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Milton's use of the Bible

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MILTON'S USE OF THE BIBLE

by

Gerhard S. Kuhlmann

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts, in the Graduate
College of the State University of Iowa.

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MILTON'S USE OF THE BIBLE.

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MILTON'S USE OF THE BIBLE.

I. His Attitude Toward The Bible.

Any discussion of the sources to which Milton is indebted in his writings or of the influences which were instrumental in shaping his life and determining his thoughts necessarily becomes a difficult problem. The difficulty arises from the fact that Milton was not only acquainted with all the best literature of antiquity and his own day but possessed the rare ability to assimilate everything that he read until it became part of himself and exerted its influence on his life and work. To enumerate the sources upon which he drew and by which he was influenced, would, therefore, be an almost hopeless task. Yet, if we limit ourselves to general terms, we can comprehend the whole of this influence under two heads. The two great influences in the development of Milton, the scholar and poet, to which he was subjected in early youth and which continued, though in varying degree, to be determining factors in his whole life, were Puritanism and Humanism.

Milton came of a family remarkable for its religious zeal. His grandfather, Richard Milton, had been a Catholic recusant under Queen Elizabeth, refusing to submit, on account of his convictions, to the established church; while his father, John Milton, had broken with his family and sacrificed his income in order to join the Puritan cause. Of such zealously religious parentage, amid the strictly Puritan surroundings of his father's house in Bread Street, the poet John Milton was born, and there it was that he spent the first years of his life. To be sure, the Puritanism
which characterised this household was not of the cold, ascetic type that has come to be associated with the term, but was tempered by the cultured atmosphere that prevailed,— the father was a musician and composer of some note. This culture and refinement, however, detracted nothing from the religious spirit of the home; did not make its piety any less genuine. Milton was educated according to the rigid tenets of Puritanism and its stern doctrines of the kingdom of God. He was, during these early years of his life, firmly grounded in the fundamental truths of Christianity, most of which he maintained throughout life.

His first tutor, Thomas Young, who was perhaps most instrumental in teaching him the truths of Christianity, was a strict Presbyterian, and the extent of his influence is apparent when we consider the friendship which continued to exist between pupil and teacher in later years. In a letter addressed to Young in 1627 Milton says of his former teacher, in rather hyperbolic terms, "He is the other half of my soul, yea, more; without him I am forced to live a half-life."(1) The School of

(1) "Elegia Quarta", Translation by W.V. Moody.

St. Paul's, which was next entrusted with the education of the poet, did not neglect this phase of his training. During these years the seeds were planted of that interest and zeal for the study of Scriptures and all things divine which were to make him so eminently fitted for the task that was to be his.

Almost as early in life as that just mentioned, a second influence made itself felt, destined to be in its way fully as powerful as the other. When he was still quite young, Milton
was introduced to the wealth of humanistic learning of the re­naissance. In the letter just quoted, he acknowledges his in­debtedness to Young for initiating him into the delights of classical literature. "I followed his footsteps when I first wandered through the hollows of Aonian mount, and through the sacred groves of the twice cloven hill; with him I first drank the waters of the Pierian spring." How eagerly he, as a youth, "drank the waters of the Pierian spring" we see from the infor­mation which he himself supplies us, that from his twelfth year he rarely left his books before midnight.

As a result of this double devotion, we find in Milton a strange mixture of humanism and Puritanism. It is the liberal humanist, for instance, who describes his love of the Beautiful, "What besides God has resolved concerning me I know not, but this at least: 'He has instilled into me, if into any one, a vehement love of the beautiful...it is my habit day and night to seek for this idea of the beautiful, as for a certain image of supreme beauty, through all the forms and faces of things (for many are the shapes of things divine.) Hence it is that when any one scorns what the vulgar opine in their depraved estimation of things, and dares to feel and speak and be that which the highest wisdom throughout all ages has taught to be the best, to that man I attach myself forthwith by a kind of real necessity, wherever I find him."(2)

(2) Familiar Letter No. 7, "To Diodati".

Definitely Puritanical, on the other hand, are the moral qualities which he would demand in a great heroic poet; "such a poet must live sparely after the manner of the Samian tea-
cher. Herbs must furnish him his innocent food; let clear water in a beechen cup stand at his side, and let his drink be sober draughts from the pure spring. His youth must be chaste and void of offence; his manners strict, his hands without stain."

(3) "Elegia Sexta- Ad Carolum Diodatum," Trans. by Moody.

In his essay, "Milton's Temperament and Ideals," Thompson has described the two sides of Milton's nature thus: "He was humanistic enough in temperament to agree with those Greek philosophers who taught that virtue without knowledge is impossible. But in subscribing to this tenet he would also insist on its converse, that knowledge without virtue is of no avail."

(4) E.N.S. Thompson, Essays on Milton.

This remarkable mingling of humanism and Puritanism in Milton has its source in the rival influences of classicism and the Bible, the latter term, of course, interpreted in its widest possible sense. And of these two, in spite of the claims of Mutschmann and others, who would make of Milton a Roman stoic, it was the Bible that always occupied the primary position in his estimation. As Rudolf Metz put it, "das spezifisch Miltonische liegt doch wohl gerade in jener eigenartigen Verschmelzung und Verschlingung helenischer, alttestamentlicher und christlicher Gedankenmassen, wobei jedoch die beiden letzteren sicherlich den Zentralpunkt seiner Weltanschauung bildeten, die ersteren hoechstens ein leises Ferment in seiner Gedankenwelt ausmachten." (5)

(5) Rudolf Metz, "Criticism of Mutschmann's, Der Andere
Nevertheless, there is a distinct development to be observed in the relative influence of these two factors in Milton's early poems. The elegy, "On the Death of a Fair Infant," his first English poem, if we except the early Psalm Paraphrases, is a strange mixture of classic mythology and Christian thought, stanzas I to VII being based on mythology while VIII to XI allude to Biblical conceptions. The poem indicates the strong appeal which both sources had on the young poet. In stanza VI 1. 40, "Or in the Elysian fields (if such there were)", the parenthesis is the first of those conscientious reservations with which Milton checks himself in his instinctive use of classical mythology. He seems anxious to make it quite clear that it is only an artistic appeal that occasions its use.

At the time this appeal of the classics was strong enough, however, to dominate his whole work. Immediately following this elegy he ceased writing English poems, but in the course of the same year produced six in Latin, that medium of humanism whose beauties of style attracted him so strongly. The greatest abandonment to classic influence, particularly to that of Ovid, we find in Elegy VII, written at the age of 19, and Elegy V, at 20. The former is the account of a love episode very likely based on a true incident in the poet's life. He draws heavily on the phraseology of ancient erotic verse and in particular on the allegorical and mythological love machinery of Ovid and reveals an all but complete surrender to Ovidian attitude and mood." (6)

While this elegy, because of its triviality, seems strange when compared with the serious character of all his later writings, the next in point of time, Elegy V, astonishes us still more by its truly pagan tone and imagery. It reveals a sensuousness which the poet would not have dared to express in English but which seemed quite proper when clothed in the conventional Latin form. The postscript which Milton appended to the Latin poems shows, indeed, that this attraction to the classics and their pagan influence was only temporary, "vicious error that had hurried him astray," but it was nevertheless a real attraction and one that, in a different way, continued to exert its influence on all his later work.

Hanford expresses the result of that development to which we referred above thus: "The art of the Romans," and we would add the Greeks, "he still judged superior, themselves far lower in the spiritual scale. His own path was clear: To rival the pagans in perfection of outward form, to follow the Christians in the purity and elevation of their conceptions." (7)

(7) Ibid. Vol. 1, p. 120.

In other words, he would take from each source that which it possessed in an eminent degree; the classics would be his guide in matters of form and style, the Bible and Christian writings would supply him with their noble thoughts.

