heaven's tyranny" does not differentiate between the Father and the Son. Milton informs the reader that the Son is

... of all creation first,  
Begotten Son, Divine Similitude,  

and that the "Heaven of Heavens, and all the Powers therein" were created by Him.

188 Ibid., III, 390.
Chapter VII

THE POETIC UNITY OF MILTON'S SATAN IN HELL, ON MOUNT NIPHATES, AND IN EDEN

The Niphates speech introduces a difficult problem if the conception of Satan is based entirely upon his own demonstration and allegation in Books One and Two, by which, of necessity, he must be accepted as the epic hero. The Satan of the Niphates speech provides no counterpart to a figure of genuine heroic proportions. Consequently, a dualism appears which, Mr. Werblowsky asserts, results from Milton's presentation of Satan, first, as "bright and glorious" and, later, as "implacable in his hate, and evil, and the like," and from making "these beliefs poetically so real, that they simply upset all balance!" Mr. Werblowsky assumes further that the seventeenth-century reader, under the influence of his spiritual climate, really saw the Satan Milton intended to write, sharing Milton's own ignorance as to what he actually had written. 190

Such supposition does not tally with the tribute paid by

189 Werblowsky, R.J.Zwi, Lucifer and Prometheus, p. 19.
numerous critics to Milton's mastery of literary art.

In deference to Milton's reputation as a disciplined artist and upon the consideration that character-revelation in soliloquy was a seventeenth-century convention, it seems logical to accept Satan at this point as the product of deliberate planning, rather than as the failure of poetic inefficiency. In his self-revelation Satan amply corroborates the reader's conception of him, as based on a close study of demonstration and commentary in the preceding books. Under these circumstances the dualism, or split, is non-existent. Moreover, it becomes clear that Satan is not being deliberately degraded by Milton, but that he manifests his inner depravity in overt experience. Anti-social principles and immoral attitudes are never so objectionable in theory as they appear in practice. We must study the Satan on Mount Niphates step by step, as we have studied the Satan in Hell.

Satan's sprightliness in his disguise as a cherub and Uriel's address of "fair Angel" create the impression that Satan is able to simulate a heavenly nature at will. Yet, at the very moment he alights on Niphates and when he is within reach of his objective, instead of joy,

... Horror and doubt distract
His troubled thought, and from the bottom stirs
The hell within him; for within him Hell
He brings, and round about him, nor from Hell
One step, no more than from himself, can fly
By change of place. 191

191 Milton, Paradise Lost, IV, 18-23.
When Satan defies God's judgment in refusing to accept the rigour of the punishment, because

"The mind is its own place, and in itself Can make a Heaven of Hell, a Hell of Heaven," 192

he little realizes that his vaunt will recoil on him in a vast irony. 193 He means to impose his feelings at will on any environment and achieve felicity in the midst of horror. In view of Heaven and surrounded by the magnificent splendour of the new world, he feels the mental hell persist within his soul and inure him to all aesthetic stimuli. In vain does he subject himself to the appeal of his glorious environment as:

Sometimes towards Eden, which now in his view Lay pleasant, his grieved look he fixes sad; Sometimes towards Heaven and the full-blazing sun, 194

thus trying to evoke his former responses to beauty and bliss. But this test of his inner self only

... wakes the bitter memory Of what he was, what is, and what must be 195 Worse; of worse deeds worse sufferings must ensue.

The remainder of the soliloquy reveals the raging turmoil of a mind which realizes its own degradation, yet refuses to accept the responsibility for it. His hatred bursts out against the sun, which fails to revive his deadened faculties to their

192 Milton, Paradise Lost, I, 254-255.
194 Milton, Paradise Lost, IV, 27-29.
195 Ibid., IV, 23 - 25.
former appreciation of aesthetic values, and thus brings out glaringly the contrast of "what he was" and "what is."
Unrestrained by the presence of his fallen angels and the expediency of dissimulation, he momentarily throws aside all pretence, confesses that "pride and worse ambition" are responsible for his downfall, and vindicates God of any provocation in:

"... He deserved no such return
From me, whom he created what I was
In that bright eminence, and with his good
Upbraided none, nor was his service hard.
What could be less than to afford him praise,
The easiest recompense, and pay him thanks,
How due!

He also admits that God created him. However, his sincerity seems but the flash of sanity of a darkened intellect, which immediately seeks an escape in the invention of a provocation. He blames his high position as the source of an insatiable ambition for pre-eminence, which makes him a counterpart of Cassius in that

'such (men) as he be never at heart's ease
While they behold a greater than themselves.'

He seeks a plausible excuse in the burden of his gratitude and in the fallibility of God's judgment when elevating him to his exalted position instead of creating him "some inferior Angel."

196 Milton, Paradise Lost, IV, 40.
197 Ibid., IV, 42-48.
199 Milton, Ibid., IV, 59.
However, his own reason refutes his arguments: his burden of gratitude was an illusion; his high state was no snare, for:

"... other Powers as great
Fell not, but stand unshaken, from within
Or from without to all temptations armed;" 200

a lower rank would not have protected him from treason, as

"... Some other Powers
As great might have aspired, and me, though mean,
Drawn to his part." 201.

In deliberate self-deception he turns against God's benevolence and justice, which

"... Heaven's free love dealt equally to all;" 202

and which created him with free will to stand or fall. There is deep irony in this denunciation of liberty by one who recently has rebelled against the "tyranny of Heaven." His curse of God's love, his self-accusation do not solve his dilemma, and his agony breaks forth in:

"Me miserable! which way shall I fly
Infinite wrath and infinite despair?
Which way I fly is Hell; myself am Hell;
And in the lowest deep, a lower deep
Still threatening to devour me opens wide,
To which the Hell I suffer seems a Heaven." 203

Like Macbeth, he is at bay. But Macbeth could rush out and die a soldier's death. The Romans committed suicide. Satan is cursed with immortality; his only prospect is intensified

201 Milton, Paradise Lost, IV, 61-63.
202 Ibid., IV, 68.
203 Ibid., IV, 73 - 78.
suffering. Pride has locked the door to repentance, his only way to pardon; neither agony nor despair can break its power.

In his refusal to accept the responsibility for the fall, and in his deliberate self-deception, the Satan of Mount Niphates is identical with the Satan in Hell. His disdain for submission remains unabated. He refers to it as "that word Disdain forbids me." \(^{204}\) Likewise, his attitude towards evil is unaltered. In Hell he is determined "out of good still to find means of evil." \(^{205}\) Here he invokes it with:

"Evil be thou my good: by thee at least
Divided empire with Heaven's King I hold." \(^{206}\)

The passions of "ire, envy, and despair, / Which marred his borrowed visage" \(^{207}\) are but the continuation of his temper in Hell.

If obdurate pride, a determination to persevere in evil, refusal to accept responsibility for one's own action, and lack of humility are meritorious qualities, then the Satan of Mount Niphates is as admirable as the Satan in Hell. He may be considered even more so, as here he maintains those

\(^{204}\) Milton, *Paradise Lost*, IV, 81.


attitudes in the full realization of his dilemma, while in Hell he kept up the self-deception of "all is not lost." There is irony in the fact that he has forged his own fetters; but also pathos, which might easily induce sympathy for his abject despair.

Consequently, the Niphates speech does not present a different Satan. His basic characteristics of pride, envy, and egotism remain static. The only additional aspect appears not as a development, but as a revelation: in his fall he has lost not only his outward brightness, but his heavenly sensibilities as well. Moreover, the features of Satan's model, so easily detectable on a comparison of Satan in Hell and the Eikon in Eikon Bazilike and Milton's Eikonoklastes, persist here. Satan's obdurate pride closes his only avenue to readmission into Heaven. He recognizes this fact, examines it, and rejects it in a few words:

"O, then, at last relent! Is there no place Left for repentance, none for pardon left? None left but by submission; and that word Disdain forbids me...." 208

Of the king Milton says:

This however would be remember'd and well noted, that while the K. instead of that repentance which was in reason and in conscience to be expected from him, without which we could not lawfully readmit him, persists here to maintain and justifie the most apparent of his evil doings. 209

208 Milton, Paradise Lost, IV, 79-82.

209 Milton, Eikonoklastes, p. 72.
Thus Milton is successful in maintaining the poetic unity of his Satan in Hell and his Satan on Mount Niphates. Nor does he break this unity by attempting to degrade Satan deliberately in his use of such similes as "prowling wolf," "cormorant," and "toad," the employment of which Mr. Waldock decries in: "It was mean of Milton to use his Satan so." To the seventeenth-century reader such comparisons were no more derogatory than the oriental epithets applied to Satan in Hell.

Milton, moreover, conforms to the epic convention when he reverts from elaborate analogies to homely imagery in order to bring the action closer to the reader's experience. We have seen him at work in this previously when Satan's "Princes, Potentates, / Warriors, the Flower of Heaven" rise from the burning lake like "a pitchy cloud of locusts, warping on the eastern wind;" and also when they flock to the Great Consult:

... As bees
In spring-time, when the Sun with Taurus rides,
Pour forth their populous youth about the hive
In clusters; they among fresh dews and flowers
Fly to and fro....

Such technique is all the more important at this point,

210 Milton, op. cit., IV, 183 ff.
211 Waldock, Paradise Lost and Its Critics, p. 87.
212 Milton, Paradise Lost, I, 315.
213 Ibid., I, 768 - 771.
because he is preparing the stage for the introduction of the human element in Adam and Eve.

All these comparisons, except that of the bees which is from Virgil, are drawn from the Bible, and in their various connotations predict — again in conformance with epic convention — the course of the action. These connotations were well-known to Milton's contemporaries through their thorough familiarity with the Bible. The "wolf" becomes the symbol of persecution in:

Her princes in the midst thereof are like wolves ravening the prey, to shed blood, and to destroy souls, to get dishonest gain, 214

and causes the reader to anticipate man's affliction. The "cormorant" connotes desolation, as in:

But the cormorant and the bittern shall possess it [wasted land]; the owl also and the raven shall dwell in it: and he shall stretch out upon it the line of confusion and the stones of emptiness; 215

and presages the desolation of Paradise after the Fall. The "toad," or frog, as the embodiment of evil spirits,216 foreshadows man's subjection to the influence of the powers of darkness.

214 The Bible, Ezekiel 22 : 27.
215 Ibid., Isaiah 34 : 11.
216 Ibid., Revelations 16 : 13.
Through these biblical allusions Milton solves another problem. The reader, in his preoccupation with Satan's demonstrations in Hell and his search for a new world, for which there is no orthodox background, can easily lose the sense of association between the Satan of *Paradise Lost* and the Satan of the Bible. By applying well-known biblical epithets to his Satan, Milton immediately establishes the connection. Thus he effects a smooth transition from fiction to orthodox tradition and from the fall of the angels to the fall of Man. But this is not a degrading process. It is a feat of poetic art that few writers handle as effectively.

Satan's characteristics, as observed in Hell and on Mount Niphates and interpreted on the basis of demonstration and commentary, persist during his first experiences in the Garden of Eden. His aesthetic impotence, revealed first on Mount Niphates, is again apparent as he surveys "undelighted all delights" \(^{217}\) of the newly created world. His powers of deception are unimpaired. In spite of the fact that man is to suffer through him, he impresses some of his readers, among them Mr. Waldock, as being "really sad, really regretful" \(^{218}\) because for Adam and Eve

"... all these delights
Will vanish, and deliver ye to woe -

\(^{218}\) Waldock, *Paradise Lost and Its Critics*, p. 89.
More woe, the more your taste is now of joy.\textsuperscript{219} The profession that he "could love"\textsuperscript{220} man for his "divine resemblance" is sheer mockery, for he knows that he has no capacity for love. In his defiance of God he has forfeited both his moral and intellectual being. In his profession of charitable responses he refuses to accept his inner dilemma in the same way as he rejected a rational appraisal of his physical predicament. He once more puts the responsibility for his diabolic actions on God in:

"Thank him who puts me, loath, to this revenge
On you, who wrong me not, for him who wronged."\textsuperscript{221}

His genuine reaction:

"Oh Hell! what do mine eyes with grief behold?
Into our room of bliss thus high advanced
Creatures of other mold,"\textsuperscript{222}

expresses his envy, now directed against man. His thirst for revenge and his sadism, which were to find satisfaction in an effort to "succeed so as perhaps / Shall grieve him [God],"\textsuperscript{223}

are again quite apparent. Mr. Waldock, too, admits the brutal irony in Satan's words:

"... League with you I seek,
And mutual amity, so strait, so close,

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{219} Milton, \textit{op. cit.}, IV, 367-369.
  \item \textsuperscript{220} Ibid., IV, 363.
  \item \textsuperscript{221} Milton, \textit{Paradise Lost}, IV, 386-387.
  \item \textsuperscript{222} Ibid., IV, 358 - 360.
  \item \textsuperscript{223} Ibid., I, 166.
\end{itemize}
That I with you must dwell, or you with me, Henceforth. My dwelling, happily may not please, Like this fair Paradise, your sense; yet such Accept your Maker's work; he gave it me, Which I as freely give," 224

which "makes him seem to lick his lips as he looks at the pair,"225 in eager anticipation of their sufferings when

"... Hell shall unfold,
To entertain you two, her widest gates,
And send forth all her kings."226

The "tyrant plea" of Satan:

"Honour and empire with revenge enlarged
By conquering this new World - compels me now
To do what else, though damned, I should abhor,"227

shows once more that Milton consistently draws his portrait from the Eikon Bazilike, in which the king again and again justifies his evil deeds and obdurate resistance to parliament by the expediency of public safety and public felicity.228

Later Satan's eavesdropping and his attempt to introduce evil desires into Eve's imagination are the initial steps in the execution of his plan in Book One, where he proposed:

"To work in close design, by fraud or guile,
What force effected not." 229

In Hell he imputes to God his own passion in:

224 Milton, Paradise Lost, IV, 375-381.
225 Waldock, p. 89.
227 Ibid., IV, 390-392.
228 Eikon Bazilike, pp. 72, 73.
229 Milton, op. cit., I, 646-647.
"... th' Almighty hath not built
Here for his envy." 230

He does the same in Eden when, at the intelligence of God's prohibition to man, the question immediately arises in his mind:

"... Why should their Lord
Envy them that?" 231

In all three places he manifests a profound nostalgia for the loss of aesthetic values. In Hell he betrays his longing by:

"Is this the region, this the soil, the clime,... this the seat
That we must change for Heaven? - this mournful gloom
For that celestial light?" 232

On Mount Niphates the sudden consciousness of the loss of his aesthetic receptivity "wakes Despair / That slumbered." 233

Adam's and Eve's mutual love and felicity remind him of the horrors of Hell, "where neither joy nor love" is found. He realizes that the imposition of his will upon his environment will never make for happiness. His will to propagate evil has recoiled on himself and has become his fate.

The assumption that Satan's deterioration in outward
splendour takes place mainly after his descent from Heaven is based upon Milton's commentary:

... His form had yet not lost  
all her original brightness, nor appeared  
Less than Archangel ruined, and th' excess  
Of glory obscured, 235.

and our disregard of the changed appearance of the other angels in Hell. Satan immediately comments upon Beelzebub's impairment in brightness, which is so striking that he questions the identity of his former close associate:

"If thou beest he - but 0 how fallen! how changed  
From him who, in the happy realms of light  
Clothed with transcendent brightness, didst outshine  
Myriads, thou bright!" 236

Zephon's rebuke of Satan:

"Think not, revolted Spirit, thy shape the same,  
Or undiminished brightness, to be known  
As when thou stood'st in Heaven upright and pure  
That glory then, when thou no more wast good,  
Departed from thee...," 237

informs us that Satan lost his magnificence when he lost his virtue, while still in Heaven. The inconsistency of the first statement with the other evidence may be Milton's poetic device of understatement, not uncommon in his works; it may be irony, for any angel "ruined" could hardly retain heavenly characteristics. However, I shall discuss the problem of Satan's outward deterioration more fully in a later chapter.