That there was a change in Milton's attitude toward his two great sources at this time and that the above was the path he had laid out for himself is evident from the plans which he made at this time, to write a series of poems on serious, religious subjects. The "Ode on the Morn of Christ's
Nativity", according to Hallam "the finest in the English language," the "Passion", never completed, and the complete but rather mediocre "Ode on the Circumcision" were the immediate result of this plan. Its final fruits, of course, were Milton's three great works Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained, and Samson Agonistes. Thus the Bible, which had always been to him the inspired Word of God and sole guide of faith, became also the chief source for his literary work.

Should we need any further confirmation of Milton's views regarding the superiority of Bible truth over the philosophy of Greece, we need but refer to Paradise Regained where he has Christ say, in answer to Satan who has tempted him with the learning of Athens:

Bk. IV 11. 287-292. "He who receives
Light from above, from the Fountain of Light,
No other doctrine needs, though granted true;
But these are false, or little else but dreams,
Conjectures, fancies, built on nothing firm."

Who, therefore, seeks in these
True Wisdom, finds her not, or, by delusion
Far worse, her resemblance only meets,

A final point is yet to be made in connection with this development of Scriptural influence as compared with that of the classics. Even in respect to outward form the latter lost some of its appeal in favor of the former. In the Reason of Church Government, 1641, he refers to the epic form "whereof the book of Job is a brief model" and continues;

"The Scriptures also afford us a divine pastoral drama in the Song of Solomon...and the Apocalypse of St. John is the ma-
jestic image of a high and stately tragedy, shutting up and intermingling her solemn scenes and acts with a sevenfold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies." His views on this point find expression in the speech of the Christ, referred to above;

"Or, if I would delight my private hours
With music or with poem, where so soon
As in our native language can I find
That solace? All our Law and Story strewed
With hymns, our Psalms with artful terms inscribed,
Our Hebrew songs and harp; ... declare
That rather Greece from us these arts derived -
Ill imitated while they loudest sing." 11. 331-339.

As it is not the intention of this thesis to limit itself to Milton's use of the Bible as a literary source, it will be necessary to include here a more general statement of his attitude toward the Bible as the revelation of divine truth. Concerning this attitude we are by no means left in doubt. The writings of Milton, particularly his prose works, are filled with statements that are most clear and definite. In this respect, at least, he was a true son of the Reformation, that he considered the Bible the only source of true doctrine.

In the dedication to his dogmatic treatise, De Doctrina Christiana, he says: "For my own part, I adhere to the Holy Scripture alone - I follow no other heresy or sect.... Any other judges or paramount interpreters of the Christian belief, together with all implicit faith, as it is called, I, in common with the whole Protestant church, refuse to recognise." In the first chapter of the treatise, which is devoted
to a definition of Christian Doctrine, we read: "This doctrine, therefore, is to be obtained, not from the schools of the philosophers, nor from the laws of man, but from the Holy Scriptures alone, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit." (8) Numerous additional passages could be quoted expressing the same views, but we shall content ourselves with referring to Chapter XXX of the Christian Doctrine, which the author has devoted to just this question.

The theme of the discussion here is the same: "The rule and canon of faith, therefore, is Scripture alone." "But," he goes on to say, and this is an important qualification, "under the Gospel we possess a two-fold Scripture, one written and external, the other internal which is the Holy Spirit written in the hearts of believers." And this latter, Milton asserts, is the more important. The argument which he advances in support of this qualification is quite ingenious. "The written word, I say, the New Testament, has been liable to frequent corruption, and in some instances has been corrupted.... But the Spirit which leads to truth cannot be corrupted, neither is it easy to deceive a man who is really spiritual." And again; "It is difficult to conjecture the purpose of Providence in committing the writings of the New Testament to such uncertain and variable guardianship unless it were to teach us by this very circumstance that the Spirit which is given to us is a more certain guide than Scripture." (9)

(9) Ibid., Ch. XXX.

Besides losing sight of the fact that the Spirit is never
said to work except through the outward means, i.e. through Scripture and the Sacraments, Milton by this dangerous emphasis on the individual's inner experiences "opens the door," as Sumner says, "to any conceit which the imagination can frame," (10) especially when this doctrine is combined with 


Milton's emphasis of the individual's authority in doctrinal matters.

This attitude has received expression in Paradise Lost, "Wolves shall succeed for teachers, grievous wolves .... who ... the truth With superstition and traditions taint, Left only in those written records pure, Though not but by the Spirit understood." Bk. XII 11. 511-514.

Unfortunately Milton's statement of principle in this matter was far in advance of his actual practice, as we shall see in a later chapter. In fact, we shall have to admit the essential truth of Liljegren's rather harsh criticism; "Zu allen Zeiten hat Milton die Bibel korrigiert und rundweg erklärert, Gott koenne so oder so nicht gemeint haben, wenn etwa die woertliche Interpretation Milton's Wuenschen widersprochen." But when that critic continues, "Es scheint mir, als ob ihm Gott trotz allem zur algebraischen Formel werde, die Milton zu Hilfe nimmt, um eine Loesung eines schwierigen mathematischen Problems zu erzielen," we disagree most positively. (11) Though much of Milton's use of the Scriptures

seems very mechanical and his theological discussions very intellectual and impersonal, he was, nevertheless, possessed of a deeply religious nature. Numerous passages in both his prose works and his poetry might be cited as proof. The tract, Of Reformation, closes with a majestic prayer couched in words that reveal a sincere religious fervor. Paradise Lost contains several hymns of praise and adoration whose sincerity cannot be doubted, while "Il Penseroso", which is generally acknowledged to express that side of Milton's personality which was the most prominent, significantly closes with the most important pleasure that melancholy has to offer:

"But let my due feet never fail
To walk the studious cloister's pale,
And love the high embowed roof,
With antick pillars massy proof,
And storied windows richly dight,
Casting a dim religious light.
There let the pealing organ blow,
To the full voiced Quire below,
In service high and anthems clear,
As may with sweetness, through mine ear,
Dissolve me into ecstasies,
And bring all heaven before mine eyes."

11. 155-165.
II. Bible Texts and Translations at His Disposal.

Before proceeding with the discussion of our topic, the use which Milton made of the Bible, it will be necessary, at this point, to mention briefly the texts, translations, and secondary materials which were at his disposal and the extent to which he could and did make use of them.

A. The Originals: Hebrew and Greek.

The first to be considered are the originals, the Hebrew and Greek texts. Milton shared the enthusiasm of the learned of his time for the study of these ancient languages, and the first requisites that he mentions for Biblical interpretation are "knowledge of languages and inspection of originals." He criticises the churchmen of his time severely on account of their deficiency in this respect. "In the Greek tongue most of them unlettered.... In the Hebrew text, which is so necessary to be understood, except it be some few of them, their lips are utterly uncircumcised." (1)

(1) An Apology for Smectymnuus.

Indirect evidence of Milton's own linguistic knowledge is to be found in the requirements of his school curriculum which he outlines in his essay, Of Education, as well as in the account given us by his nephew, Edward Philips, of the instruction that he received from his uncle. "Nor did the time thus studiously employed in conquering the Greek and Latin tongues, hinder the attaining to the chief oriental languages, viz., the Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac." (2)

(2) Edward Philips, "The Life of Milton".
But this knowledge is attested also by the author's own statement. In the dedication of the Christian Doctrine he tells us: "I entered upon an assiduous course of study in my youth, beginning with the books of the Old and New Testament in their original languages." In all Milton's prose works, but especially in the Christian Doctrine, references to the original are frequent. Whenever the possibility of a doubt arose, he turned from the translation to the Hebrew or the Greek, and in most cases his employment of them is accurate and to the point. Fletcher has discovered thirty separate references in the Christian Doctrine to Hebrew words and phrases. (3)

(3) Harris Fletcher, "Milton's Semitic Studies", p. 70.

That Milton possessed a Hebrew Bible of his own we see from "Epistula Familiaris No. 1" addressed to Young, in which he thanks his former teacher for the acceptable gift of a Hebrew Bible. Owing to the researches of Fletcher we know beyond a reasonable doubt that this Bible, for which Milton thanks Young, was a rabbinical Bible published by Buxtorf, for the first time in 1620. (4) The extent of Milton's Hebrew knowledge will appear from the discussion in Chapters III and IV.

In addition to his knowledge of canonical Hebrew Milton was conversant, to some extent at least, with the Aramaic and with rabbinical Hebrew, a mixture of Aramaic and Hebrew. Besides the indirect evidence quoted above, several direct quotations from Targumists and from the Talmud serve to
prove such knowledge. His acquaintance with these dialects is a fact of great literary significance because of the wealth of medieval, rabbinical comment with which it supplied the poet.

As for the Greek, his knowledge was entirely adequate, just as in the case of Old Testament passages, whenever the occasion demanded, he turned from the translations to the original, exhibiting in its use a scholarly understanding. The text he used was that edited by Beza, successor to Calvin at Geneva. This text had supplanted that of Erasmus, which it followed closely, and continued to be the standard in England for many years to come. There are several allusions in Milton's writings to the commentary by Beza which was contained in his version. Whenever Milton desires to refer to a second textual authority he quotes Erasmus.

B. Translations: Septuagint, Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic, Latin, and English.

Turning from the originals to the translations, the first to be mentioned is the Septuagint, LXX, a translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew to the Greek, completed before the time of Christ. Aware of the importance of this early translation, Milton referred to it frequently. Thus in one of his marriage tracts, in the treatment of Judges 19:2, he says, "Josephus, the LXX, with the Chaldean interpret only of stubbornness and rebellion against her husband." (5)

(5)"Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce," Bohn Edit., V. III.

By far the most important of the early translations of the New Testament is that into the Syriac, sometimes called the "queen of translations", both because of the early date
at which it was made, parts of it in the second century, and because of the age of the manuscripts that have been preserved, fragments from the fourth, complete copies from the fifth and sixth centuries. Milton's knowledge of the Syriac is attested by the passages quoted above in connection with the other Semitic languages, as well as by the abundance of references to this version throughout his works. There is hardly a chapter in the *Christian Doctrine* which does not contain at least one reference to the Syriac. This disproportionate preference for the Syriac, no doubt, is due in part to the fact that this version supplied him with more readings that seemed to substantiate his own peculiar unorthodox beliefs than any of the Greek versions. He was aware of its antiquity and made full use of its consequent authority. Thus in *Tetrachordon*, in his comment on Matth. 19:3-4, we read, "and the Syriac translator, whose antiquity is thought parallel to the Evangelists themselves, reads it conformably etc." (6) However unwarranted his inferences may be, his quotations from the text reveal an accurate knowledge of the dialect.

Two other ancient translations are mentioned by Milton, the Arabic and the Ethiopic. It is not necessary, however, to presuppose his acquaintance with these languages as both these versions were contained in Walton's *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta*, each accompanied by a literal translation into Latin; and Milton's acquaintance with this work has been established. (7)

(6) *Tetrachordon*, Bohn Edit., Vol. III.

(7) Harris Fletcher, "Milton and Walton's Bilia Sacra Polyg."
The Biblical versions which Milton used most extensively were, of course, the Latin and the English. For the Latin quotations in his De Doctrina Christiana his source was the Latin Bible of Tremellius, edited by Junius, in the folio edition of 1585. This edition contained a Latin translation of the Old Testament with accompanying notes by Tremellius, a Latin translation of the Apocrypha by Junius, and two Latin translations of the New Testament, one by Tremellius from the Syriac, the other by Beza from the Greek. For the New Testament quotations he used the version by Beza from the Greek, as a rule, rather than that of Tremellius from the Syriac. The Vulgate was used very little if at all. In his English quotations Milton used the authorised version. There is only one Bible extant today that can be traced to the Milton household, and that is a copy of the authorised version.

From the foregoing it will be observed that Milton was by no means ill-equipped as a Biblical scholar. By virtue of his training he was able to cope with the most difficult exegetical problems and apply to them all the helps of textual criticism which his time could supply. As a sample of the diligence with which Milton made use of every available means to make his point, we shall quote his discussion of Acts 20:28 in the Christian Doctrine. "But the Syriac version reads, not the 'church of God', but the 'church of Christ'; and in our own recent translation (i.e. Latin translation of the Syriac in Walton's, Polyglotta) it is the 'church of the Lord'. Nor can any certain dependance be placed on the authority of the Greek manuscripts, five of which read "tou kui-piou kai theou," according to Beza, who suspects that the words
"tou kupiou" have crept in from the margin." And in the same paragraph in connection with another verse he quotes the testimony of Erasmus. (8)

(8) The Christian Doctrine Bk. I, Ch. V, - "Of the Son of God" - Bohn Edit., Vol IV.
III. Paraphrases and Translations of the Psalms.

Milton's desire and ambition to become a poet asserted itself very early in life. According to biographical accounts he began writing poetry already at the age of ten. Aubrey includes in his biographical data the statement, "Anno Domini 1619 he was ten years old... and was then a poet," while "from his brother Christopher" we have the statement: "When he went to school, when he was very young, (i.e. 10 yrs. old)... in those years he composed many copies of verse, which might well become a riper age." (1) The material which he employed in this early poetry is indicated by the information which an anonymous biographer supplies, "early in that time" i.e. his school days, he "wrote several grave and religious poems, and paraphrased some of David's Psalms." (2)

(1) John Aubrey F.R.S., "Collections for the Life of Milton", in L.E.Lockwood, Selected Essays of John Milton, - p xxxviii

(2) "The earliest Life of Milton", Ibid., - p xxiv.

The only remnants of this early work of the young poet are two paraphrases, done at the age of 15, of Psalms 114 and 136. As Masson has observed, they are apparently all that is left of a series of poetic exercises performed by the young poet for his own amusement and to please his father and his teachers. Their chief interest derives from the fact that they indicate the reading matter which appealed most strongly to the youth and exerted the greatest influence upon him. The influence of Spenser and of Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas' Divine Weeks and Works
has been observed, as well as of Buchanan's Latin Paraphrases of the Psalms, all indications of the serious character of Milton's early studies. These two paraphrases were, of course, not intended to be accurate translations, but they do remain quite close to the thought in the original. Their youthful character is apparent in such verses as those which he appended to Psalm 136.

"Let us, therefore, warble forth
His mighty majesty and worth;
For his mercies, aye, endure
Ever faithful, ever sure.
That his mansion hath on high,
Above the reach of mortal eye;
For his mercies etc."

This practice of translating and paraphrasing the Psalms, a veritable obsession with numerous poets of the time, continued to hold a strong appeal for Milton in later years. In 1648 he took up the Psalms once more, this time with the intention of making an exact metrical translation of at least part of the Psalter. Like many other versions which appeared at this time, these translations were an attempt, on Milton's part, to improve on the version of the English Psalter which was then in general use. The Psalms translated at this time were Psalms LXXX - LXXXVIII.

A particular interest attaches to them because of the title which they bear: "Nine of the Psalms Done Into Metre - Wherein all, but what is in a different character, are the very words of the text, translated from the original." Such a title immediately challenges to a closer examination of
the work of Milton; and, unless the words are not taken to mean what they say, as Studley incorrectly does, (3) these


demical translations of the Psalms will be the best indication that we have of the extent of Milton's knowledge of Hebrew. Of the nine Psalms, of which this group is composed, we have chosen to discuss the LXXXIII, in order to determine to what extent Milton has lived up to this goal he has set himself, and also in how far the additions he has made add or detract from the clarity and poetic quality of the whole.

Psalm LXXXIII.