236 Ibid., I, 84-87.
237 Ibid., IV, 821 ff. (The italics are my own)
At present it is quite evident that the glorious

"... chief of many throned Powers
That led th' embattled Seraphim to war"  

turns up in Hell immediately after his defeat in Heaven an
"Archangel ruined."

In Zephon Satan for the first time has to face reality without finding an avenue of escape.

... Abashed the Devil stood,
And felt how awful goodness is and saw Virtue in her shape how lovely - saw, and pined His loss....  

The remorse for his fallen state which he thought to dismiss almost flippantly with "Farewell remorse!" has become inalienable from his nature.

Milton sums up Satan's character traits from the day he falls, through Gabriel, who accuses him of treason in breaking his "Allegiance to th' acknowledged Power supreme," of dissimulation, of disobedience, guile, and, finally, of hypocrisy:

"And thou, sly hypocrite, who now wouldst seem Patron of liberty; who more than thou Once fawned, and cringed, and servilely adored Heaven's awful Monarch."  

It is true that Satan pays hypocritical lip-service to God

238 Milton, Paradise Lost, I, 138-140.
239 Ibid., IV, 846 - 849.
240 Ibid., IV, 109.
241 Ibid., IV, 947-950.
in his encounter with Uriel. But the picture of a fawning, cringing, servilely-adoring figure is incompatible with our earlier conception of Satan as openly defiant and freely avowing his profound hostility. Therefore, at this point Gabriel's accusation can be accepted only as a poetic device to sustain the reader's interest, in causing him to look forward to its justification.

In a general survey of Satan's characteristics there appears little development from his first appearance in Hell till his meeting with a Heavenly Host in Eden. All the basic elements of his nature remain unmodified. How adamant he is in his evil is effectively brought out in the failure of the rigours of Hell to induce him to submission. In outward appearance, too, he remains unaltered. But we know that he once was a glorious angel. Consequently, there remains no alternative but to assume that his development, or deterioration, took place in Heaven.

The persistence of his characteristics vouch for Satan's poetic unity and invalidate Mr. Werblowsky's assertion that lack of unity in Milton's conception of Satan's character is "one of the reasons which to us make Paradise Lost a failure."242

242 Werblowsky, Lucifer and Prometheus, p. 104.
Chapter VIII

THE BACKGROUND OF SATAN'S REBELLION

In the first books of Paradise Lost Satan has hurled defiant charges of usurpation and tyranny against God in:

"Who now triumphs, and in th' excess of joy
Sole reigning holds the tyranny of Heaven."\textsuperscript{243}

However, this accusation is refuted by the heavenly chorus when they hail the Father as:

"Immutable, Immortal, Infinite,
Eternal King; Thee, Author of all being."\textsuperscript{244}

Satan himself recants his calumny in his Niphates speech when he calls God "Heaven's matchless King",\textsuperscript{245} confesses His goodness, because He "with his good / Upbraided none,"\textsuperscript{246} and admits that God created him. Milton's representation of Heaven, where

About him all the Sanctities of Heaven
Stood thick as stars, and from his sight received
Beatitude past utterance,\textsuperscript{247}

\textsuperscript{243} Milton, Paradise Lost, I, 123-124.
\textsuperscript{244} Ibid., II, 373-374.
\textsuperscript{245} Ibid., IV, 41.
\textsuperscript{246} Ibid., IV, 44-45.
\textsuperscript{247} Ibid., III, 60-63.
conveys the atmosphere of felicity, which is incompatible with tyranny. Moreover, Raphael by his statement:

"... freely we serve,  
Because we freely love, as in our will  
To love or not," 248

lifts the relationship of God and the angels from autocratic benevolence to mutual congeniality. Harmony and devotion are quite apparent as the Heavenly Host under standards,

"... that bear emblazoned  
Holy memorials, acts of zeal and love  
Recorded eminent," 249

congregate on the sacred hill of

"... the Father infinite  
By whom in bliss embosomed sat the Son." 250

Thus the anthem of the angels around God's throne, Satan's confession, and Milton's commentary all bear testimony to the Father's goodness.

However, the Satanists, having based their initial conception of Satan entirely upon his demonstrations in the first two books, refuse to accept him at face value on Mount Niphates, because they regard his speech as Milton's deliberate attempt at "hitting Satan below the belt." 251 Mr. Waldock voices their discontent with Milton's "technique of degradation" and refuses to change his high opinion of Satan, based

248 Milton, Paradise Lost, III; 538-540.
249 Ibid., V, 592-594.
250 Ibid., V, 596-597.
251 Werblowsky, Lucifer and Prometheus, p. 8.
entirely on the latter's demagogy. He simply declines "to play when the trump [Milton's commentary] has appeared too obviously from Milton's sleeve."²⁵²

With the Niphates speech conveniently discarded, Mr. Waldock announces:

We cannot with any reasonableness talk of Satan's 'wrong'. In theory, at least, there are no wrongs, and we know so little about the facts of the matter that we are not in a position to dispute the theory. The background of Satan's revolt is, so to say, nonexistent; we cannot argue from it, because it is not there. ²⁵³

Mr. Waldock, evidently, ignores the fact that no writer ever throws all his cards on the table at once. Not the event itself, but its presentation - the when and how - is of utmost importance in an epic, because the readers are well acquainted with the basic plot, and the poet must sustain their interest entirely by his poetic art and technique. We must remember, also, that Milton's presentation in non-chronological order is no accident, but designed to secure the greatest participation in the action on the part of the reader, and to establish in his mind certain predispositions and conceptions, in the light of which the succeeding events assume the desired proportions. Thus, no doubt, Milton laboured to have the reader participate in the events of the rebellion with a strong

²⁵² Waldrock, Paradise Lost and Its Critics, p. 81.
²⁵³ Ibid., p. 72.
predilection for the Father and the Son, comparable to his own adoration in:

Beyond compare the Son of God was seen
Most glorious; in him all his Father shone
Substantially expressed; and in his face
Divine compassion visibly appeared,
Love without end, and without measure grace. 254

Likewise, he has provided the reader with the correct connotation of the word "begot" in God's decree,

"This day I have begot whom I declare
My only Son..." 255

That the word has a dual meaning Milton explains in The Christian Doctrine as follows:

... for though the Father be said in Scripture to have begotten the Son in a double sense, the one literal, with reference to the production of the Son, the other metaphorical, with reference to his exaltation.... Certain, however, it is ... that the Son existed in the beginning, under the name of the logos or word, and was the first of the whole creation, by whom afterwards all other things were made both in heaven and earth. 256

In Paradise Lost the reader forms the concept of the primacy of the Son in creation through:

Thee next they sang, of all creation first,
Begotten Son, 257

which, as part of the angels' hymn conveys the feeling that this is traditional knowledge with them.

254 Milton, Paradise Lost, III, 138-142.
255 Ibid., V, 603-604.
In spite of this endeavour to establish the right attitude, Milton makes it possible to trace the background of Satan's revolt, apart from any consideration of what has gone before. If we pay close attention to Raphael's recapitulation of the events and apply Shakespeare's criterion of plot development, we soon see the background take shape.

God's decree:

"Hear, all ye Angels, Progeny of Light,
Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,
Hear my decree, which unrevoked shall stand!
This day I have begot whom I declare
My only Son, and on this holy hill
Him have anointed, whom ye now behold
At my right hand. Your head I him appoint,
And by myself have sworn to him shall bow
All knees in Heaven, and shall confess him Lord.
Under his great viceregent reign abide,
United as one individual soul,
For ever happy. Him who disobeys
Me disobeys, breaks union, and, that day,
Cast out from God and blessed vision, falls
Into utter darkness, deep ingulfed, his place
Ordained without redemption, without end," 258

comes as a startling surprise in the midst of apparent concord and peace. At this time, when the Heavenly Host is unanimously demonstrating overt obedience and loyalty by appearing in answer to the imperial summons, such command sounds, indeed, "domineering, provocative and dictatorial." 259 One is almost prepared to join Mr. Werblowsky in his estimate of the situation:

As Professor Wilson Knight has bluntly expressed it, it really is Messiah who starts all the trouble. Why God's threat and challenge

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258 Milton, Paradise Lost, V, 600-615.
259 Werblowsky, Lucifer and Prometheus, p. 8.
'where nothing but God's courteous considera-

tion for his faultless subject was needed?' 260

However, before accepting this as the final judgment, it is

imperative to investigate the reaction of the Heavenly Host
to God's decree and determine whether His stern injunction is

indeed directed towards "faultless" subjects without any provo-
cation.

Raphael gives the initial response in a few terse

words:

"So spake the Omnipotent, and with his words
All seemed well pleased; all seemed, but
were not all." 261

Through repetition Milton focuses our attention on "all

seemed". He thus indicates that no angel betrays the least

sign of disapprobation, while some are genuinely pleased.

Outwardly, perfect accord persists, when

"That day, as other solemn days, they spent
In song and dance about the sacred hill." 262

So indiscernable is the dissimulation of the antagonists to

the decree that there appears not the least dissonance in the

mystic dance of the angels, but

"... in their motions harmony divine
So smooths her charming tones that God's own ear
Listens delighted." 263

260 Werblowsky, Lucifer and Prometheus, p. 8.

261 Milton, Paradise Lost, V, 616-617. (Italics are my own)

262 Ibid., V, 618-619.

263 Ibid., V, 625-627.
The reader, too, ignores easily the deep implication of "all seemed", because he becomes completely absorbed, first, in the intricate mazes of the dance and, later, in the exotic banquet, as

"Tables are set, and on a sudden piled
With Angel's food; and rubied nectar flows
In pearl, in diamond, and massy gold,
Fruit of delicious vines, the growth of Heaven." 264

This physical delectation and the beatitude of spiritual union and fellowship, expressed in:

"They eat, they drink, and in communion sweet
Quaff immortality and joy ...
... before th' all-bounteous King, who showered
With copious hand, rejoicing in their joy," 265

diffuse a climate of heavenly bliss, which precludes all suspicion of subversive elements.

Yet, as darkness deepens, Satan manifests his true feelings and reveals himself as one of those who "seemed, but were not" pleased. All day he has beguiled his fellow-angels by hiding his

"... envy against the Son of God, that day
Honoured by his great Father, and proclaimed Messiah, King Anointed," 266

under hypocritical worship. In the light of this development

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264 Milton, Paradise Lost, V. 632-635.
265 Ibid., V, 637-640.
266 Ibid., V, 662-665.
Gabriel's accusation,

"And thou, sly hypocrite who now wouldst seem
Patron of liberty, who more than thou
Once fawned, and cringed, and servilely adored
Heaven's awful Monarch?" 267

finds its justification and is neither the "high-handed piece
of unsupported calumny," the "undocumented assertion", Milton's
"literary cheating", 268 nor an unjust rebuke of Satan "for his
pre-lapsarian virtues." 269

So far Satan's hostility seems to be his response
to God's provocative speech; and we have the uneasy feeling
that perhaps God has made a mistake, and that His "courteous
consideration" for his apparently "faultless" angels might
have saved His most glorious servant and a host of angels
from eternal damnation.

However, Satan's words to Beelzebub:

"'Sleep'st thou, companion dear? what sleep can close
Thy eyelids? and rememb'rest what decree,
Of yesterday, so late hath passed the lips
Of Heaven's Almighty? Thou to me thy thoughts
Was wont, I mine to thee was wont to impart,
Both waking we were one; how then can now
Thy sleep dissent?'" 270

make it immediately evident that all the angels are not fault-
less. A concourse for the exchange of secret thoughts is

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268 Waldock, *Paradise Lost and Its Critics*, p. 81.
suggestive of treasonous inclinations, and Satan's "both waking we were one" indicates plotting and consent between the two. This shows that Satan's hostility is not rooted in the exaltation of the Son, but has its origin in an earlier situation. Moreover, his disloyalty is confirmed by his bitter sense of abasement in worshipping God with "prostration vile." He openly confesses this revulsion to his followers with biting sarcasm:

"This only to consult, how we may best, With what may be devised of honours new, Receive him [the Son] coming to receive from us Knee-tribute yet unpaid, prostration vile! Too much to one! but double, how endured - To one and to his image now proclaimed!"271

It becomes amply evident that his primary hatred is directed against God, "the one"; and that the Son's exaltation is providing the ostensible motive for open defiance. With the astuteness of one of God's highest creatures, Satan has fully realized the futility of trying to gain accomplices to a conspiracy against God, the Almighty. Hence, the exaltation of the Messiah, though intensifying his hatred, presents him with a welcome subterfuge under which to aspire to the supremacy of God, since the angels can be incited against a new power, whose potency is as yet untried.

In this we find a close correspondence between Satan and Vondel's Lucifer.

271 Milton, Paradise Lost, V, 778-783. (The italics are my own)
I shall have care this purpose to prevent
Let not a power inferior thus dream
To rule the Powers above, 272

is Lucifer's open defiance of the exaltation of man. Yet,
in the same breath his real ambition finds vent in:

Now swear I by my crown, upon this chance
To venture all, to raise my seat amid
The firmament, the spheres, the splendor of
The stars above. The Heaven of Heavens shall then
My palace be, the rainbow be my Throne. 273

Consequently, all the angels are not "faultless"
subjects; it is not the "Messiah, who starts all the trouble";
and God's "courteous consideration" for the angels is not
efficacious enough to extinguish the passions of "pride and
worse ambition"274 which alone are responsible for Satan's
revolt. This then is the background to the revolt as far as
Satan is concerned.

After Satan reveals his antagonism towards God the
Father, the analogy to Macbeth forces itself upon the reader.
In both Macbeth and Paradise Lost antagonism seems to arise
out of the exaltation of a son. God's decree of the exalta-
tion of the Messiah finds a ready parallel in King Duncan's
words,

We will establish our estate upon
Our eldest, Malcolm, whom we name hereafter
The Prince of Cumberland. 275

273 Ibid., II, 286-290.
274 Milton, Paradise Lost, IV, 39.
275 Shakespeare, William, Macbeth in Harrison, G.B., ed.,
Shakespeare, Major Plays and the Sonnets, New York, Harcourt
In their respective hierarchies Macbeth and Satan enjoy an equally enviable reputation, based upon merit and devotion to their kings. The response to the decrees is similar. Both hide their chagrin, but both are stimulated into action.

The Prince of Cumberland! That is a step
On which I must fall down or else o'erleap,
For in my way it lies, 276

is Macbeth's feeling towards this new obstacle to the realization of his ambition. Satan's revelation of an earlier antagonism finds its counterpart in the indication through Lady Macbeth's exclamation:

What beast was't then
That made you break this enterprise to me?
... Nor time nor place
Did then adhere ..., 277

that they had planned Duncan's murder long before the contingency of Malcolm's succession had arisen. Macbeth, however, is not Satan's equal in powers of dissimulation. While Macbeth's face

is as a book where men
May read strange matters, 278

Satan lives up expertly to Lady Macbeth's injunction:

Look like the innocent flower
But be the serpent under it. 279

However, there is one great discrepancy between God

277, Ibid., I, Sc. VII, 47-50.
278 Ibid., I, Sc. V, 63-64.
and King Duncan. The latter goes to his destruction because to mortals

There's no art
To find the mind's construction in the face; 280

while God through His omniscience, which Milton has continually emphasized, discerns the innermost thoughts of all creatures in Heaven, on Earth, and in Hell. Belial refers to it in Hell as well-known to all angels:

"... for what can force or guile
With him, or who deceive his mind, whose eye
Views all things at one view? He from Heaven's height
All these our motions vain sees and derides." 281

Milton stresses it in his commentary:

Now had the Almighty Father from above,
From the pure Empyrean where he sits
High throned above all height, bent down his eye
His own works and their works at once to view.

... On earth he first beheld
Our two first parents....
He then surveyed
Hell and the gulf between, and Satan there
Coasting the wall of Heaven on this side Night. 282

Consequently, the reader is quite prepared for the information:

"Meanwhile, th' Eternal eye, whose sight discerns Abstrusest thoughts, from forth his holy Mount, And from within the golden lamps that burn Nightly before him, saw without their light

281 Milton, Paradise Lost, II, 188-191.
282 Ibid., III, 56-65.
Rebellion rising - saw in whom, how spread
Among the Sons of Morn, what multitudes
Were banded to oppose his high decree," 283
which signifies God's awareness of Satan's disobedience and
of his innermost thoughts from their very inception.

Satan is not the only one in dalliance with Sin.
As stated before, Moloch is fostering like ambitions. Others
as stated by Sin:

"... recoiled afraid
At first, and called me Sin, and for a sign
Portentous held me; but familiar grown,
I pleased, and with attractive graces won
The most averse." 284

However, God cannot tolerate evil anywhere in the Heavenly
universe; for, with his omnipotence inviolable, He may find
Himself in the end a ruler of a kingdom of darkness. Conse­
quently, the exaltation of the Son is His strategic move to
bring all secret thoughts into the open, to cause the loyal
angels to reaffirm their "true allegiance, constant faith,
or love"; while of his antagonists the

"... hard be harden'd, blind be blinded more,
That they may stumble on, and deeper fall." 285

Thus "God, even as He helps the good in their virtue, will
help the wicked in their evil," 286 making the individual's
will his fate.

283 Milton, Paradise Lost, V, 711-717.
284 Ibid., II, 759.
285 Ibid., V, 699-700.
Satan is given the opportunity to seduce the Heavenly Host: as an angel of light on the pretense of acting under the "Most High commanding;" as a demagogue, who

"... casts between
Ambiguous words and jealousies, to sound
Or taint integrity;" 288

and as the open importunate solicitor, who

"... with calumnious art
Of counterfeited truth thus held their ears." 289

God withdraws in order not to interfere with the angels' exercise of free choice, for:

"Not free, what proof could they have given sincere
Of true allegiance, constant faith, or love,
Where only what they needs must do appeared,
Not what they would? What praise could they receive,
What pleasure I, from such obedience paid,
When Will and Reason (Reason also is choice)
Useless and vain, of freedom both dispoild,
Made passive both, had served necessity,
Not me?" 290

In Abdiel, Milton represents the repudiation of evil by the loyal element of Heaven. When he arrives before the throne, he finds

"Already known what he for news had thought
To have reported." 291

287 Milton, op. cit., V. 699.
288 Ibid., V, 702-703.
289 Ibid., V, 770-771.
290 Milton, Paradise Lost, III, 103-111.
291 Ibid., VI, 20.
In this, Milton points out that the whole Heavenly Host is facing the issue, and that Heaven's wide open borders, which admit Abdiel, will not close upon anyone wishing to depart. Only after the segregation is complete does God appear again upon the scene.

God, knowing all innermost thoughts, could have routed the disloyal angels from Heaven one by one. However, Milton is trying to justify God's ways and, consequently, lets the evil become apparent before God takes action. The fact that so many readers are incensed by God's decree of the exaltation of the Son, which is pronounced without an immediate explanation, proves that, had God condemned the scheming rebels without revealing their inner wickedness, the same readers would have placed Him among the foremost tyrants of history.

Thus the exaltation of the Son is a poetic as well as moral necessity: it brings Satan's evil into the open and satisfies the reader that God's attitude towards Satan is based upon right reason and not upon passion. It also serves to bring good out of evil in that, being the pretext for the revolt, it serves for the ingathering of all rampant passions, that through one action Heaven might be cleansed of its dross and restored to its pristine purity.
Chapter IX

SATAN'S REVOLT

Satan's rebellion against God begins long before any overt action takes place. As an angel of the highest hierarchy, his duty, aptly described in Vandel's *Lucifer* as

...of Seraphim
And Cherubim and Thrones, the highest, they
Who form God's inmost Council and confirm
All His commands,

is grievous to him, especially where expressions of devotion and submission are involved. His pride revolts against "Knee tribute... prostration vile!" Beelzebub, his "companion dear", equally shares his revulsion: "Both waking we were one."

Using the Son's exaltation for a subterfuge, they immediately initiate the open revolt in Satan's decision:

"With all his legions to dislodge and leave
Unworshipped, unobeyed, the Throne supreme."

The gravity of such act can be understood best in the light of Milton's

denunciation, in the *Eikonoklastes*, of the King's withdrawal from the Parliament at Westminster:

...when Richard the Second departed but from a Committie of Lords, who sat preparing matter for the Parlament not yet assembl'd, ...they/ coming up to London with a huge Army, requir'd the King...to come to Westminster. Which he refusing, they told him flatly, that unless he came, they would choose another. So high a crime it was accounted then, for Kings to absent themselves, not from Parlament, which none ever durst, but from any meeting of his Peeres and Counselors, which did but tend towards a Parlament. 296

If such was the severity of the offence in a king, how much more reprehensible would be the withdrawal of a subordinate!

Through lying, hypocrisy, and guile Satan succeeds in drawing after him "the third part of Heaven's host." All the angels who have been unknowingly involved in the initial step of disobedience by withdrawing with Satan, except Abdiel, yield him henceforth unquestioning obedience and seem to take no cognizance of the weakness of his argument against Abdiel.

The combat is related as an epic narrative. There is the movement of two huge opposing armies. There is the Homeric combat of epic heroes in the fight of Satan, Abdiel, and Michael, and the long speeches of the champions in the midst of strife and bloodshed. However, Milton conveys more to the reader than merely the events of warfare. In Abdiel's denunciation of Satan we find the criterion for superiority, the qualifications for kingship, and the definition of

Christian liberty:

"...God and Nature bid the same,
When he who rules is worthiest, and excels
Them whom he governs. This is servitude -
To serve th'unwise, or him who hath rebelled
Against his worthier, as thine now serve thee,
Thyself not free, but to thyself enthralled." 298

Thus, superiority rests upon inner merit, and Christian liberty upon the subjugation of passion to right reason. In the defeat of Satan Milton demonstrates the triumph of good over evil and the confounding of mighty powers by humility and virtue. In the end he points out through Raphael that the account of the rebellion expresses the truth only symbolically, "measuring things in Heaven by things on earth," 299 to make them comprehensible to human understanding.

Milton, similarly, throughout the epic drops to the level of the experiences of his contemporaries. In Satan's feats of war he tries to bring out the latter's prodigious prowess as well as his diabolic perspicacity for the invention of destructive devices. The introduction of the invention of gunpowder by the rebels strikes the twentieth-century reader as gross, and is decried by Mr. Saurat as "a scandal to true believers." 300 However, Milton draws here upon the tradition of cannon as "infernal," connoting the devastating power of Hell which dashes "to pieces" all that it encounters. Moreover, he turns to a recent political event; namely, the massacre of the Parliamentarian army through superior cannon introduced by the royalists from Holland. 301

298 Milton, Paradise Lost, VI, 176-181.
299 Ibid., VI, 893.
300 Saurat, Milton, Man and Thinker, p.173.
With the horrors of that incident still fresh before him, the contemporary reader becomes, no doubt, emotionally involved in the conflict, and the glory of the Messiah's victory is thus correspondingly enhanced.
SATAN, THE REBEL OF HEAVEN

In Raphael's account of the rebellion as well as in Paradise Lost on the whole, we do not meet the Lucifer of orthodox conception in his state of early perfection, as found in the adumbration of the King of Tyre:

Thou sealest up the sum, full of wisdom, and perfect in beauty. Thou hast been in Eden the Garden of God; every precious stone was thy covering, the sardius, topaz, and the diamond, the beryl, the onyx, and the jasper, the sapphire, the emerald, and the carbuncle, and gold: the workmanship of thy tabrets and of thy pipes was prepared in thee in the day that thou wast created. Thou art the anointed cherub that covereth; and I have set thee so: thou wast upon the holy mountain of God; thou hast walked up and down in the midst of the stones of fire. Thou wast perfect in thy ways from the day thou wast created till iniquity was found in thee. 302

Lucifer is described here as created perfect in his entire being. His kingdom is called Eden, but is distinguished from man's Eden in that it is a mineral kingdom. The magnificence of his abode is given in:

"every precious stone was thy covering, the sardius, topaz, and the diamond, the beryl, the onyx, and the jasper, the sapphire, the emerald, and the carbuncle, and gold."

and thy pipes was prepared in thee...," shows that Satan was a master musician, besides being the designer and builder of his crystal towers. "Thou art the anointed cherub" indicates Lucifer's exalted position in Heaven. Thus, Lucifer is depicted in every way as God's perfect creation, exalted above many others, with access to God's holy mountain.

Vondel brings out more than Milton Satan's pre-lapsarian glory in his Lucifer, when Raphael addresses the rebel thus:

...God hath his seal
And image stamped upon thy hollowed head
And forehead, where all beauty seemed out-poured,
With wisdom and benevolence and all
That flows in streams unbounded from the fount
Of every precious thing. In Paradise,
Before the countenance of God's own sun,
Thou shon'st from clouds of dew and roses fresh;
Thy festal robes stood stiff with pearl, turquoise,
And diamond, ruby, emerald, and fine gold;
'Twas thy right hand the weightiest sceptre held;
And as soon as thou didst mount into the light,
Throughout the blazing firmament and through
These shining vaults the sounds began to roll
Of trumpet and of drum.303

However, there is a number of references in Paradise Lost, from which we are able to draw a fairly clear picture of Satan's pre-lapsarian personality. As to his status in the hierarchial order, Raphael accords him pre-eminence over most, if not all, of the angels when he introduces him as:

"...He of the first,
If not the first Archangel, great in power,
In favour and pre-eminence."304

303 Vondel, Lucifer, IV, 179-193.
304 Milton, Paradise Lost, V, 659-661.
By virtue of such exalted condition his influence over the Host of
Heaven under his control is shown as correspondingly potent by the
angels' obedience to

"The wonted signal, and the superior voice
Of their great Potentate, for great indeed
His name, and high was his degree in Heaven." 305

His regal state is indicated by the magnificence of his capital,

"...his royal seat
High on a hill, far blazing, as a mount
Raised on a mount, with pyramids and towers -
From diamond quarries hewn and rocks of gold -
The palace of great Lucifer," 306

and the immensity of his army,

"...an host
Innumerable as the stars of night,
Or stars of morning, dew drops which the sun
Impearls on every leaf and every flower." 307

The biblical allusion of the morning star in:

"His countenance, as the morning star that guides
The starry flock, allured them..." 308

shows the power of his glorious appearance over the minds of the angels.
This radiance is emphasized by references to his shining armour and"his
sun-bright chariot." 309

305 Milton, Paradise Lost, V, 704-706.
306 Ibid., V, 756-760.
307 Ibid., V, 744-747.
308 Ibid., V, 78-79.
309 Ibid., VI, 100.
Yet, the picture of his pre-lapsarian magnificence grows pallid under the impact of his diabolic personality from the very opening of the scene in Heaven. Only God's early statement that He has created man and "all th'ethereal Powers" "just and right,"\(^{310}\) prevents the assumption that Satan represents essential evil. His former wisdom, subverted to evil, makes him the crafty contriver who shuns no means to accomplish his wicked designs.

His acute powers of dissimulation and his profound hypocrisy deceive the very elect of the heavenly hierarchies as he spends the day with them "in song and dance about the sacred hill."\(^{311}\) His pride and envy, first, of God and, later, of the Messiah pervert his reasoning powers and sweep him headlong into the revolt. He lacks the loyalty of a leader for his faithful subjects when, instead of enlisting their support by fair means, he commits them to disobedience to God through his fraudulent order:

"'...Assemble thou
Of all those myriads which we lead the chief;
Tell them that, by command /of God/, ere yet dim night
Her shadowy cloud withdraws, I am to haste
And all who under me their banners wave
Homeward with flying march where we possess
The quarters of the North, there to prepare
Fit entertainment to receive our King,
The Great Messiah, and his new commands,
Who speedily through all the Hierarchies
Intends to pass triumphant, and give laws,'"\(^{312}\)

and thus involves them in his initial overt transgression in leaving

\(^{310}\) Milton, *Paradise Lost*, III, 98.

\(^{311}\) Ibid., V, 619.

\(^{312}\) Ibid., 683-693.
"unobeyed" the precincts of Heaven, while they are under the impression of obeying God's order. His lies, his insinuation, his casting

"...between
Ambiguous words and jealousies, to sound
Or taint integrity" 313

are worthy of an Iago.

In the palace of great Lucifer, the crafty demagogue insinuates into the minds of his followers his own grievance and thus provides them with a personal motive to oppose the Almighty:

"'Will ye submit your necks, and choose to bend
The supple knee? Ye will not, if I trust
To know ye right, or if ye know yourselves
Natives and Sons of Heaven possessed before
By none, and, if not equal all, yet free'" 314

However, in his presentation of the issues it becomes quite evident that his inordinate ambition is perverting his right reason. He aspires to equality with God, but denies such to his followers. He is determined to destroy God's hierarchial order "'to cast off this yoke,'" 315 yet claims that,

"'...orders and degrees
Jar not with liberty, but well consist.'" 316

He rejects Abdiel's argument that

"'the mighty Father made

313 Milton, Paradise Lost, V, 702-704.
314 Ibid., V, 787-791.
315 Ibid., V, 786.
316 Ibid., V, 792-793.
All things, even thee, and all the Spirits of Heaven
By him [Son] created in their bright degrees," 317

"...Strange point and new
Doctrine which we would know whence learned! Who saw
When this creation was? Remember'st thou
Thy making, while the Maker gave thee being?
We know no time when we were not as now;
Know none before us, self-begot, self-raised
By our own quickening power when fatal course
Had circled his full orb...," 318

thus denying both the creation by the Son and by God and trying to impress his host with utter folly.

Mr. Waldock, however, does not find these rejoinders silly and rally to Satan's defence:

The point must be new, or he could not in full assembly say it was. We are not told why it is that Abdiel is so exceptionally well informed; for some reason he is, just as for some reason the rebel angels appear to have been kept in the dark about a number of other facts that good angels know. 319

As stated before, Milton presents his events in inverted chronological order to establish certain conceptions in the light of which later developments become clear. The creation by the Son has been emphasized as being Heaven's tradition. Consequently, Satan's statements are ludicrous. The fact that he voices them "in full assembly" does not make them more credible or rational than his harangue for and against

317 Milton, Paradise Lost, V, 836-838.
318 Ibid., V, 855-862.
319 Waldock, Paradise Lost and Its Critics, p. 71.
equality and the hierarchial orders, which, too, occurs "in full assembly" without meeting with any opposition except Abdiel's.

Satan's complete loss of emotional response to goodness is apparent in his defiant rejection of God's pardon. That pardon, offered to Satan even after his overt opposition to God, is the manifestation of His Divine compassion...