The very first line of Milton's version, "Be not thou silent, now at length," contains the first addition by the poet. The phrase, "now at length," indicated by the italics as not contained in the original, has little to commend it; it is too obviously "filled in" merely for purposes of rhyme. The phrase, "of strength," which rhymes with it in line three, "Sit thou not still, O God of strength," however, serves to translate much more exactly the name here applied to God. יְהֹוָה, which is the name used, comes from the verb יָשָׁה and by derivation means "the hero," "the mighty," applied to God, "the Almighty One". The thought expressed by the phrase is so definitely contained in the name that it seems strange, that Milton should have put the words "in a different character." The whole next line, the last of stanza one, "We cry and do not cease," adds nothing to thought or style that could not well be dispensed with; in fact, its effect is weakening.
An example of the expansion of the original by the use of synonyms, a common practice of Milton in these paraphrases, occurs in verse two where the two verbs "swell" and "storm" are used to translate the single Hebrew verb שָׁמַר. The following line, "And they that hate thee," is a perfectly literal, though necessarily somewhat expanded, translation of the Piel Participle פָּשִׁיתָן i.e. "thy haters."

In stanza three, the Hebrew מַרְאֹת i.e. "council," is translated by "their plots and councils deep," while the one word מַשְׂפָּה i.e. "thy hidden," is rendered "whom thou dost hide and keep." In both cases, however, the thought is not impaired. In the former the words are, in this connection, quite synonymous, while in the latter the two thoughts expressed are actually contained in the Hebrew word translated.

The fourth stanza keeps close to the original. To be sure, a whole line, "Till they no nation be," is used to translate the one word עֵבֶר, i.e."from a people", meaning "from being a people", but then it would be difficult to translate this terse Hebrew expression in fewer words. Tremellius' Latin version has: "ne sint gens."

The greatest departure from the original in this Psalm appears in stanza six. The Hebrew for the verse, together with the authorised version, read:

כִּי בָּלָם וְלָבֵּן יָדַע
לָשֵׁי בָּרְיָה בַּרְיָה

For they have consulted together with one consent;
they are confederate against thee.

This verse Milton has translated:

For they consult with all their might,
And all as one in mind
Themselves against thee they unite,
And in firm union bind." (no italics)

Since Milton construes יָּדוֹ as belonging to the second half of the parallelism, translating it, "And all as one in mind," the phrase, "with all their might," must have been intended as a translation of the word יָּדוֹ. The usual meaning of this noun is "heart", and from this meaning Milton must have derived his interpretation, translating it like the related expression יָּדוֹ יָּדוֹ, i.e. with one heart, with concentration of purpose, i.e. "with all their might." Such an interpretation, however, is hardly justifiable. The word יָּדוֹ has another use. Since the Hebrew has no reflexive pronoun, this and other related words, e.g. יָּדוֹ יָּדוֹ - the soul, are used to supply the deficiency. As such a reflexive it is to be construed here and translated, as the authorised version does, "they have consulted 'together'." The Latin translation of Tremellius, which Milton generally used, quite likely exerted its influence here, not so much the text itself which merely has, "Nam consilium inierunt animis paribus", but rather a note which refers to this verse and reads: "Hebr. 'corde pariter'."

Verses six to ten of the Psalm contain an enumeration of the peoples which have banded together against God and his people with very few adjectives or explanatory phrases which a translator might use for purposes of rhyme and metre. As a result, the corresponding stanzas in Milton's version contain whole lines as well as single words in italics. These additions, however, were not chosen promiscuously. Instead of detracting from the thought, they serve
to clarify the meaning, often bringing out the special connotation of words translated. In stanza eight, for instance, the added line, "All these have lent their armed hands," helps to bring out the exact meaning of the next line, "To aid the sons of Lot," for the Hebrew here says: "They were the strong arm (i.e. the aid) for the sons of Lot."

The influence of Tremellius is most evident in the twelfth stanza where Milton has, "By right now shall we seize God's houses." According to Gesenius, however, the primary meaning of the Hebrew Kal קָלָה, and the meaning which is most likely here, is "to seize", "to take possession", only in a secondary sense does it mean "to inherit", (4) But Milton, in distinction to the authorised version and the Vulgate, follows Tremellius who has, "hereditario jure possideamus nobis habitacula Dei." Milton's line in stanza sixteen, "And till they yield thee honor due", is a very free translation of the original, "that they may seek thy name", but it does give the thought quite adequately.

From our discussion of Psalm LXXXIII it is apparent that Milton possessed a good reading knowledge of the Hebrew, a knowledge that enabled him to appreciate the various shades of meaning and usage which are so numerous in this language. But, as is equally apparent, it was not the thorough knowledge of the linguistic scholar. Milton did not hesitate to accept help from the various translations which were at his disposal. (5) If we would seek a reason, however, for the

(5) for the influence of the Vulgate on Milton's Para-
evident mediocrity of these paraphrases, poetically considered, it is certainly not to be found in any lack of acquaintance with the Hebrew. It is rather a result of the limitations to which Milton subjected himself, namely, to make the translation conform almost word for word with the original and give it, at the same time, a poetical form with rhyme and metre. That was a task to which even his powerful muse was not equal.

In 1653, Milton turned once more to the Psalms and again translated nine of them, Psalms I to VIII, this time with a different purpose in mind. Instead of an attempt at literalness, these represent an experiment in versification. In thought they depart widely from the original and its contents is greatly amplified. They represent a great variety of metres and rhyme schemes, all of which are skillfully handled. Especially powerful are Psalms II and VIII, which are done in iambic pentameter, the latter with the addition of rhyme - a,b,a,b. Psalm II exhibits the same lofty, majestic style that characterises Paradise Lost. It reads as if it were a section taken from that poem.

"Why do the Gentiles tumult, and the nations
Muse a vain thing, the kings of the earth upstand
With power, and princes in their congregations
Lay deep their plots together through each land
Against the Lord and his Messiah dear?

And the close of the Psalm:

And now be wise at length, ye kings averse;
Be taught, ye judges of the earth; with fear Jehovah serve, and let your joy converse
With trembling; kiss the son, lest he appear
In anger, and ye perish in the way,
If once his wrath take fire, like fuel sere.
Happy all those who have in him their stay.

One Psalm, Psalm CXIV, he translated, perhaps as a linguistic exercise, from the Hebrew into the Greek.
IV. Bible Quotations in Milton's Works.

In a sonnet which Milton wrote in 1655, three years after he went totally blind, and addressed to Cyriack Skinner, we read:

...... "What supports me, dost thou ask?  
The conscience, friend, to have lost them overplied  
In liberty's defence, my noble task,  
Of which all Europe rings from side to side.  
This thought might lead me through the world's  
vain mask  
Content, though blind, had I no better guide."

Although the majority of the numerous essays and pamphlets which Milton produced "in liberty's defence", as he says, as well as his theological treatise, De Doctrina Christiana, are today so completely forgotten as to be entirely unknown to the average reader, the above quotation indicates the importance which their author attached to them and the effect which, in a limited circle, they produced throughout Europe. Our present interest in them centers in the abundance of Biblical quotations which they contain. It was the custom of the time to support each and every proof or contention, which in any way permitted it, with verses quoted from Scripture, a practice which Milton carried to extravagant lengths. Many of the subjects which he discussed were such as were related to religion and the church and in these the whole argument is based on Scriptural proof; but even where he treats of so unrelated a subject as that of his "Areopagitica", the freedom of the press, he quotes, in defense of indiscriminate reading, the Bibli-
cal examples of Moses, Daniel, and Paul, as having been versed in heathen learning. (1)

(1) "Areopagitica", Lockwood, Selected Essays.