Love without end, and without measure grace. 320

There is no hesitation in his refusal, no inner conflict, but obdurate pride and boundless self-reliance. For Vondel's Lucifer this last offer of God's grace is the climax, because it involves a tremendous conflict, as expressed in his bitterness:

> What creature else so wretched is as I?  
> On the one side flicker feeble rays of hope,  
> While on the other yawns a flaming horror.  
> But 'tis too late, no cleansing for my stain  
> Is here. All hope is past. 321

But Satan is already completely alienated from his former godly nature as Abdiel pronounces judgment upon him:

> 'O alienate from God. O Spirit accursed,  
> Forsaken of all good! I see thy fall  
> Determined, and thy hapless crew involved  
> In this perfidious fraud, contagion spread  
> Both of thy crime and punishment.' 322

He has also lost all capacity for seeing things objectively. His own

thoughts and actions are law unto himself and those around him. There is a deep irony in his words objecting to the enforcement of laws "on us, who without law / Err not,"\(^323\) uttered as they are in the midst of rebellion.

In the encounter with the Heavenly Host Satan's powers of seduction are emphasized by Gabriel thus:

"'... how hast thou instilled
Thy malice into thousands, once upright
And faithful, now proved false!' "\(^324\)

By calling Abdiel "seditious Angel,"\(^325\) Satan projects his own faults onto others. His two humiliating defeats in single combat do not shake his overbearing self-confidence. The demonstration of "prodigious power"\(^326\) and unfailing courage and the ingenious invention of gunpowder attest to the fact that Satan's positive qualities are invariably channeled into the pursuance of evil and destruction. An epic hero in his performance on the battlefield, he yet lacks all the characteristics of moral greatness, such as honour, truth, and justice. Even at this early stage he and his associates are determined

"... by force or fraud
... to prosper, and at length prevail
Against God and Messiah." \(^327\)

His envy is emphasized by his reaction to the glory of the Son:

\(^{324}\) Ibid., VI, 269-271.
\(^{325}\) Ibid., VI, 152.
\(^{326}\) Ibid., VI, 247.
\(^{327}\) Ibid., VI, 794-797.
"They, hardened more by what might most reclaim,
Grieving to see his glory, at the sight
T ook envy, and, aspiring to his height,
Stood re-embattled fierce." 328

As to Satan's appearance, there is sufficient evidence to justify the assumption that his secret inner degradation does not impair his outward magnificence. In the congregation around the sacred hill he is apparently unchanged. His beauty,

"...as the morning star that guides
The starry flock allured them, and with lies
Drew after him the third part of Heaven's host." 329

Even when he confronts God's host his lustre remains impressive, as:

"High in the midst, exalted as a God
Th' Apostate in his sun-bright chariot sat,
Idol of majesty divine, enclosed
With flaming Cherubim and golden shields." 330

Abdiel deplores the persistence of Satan's grandeur as incompatible with his inner depravity:

"'O Heaven! that such resemblance of the Highest
Should yet remain, where faith and reality
Remain not!" 331

However, during the battle ominous portents and signs of external impairment of glory appear. First, Satan's armour, "erewhile so bright", is stained with his own blood. Next, the spirits find it difficult to

328 Milton, Paradise Lost, VI, 791-794.
329 Ibid., V, 708-710.
330 Ibid., VI, 99-102.
331 Ibid., VI, 114-116.
extricate themselves from underneath the rocks because:

"...though Spirits of purest light,
Purest at first, now gross by sinning grown!"

In the end, when the Messiah meets them on their own terms of violence

"...since by strength
They measure all, of other excellence
Not emulous,"

the puissance of the stars of morning is shattered. Those fierce and vaunting champions now

"...all resistance lost,
All courage; down their idle weapons dropped;"

Satan, who so recently has borne "such resemblance of the Highest," becomes undistinguishable among the "Thrones and mighty Seraphim prostrate;" and, merely one of the "exhausted, spiritless, afflicted, fallen," is driven disdainfully headlong "down from the verge of Heaven."

Even though Milton does not describe the sudden metamorphosis by which Vondel's Lucifer

Even as bright day to gloomy night is changed,
Whene'er the sun forgets his golden glow,
So in his downward fall his beauty turned
To something monstrous and most horrible,
Into a brutish snout his face, that shone

332 Milton, Paradise Lost, VI, 660-661.
333 Ibid., VI, 820-822.
334 Ibid., VI, 838-839.
335 Ibid., VI, 841.
336 Ibid., VI, 852
337 Ibid., VI, 865.
So glorious; his teeth into large fangs,
Sharpened for gnawing steel; his hands and feet
Into four various claws; into a hide
Of black that shining skin of pearl...

...His beauteous form
Is now a monster execrable, by God
And spirit and man e'er to be cursed,338

he definitely implies an outward deterioration in his analogies in Hell
between Satan and "whom the fables name of monstrous size Titanian"339
and Briareos, a fearful monster. Beelzebub comments on "all our glory
extinct,"340 the angels lie

Abject and lost...covering the flood,
Under amazement of their hideous change;341

and Milton refers to them as "a pitchy cloud."342 Satan, "Darkened
so, yet shone above them all"343 in Hell. But any brightness he assumes
in disguise is only "permissive glory."344

Thus Satan at the point of his expulsion from Heaven appears
as the procreator of sin and the epitome of all passions characteristic
of orthodox tradition. All his heavenly attributes have been replaced
by diabolic qualities. Hence, his character is complete, and this
excludes the possibility of any further development. Events in Hell
and on Earth reveal these changes, of some of which he himself is not
immediately aware. Milton's statement about the other fallen angels,
...neither do the Spirits damned
Lose all their virtue, 345

may be preferred as an argument against the assertion of Satan's utter
degradation. However, it must be remembered that their disobedience to
God is entirely based upon their loyalty to their chief. Their offence
consists in giving too much credence to Satan's words. But they do not
share his other passions and, consequently, will deteriorate with time
under his leadership. Milton indicates Satan's deeper degradation by:

High on a throne of royal state...

\[
\text{Satan exalted sat, by merit raised}
\]

\[
\text{To that bad eminence... 346}
\]

345 Milton, Paradise Lost, II, 482-483.
346 Ibid., II, 1 ff.
Chapter XI

SATAN AND THE FALL OF MAN

The Satan who finally appears in Paradise is confirmed in evil. Milton stresses this by placing the recapitulation of the Fall of the Angels immediately before the Fall of Man. Satan's sophistry in Hell might have easily deceived all readers. The Mount Niphates speech might have left them puzzled as to his true nature. But here is no ambiguity, no contradiction of commentary and demonstration. He is "the author of evil", 347 the "forsaken of all good", 348 who has

"
...disturbed
Heaven's blessed peace and into Nature brought
Misery, uncreated till the crime
Of thy Satan's rebellion!" 349

He has also

"
...instilled
...malice into thousands, once upright
And faithful, now proved false." 350

"Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers" 351 have fallen a prey to his glozing words. In a physical conflict God himself alone

347 Milton, Paradise Lost, VI, 262.
348 Ibid., V, 878.
349 Ibid., VI, 266-269.
350 Ibid., VI, 269-272.
351 Ibid., V, 772.
through the Messiah has been able to overcome him as an adversary.

A conflict between this sinister force and Adam and Eve, the "puny" inhabitants of Earth, appears so incongruous that Milton's attempt to "justify the ways of God to men"\textsuperscript{352} seems to break down in the very anticipation of such unequal struggle. However, the incongruity arises out of our misconception of the first Man, as expressed by Mr. Lewis:

I had come to the poem associating innocence with childishness. I had also an evolutionary background which led me to think of early men, and therefore a fortiori of the first men, as savages. The beauty I expected in Adam and Eve was that of the primitive, the unsophisticated, the naif. I had hoped to be shown their inarticulate delight in a new world which they were spelling out letter by letter, to hear them prattle.\textsuperscript{353}

Yet, as we pay closer attention to Milton's presentation of Adam and Eve:

Two of far nobler shape, erect and tall,
God-like erect, with native honour clad
In naked majesty, seemed lords of all,
And worthy seemed; for in their looks divine
The image of their glorious Master shone,
Truth, wisdom, sanctitude severe and pure -
Severe, but in true, filial freedom placed,
Whence true authority in men...

For contemplation he and valour formed,
For softness she and sweet attractive grace;
He for God only, she for God in him.
His fair large front and eye sublime declared
Absolute rule,\textsuperscript{354}

to Raphael's deference to Eve, and the revelation of Adam's intellectual

\textsuperscript{352} Milton, Paradise Lost, I, 26.
\textsuperscript{353} Lewis, A Preface to Paradise Lost, p. 112.
\textsuperscript{354} Milton, \textit{op.cit.}, IV, 288.
capacities, Satan's preponderance appears greatly diminished in juxtaposition to man who possesses all the attributes of the true image of God. Moreover, Raphael,

The affable Archangel, had forewarned
Adam, by dire example, to beware
Apostasy, by what befell in Heaven
To those apostates, lest the like befall
In Paradise to Adam or his race, 355

and God has created him with powers to

"Stand fast; to stand or fall
Free in thine own abidement it lies
Perfect within, no outward aid require." 356

Nevertheless, Satan remains a redoubtable enemy. Milton never lets the reader lose sight of this. As Satan enters Paradise to vent his evil tendencies in action, he once more reveals all his former characteristics in soliloquy.

"But neither here seek I, no, nor in Heaven,
To dwell, unless by mastering Heaven's Supreme," 357

expresses the ambition and hatred he has fostered in Heaven. His "evil, be thou my good" 358 finds its counterpart in:

"To me shall be the glory sole among
The infernal Powers, in one day to have marred
What he, Almighty styled, six nights and days
Continued making, and who knows how long
Before had been contriving?" 359

355 Milton, Paradise Lost, VII, 41.
356 Ibid., V, 640-642.
357 Ibid., IX, 124-125.
358 Ibid., IV, 110.
359 Ibid., IX, 135-138.
His deliberate self-deception is evident in his rationalization of the Fall of the Angels:

"...I in one night freed
From servitude inglorious well-nigh half
Th'angelic name, and thinner left the throng
Of his adorers."

Again he attributes his own malignity to God,

"He to be avenged
...or to spite us more -
Determined to advance into our room
A creature formed of earth...."

His envy against God and man persists as he pours his spite out on him

"...who next
Provokes my envy, this new favorite
Of Heaven, this Man of clay, son of despite."

The loss of his intellectual being is also apparent, as once again the nostalgia for his lapsed aesthetic perceptions overpowers him at the sight of Paradise, as seen from his exclamation:

"With what delight could I have walked thee round.
If I could joy in aught - sweet interchange
Of hill and valley, rivers, woods, and plains,
Now land, now sea, and shores with forest crowned,
Rocks, dens, and caves! But I in none of these
Find place or refuge; and the more I see
Pleasures about me, so much more I feel
Torment within me, as from the hateful siege
Of contraries; all good to me becomes
Bane, and in Heaven much worse would be my state."
Thus, Satan manifests the same fundamental characteristics of inordinate ambition, hatred, envy, self-deception, wherever we encounter him: in Heaven, in Hell, on Mount Niphates, in Paradise. All his transgressions are rooted in his one initial trespass against God — disobedience.

As Satan conceives his plan of attack upon man, we find him by virtue of experience more astute in strategy. The failure of his army

"With furious expedition...
That self-same day, by fight or by surprise,
To win the Mount of God, and on his throne
To set the envier of his state, the proud Aspirer," 364

has taught him discretion. Man's destruction he plans for "the space of seven continued nights;" 365 and, finally, attempts it not haphazardly, but with "meditated fraud and malice." 366 "His mounted scale aloft" has revealed to him that the loss of his physical prowess during the war in Heaven, when

"...shot forth pernicious fire
Amongst th' accursed, that withered all their strength,
And of their wonted vigour left them drained,
Exhausted, spiritless, afflicted fallen," 367

is final and irretrievable. Although in his encounter with Gabriel's host

His stature reached the sky, and on his crest

364 Milton, Paradise Lost, VI, 86-90.
365 Ibid., IX, 64.
366 Ibid., IX, 55. (The italics is my own.)
367 Ibid., VI, 849-852.
Sat Horror plumed; nor wanted in his grasp
What seemed both spear and shield, he becomes aware of the hollowness behind this display of might through that

"...celestial sign,
Where thou [Satan] art weighed, and shown how light,
how weak
If thou resist." 369

Consequently, fraud and guilt must be his weapons in the attack upon man. Ithuriel's touch of the spear has broken his disguise and has restored him to his proper shape, imparting to him a hitherto unknown truth; namely, that

...no falsehood can endure
Touch of celestial temper, but returns
Of force to its own likeness. 370

Since Adam and Eve are "to heavenly Spirits bright / Little inferior", Satan will not jeopardize the success of his attempt by appearing before them as a changeling. As a result of this consideration

The serpent subtlest beast of all the field
...his final sentence chose
Fit vessel, fittest imp of fraud, in whom
To enter, and his dark suggestions hide
From sharpest sight. 372

368 Milton, Paradise Lost, IV, 988-990.
369 Ibid., IV, 1011 - 1013.
370 Ibid., IV, 811-813.
371 Ibid., IV, 361-362.
372 Ibid., IX, 86 ff.
Thus, as Satan appears on the human stage, he is no less than essential evil. The evil which he originated in Heaven, was purged thence with his expulsion as seen from:

"'Hence, then, and evil go with thee along,
Thy offspring.'" 373

With the complete forfeiture of all goodness, he becomes the embodiment of all passions hitherto unknown in God's cosmos. Through his seduction of Man evil is generated into the universe.

As Satan views the new world and its two inhabitants, his despite is intensified by the realization that in the creation of man God has already accomplished the initial step of his plan:

"'Good out of evil to create - instead
Of Spirits malign, a better race to bring
Into their vacant room, and thence diffuse
His good to worlds and ages infinite,'" 374

by forming such god-like beings. Consequently, the success of his counter-purpose:

"'...to pervert that end,
And out of good still to find means of evil,'" 375

is of paramount importance.

During his first appearance in Eden he has tainted Adam's and Eve's imagination in the hope that eventually it will get the better of their right reason. His insinuations in Eve's dream:

373 Milton, Paradise Lost, VI, 275-276.
374 Ibid., VII, 188-191.
375 Ibid., I, 164-165.
"'And why not gods of men, since good, the more
Communicated, more abundant grows,
The author not impaired, but honoured more?" 376

are such as to force speculation upon the human mind. Adam, who hitherto has known good alone, now gives evidence of a theoretical knowledge of evil in: 377

"Best image of myself, and dearer half
The trouble of thy thoughts this night in sleep
Affects me equally; nor can I like
This uncouth dream - of evil sprung, I fear." 378

Eve's sudden independence, emerging in her desire to work separately is, no doubt, the unconscious outgrowth of Satan's words in her dream:

"'Taste this, and be henceforth among the gods
Thyself a goddess.'" 379

The appearance of the Tempter,

"One shaped and winged like one of those from Heaven
By us oft seen; his dewy lips distilled
Ambrosia," 380

causes her to ascribe to Satan the nobility of their heavenly guests, which precludes the possibility that "A foe so proud will first the weaker seek." The boundless self-reliance expressed in, "So bent

376 Milton, Paradise Lost, V, 71-73.
377 Bailey, Milton and Jacob Boehme, p. 154.
379 Ibid., V, 77-78.
380 Ibid., V, 55-56.
the more shall shame him his repulse," 381 in one "for softness" formed
"and sweet attractive grace", 382 arises from her conviction that Satan
can only tempt her in the angelic form of her dream; and shall, there­
fore, be easily recognized. Satan's extreme subtlety is also manifest­
ed herein.

The whole action of the temptation is pregnant with irony.
Eve is the least prepared for the test when her self-confidence is the
greatest. While she ascribes heroic qualities to Satan, "he wished
his hap might find / Eve separate." 383 Satan attempts to pervert
God's good to evil, but is, indeed, God's agent in testing man's
obedience. The moment of Satan's greatest triumph seals his ultimate
doom; and man's self-abasement is the key to his eternal life.

When Satan first meets Eve, his evil passions are momentarily
arrested as he

...for the time remained
Stupidly good, of enmity disarmed,
Of guile, of hate, of envy, of revenge. 384

Some critics would see in this a redeeming quality in Satan. However,
Mr. Diekhoff gives an explanation more in keeping with the Satanic
nature:

At the moment when he hesitates here in the
presence of Eve, his hesitation is not an
impulse toward virtue, but merely a moment
of abstraction during which the activity of
Moreover, Satan, in his attempt to avoid Adam,

"Whose higher intellectual more I shun,
And strength, of courage haughty, and of limb
Heroic built, though of terrestrial mould;
Foe not formidable, exempt from wound," 386

proves the speciousness of his former demonstrations of courage and this stamps him as a human villain of the lowest order. No heroic elements enter into the execution of his plan, which is based entirely upon the exercise of "meditated fraud."

In his incarnation of the serpent, a familiar beast in the Garden, Satan has eliminated all hazards to himself. Through the influence of her dream Eve's mind has become fertile ground for his second appeal to her imagination. In his seduction he practises every tactic which has proved successful in committing the heavenly powers to the revolt against God. There his natural beauty allured the angels. Consequently, he appears before Eve with his head

Crested aloft, and carbuncle his eyes;
With burnished neck of verdant gold, erect
Amidst his circling spires, that on the grass
Floated redundant. Pleasing was his shape
And lovely. 387

His specious devotion to God as he partakes in the worship around the sacred mount, he duplicates here in his profession of a similar sentiment for Eve, as

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385 Diekhoff, Milton's Paradise Lost, p. 42.
386 Milton, Paradise Lost, IX, 483-486.
387 Ibid., IX, 500-504.
Oft he bowed
His turret crest and sleek enamelled neck;
Fawning, and licked the ground whereon she trod. 388

In both events he cunningly impairs the mental alertness of his victims through flattery. The angels fall for his words:

"'Will ye submit your necks, and choose to bend
The supple knee? Ye will not, if I trust
To know ye right, or if ye know yourselves
Natives and Sons of Heaven possessed before
By none, and, if not equal all, yet free.'" 389

Eve, with Adam's reproach:

"'Wouldest thou approve thy constancy, approve
First thy obedience; th'other who can know
Not seeing thee attempted, who attest?'" 390

still fresh in her mind must, of necessity, feel exalted by the imputation to her of superior qualities implied in "Thy awful brow, more awful thus retired" 391 and openly advanced in:

"...who shouldst be seen
A Goddess among Gods, adored and served
By Angels numberless, thy daily train." 392

Thus, Satan's experience in Heaven has rendered him indeed improved in fraud and malice.

In the account of his transformation, during the process of which he claims to have acquired the "Language of Man" and "human

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388 Milton, Paradise Lost, IX, 524-526.
389 Ibid., V, 787-791.
390 Ibid., IX, 367-369.
391 Ibid., IX, 536.
392 Ibid., IX, 537-539.
sense,"393 he takes into consideration every aspect of their situation to appeal the more effectively to Eve's senses. Since the time approaches noon, he vividly describes the "savoury odour", and the "sharp desire" he felt of tasting those fair apples.394 He plays upon man's inherent longing for the unattainable by depicting the difficulty of obtaining the miraculous fruit and the frustration of other beasts:

"For, high from ground, the branches would require
Thy utmost reach, or Adam's: round the tree
All other beasts that saw, with like desire
Longing and envying stood, but could not reach."395

He dwells upon the virtue of the fruit as an intellectual stimulant through which:

"Thenceforth to speculations high or deep
I turned my thoughts, and with capacious mind
Considered all things visible in Heaven,
Or Earth, or Middle, all things fair and good,"396

and thus stirs Eve's curiosity to see the tree. Although Eve fully trusts in the veracity of the serpent, she unhesitatingly takes a definite stand of obedience to God's command on recognizing the forbidden tree:

"Serpent, we might have spared our coming hither,
Fruitless to me, though fruit be here to excess."397

However, Eve is no match for Satan's sophistry. As he

393 Milton, Paradise Lost, IX, 553.
394 Ibid., IX, 579 ff.
395 Ibid., IX, 590-593.
396 Ibid., IX, 602-605.
397 Ibid., IX, 647-648.
"presents the prospect of evil as though it were the highest good; and his voice, even in the act of temptation, is impassioned with his 'zeal of right'," 398 Eve gradually loses ground. Moreover, his persuasion carries the conviction of factual evidence:

"Ye shall not die. How should ye? By the fruit? it gives you life To knowledge. By the threatener? look on me, Me who have touched and tasted, yet both live, And life more perfect have attained than Fate Meant me, by venturing higher than my lot." 399

He stresses the importance of knowing evil, "since easier shunned"; 400 and he advances his own interpretation of God's threat as implying not physical death, but the dying of ignorance in the assuming of godly qualities:

"So shall ye die perhaps, by putting off Human, to put on Gods." 401

The rapidity of his movements from argument to argument prevents Eve from discovering their inconsistency and speciousness. And gradually

...his words, replete with guile, Into her heart too easy entrance won. 402

However, at no time is Eve overwhelmed to the extent that she loses her

398 Sewell, A., Satan, p. 57.
399 Milton, Paradise Lost, IX, 685-670.
400 Ibid., IX, 699.
401 Ibid., IX, 713-714.
402 Ibid., IX, 731-732.
reasoning power. But her reason misinforms her, because her argument is based on two faulty premises; namely, that it is the serpent who is speaking, and that his transformation into a reasonable beast is due to the virtue of the fruit. But she is not overpowered by passion like the Eve in Vondel's *Lucifer*, described at the same point of the temptation:

"Forthwith begins the heart of the fair bride
To burn and to enkindle, till she flames
To see the praised fruit, which first allures
The eye: the eye the mouth, that sighs to taste,
Desire doth urge the hand, all quivering to pluck." 403

On the contrary, after she has overcome all mental reservations by what appears clear logic, her action is quite deliberate as

Forth-reaching to the fruit, she plucked, she eat. 404

Nor does Adam fall as the victim of a sweeping passion, because

...He scrupled not to eat,
Against his better knowledge, not deceived,
But fondly overcome with female charm. 405

Various theories have been advanced to ascertain the emotion which led to Eve's fall. Mr. Williams suggests "injured merit". Mr. Lewis decides that "Eve fell through Pride," 406 since the serpent stirs up her vanity through his praise, makes her feel impaired because there is no-one but Adam to admire her beauty, and, consequently, arouses her

405 Ibid., IX, 997-999.
ambition to attain to a position worthy of her qualities. However, all this precedes their arrival at the site of the tree, at which instant Milton states that Eve was "yet sinless."\textsuperscript{407}

Just before the fall takes place, Milton focuses the reader's attention through repetition on the word forbids, uttered by Eve:

"In plain then, what for\textit{bids} he but to know? For\textit{bids} us good, for\textit{bids} us to be wise! Such \textit{prohibitions} bind not."\textsuperscript{408}

Consequently, it seems clear that Eve's transgression is her deliberate disobedience of God's command. She fails to trust his veracity blindly in the face of factual evidence to the contrary. Adam forecasts the cause of her fall in:

"But bid her \underline{\textit{reason}} well beware, and still erect, Lest, by some fair appearing good surprised, She dictates false, and misinforms the Will To do what God expressly hath forbid."\textsuperscript{409}

Adam himself prefers his conjugal love to his love and loyalty for God. Satan's disobedience to God's decree introduces sin into Heaven. Adam and Eve, similarly, through their disobedience to God's command are responsible for sin upon earth, with one difference,

"The first sort by their own suggestion fell, Self-tempted, self-depraved; Man falls, deceived By the other first."\textsuperscript{410}

Evil, once liberated into the world by Satan and approved by

\begin{tabular}{ll}
407 & Milton, \textit{Paradise Lost}, IX, 659. \\
408 & Ibid., IX, 758-760. (The italics is my own.) \\
409 & Ibid., IX, 353-356. \\
410 & Ibid., I, 129-131. \\
\end{tabular}
man, immediately appears in its multiple forms. Eve commits idolatry in her veneration of the tree:

So saying, from the tree her step she turned,
But first low reverence done, as to a Power
That dwelt within, whose presence had infused
Into the plant sciental sap, derived
From nectar, drink of Gods.\textsuperscript{411}

She questions God's omniscience in assuming that He may never learn of her trespass because

"Heaven is high -
High, and remote to see from thence distinct
Each thing on Earth."\textsuperscript{412}

She, who a few hours ago joined nature in adoration and worship, now refers to God sacriligeously as

"Our great Forbidder, safe with all his spies
About him."\textsuperscript{413}

Her ambition grows from a desire for intellectual equality with the Gods to an aspiration to superiority over Adam. In relating her experience and trespass, she reflects Satan's guile and hypocrisy as she presents her disobedience as committed "for thee / Chiefly,"\textsuperscript{414} and in turn becomes Adam's seducer. Together they try to rationalize their offence through deliberate self-deception. Their own relationship is degraded by the awakening of carnal desires and lasciviousness, which breaks down their mutual respect. When the first wave of their false

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{411} Milton, Paradise Lost, IX, 834-838.
\footnote{412} Ibid., IX, 811-813.
\footnote{413} Ibid., IX, 815-816.
\footnote{414} Ibid., IX, 877.
\end{footnotes}
enthusiasm finally subsides, they find themselves animated by

...high passions - anger, hate,
Mistrust, suspicion, discord - which shook sore
Their inward state of mind, calm region once
And full of peace, now tost and turbulent. 415

Thus man, created in the image of God and endowed with heavenly attributes, is perverted by Satan, who, having contaminated his victims with all his evil passions, "back to the thicket slunk." 416

However, the reader of Paradise Lost cannot lift an accusing finger against the fallen Adam and Eve. Forewarned by Milton's commentary and armed by the orthodox conception of Satan, he has failed to recognize Satan's speciousness in the opening books of the epic. In his admiration and sympathy for Satan he has committed himself to a similar fall. Thus Milton has prepared us for a sympathetic understanding of the dilemma of our First Parents.

In this chapter man is revealed not as the "puny" inhabitant whom Satan is determined to drive out, but as perfect and in every way a match for Satan. But man falls because he permits Satan to undermine his faith in the absolute veracity of God's word. As soon as his faith is destroyed, his right reason is perverted and misleads him into disobedience. God's providence in giving man power to stand, besides creating him with a free will, makes man's offence his own.

Satan's basic characteristics, revealed in Heaven, in Hell, and on Mount Niphates, persist in Eden. Milton thus preserves the unity of his character throughout Paradise Lost. In the seduction of

415 Milton, Paradise Lost, IX, 1123-1126.
416 Ibid., IX, 785.
man Satan has accomplished his revenge against God and has conquered a new kingdom for the host in Hell. In doing this, he generates evil into the world, and this, henceforth, becomes innate in man's nature.

Thus Satan's guile and man's surrender to his temptation are responsible for the origin of evil on Earth.
Adam's Fall has been generally considered as the crisis of Paradise Lost. In determining the climax, it is essential to consider God's initial purpose in the creation of man:

"...out of one man a race
Of men innumerable, there to dwell,
Not here, till by degrees of merit raised,
They open to themselves at length the way
Up hither, under long obedience tried.
And Earth be changed to Heaven, and Heaven to Earth,
One kingdom, joy and union without end."417

Adam's disobedience definitely vitiates this purpose. Man has existed in perfect harmony with God. If his turning against God is the climax, then the estrangement must be final: the relationship has to deteriorate until man reaches his ultimate doom presaged in, "God has pronounced it death to taste that Tree."418 But men are to "open to themselves at length the way / Up hither," is God's decree, which in the light of his assertion, "And what I will is fate,"419 becomes immutable. Moreover,

417 Milton, Paradise Lost, VII, 155-161.
418 Ibid, IV, 427.
419 Ibid., VII, 173.
God, foreseeing man's Fall, has made provision for his restoration:

"...Once more I will renew
His lapsied powers, though forfeit, and enthralled
By sin to foul exorbitant desires:
Upheld by me; yet once more he shall stand
On even ground against his mortal foe." 420

Consequently, the crisis must occur at a point which indicates the ultimate realization of God's purpose, rather than its vitiation, as the Fall does.

Since God's and Satan's plans run forever counter one to the other, it is evident that the rising action in one is coincident with the falling action in the other; e.g., man's felicity is Satan's despair; man's fall, his victory. Consequently, it is possible to determine the climax in Paradise Lost by following Satan's further movements. Milton himself points the way by developing the crisis in Satan's career prior to man's.

After Eve's seduction Satan slinks into the wood, re- assumes his shape, makes sure of Adam's Fall, and, finally, learns of God's judgment upon him "not instant, but of future time", 421 by eavesdropping. Since he interprets the Fall in terms of its immediate importance; namely, the achievement of his revenge and the conquest of a kingdom, he recks not what the future may hold in store for him. The greatness of his achievement overwhelms him at the sight of the prodigious bridge by which Sin and Death have effected

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420 Milton, Paradise Lost, VII, 173.
421 Ibid., X, 345.
"...one realm
Hell and this World - one realm, one continent
Of easy thoroughfare," 422

making a vast irony of God's purpose that

"!...Earth be changed to Heaven, and Heaven to Earth,
One kingdom, joy and union without end."

On the appointment of Sin and Death:

"There dwell, and reign in bliss; thence on the
Earth
Dominion exercise and in the air,
Chiefly on Man, sole lord of all declared;
Him first make sure you thrall, and lastly kill.
My substitutes I send ye, and create
Plenipotent on Earth, of matchless might
Issuing from me," 423

Satan creates a hierarchy upon Earth, a close parody of the heavenly order, with a trinity - Satan, Sin, and Death - at its head. However, again God uses evil for His own ends. Sin and Death are

"My Hell-hounds, to lick up the draff and filth
Which Man's polluting sin with taint hath shed
On what was pure." 424

Satan, re-instated dramatically on his throne in Hell the morning after the seduction,

...as from a cloud, his fulgent head
And shape star-bright appeared, or brighter, clad
With what permissive glory since his fall

422 Milton, Paradise Lost, X, 391.
423 Ibid., X, 399-405.
424 Ibid., X, 630-632.
Was left him, or false glitter, gives a boastful, specious account of his journey in order to enhance his prestige. In his tale of the seduction he holds God's might up to ridicule because he has overcome His providence "with an apple." He makes light of the Messiah's judgment:

"True is, me also he hath judged; or rather
Me not, but the brute Serpent, in whose shape
Man I deceived. That which to me belongs
Is enmity, which he will put between
Me and Mankind: I am to bruise his heel;
His seed - when is not set - shall bruise my head!
A world who would not purchase with a bruise,
Or much more grievous pain?"

However, the judgment Satan has so disparagingly brushed aside, commences at the very moment he glories in his vile success. Under various disguises he has worked his deceit upon angels, man, and animals. Yet, as

...down he fell,
A monstrous serpent on his belly prone,
Reluctant, but in vain,

he, for the first time, is subjected to a disguise he has not chosen and which he cannot shake off at will. Having been free to execute his evil designs, he suddenly feels God's hand upon himself. His sense of physical abasement is intensified in the bitter realization that all his actions have been executed under permissive control. By God's

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425 Milton, Paradise Lost, X, 449-452
426 Ibid., X, 494-501.
427 Ibid., X, 513-515.
permission has he left Hell; by God's permission has he seduced man and has conquered the new world. In the light of this truth, how vain his vaunts, boasts and defiances do appear, how deserving of God's derision and even ridicule!