That Milton was well equipped for the exegetical study and use of the Scripture has already been observed, but we might add here, as factors contributing toward an understanding and intelligent use of the Bible, the serious character of even his earliest studies and the religious habits of his life, - he began each day by hearing a portion of Hebrew Scripture while his Sundays were wholly devoted to theology. All his life he continued his private study of the Bible and eminent divines. Nevertheless, there were several factors, both in Milton's life and personality as well as in the general trend of the times, which militated against an evangelical interpretation of Scripture. The seventeenth century was a time when religious controversy was at its height throughout Europe. Men were carried away by their enthusiasm to such an extent as to make objective reasoning in religious matters all but impossible. As for Milton himself, we have pointed out that he was a humanist as well as a Puritan; and, in spite of frequent denials, human reason, barring a few notable exceptions, occupied the supreme seat of authority in his argumentation, and not Scripture. Furthermore, certain events in his life, the persecution of those near and dear to him and his own unhappy marriage, exerted a powerful influence. But most important, perhaps, is "that peculiar disposition of Milton's mind which led him to view every surrender of individual opinion in morals or politics, as an
infringement on the rights of natural liberty", a trait of character which predisposed him to "such unbounded freedom as can hardly exist, as has been truly said, with any established system of faith whatever." (2)

(2) C.R.Sumner, "Introd. Remarks" - Bohn Edit., Vol IV.

In theory Milton held the most correct and orthodox views regarding the proper use of the Bible. The Christian Doctrine contains a perfect statement of the rules which should govern the interpretation of Scripture. "No passage of Scripture," he says, "is to be interpreted in more than one sense," and he continues with a list of requisites: "They consist in knowledge of languages; inspection of originals; examination of the context; care in distinguishing between literal and figurative expressions; consideration of cause and circumstance; ... mutual comparison of texts; and regard to the analogy of faith.... Lastly no inferences are to be admitted from the text but such as follow necessarily and plainly from the words themselves," a noble expression indeed of exegetical principle. (3)


But how did Milton's practice conform to his avowed principles? The first requisites he mentions, the knowledge of languages and the inspection of originals, are, indeed of primary importance for the Biblical student, but such knowledge must be scholarly and such use judicious. It is in this respect that Milton occasionally failed. Attempting
to prove that God did not create the world out of nothing but that it had its source materially in him, pantheism, he makes the bold insupportable statement, without so much as quoting a single authority by way of proof, "it is certain that neither the Hebrew word נֶבֶר, nor the Greek κτίσις, nor the Latin "creare" can signify to create out of nothing." (4) The most flagrant offense in this particular, however, we find in his discussion of divorce, in defense of which he strained his exegetical conscience to the limit. Speaking of Matth. 5:9, where Christ permits divorce on the ground of fornication, he says, "According to the idiom of the eastern languages, the word fornication, πορνεία, signifies not adultery only, but either what is called 'any unclean thing', or a defect in some particular which might justly be required in a wife." (5) With the help of such linguistic methods, what could not be proved from Scripture?

One of the characteristic traits of Milton, arising from his emphasis on individual authority in matters of religion, was his inexorable opposition to all authority per se. He says, for instance: "more tolerable it were for the church of God, that all these names (i.e. Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Constantine) were utterly abolished, like the brazen serpent, than that men's fond opinion should thus idolize them, and the heavenly truth be thus captivated." (6) Yet on numerous


(5) Ibid., Ch. X, p. 248.
occasions he is not averse to basing his argument almost completely on the opinions of men who happen to agree with him, being careful to point out their authoritative positions. In connection with the statement of Christ, "Whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery," he bases his argument on Origin's statement, that Christ mentioned adultery here, "as one example of other like cases." (7) In Tetrachordon

where he speaks of the question of the Pharisees, "Is it lawful to divorce for every cause?" he quotes, to make his point, a strange bit of textual criticism from a contemporary writer. "Cameron, a late writer, much applauded, commenting this place not undiligently, affirms that the Greek preposition, ἐν, translated unusually "for" hath a force in it implying the suddenness of those pharisaic divorces.... This he freely takes, whatever moved him, and I as freely take, nor can deny his observation to be acute and learned." Acute indeed, but learned? (8)

In his opposition to the pride of reason, especially as it manifested itself in medieval scholasticism, Milton was most definite, and, no doubt, perfectly sincere. He says, on one occasion; "it were much better there were not one divine
in the universities, no school divinity known, the idle sophistry of monks, the canker of religion." (9) Elsewhere he speaks of it as "the old vomit of your traditions." (10) For himself he claims complete divorcement from reason in religious matters and complete subjugation to Scripture. Thus, in his article on the Son of God, we read: "Let us then discard reason in sacred matters, and follow the doctrine of Holy Scripture exclusively." (11)

We need not look far, however, to discover the self-deceit which Milton practiced. Reason remained his ultimate authority. Immediately preceding this statement of principle just quoted, we find two solid pages of reasoning to prove that God cannot be one essence and more than one person at the same time; while the bulk of his argument regarding the person of the Son of God is based upon the fact that, since he is the Son of the Father, the Son cannot be co-equal and co-essential with him. That is his starting point, and from that he turns to Scripture and, as is to be expected, seems to present a strong case. With a little skill Scripture can be made to prove almost anything.

We shall mention just one more bit of reasoning that is characteristic of Milton. In the discussion of the creation, in the midst of a long paragraph in a similar strain, we

(11) Chr. Doctr., Bk. I, Ch. V, - Bohn Edit., Vol. IV.
find this: "Again, God is not able to annihilate anything altogether, because by creating nothing he would create and not create at the same time, which involves a contradiction." And in this vein he continues. (12) One could very well imagine such a passage as part of the discussion of some medieval scholastic. How different is such an attempt at explaining by reason whatever seems contradictory, from the faith in whatever the Bible says, which a Luther exhibited, when, in a colloquy with Zwingli regarding the Lord's supper and the words of institution, he said: "Wenn Gott gesagt haette, 'Luther, iss den Strick', so haett' ichs getan!"

Another important rule, which Milton mentions, is examination of the context. Though he is usually quite careful in this respect, we have noticed at least one flagrant violation of the rule, again in his argument regarding divorce. He says there: "Yea, the apostle himself, in the forecited 2 Cor. 6:14 alludes from that place of Deuteronomy to forbid misyoking marriage, as by the Greek word is evident." (13)

Milton here takes the Greek participle εἰς ἐρωτήματι to refer to "misyoking marriage", quite without justification. The term merely means "yoking together unequally", and in this passage refers to any association with the heathen for work or pleasure. The whole chapter contains no reference to marriage.


As his last requisite Milton had mentioned, "no inferences are to be admitted from the text but such as follow necessarily and plainly from the words themselves." But in the section, "Of the Holy Spirit", we read, "what is called the Holy Spirit, or the Spirit of God, sometimes means the Father himself. Matth. 1:18, 20. 'That which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost', Luke 1:35.'The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee etc.'" And again of Acts 5:3 "Why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie against the Holy Ghost, thou hast not lied unto men but unto God," he says, "Besides it may be doubted whether the Holy Spirit in this passage does not signify God, the Father." (14) A striking example of


unwarranted inferences is that where, speaking of Christ's words against divorce in all cases "except for fornication", he explains that Christ was speaking "to give a sharp and vehement answer to a tempting question ... to lay a bridle on the bold abuses ... as when we bow things the contrary way, to make them come to their natural straightnesss." (15)


Taking into full account his numerous incorrect employments of Scriptural quotations, it would be unfair to Milton to leave this subject without pointing out that, except where his peculiar views compelled him to force the text, his use of Scripture is scholarly and evangelical. A notable
example of such use is to be found in his presentation of the mystery of the union of the two persons in Christ and the doctrine of the atonement, which, strangely enough, in view of his other opinions, he maintained to the fullest extent. As Lord Macaulay has observed: "his digest of Scriptural texts is certainly among the best that have appeared. But he is not always so happy in his inferences as in his citations." (16)

V. The Use of the Bible as a Literary Source.

In spite of the importance which the author attached to the immense amount of controversial literature which poured from his pen, after all, the crowning achievement of his life, the achievement which represented the accomplishment of a goal which he had set himself in his early years and had never lost sight of, is his great epic of the fall of man, Paradise Lost. This masterpiece, the brief epic, Paradise Regained, and the tragedy, Samson Agonistes, are the chief works for which Milton is remembered today. Accordingly, the phase of our subject upon which we are about to enter promises to be, not only the most interesting, but also the most important, Milton's use of the Bible as a literary source for his great Biblical poems. And under this head we shall discuss his treatment of Bible characters, the use of Biblical material, and, finally, the influence of Biblical form.

A. The Treatment of Bible Characters.

In our treatment of Milton's portrayal of Bible characters, we shall limit ourselves to his two epic poems. In the order in which we shall treat of them, they are: God, Satan, the Angels - the good and the fallen, Man - Adam and Eve, and the allegorical characters Sin and Death.

To determine how faithfully Milton follows his Biblical source in his characterization of God we shall have to review very briefly the testimony of Scripture concerning God. According to the Bible, God is a Spirit of infinite power and majesty, "Behold, the heavens cannot contain thee," 1 Kings 8:
27; of absolute perfection, "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father... is perfect," Matth. 5:48; "He fills heaven and earth," Jer. 23:24. He is eternal, "From everlasting to everlasting thou art God," Ps. 9:2; and unchangeable, "Father of lights with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning," James 1:17; omnipresent, "Whither shall I flee from thy presence? etc.," Ps. 139: 7-10; as well as omniscient, "God... knoweth all things," 1 John 3:20; omnipotent and almighty, "For with God nothing shall be impossible," Luke 1:37.

In his relation with man God is holy, "Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord God of hosts," Isa. 6:3; he is just and "will render to every man according to his deeds," Romans 2:6. He is kind and merciful, "His mercies are new unto us every morning," Lament. 3:23; "God is Love," 1 John 4:16; he is faithful and true, "His truth endureth to all generations," Psalm 100:5.

But the God of the Bible who as one God, "Hear, O Israel, The Lord our God is one Lord," Deut. 6:4, has revealed himself in three persons, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, equal in power, majesty, glory, and honor. The second person, Christ the Messiah, is true God, as he claims for himself and as Scripture testifies of him. To the question of the High Priest "I adjure thee by the living God that thou tell us whether thou art Christ, the Son of God?" he answered, "Thou hast said," while Thomas worshipped him saying, "My Lord and my God." John ascribes to him eternity and divinity, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God," John 1:1; while in Hebrews 13:8 we read,
"Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, today, and forever." Most of the attributes of God listed above are applied also to the Son. The third person, the Spirit, is distinctly called God, "Ye are the temple of God; the Spirit of God dwelleth in you," 1 Cor. 3:16 and in Acts 5:3,4 "Why hath Satan filled thine heart to lie against the Holy Ghost.... Thou hast not lied unto men but unto God."

As far as God, the Father, is concerned, the God of *Paradise Lost* is in full accord with the God of the Bible, as is evident from the numerous names applied to God: "the throne and monarchy of God," "the Most High," "the omnipotent," "Eternal Justice," "the Mightiest," "Heavens Perpetual King," "the Almighty," "judge of all things made and judgest only right," "past, present, future he beholds," "the unsleeping eyes of God," together with the Son "our omnipotence." Although Milton's description agrees do fully with that of the Bible, we are somehow dissatisfied with the picture he presents; in fact, his characterization of God is perhaps the weakest of all his characters. It seems to be lacking in majesty as well as in reality. The reason is to be found, no doubt, in the restrictions which Milton placed upon himself in this case, which he did not feel obliged to observe in the others, i.e. to say nothing of the deity which was not based directly on Scripture. The poet has been much criticised for the anthropomorphisms which abound in his descriptions of God, as where in Bk. III 11. 66, 68 he says,"The Almighty Father, from above, ... bent down his eye." In this practice, however, he is merely following the precedent of Scripture which abounds in
such examples, where human attributes are applied to God. The above instance finds a parallel in Ps. 14:2, "The Lord looked down from heaven upon the children of men."

Milton justifies his practice in this regard in the *Christian Doctrine*: "Granting that both in literal and figurative descriptions of God, he is exhibited not as he really is, but in such a manner as may be within the scope of our comprehensions, yet we ought to entertain such a conception of him, as he, in condescending to accommodate himself to our capacities, has shown that he desires we should conceive. ... If we persist in entertaining a different conception of the Deity... we frustrate the purposes of God... as if we wished to show that it was not we who thought too meanly of God, but God who had thought too meanly of us." (1) This passage also indicates the care with which Milton approached the description of God.

The same thought is put into the mouth of Raphael:

"And what surmounts the reach
Of human sense I shall delineate so,
By likening spiritual to corporeal forms,
As may express them best." V 11. 571-576.

Thus measuring things in heaven by things on Earth." VI 11. 893.

Turning to the second person of the Trinity we find that Milton's views departed widely from the Biblical testimony which we have presented. The *Christian Doctrine* leaves no doubt regarding Milton's exact position. Sumner has summarized his views as follows: "It was in reality nearly
Arian, ascribing to the Son as high a share of divinity as was compatible with the denial of his self-existence and eternal generation, but not admitting his co-equality and co-essentiality with the Father, He admits Christ's Godhead but not as original, independent, and underived." (2)

(2) C.R.Sumner, "Introductory Remarks", Bohn Edit., Vol. IV.

Such were Milton's views respecting the Christ, views which did not become known definitely until the Latin manuscript of his Christian Doctrine was found in 1823. From his poems, Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained, taken by themselves, these views were not and could not be detected. Johnson, who in other respects revealed himself as no friend of Milton, declares the poet to have been "untainted by any heretical peculiarity of opinion." Addison's criticism, "If Milton's majesty forsakes him anywhere, it is in those parts of his poem, where the Divine Powers are introduced as speakers," is, indeed, generally interpreted as an indication that he suspected the poet's unorthodoxy. If he entertained such suspicions, however, this passage does not give expression to them, for he continues with the explanation, "One may, I think, observe that the author proceeds with a kind of fear and trembling whilst he describes the sentiments of the Almighty. He dares not give his imagination its full play, but chooses to confine himself to such thoughts as are drawn from the books of the most orthodox divines, and to such expressions as may be met with in Scripture." (3) That certainly does not sound as though Addison were accusing Milton or even implying his unorthodoxy.
In an earlier essay he had said, quite plainly: "he (Milton) represented the whole Godhead exerting itself towards man in its threefold distinction of a Creator, a Redeemer, and a Comforter." (4)

(3) Addison, "Criticism on Paradise Lost", - Spectator, March 1, 1712.
(4) "Ibid." Jan. 12, 1712.

While maintaining the above, we would by no means accuse Milton of willful deception in his great epics. To anyone who has read the Christian Doctrine it is quite evident that every reference to the Son of God in Paradise Lost coincide fully with the author's real views. He merely refrained from interpreting them and wisely limited himself, as Addison observed, "to such expressions as may be met with in Scripture." Of all the direct references to Christ in Paradise Lost, the following might, at first sight, seem to permit of no orthodox interpretation:

...... "Thee next they sang, of all creation first, Begotten Son, Divine Similitude." Bk. III, ll. 383-386.

"This day have I begot whom I declare My only Son, and on this holy hill Him have anointed, whom ye now behold At my right hand." Bk. V ll. 603-605.

Both of them are, however, quotations from Scripture. The former quotes Col. 1:15, which speaking of Christ, says, "Who is the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature"; while in the case of the latter, the "this day", as Milton uses it, can be interpreted as signifying "eternity" just as readily as in the original passage it
must undoubtedly be construed that way: "The Lord hath said unto me, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee." Ps. 2:7.

Regarding the Holy Spirit Milton held much the same views as he did of the Son; "the Holy Spirit, inasmuch as he is a minister of God, and therefore a creature, was created or produced of the substance of God, not by natural necessity, but by the free will of the agent, probably before the foundations of the world were laid, but later than the Son, and far inferior to him." (5) None of this appears, however, in Paradise Lost, where, indeed, the Spirit is mentioned only three times, if we except the references to him in the form of the Muse. (6)


(6) For a discussion of the Muse of Paradise Lost and its source, see Fletcher, Milton's Semitic Studies, p. 115 ff.

"My overshadowing Spirit and might with thee I send along." Bk. VII, ll. 165-166.