The tree, to which he fraudulently imputed supernatural qualities to induce Eve to disobedience, is at his disposal. In self-delusion and despair he blindly reaches for its fruit, only to be brought low to ashes upon the earth in the sight of all them that behold thee [Satan],\(^{428}\) together with all his host,

To dash their pride, and joy for Man seduced.\(^{429}\)

And this is, unmistakably, the crisis in Satan's career.

From this crisis Milton turns to the development of events in the Garden of Eden. As observed before, instead of repentance,

...high passions - anger, hate, Mistrust, suspicion, discord

have taken possession of man's mind, "calm region once / And full of peace."\(^{430}\) Adam in his complaint:

"Did I request thee, Maker from my clay To mould me Man? Did I solicit thee From darkness to promote me, or here place In this delicious garden? As my will Concurred not to my being, it were but right And equal to reduce me to my dust, Desirous to resign and render back

\(^{428}\) Ezekiel, 28: 18.
\(^{429}\) Milton, Paradise Lost, X, 577.
\(^{430}\) Ibid., IX, 1123 ff.
All I received, unable to perform
Thy terms too hard, by which I was to hold
The good I sought not, to the loss of that,
Sufficient penalty, why hast thou added
The sense of endless woe?" 431

which Satan, "returned / By night, and listening", 432 recognizes as the culmination of his success hoped for when planning his revenge in Hell:

"...This would surpass
Common revenge, and interrupt his joy
In our confusion, and our joy upraise
In his disturbance; when his darling sons,
Hurled headlong to partake with us, shall curse
Their frail original,
Paded so soon!" 433

However, Satan has based this conclusion upon the premise of his own obdurate nature. When he observes sin work in man the evil passions which precluded his own reconciliation with God, he entirely over-looks man's capacity for repentance. Thus, while he is deriding God, His judgment and power, Adam and Eve,

...forthwith to the place
Repairing where he /God/ judged them prostrate
fell
Before him reverent, and both confessed
Humblly their faults, and pardon begged, with
Tears
Watering the ground, and with their sighs the
Air
Frequenting, sent from hearts contrite, in sign
Of sorrow unfeigned and humiliation meek. 434

fulfilling the condition for salvation determined before the creation

431 Milton Paradise Lost, X, 743-754.
432 Ibid., X, 341.
433 Ibid., II, 370-376.
434 Ibid., X, 1098-1104.
of the world:

"Man shall not quite be lost, but saved who will," 435

and corroborated by God's promise:

"To prayer, repentance, and obedience due,
Though but endeavoured with sincere intent,
Mine ear shall not be slow, mine eye be shut." 436

On the very morning Satan appears on his throne in Hell, announcing his conquest of man, God initiates his plan of Salvation and sets the stage for Satan's judgment and final defeat. The dreadful metamorphosis,

Yearly enjoined, some say, to undergo
This annual humbling certain numbered days
To dash their pride and joy for Man seduced, 437

turns his victory into bitterness in the realization of impending doom. All are brought low before God at the same time. But, while Satan is still attempting to rise in his own power through seeking the virtue of the forbidden fruit, Adam and Eve are "prostrate" in submission. Their repentance invalidates Satan's victory: it leads to reconciliation with God and foreshadows the ultimate realization of God's purpose for man. Hence, it is the crisis of Paradise Lost.

Dr. Tillyard sees the crisis of Paradise Lost in the reconciliation of Adam and Eve, 438 since that involves a positive action —

435 Milton, Paradise Lost, III, 63.
436 Ibid., III, 191-193.
437 Ibid., X, 575-577.
their first after the fall. However, since their minds are still under the control of passion and ill will towards God, they might have continued in their defiance of God, even as Satan and his companions. The close correspondence in time and action of the two humiliation scenes: one, the rising action for man, the other, the falling action for Satan and his hellish crew, establishes the two crises at the same point and makes one contingent upon the other.

Mr. Waldock describes the transformation scene as "the technique of the comic cartoon."\textsuperscript{439} It is true that the scene is grotesque. But Milton makes the scene deliberately impressive that the effect may be carried over to the scene of man's repentance and considered in juxtaposition to it. As Mr. Lewis has stated:

\[ \ldots \text{the location of the reader is of the highest moment for understanding the construction of the poem; for the centre of importance will be where the reader imagines himself to be situated and not necessarily where the action is taking place.} \textsuperscript{440} \]

In this case the reader is expected to be in two places simultaneously. Hence, Milton's attempt to achieve this through the grotesque may not be as reprehensible as Mr. Waldock indicates. Moreover, humiliation in ashes is of orthodox origin and is applied especially to the Fall of Satan.\textsuperscript{441}

\textsuperscript{439} Waldock, \textit{Paradise Lost and Its Critics}, p. 91.  
\textsuperscript{440} Lewis, \textit{A Preface to Paradise Lost}.  
\textsuperscript{441} Ezekiel, 28:18.
Chapter XIII

SATAN AND THE SECOND ADAM

The first Adam has succumbed to the wiles of Satan. Like the Heavenly Host, God created him

"...just and right
Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall." 442

Through their Fall both angels and man have lost their power for good; i.e., their power to withstand evil. Consequently, they become immediately "enthralled / By sin to foul exorbitant desires." 443 But because "man falls deceived / By the other first," 444 God's promise is:

"Once more I will renew
His lapsed powers..." 445

Accordingly, man will be restored eventually to his original nature, having again the power to will both good and evil. Man's will for good will restore his lost faith, his virtue, temperance, and love and thus create "A Paradise within" 446 him. God's initial purpose to people

442 Milton, Paradise Lost, III, 98.
443 Ibid., III, 176.
444 Ibid., III, 130.
445 Ibid., III, 175-176.
446 Ibid., XII, 587.
Heaven by man from this state "under long obedience tried,"\footnote{447} which has been frustrated by Satan's seduction, will find its ultimate fulfilment.

However, since man is completely enthralled by Satan, he can neither set himself free nor offer an expiation for his trespass. Consequently, through the Son's incarnation a new Adam will be created, who, in his defeat of Satan will open the way for man's return to his prelapsarian state. Moreover, the sinless Messiah will be an acceptable expiation and will, through His death

"...bruise the head of Satan, crush his strength
Defeating Sin and Death."\footnote{448}

In Paradise Regained Milton deals not with man's regeneration through the atonement, but with the restoration of man's power to will good and, consequently, his liberation from Satan's absolute thralldom.

Since Satan's victory over the first Adam was accomplished through argument, his defeat must be brought about in a similar way. Consequently, there is no great dramatic struggle. The heroic Son has given way to a humanized Messiah, in nature the very essence of the First Adam; while Satan is no longer "the proud archangel, but the crafty counsellor with the experience of half a myriad of years; a Satan Machiavel, a gray dissimulation."\footnote{449}

The Satan who confronts the Second Adam is the same Satan who caused the Fall of the First. It is true that he has lost his former

\footnotetext{447}{Milton, Paradise Lost, VII, 159.}
\footnotetext{448}{Ibid., XII, 430.}
\footnotetext{449}{Dowden, Edward, Puritan and Anglican, London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1901, p. 188.}
bombast through the humiliation when at the height of his exaltation
"down he fell / A monstrous serpent," realizing that "a greater power / Now ruled him"\textsuperscript{450} within the very confines of Hell, of which he had boasted: "Here at least / We shall be free!"\textsuperscript{451} God's curse upon him, "Her seed shall bruise thy head, thou bruise his heel,"\textsuperscript{452} which he then dismissed with a jest:

"True is, me also he has judged: or rather
Me not, but the brute Serpent, in whose shape
Man I deceived,"\textsuperscript{453}

suddenly assumes its full sinister significance. The day of his victory over man is followed by endless days of fearful anticipation of God's wrath. He no longer tries to deceive his fallen angels, but shares his fears with them:

"With dread attending when that fatal wound
Shall be inflicted, by the Seed of Eve
Upon my head...."\textsuperscript{454}

However, his nature shows no change. As in his former enterprises, he relies upon "well couch't fraud, well woven snares"\textsuperscript{455} in his temptation of the Messiah. He still refuses to admit the loss of his aesthetic perceptions; in his fawning upon Christ he reveals his old hypocrisy; he envies man, because "Man fall'n shall be restor'd, I

\textsuperscript{450} Milton, \textit{Paradise Lost}, X, 513 ff.
\textsuperscript{451} Ibid., I, 258.
\textsuperscript{452} Ibid., X, 181.
\textsuperscript{453} Ibid., X, 494-496.
\textsuperscript{455} Ibid., I, 97.
never more."\(^456\) Christ's pronouncement, "For lying is thy sustenance, thy food,"\(^457\) shows him the incorrigible liar; while his powers of delusion are effectively brought out in "For God hath justly giv'n the Nations up / To thy Delusions."\(^458\) Thus the new Adam is tempted by a Satan whose powers for evil are unimpaired and whose zeal for destruction is intensified by his urge for self-preservation.

His strategy of attack, too, is unaltered and planned with the utmost care to his disguise and procedure. As the brilliance of the Serpent harmonized with the splendour of Paradise, so the

...aged man in Rural weeds,
Following, as seem'd, the quest of some stray
Eve,
Or wither'd sticks to gather...\(^459\)

blends perfectly with the "pathless Desert, dusk with horrid shades."\(^460\)

Satan's first temptation is an attempt to destroy the Messiah's faith in God: that He

"Who brought me hither
Will bring me hence..."\(^461\)

However, the Son's reply:

"Why dost thou then suggest to me distrust,
Knowing who I am, as I know who thou art?"\(^462\)

\(^{457}\) \textit{Ibid.}, I, 429.
\(^{458}\) \textit{Ibid.}, I, 442.
\(^{459}\) \textit{Ibid.}, I, 314-316.
\(^{460}\) \textit{Ibid.}, I, 296.
\(^{461}\) \textit{Ibid.}, I, 335.
\(^{462}\) \textit{Ibid.}, I, 356.
frustrates this attempt immediately and reveals the deep discernment so lacking in Eve. He also repudiates Satan's fawning flattery:

"What can be then less in me than desire
To see thee and approach thee, whom I know
Declar'd the Son of God, to hear attent
Thy wisdom, and behold thy God-like deeds?" 

He announces the termination of Satan's absolute rule upon Earth:

"But this thy glory shall be soon retrend'd;
No more shalt thou by oracling abuse
The Gentiles,"

and the restoration of freedom from the thralldom of evil because

"God hath now sent his living Oracle
Into the World, to teach his final will,
And sends his Spirit of Truth henceforth to dwell
In pious Hearts, an inward Oracle
To all truth requisite for men to know." 

In the realization that pretence has no chance against the discernment of the Son,

...Satan bowing low
His gray dissimulation, disappear'd
Into thin Air diffus'd,"

knowing that the weapons which gave him victory over man in Eden are

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464 Ibid., I, 454-456.
465 Ibid., I, 460-464.
466 Ibid., I, 497-499.
ineffective here. He, too, has discernment, and recognizes the superior strength of the Second Adam, though weakened by fasting.

Consequently, Satan completely changes his tactics. Instead of accepting Belial's advice based on an appeal to passion:

"Set women in his eye and in his walk, Among daughters of men the fairest found," 467

his decision is:

"...With manlier objects must we try His constancy, with such as have more shew Of worth, of honour, glory, and popular praise." 468

His next attempt is an offer to minister to the Son's legitimate need of hunger by spreading before him a sumptuous feast. However, God has imposed this fast and to break it by any other means except by His dispensation is disobedience.

Satan next offers his assistance in realizing the Son's youthful aspirations when

"...victorious deeds Flam'd in my heart, heroic acts, one while To rescue Israel from the Roman yoke, Thence to subdue and quell o'er all the earth Brute violence and proud tyrannick pow'r, Till truth were freed, and equity restor'd," 469

by offering him wealth, military power, and diplomatic skill to overthrow the decadent Roman Empire, subdue the Parthians, and achieve for himself

468 Ibid., 225-227.
469 Ibid., I, 215-220.
"The fame and glory, glory the reward
That sole excites to high attempts the flame
Of most erected Spirits." 470

However the Son's preference for that

"...glory and renown, when God
Looking on Earth, with approbation marks
The just man, and divulges him through Heaven
To all his Angels..." 471

and his reference to Satan's Fall through an inordinate aspiration to
glory, completely vanquish Satan's argument.

The Son's concluding words:

"Yet so much bounty is in God, such grace,
That who advance his glory, not their own,
Tham he himself to glory will advance," 472

provide the astute Tempter immediately with a new basis for argument.

"If Kingdom move thee not, let move thee Zeal,
And Duty...;
Zeal of thy Father's house, Duty to free
Thy country from her Heathen servitude;
So shalt thou best fulfill, best verifie
The Prophets old, who sung thy endless raign,
The happier raign the sooner it begins." 473

Thus he insists on the Son's obligation to pursue with greater diligence
the realization of God's plan to establish His Kingdom upon Earth.
Satan completes his offer of temporal greatness by trying to commit the
Savior to idolatry through offering him the gift of all the kingdoms of

471 Ibid., III, 60-63.
472 Ibid., III, 142-144.
473 Ibid., III, 171-176.
the world in return for knee-tribute.

Satan's last offer is the glory of wisdom and intellectual achievement, represented by the knowledge and fame of Athens, attributes most congenial to a person who comments upon his own childhood thus:

"When I was yet a child, no childish play
To me was pleasing, all my mind was set
Serious to learn and know..."^{474}

But it finds still no acceptance because, unlike the First Adam who fell through his preference of the lesser good, the Second Adam preserves the integrity of his reason and to the end exalts the highest good: his love for God and his unswerving obedience.

Satan, exasperated, finally turns to violence. Transferring his scene of action to the Temple,

There on the highest Pinacle he set
The Son of God,^{475}

trusting that this precarious perch will break his passive resistance and force him to take action on his own behalf, rather than continue to wait for what

"The Father in his purpose hath decreed,
He in whose hand all times and season roul."^{476}

However, to Satan's amazement the Saviour retains his calm and serenity under the control of reason, and empowered by his inner rectitude

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^{474} Milton, Paradise Regained, I, 201-203.
^{475} Ibid., IV, 549.
^{476} Ibid., III, 186-187.
"Tempt not the Lord thy God, he said and stood,"\textsuperscript{477} safely in his "uneasy station," while Satan,

\ldots smitten with amazement fell
Fell whence he stood to see the Victor fall.\textsuperscript{478}

In this triumph of reason over passion the Second Adam has avenged

"Supplanted Adam, and by vanquishing
Temptation, has(t) regain'd lost Paradise
And frustrated the conquest fraudulent."\textsuperscript{479}

Herein God's purpose,

"Once more I will renew
His lapsed powers...",\textsuperscript{480}

has been accomplished. Man is no longer the helpless victim of evil; but, through the Second Adam, has regained his lost power to will good and, consequently, once more possesses his pre-lapsarian nature of free choice, which, as God states it, is

"Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall."\textsuperscript{481}

God's ultimate purpose to provide men with an opportunity to "open to themselves at length the way / Up hither,"\textsuperscript{482} shall find its realization

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{477} Milton, \textit{Paradise Regained}, IV, 561.
  \item \textsuperscript{478} Ibid., IV, 562 ff.
  \item \textsuperscript{479} Ibid., IV, 607-609.
  \item \textsuperscript{480} Milton, \textit{Paradise Lost}, III, 175-176.
  \item \textsuperscript{481} Ibid., III, 99.
  \item \textsuperscript{482} Ibid., VII, 158.
\end{itemize}
in Christ's atonement,

"...the death thou shouldst have died,
In sin for ever lost from life,"

when His heel

"Shall bruise the head of Satan, crush his strength,
Defeating Sin and Death, his two main arms." 483

Satan's final condemnation is forecast in:

"But thou, Infernal Serpent, shalt not long
Rule in the Clouds: like an Autumnal Star
Or Lightning thou shalt fall from Heav'n tord down
Under his feet." 484

Thus, in Paradise Regained God has conquered evil by the triumph of reason over passion. He has confounded the great through the humble and weak. He has used evil to bring forth good.

In Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained Milton has traced the existence of Satan and, consequently, the existence of evil from the very origin to the ultimate doom. Satan, originally a glorious Angel, originates evil in Heaven through his aspiration to God's power. God, aware of the existence of evil, brings it into the open through the exaltation of the Son, for "Law can discover sin." 485 Satan's disobedience to the decree results in the expulsion of all reprobate angels and evil from Heaven.

483 Milton, Paradise Lost, XII, 428 ff.
484 Milton, Paradise Regained, IV, 618-621.
485 Milton, Paradise Lost, XII, 290.
In Hell Satan's speciousness and his powers of dissimulation become apparent as he casts his spell upon the reader and, in spite of orthodox pre-conception, stimulates admiration and sympathy.

Satan is primarily responsible for introducing evil into the world. However, since man has the power to stand or fall, his failure to abide in obedience to God's command places the responsibility for the procreation of evil upon earth solely upon him. In his Fall man loses his faculty to strive for goodness and his prerogative to external life. Through Christ's defeat of Satan in the wilderness man's capacity for goodness is restored and Satan's power upon Earth impaired. Christ's atonement opens the gates of Heaven once more to man and provides for Satan's ultimate doom and the cessation of all evil. When the latter is accomplished man's dual nature, his capacity for good and evil, will disappear in a complete union with the goodness of God,

"'And Earth be changed to Heaven, and Heaven to Earth
One Kingdom, joy and union without end.'" 486

486 Milton, Paradise Lost, VII, 160-161.
Chapter XIV

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MILTON'S SATAN

The assessment of Satan on the basis of his demonstration alone in Books One and Two has made him in the opinion of many readers and critics the hero of *Paradise Lost*. If Satan is accepted as the hero, then the Fall of the Angels and the subsequent developments centred in their actions must be the theme of the epic.

But Milton announces his theme:

Of man's first disobedience, and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree whose mortal taste
Brought death into the World, and all our woe,
With loss of Eden, till one greater Man
Restore us, and regain the blissful seat.487

If from Homer's announcement, "The Wrath of Achilles is my theme,"488 we accept Achilles as the hero of the *Iliad*, which indeed he is, then, in recognition of the fact that Milton takes over all conventional features from the classical epic, we feel compelled to assign to Man the role of hero in *Paradise Lost* and consider the human action the main theme. Moreover, this theme is introduced in Book One and is continued throughout the epic long after Satan has dropped out.

In no one action in both *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* can Satan be recognized as a true epic hero. In the war in Heaven Christ remains the victor. On Earth Satan's victory over man is invalidated by man's repentance and Christ's sacrificial love. In *Paradise Regained* Christ, the Second Adam, is again the victor. From the very beginning of the epic Satan's actions are circumscribed by God's permissive control. He has lost his free will through his disobedience against God and has no capacity for positive action. His evil powers are constantly used by God to effect good. Adam's realization of this truth is evinced in his exclamation:

"O Goodness infinite, Goodness immense,
That all this good of evil shall produce,
And evil turn to good." 489

Thus, throughout the poem Satan represents the antithesis of all goodness, which in the end is triumphant.

The human action, though very subdued in juxtaposition to Satan's spectacular demonstration, is pervaded with the manifestation of God's creative power, His omnipotence and omniscience, the immutability of His purpose, His justice and love. Adam, who, on superficial observation, appears a poor counterpart for the dramatic, "towering" Satan, possesses innate qualities that make for positive action and that enable him to bring his will into conformity with God's plans. In his repentance, in his submission to God's judgment, and the acceptance of his changing situation, as expressed in his courageous words:

489 Milton, *Paradise Lost*, XII, 469-471.
he turns the tide of his defeat into channels of ultimate victory and thus becomes the hero of the human race.

However, in his role of epic antagonist Satan is of the utmost significance in the development of the plot. The scene in Hell provides Milton with an appropriate point to start in epic convention in medias res at the lowest point, in this case the point farthest away from Heaven and God. His thirst for revenge provides an easy transition to the human action and demands Divine interference. His revolt in Heaven serves as an apt warning for Adam, while its recapitulation by Raphael provides the digression from the main theme, which is an epic convention. Satan's main function is to serve as seducer of man. Through this, God's purpose for man is revealed as it unfolds itself to its ultimate fulfilment when through Christ, the Second Adam, the loss is repaired and man is restored to his original "blissful seat."

However, there is a far greater significance in the figure of Satan in both Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained than all the importance of the role of an epic antagonist can lend to it. Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained, besides being works of poetic art, are mirrors which effectively reflect Milton, the man, in his private life, in his political, and philosophical thinking. Satan is one of the outstanding characters of Milton's writings, through whom he reveals his conceptions of religion, political ideas, social structure, and various aspects of

490 Milton, Paradise Lost, X, 1054-1056.
the universe as a whole. In the choice of his characters and the portrayal of the incidents Milton's experiential background is paramount.

The very choice of the epic form is the result of Milton's "encyclopaedic range of knowledge to be derived from the study of the classics" and his need for a poetic vehicle in which he can synthesize his religious, political, philosophical, and scientific ideas. His preference for a religious theme arises out of his own orthodoxy, which predisposes him in favour of such subject as being the most authentic, real, and most revelatory of divine truth.

The struggle of the Commonwealth, its defeat, and the Restoration are amply mirrored in Milton's Works and in no small degree through Satan in Paradise Lost. The pattern of Milton's commonwealth principles finds its counterpart in the hierarchial order in Heaven against which Satan revolts; again in Hell, where he arrogates leadership to himself because "orders and degrees / Jar not with liberty, but well consist;" and, finally, in the relationship of Adam and Eve, which, when upset by Satan, results in a catastrophe for the race. Moreover, Milton's hierarchial order is neither based on succeeded power, nor "upheld by old repute, consent, or custome," but is conditioned solely by inner merit as expressed throughout the action, but voiced most directly by Abdiel in his rebuke of Satan:

"'God and Nature bid the same,  
When he who rules is worthiest, and excells  
Them whom he governs'." 493

491 Milton, Introduction to Paradise Lost and Selected Poetry and Prose, p. XVI.  
492 Milton, Paradise Lost, V, 792-793.  
493 Ibid., VI, 176-178.
In Hell Satan becomes the leader as the most depraved of the degenerate host and occupies the throne "by merit raised / To that bad eminence." In the home, Milton claims that the more virtuous and intelligent of the pair must rule; and, since in his opinion the husband is as a rule superior to the wife, he must be the master. When, in Paradise Lost, Eve through the influence of Satan's dream demands independence of action, she falls to Satan's delusion.

However, Milton's philosophy of leadership transcends outward political structures or human relationships in that it is applicable to psychology as well, and thus determines man's inner happiness. Satan sinks from the highest position of outer and inner bliss to the lowest level of human villainy because he violates this principle of government by the superior in his revolt against God. He also disturbs the hierarchial order within his soul by giving passion precedence over reason. This concept in Paradise Lost is based directly on Milton's personal experience when the English people through failure to "learn obedience to reason and the government of yourselves" are "judged unfit, both by God and mankind, to be entrusted with the possession of liberty and the administration of government," and are given over to their idolatrous worship of kingship and their thralldom. Satan and his host become the slaves of their own evil passions, which cause their disobedience to God and the loss of their outward liberty. Michael explains the process to Adam with regard to fallen humanity:

"Yet sometimes nations will decline so low

494 Milton, Paradise Lost, II, 5-6.
From virtue, which is reason, that no wrong,
But justice and some fatal curse
Deprive them of their outward liberty
Their inward lost...." 496

Milton's personal hatred for the Stuart dynasty and the cavaliers becomes evident through his creation of Satan, the tyrant, in the image of the Eikon in the Eikon Bazilike - which has been discussed in the opening chapter of this thesis - and in his denouncement of the dissolute court of the Restoration:

In courts and palaces he (Belial) also reigns,
And in luxurious cities, where the noise
Of riot ascends their loftiest towers,
And injury and outrage; and, when night
Darkens the streets, then wander forth the sons
Of Belial, flown with insolence and wine. 497

His experiences in four revolutions have convinced Milton of the vanity of achieving the ideal State by means of violence. The Commonwealth has gone to ruin because of the people's defection in character. Milton traces all failures in Paradise Lost to the same source. Consequently, in Paradise Regained he emphasizes his idea of the purpose of education which he first expounds in Of Education as being:

"to repair the ruins of our first parents by regaining to know God aright, and out of that knowledge to love him, to imitate him, to be like him, as we may the nearest, by possessing our souls of true virtue, which, being united to the heavenly grace of faith, makes up the highest perfection." 498

496 Milton, Paradise Lost, XII, 97-101.
497 Ibid., I, 497-502.
It has been alleged that Milton repudiates all learning except the Hebraic in *Paradise Regained*. However, this interpretation is altogether inconsistent with Milton's delight in classical literature. His words:

...who reads
Incessantly, and to his reading brings not
A spirit and judgment equal or superior,
Uncertain and unsettled still remains,
Deep verset in books and shallow in himself,
Crude or intoxicate, so collecting toys
And trifles for choice matters, 499

seem to indicate more the need for a deep discernment of lesser and higher goods, than an outright repudiation of all non-religious values. The higher values alone can achieve within each individual the inner perfection, which is Milton's last hope for re-establishing liberty upon earth, and which Michael holds up before Adam as a remedy for his fallen state:

"...add faith,
Add virtue, patience, temperance; add love,
By name to come called charity, the soul
Of all the rest: then wilt thou not be loath
To leave this Paradise, but shalt possess
A Paradise within thee, happier far." 500

Thus, instead of the realization of liberty through a few leaders, which has proved a failure, Milton advocates the regeneration of the individual, for

"What wise and valiant man would seek to free
These, thus degenerate, by themselves enslaved
Or could of inward slaves make outward free?" 501

500 Milton, *Paradise Lost*, XII, 582-587.
His endorsement of violence in his defence of the execution of Charles I and Cromwell's iron rule undergoes a radical change. Out of the bitterness and heartbreak over the ruination of his cherished dream for England, Milton emerges with the realization that God's purposes do not reach their ultimate consummation through spectacular opposition, but

"...with good
Still overcoming evil, and by small
Accomplishing great things - by things deemed weak
Subverting worldly-strong and worldly-wise
By simply meek." 502

The Restoration, which to Milton spelled at first the defeat of Christianity and the frustration of God's plan to establish His kingdom upon earth, assumes under the above-stated illumination the aspect of Satan's permissive eruption from Hell that God may use evil to bring forth good and establish his kingdom

"Not by destroying Satan, but his works,
In thee and in thy seed." 503

Thus, as Mr. Wolfe states:

"It was inevitable, too, that both the tone and the idea of his great epic should reflect not only the intense political thinking of his twenty years of pamphleteering, but also his interpretation of the place of Restoration in the scheme of cosmic justice." 504

502 Milton, Paradise Lost, XII, 565-569.
503 Ibid., XII, 394-395.
Milton's religious philosophy finds an even wider expression in Satan and the action advanced by his function in the epic. It is in the introduction of Milton's religious attitudes that we find the greatest fusion of his thinking, experience, and art. His poetry is stimulated by his zeal to serve God in leading men to higher levels of spiritual perception and by his conviction that his artistic performance is conditioned by the visitation of the "Heavenly Muse" and the illumination of the "inner light", which has the power to "shine inward, and the mind through all her powers / Irradiate."^{505}

To enter upon the manifold intricacies of Milton's theology, which find their echoes in his characterization of Satan and in his action, and which have been minutely expounded by Mr. Saurat in his *Milton, Man and Thinker*, is beyond the limits of this thesis. A few references, however, will establish the influence of his religious convictions upon his work.

Milton accepts unreservedly the orthodox conception of the Fall of the Angels, the origin of evil, the Fall of Man, and the Redemption through Christ. His conception of God as an abstract power Milton expresses at the gathering of the heavenly hierarchies thus:

"Thus when in orbs  
Or circuit inexpressible they stood,  
Orb within orb, the Father Infinite,  
By whom in bliss embosomed sat the Son,  
Amidst, as from a flaming mount, whose top  
Brightness had made invisible...."^{506}

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505 Milton, Paradise Lost, 52  
506 Ibid., V, 594-599.
The Son is created by God, and, consequently is inferior to Him. The Holy Spirit is the comforter "who shall dwell...within men"; but, who, being subservient to God, cannot be his equal. In *Paradise Regained* God's reference to the intellectual debate between Satan and the Messiah:

"He now shall know I can produce a man
Of female seed, far abler to resist
All his solicitations, and at length
All his vast force; and drive him back to Hell
Winning by conquest what the first man lost
By fallacy surpriz'd,"

depicts Christ as just another man, only endowed with a greater portion of the divine. All creatures and things in Heaven and upon Earth are created out of the essence of God, as expressed in God's plan of creation after the Fall of the Angels:

"...one Almighty is, from whom-
All things proceed, and up to him return
If not depraved from good, created all
To such perfection; one first matter all,
Endued with various forms, various degrees
Of substance, and, in things that live, of life."

Therefore, because God is good, matter must be good also.

In *Paradise Lost* the origin of evil is definitely attributed to Satan in having Sin appear from his head,

"...on the left side opening wide,
Likest to thee in shape and countenance
bright."

507 Milton, *Paradise Lost*, XII, 487.
510 Ibid., II, 755-756.
He it is, too, who generates sin into the world by seducing Adam and Eve. In Satan's method of bringing about man's fall Milton reveals his conception of the importance of the imagination. In this he is one with Boehme who states that "we apprehend the divine essence through the imagination." Milton justifies God's permission of evil by his conviction that He uses evil as a tool to create good. Thus the Fall of the Angels results in the creation of man, because God in His

"...wisdom had ordained Good out of evil to create." 512

Milton's obsession with liberty finds its expression in his definition of Christian liberty through Adam as he warns Eve of the danger of encountering Satan:

"But God left free the Will; for what obeys Reason is free;" 513

He completely refutes the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination when God predicts the Fall of Man:

"They, therefore, as to right belonged, So were created, nor can justly accuse Their Maker, or their making, or their fate, As if predestination overruled Their will, disposed by absolute decree Or high foreknowledge," 514

and reflects on it humorously in Satan's claim:

511 Bailey, Milton and Jacob Boehme, p. 153.
512 Milton, Paradise Lost, VII, 187-188.
513 Ibid., IX, 351-352.
514 Ibid., III, 111-116.
"The Son of God I also am, or was,  
And if I was, I am; relation stands."\textsuperscript{515}

Although Milton deals with a physical Hell and Heaven in his epic, he emphasizes his belief in a Hell as well as a Paradise within man. Satan, exemplifies the former in his agonized cry:

"Which way I fly is Hell; myself am Hell!"\textsuperscript{516}

Michael promises the latter to Adam after his seduction by Satan:

"...but shalt possess  
A Paradise within thee, happier far."\textsuperscript{517}

Milton's antagonism to the imposition of church ordinances breaks forth again and again in his epic. He rails against the hypocrisy of the church, and holds up to ridicule the non-biblical doctrines by which they hope to ascend to Heaven, but which lands them in the "Paradise of Fools."\textsuperscript{518} He advocates the freedom of the interpretation of the Gospel as against

"...teachers, grievous wolves,  
Who all the sacred mysteries of Heaven  
To their own vile advantage shall turn,"\textsuperscript{519}

and opposes the union of Secular and Spiritual authority, his lifelong grievance.