"but on the watery calm
His brooding wings the Spirit of God outspread,
And vital virtue infused, vital warmth,
Throughout the fluid mass." ll. 234-237.

" from heaven
He to his own a Comforter will send,
The promise of the Father, who shall dwell His Spirit within them...
To guide them in all truth." Bk. XII, ll. 485-488.
Undoubtedly the most interesting characterization in *Paradise Lost* is that of Satan. In regard to the revolt in heaven and the motive for Satan's rebellion, Milton follows in the main the great abundance of tradition that was current in his day, but he has added much from his own imagination until Satan became a character whose epic power cannot be overestimated. We shall trace briefly the delineation of Satan which Milton gives us in order to compare it with the Satan of the Bible.

The rank which Milton assigned to Satan among the angels of God before his revolt was that of an archangel, among the first, if not the first.

..."He, of the first,

If not the first Archangel, great in power,

In favor and preeminence." Bk. V 659-661.

As to the motive which prompted him to revolt against the Almighty, it was pride and envy, occasioned by the proclamation regarding the Son of God, of whom the Father says:

"Your head I him appoint,

And by myself have sworn to him shall bow

All knees in heaven, and shall confess him Lord." Bk. V 606-608.

Satan resents this command of God because he feels himself impaired thereby and, by appealing to their pride, he draws away with him a third of the angels from their allegiance to God. So bold is he in his pride and arrogance that

"He trusted to have equalled the Most High,

If he opposed." Bk. V 40-41.

Milton's Satan is the "type of pride". The Spirit of egotism,
his unparalleled self-esteem, is the dominant trait of his character and is responsible for his fall as well as his final complete degradation.

The one factor that contributes most to the epic power of Milton's delineation of Satan is the gradual deterioration in power, majesty, and also in outward appearance, which Satan is made to undergo in the course of the epic. After the revolt in heaven he has fallen indeed, but he does not at once become totally and despicably depraved. In fact, there is still much that is good and admirable in his character. The indomitable will and proud courage revealed by his very first speech to Beelzebub, when they awake on the burning lake in hell, rather wins our admiration.

"What though the field be lost?
All is not lost - the unconquerable will,
And study of revenge, immortal hate,
And courage never to submit or yield:
And what is else not to be overcome?"
Bk. I 105-109.

It is his pride that holds him up, the same pride which caused his downfall and continues to drive him downward.

He seems at times to be minded to repent, to regret what he had done or was about to do. As he views the assembled host of fallen angels in hell, we read of him,

"He now prepared to speak ... Thrice he assayed, and thrice, in spite of scorn, Tears, such as angels weep, burst forth."
Bk. I 615, 619, 620.

He feels pity for man, who is to be the means of his revenge
against God.

... "yet no purposed foe
To you, whom I could pity thus forlorn
Though I unpitied." Bk IV 373-375.

"Thank him who puts me, loath, to this revenge
On you, who wrong me not, for him who wronged." 386-387.

"Honour and empire with revenge enlarged,
... compel me now
To do what else, though damned, I should abhor." 390-392.

Again, when thinking of himself, he is overcome, for the moment by the realization of his ingratitude toward the Almighty:

"He deserved no such return
From me, whom he created what I was
In that bright imminence and with his good
Upbraided none; nor was his service hard." Bk. IV 42-45.

He arouses our sympathy when he bewails his unhappy lot,

Me miserable! which way shall I fly
Infinite wrauth and infinite despair?

Which way I fly is Hell; myself am Hell." Bk. IV 73-75.

But always, when the alternative of submission as a means of escape presents itself, his pride is aroused and will not permit it. Finally he reaches the point where he says:

"So farewell hope, and, with hope, farewell fear,
Farewell remorse! All good to me is lost;
Evil, be thou my good." Bk. IV 108-110.

And this thought is repeated in Book Nine:

"all good to me becomes
This moral deterioration is accompanied by a physical and intellectual decay. On the fields of heaven He fears not to take up the struggle against Michael, yes, against God, but in the garden of Eden he doubts whether he is a match for Adam:

"Foe not informidable! exempt from wound,
I not; so much hath hell abased and pain
Enfeebled me, to what I was in Heaven."

Bk. IX 485-487.

His intellectual decline is evident from the circumstance that he shuns Adam, who with his higher intellectual powers would see through his arguments. The final stage of this gradual process is reached where Satan, once a mighty prince, an archangel, becomes a vile serpent, a disgrace of which Satan is well aware:

"O foul descent! that I who erst contended
With Gods to sit the highest, am now constrained
Into a beast, and mixed with bestial slime."

Bk. IX 163-165.

With this delineation of Satan, that of Paradise Regained is in full accord. The deterioration of Satan having reached the lowest plane possible in Paradise Lost, could not be continued in the later poem. Throughout the second poem Satan appears as a prince who has lost his greatest power and who is making a desperate last stand to retain his dominion over the world. In fact, the opponents in the struggle, Satan and Christ, are so unequal as to make the outcome inevitable, thus depriving the poem of much of its interest. The resemblance between the characterizations in
the two poems is evident.

"All hope is lost
Of my reception into grace; what worse?
For where no hope is left is left no fear.
If there be worse, the expectation more
Of worse torments than the feeling can.
I would be at the worst; worst is my port,
My harbour, and my ultimate repose,
The end I would attain, my final good."
P.R. Bk. III 204-211.

Turning to the Bible we find that Milton, in his characterization of Satan, not only amplified greatly the rather limited material which the Bible contains, but, for obvious reasons, changed the Biblical conception to suit his purposes. The first change to be observed is in the name. The Bible uses the names "Beelzebub" and "Belial" as variant appellations for Satan. Milton, however, has used them to designate two distinct wicked spirits, the former second in rank to Satan. Of the rank and station of Satan himself in heaven before the revolt the Bible tells us nothing definite but from Isa. 14:12, "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning," we may conclude that he was a lustrous being, clothed in light and splendor and that he stood in correspondingly high station.

For the fall of Satan and his wicked angels the Bible supplied only the following suggestions: John 8:44, "He was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him." I John 3:8, "the devil sinneth from the beginning." Jude 6, "And the angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation."
And the account in the twelfth chapter of the Apocalypse:

v. 4, "And his tail (i.e. the dragon) drew the third part of the stars of heaven, and did cast them to the earth."

v. 7, "And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels, and prevailed not." v. 9, "And the great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, called the Devil and Satan."

The great difference in Milton's Satan from the Satan of the Bible, however, lies in the deterioration of his character pointed out above. We have indicated that there was some good in the Satan of *Paradise Lost* after the fall; there is no good in the Satan of the Bible; he is the personification of evil. Nor is there any physical or intellectual weakness in the Satan of the Bible. He is the implacable enemy of God and man, the mighty Lord of all the infernal hosts, the great "Prince of Darkness", "the Prince of this world". Only in the exercise of his power is he limited by the will and decrees of Almighty God, as the book of Job tells us, and as Milton also indicates by the vision of the scales in heaven, at sight of which Satan, reminded of his subordinate state, is obliged to refrain from conflict with Gabriel, Bk. IV 990-1015. The artifice of the vision in heaven was suggested to Milton, no doubt, by the story of Belshazzar and the handwriting on the wall, in Daniel 5, part of which is interpreted, "Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting."

The angelic system of *Paradise Lost*, or atleast the names applied to the angelic troops and divisions, are derived from the medieval belief regarding them, which, in turn, is based upon two verses of Scripture, Eph. 1:21. "Far
above all principality and power and might and dominion and every name that is named, not only in this world but also in that which is to come," and Col. 1:16, "all things... visible and invisible whether they be thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers." From these passages together with other names given to angels in the Bible, the system was derived according to which all heavenly beings were divided into three hierarchies and each hierarchy into three orders or choirs. The seraphim, cherubim, and thrones comprised one hierarchy; dominations, virtues, and powers, a second; principalities, archangels, and angels, a third. Milton does not follow this system in detail but merely utilizes the names for the sake of euphony.