Milton expresses his opposition to war in his juxtaposition

\textsuperscript{515} Milton, Paradise Regained, IV, 518-519.  
\textsuperscript{516} Milton, Paradise Lost, IV, 75.  
\textsuperscript{517} Ibid., XII, 586.  
\textsuperscript{518} Ibid., 475 ff.  
\textsuperscript{519} Ibid., XII, 508-510.
of the concord of the fallen angels in Hell to the disagreements of men,

Of creatures rational, though under hope
Of heavenly grace, and, God, proclaiming peace,
Yet live in hatred, enmity, and strife
Among themselves, and levy cruel wars
Wasting the earth, each other to destroy. 520

Raphael's introduction to the account of the Rebellion in Heaven:

"...what surmounts the reach
Of human sense I shall delineate so,
By likening spiritual to corporal forms,
As may express them best - though what if
Earth
Be but the shadow of Heaven, and things therein
Each to other like, more than on Earth is thought," 521

reveals Milton's belief that certain Gospel truths are presented to man in terms of his own environment in order to make them accessible to his finite mind.

In his Christian Doctrine Milton abrogates all laws for the true believer. In Paradise Lost he gives an exposition of this in revealing the purpose of laws as

"Law can discover sin, but not remove" 522

and demonstrates the application of laws to reveal Satan's iniquity in Heaven and Adam's and Eve's tainted imagination upon Earth. God's object in decreeing laws is to reveal evil at an early stage so that, in the case of Satan, it may not contaminate the whole host of Heaven;

521 Ibid., V, 571-576.
522 Ibid., XII, 290.
and, with Adam and Eve, not perpetuate in a race through the subsequent eating of the fruit off the Tree of Life. Since believers are free from sin, laws are ineffectual to them.

In Christ's rejection of Satan's ministration to His legitimate needs of hunger in his reply, "Thereafter as I like / Thee gives," to Satan's query, "Tell me if Food were now before thee set,/Would'st thou not eat?" Milton shows that evil is relative.

Thus Milton's whole religious background, both experiential - his struggle against the various churches - and doctrinal plays a large part in the action of Satan and the poems as a whole. How permeated Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained are with Milton's theology is evidenced by the fact that "in the English-speaking world, the Christian mythology of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries came from the study of Milton, rather than the study of the Bible."

Milton's invocation and commentaries contain direct biographical references. The Fall of Man and the introduction of evil into the universe remind him of his own sufferings in an evil world to which he gives expression in:

On evil days though fallen, and evil tongues,  
In darkness, and with dangers compassed round,  
And solitude.  

He refers to his outer blindness,

524 Ibid., II, 320.  
525 Bailey, Milton and Jacob Boehme, p. 176.  
526 Milton, Paradise Lost, VII, 26-27.
...but thou
Revisit'st not these eyes, that role in vain
To find thy piercing ray, and find no dawn

in juxtaposition to the "celestial Light," which can

Shine inward, and the mind through all her
powers
Irradiate.

Thus Milton brings himself ostensibly into his epic.

In his theme of Satan and the origin of evil Milton does full
justice to his ideal of a poet in that he "employs his imagination to
make a revelation of truth, truth which the poet himself entirely
believes." In depicting his "towering" Satan, he brings before
his readers Satan's profound speciousness and his powers of seduction,
through which he "still destroys." The Fall of Man is brought so
close to the reader's level that it appears as a prototype of the fall
recurring in every individual's life and frequently, as in the fall of
the Commonwealth, on a national scale. Milton's constant emphasis on
the control of passion by reason approaches evangelistic fervour;
while by his final admonition:

"Only add
Deeds to thy knowledge answerable; add faith;
Add virtue, patience, temperance; add love,
By name to come called charity, the soul
Of all the rest,"

he once more places before all men the choice of virtuous action which

528 Ibid., III, 52-53.
529 Pattison, Milton, p. 198.
530 Milton, op. cit., XII, 581-585.
is the condition for a "Paradise within thee"; and which, if achieved by a whole nation, will result in a Utopia that will forever obliterate man's struggles, errors, and defects.

Thus, the true significance of Satan lies not in his function as one of the most important characters in a religious epic, but in the vast scope his personality and action provide for the revelation of the unity of Milton's actual experiences, his philosophy of religion and politics, and his aspirations and hopes for mankind.
Milton's reputation as poetic artist rests to a great extent upon his creation of Satan's "towering" personality. However, the canvas Milton has painted for his readers in his delineation of Satan and the portrayal of his vast spheres of action is more than a poet's objective elaboration of an orthodox conception. Milton's art is never dissociated from himself. It is the mirror of his real personality.

From the very beginning of the epic Milton's craftsmanship reveals long years of self-discipline and rigid schooling. His perfection in diction, rhythm, and structure give evidence of a conscious and conscientious striving for art throughout the entire epic and prove his perseverance and devotion to his self-assigned task. The use of classical mythology, biblical knowledge, geography, science, and literature in depicting his supernatural characters and their abodes gives evidence of his ability to assimilate his learning into an artistic whole through his creative energy. The proper development of his theme through the infinity of time - from eternity to eternity - and the immensity of space, embracing all the natural and supernatural cosmogeny, attest to his correct logical sense in his evaluation of the relative
importance of events.

Milton's poetic genius comes to the fore in his description of the supernatural. By the use of suggestive instead of definite detail he appeals to the imagination of the reader.

He begins in Baroque style with the dynamic action of:

Him the Almighty Power
Hurled headlong flaming from th'ethereal sky,
With hideous ruin and combustion, down
To bottomless perdition... 531

This reveals his psychological penetration: he secures the reader's fascinated attention and gives it direction in following the rapid downward movement "to bottomless perdition." In contrast to Dante's fragmentary and departmentalized Hell, Milton's Hell is vast, indeterminate, overwhelming in its total effect of "darkness visible..., / With ever-burning sulphur unconsumed"532 and its demon angels "thick bestrown, / Abject and lost,...covering the flood."533

In his description of Satan's view of the new world Milton manifests almost uncanny powers of sensibility, especially striking in the light of the fact that, when he spreads the glorious panorama out before his readers, he has been blind for at least ten years. There is no vagueness in his portrayal of the splendour of the universe as he seems to seize eagerly upon the myriad forms of beauty, which many of us behold daily, but fail to apprehend. The sense appeal to the readers in: the "ambrosial fragrance"534 which fills all Heaven; the

531 Milton, Paradise Lost, I, 44-47.
532 Ibid., I, 63 ff.
533 Ibid., I, 311-312.
534 Ibid., III, 135.
"Angels' food and rubied nectar" that flows

"In pearl, in diamond, and massy gold,
Fruit of delicious vines, the growth of
Heaven," 535

...the gentle gales,
Fanning their odoriferous wings; 536

and the "melodious hymns about the sovereign throne" 537 reveals Milton's own keenness of perception, his alertness, and his vigorous energy.

Milton's keen appreciation of harmony in action and rhythm and of music is reflected in his melodious verse. This he effects through changes of the caesura in his lines; the change of metre from the rising iambic:

"On high; who into glory Him received" 538

to the falling trochaic:

"Down from the urge of Heaven: eternal wrath
Burnt after them to the bottomless pit;" 539

by varying the number of syllables in the line, or the addition of an unaccented syllable at the close of the line or after its chief pause; and through his arrangement of vowel sounds. Milton's "flutes and soft recorders" 540 in Hell, "the choir / Of creatures wanting voice" 541

535 Milton, Paradise Lost.
536 Ibid., IV, 156-157
537 Ibid., V, 656.
538 Ibid., VI, 891.
539 Ibid., VI, 864-865.
540 Ibid., I, 551.
541 Ibid., IX, 198-199.
on Earth, and the sacred music of Heaven, together with his appreciation of nature, depict him not as the stern Puritan, but as a lover of all that is beautiful in the universe.

In his representation of Satan Milton uses four scenes and thus avoids the tediousness which is apt to arise from a long literary description. Our first glimpse of Satan gives us a very general impression of his appearance and mood, as:

Round he throws his baleful eyes,
That witnessed huge affliction and dismay,
Mixed with obdurate pride and steadfast hate.\(^{542}\)

Through epic similes of remote classical giants further information gives a clearer but by no means precise picture. As Satan moves towards solid ground Milton, through the use of metaphor, stimulates our imagination in presenting him as the warrior. Finally, he culminates all suggestive imagery in a comparison with his chiefs as:

He, above the rest
In shape and gesture proudly eminent,
Stood like a tower.\(^{543}\)

In Satan's activity in Hell Milton shows his acute understanding of the machinations of a specious nature. It is through the effectiveness of the portrayal of Satan's diabolical nature that Milton achieves his "towering" Satan. Milton relies to a great extent on disproportion to bring out Satan's character. Against Satan as the derivation of hatred and egoism, Milton poses Christ as the derivation of love and

\(^{542}\) Milton, Paradise Lost, I, 56.
\(^{543}\) Ibid., I, 589-591.
sacrifice. Where Satan destroys, Christ creates. His own hatred of Satan is expressed in his derogatory epithets and his evident rejoicing over his predicament.

Milton never loses sight of his reader. After flights into classical mythology and ancient history, he suddenly drops down to a homely simile, such as:

As bees
In springtime, when the Sun with Taurus rides,
Four forth their populous youth about the hive
In cluster; they among fresh dews and flowers
Fly to and fro,

and thus brings the action right to the level of the reader's experience.

Milton's revulsion against passions and sin is evidenced by his gross picture of Sin and Death; while his love of virtue is expressed in his description of Christ and the angels, who oppose Satan because he is evil.

His capacity for friendship and love of social intercourse is revealed in his record of the heavenly congregation as:

"They eat, they drink, and in communion sweet
Quaff immortality."

Milton's keen sense of humour, which adds to the appeal of the otherwise stern epic, is revealed in his description of the "Paradise of Fools", whose members, while at the point of entering Heaven,

...lift their feet, when, lo!

544 Milton, Paradise Lost, I, 768-722.
545 Ibid., V, 637-638.
A violent cross wind from either coast
Blows them traverse ten thousand leagues away,
Into the devious air. 546

It appears as effectively in *Paradise Regained* when Satan relates his first meeting with Christ:

"...I among the rest,
Though not to be Baptiz'd, by voice from
Heav'n
Heard thee pronounc'd the Son of God belov'd." 547

The humour arises out of the incongruity of the mere suggestion that Satan might seek baptism.

The spell of Milton's personality permeates his poetry and exerts its power over the reader. Only a writer animated by intense religious ardour and prophetic zeal could have produced such epic, unsurpassed in its vast scope and sublimity.

Thus, Milton's description of Satan and of his career in the propagation of evil gives us more than the most "towering" Satan of all ages: it gives us a clear picture of Milton himself as poet, as religious and political philosopher, as humanist, and as prophet and seer.

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547 Milton, *Paradise Regained*, IV, 511-513. (The italics is my own.)
The purpose of my thesis is not to prove Milton's absolute perfection as a poetic genius, but to assess, and where possible to clarify, some of the difficulties that have arisen from his literary conception of Satan and that have assumed new proportions under the twentieth-century approach to Milton's works. That there are flaws in *Paradise Lost* no one will try to deny, who realizes the scope of the epic - infinite in time, and infinite in space - one of the greatest endeavours in English literature.

In investigating the literary criticism of Satanists and anti-Satanists alike, I find that none of them except Mr. Gilbert takes serious cognizance of the fact that *Paradise Lost* in its present arrangement of books does not represent Milton's composition in chronological order. When Mr. Waldock exerts himself to decry Milton's "theory of degradation," he takes it for granted that "the first book of *Paradise Lost* is the work of John Milton fresh at his task and Book XII his product when he was worn down by much writing." 548

Mr. Gilbert tries to rectify this conception of Milton's methodical writing by examining the drafts for his early tragedies, the

parts of which were later incorporated into his epic. In none of them does Satan appear in Hell at the beginning. Moreover, "Satan bemoaning himself" occurs in one of the earlier drafts for a tragedy. Consequently Satan's speeches in Hell were not composed until Milton settled on the epic form. This places the composition of Satan's Niphates speech anterior to his speech in Hell. Therefore, the Niphates speech could not have been planned by Milton to degrade Satan who had become too great for his role. This seems to corroborate my earlier assumption that we must assess the Satan of Books One and Two, guided by Milton's running commentary instead of accepting him at face value as Mr. Waldock does. He then deprecates the result that there are parts in Paradise Lost "that do not make sense."

On a superficial reading of the first two books of Paradise Lost, I share Mr. Waldock's admiration for Satan, although I am unable to discern the superabundance of "Promethean charms" with which Mr. Werblowsky endows him.

However, when Sin and Death check our admiration, it is not difficult to discover Satan's spuriousness on a reassessment of his demonstration. If we follow Satan systematically from book to book, the constant reappearance of his fundamental evil qualities become so obtrusive that they completely dissipate the impression of grandeur which Satan's specious rhetoric has made at the beginning.

In trying to establish Satan's unity, I have followed his progress faithfully from book to book, since I suspected that Milton's

549 Gilbert, On the Composition of Paradise Lost, p. 152.
550 Waldock, Paradise Lost and Its Critics, p. 143.
551 Werblowsky, Zwi, Lucifer and Prometheus, p. 3.
laborious re-arrangement of the books is not without significance. As a result there appears a great deal of over-lapping in my characterization of Satan as I compare his attitudes while he proceeds from Hell to Mount Niphates, thence to Eden, and as he appears in the Revolt of Heaven. If we remember that Milton is a precise and well-disciplined poet, we readily recognize that in his frequent repetition of Satan's evil tendencies he had a definite purpose in view.

The influence of this technique on us is entirely lost unless we fall in line with Milton and expose ourselves to this repetition. Satan's obtrusiveness in contrast to Christ's restraint, his gentleness and meekness, becomes more and more objectionable, while we are attracted by the serenity and calm of Heaven. Thus the qualities we admired so much at the beginning of the epic, become positively repulsive when Satan, upon his return to Hell, once more assumes his former attitude. Milton does not try to degrade Satan; it is on us that he works quietly and assiduously.

In my thesis I have given perhaps a disproportionately large amount of space to my theory of Milton's poetic origin of Satan. However, since my argument seems to be a venture in a new direction, I felt compelled to explore it as far as I could possibly go within the confines of such work and also desired to make my statements quite clear.

Much more is left to be said about Satan's significance in conveying to us various information about Milton's character, his attitudes, and thinking. His poetic art, too, provides a vast source for the assessment of his character, which I have by no means exhausted. Because of the loftiness of his ideals and aspirations Milton has been
considered cold and unsympathetic. In his artistic conception of Satan we find his true nature, his love of beauty, his capacity for friendship, his enjoyment of social intercourse.

All lovers of Milton will agree with Mr. Thompson that

...all phases of his truly great work bespeak the same character behind it. His style is pure and sublime because his thoughts are sound and his ideals high. Nowhere in that great work is his mode of expression inadequate to express the thought; nowhere is the thought unworthy of the noble style. He is the arch-idealist of English letters, a worshipper of purity, justice, liberty, and truth. 552


*Bible, King James Version*, New York, American Bible Society.