The seraphim, the name at that time being derived from a Hebrew root "to burn", (its real derivation is from a root "to exalt") were described as lustrous beings, "burning" with divine love. Hence Milton calls them "fiery seraphim", "bright seraphim" etc. The cherubim had a wondrous power of vision, cf. Ezek. 10:12, for which reason Milton assigns to them the duty of keeping watch,

"the Cerubim ... stood armed ...

To their night-watches in warlike parade." Bk. IV 780.

The archangels were, as their name implies, the chief messengers of the Almighty and the intermediaries between God and man.

References to angels are very numerous in the Bible but by name it mentions only two, Michael and Gabriel. The for-
mer is the great leader of the heavenly host, Rev. 12:7, "And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon." As such Milton also presented him. The latter, Gabriel, also appears in Paradise Lost as a martial spirit. He is sent to guard Paradise and to take Satan to task. This is contrary to the Biblical presentation, where he always appears as a peaceful emissary of God, e.g., to announce the birth of John, the Baptist, and of Christ. Raphael, who in the poem is sent by God to warn Adam and relates the story of the revolt in heaven and of the creation, is introduced to us in these words:

"Raphael, the sociable spirit, that deigned
To travel with Tobias, and secured
His marriage with the seven-times wedded maid."
Bk. V 221-223.

No mention is made of him in the Bible. The account, to which Milton refers, is found in the apocryphal book of Tobit. The name Abdiel, applied in the poem to the angel, who alone of all those subject to Lucifer dared to oppose his leader's plans, is found in a genealogy, 1 Chron. 5:15, as that of a descendant of Gad. By derivation it means, "a servant of God."

Uriel, the regent of the Sun, bears a name which is also found in the above-mentioned genealogy, 1 Chron. 6:24. Its meaning is, "fire of God", which makes it well suited to the character and office of the angel. Ariel, "a lion of God"; Uzziel, "strength of God"; Ithuriel, "the discovery of God"; Zephon, "a looking out"; are other names chosen because of their appropriate connotations.

In the case of the fallen angels it was again medieval tradition that supplied him with the idea of identifying the
fallen angels with heathen deities. It is singularly appropriate, however, that Milton chose for his catalogue of devil princes, those heathen deities with whom the Israelites came in contact and by whose worship they were led astray. In his description of these various leaders and the worship accorded them, Bk. I 392-505, he follows Holy Writ very closely. The first to be mentioned is Moloch, the God of the Ammonites, of whom the Bible tells in 1 Kings 11:7 and Jer. 32:35. The reference to Chemosh, "the obscure dread of Moab's sons, Peor his other name", is taken from Numb. 25:3,5,9, and 2 Kings 23. Baalim and Ashtaroth, the next mentioned, were Phoenician Gods by whose worship the Israelites often defiled themselves. The reference to Solomon's sin in this respect is to 1 Kings 11:5, where we read that he "went after Ashtaroth, the Goddess of the Zidonians." The interesting bit about the worship of Thammuz is based on Ezek. 8:14. The account of the Philistine God Dagon and the arc of the covenant is found in 1 Sam. 5. Rimmon, the Syrian deity worshipped by Naaman, the leper, is found mentioned in 2 Kings 5. Osiris, Isis, and Orus and their train are Egyptian deities worshipped by Israel at Mt. Sinai, Ex. 32. The reference to Jeroboam is found in 1 Kings 12:20, 28, 29. The last of the leaders in this catalogue is Belial. His description includes references to Eli's sons, 1 Sam. 2:12, as well as to incidents which the Bible records in Gen. 19 and Judges 19. Mammon and Beelzebub, not included in this catalogue, are treated separately. The former, really an abstract word meaning wealth, seems to be personified in Mat. 6:24, "Ye cannot serve both God and Mammon," while the latter name
is applied in Matth. 16:24 to the"prince of devils". For
nearly all of his angels, the good and the bad, Milton has
drawn the names and descriptions from the Bible and he has
succeeded in giving each of them a distinct and complete
personality.

Man, i.e., Adam and Eve, are likewise treated in a Bib­
lical way. Their creation, their employment, their life in
the garden are all in conformity with the account in Genesis.
Even the relation which Milton pictures as existing be­
tween Adam and Eve, as husband and wife, --

Eve says: "my author and disposer, what thou bidd'st
Unargued I obey. So God ordains:
God is thy law, thou mine; to know no more
Is woman's happiest knowledge and her praise," —
Bk. IV 635-638.

even that is entirely Biblical, and we need not look far to
find parallels in Scripture; e.g. Eph. 5:22, "Wives submit
yourselves unto your own husbands as unto the Lord." IPeter
3:1, "Likewise, ye wives, be in subjection to your own hus­
bands." But, when Milton has Adam say,

"For well I understand in the prime end
Of nature her the inferior, in the mind
And inward faculties, which most excel,"
Bk VIII 540-542.

he makes a statement for which no definite Scriptural basis
can be found.

There are two more characters to be mentioned, the alle­
gorical characters, Sin and Death. Whatever opinions we
may hold regarding their appropriateness in an epic poem,
they certainly add to the interest and their Biblical source
is clear, for James writes in the first chapter of his epistle, "Then when Lust hath conceived, it bringeth forth sin; and sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death." The conception of these characters and their origin is very definitely suggested in this verse.
B. The Literary Use of Biblical Material.

Another important influence of the Bible on Milton's literary work we shall discuss under the head of his use of Biblical Material. A perusal of his minor poems reveals certain Biblical themes which seem to have had a special appeal to the poet. A favorite among these was the description of Paradisaic bliss. We find such descriptions in a whole series of poems beginning with the Latin elegy, "Obitum Praesulis Wintoniensis," continuing in "Lycidas," and the "Epitaphium Damonis," and finally culminating in the detailed accounts of the garden of Eden in Paradise Lost. Influential in turning men's thoughts to the life to come was the great plague which swept Europe at the time.

A very prominent characteristic of all Milton's work is the prolific use of Biblical comparisons and illustrations, a use which is always appropriate and effective. Thus in Elegy I, addressed to Young who had been obliged to leave England and was at the time serving the English church at Hamburg, Milton refers to other preachers of the word, to Elijah, Paul, Jesus, as victims of unjust persecutions and requests his former tutor to apply to himself the words of Ps. 136, assuring him that the Lord of Hosts, the defender of Zion, will also stand at his side in the battle. Another example of such comparisons that came so readily to Milton's pen is found in the "Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester,"

" Whilst thou, bright saint, high sitt'st in glory,
Next her, much like to thee in story,
That fair Syrian Shepherdess,
Who, after years of barrenness,
The highly-favored Joseph bore
To him that served for her before,
And at her next birth, much like thee,
Through pangs fled to felicity."

The prose works also contain numerous instances of such Biblical illustration. In the prose tract, Of Reformation in England, he speaks of priests' degrading the Sabbath day "with earnest endeavor pushed forward to gaming, jigging, wassailing, and mixed dancing," and continues: "Thus did the reprobate hireling priest Balaam seek to subdue the Israelites to Moab, if not by force, then by this devilish policy, to draw them from the sanctuary of God to the luxurious and ribald feasts of Baal-Peor." (1) And a little further on in the same tract: "As for the fogging proctorage of money, with such an eye as struck Gehasi with leprosy and Simon Magus with a curse, so does she look, and so threaten her fiery whip against that banking den of thieves." (2)

(2) Ibid., p. 414.

The Sonnet, "To a Virtuous Young Lady," is a very interesting example of the use of Biblical illustration as well as the terminology and imagery of Scripture,

"The better part with Mary and with Ruth
Chosen thou hast ....
Therefore be sure ....
Thou when the bridegroom with his feastful friends
Passes to bliss at the mid-hour of night,
Hast gained thy entrance, Virgin wise and pure."

As is to be expected, however, the greatest number of allusions to Scripture, illustrations and comparisons, uses of Biblical terminology and imagery, are to be found in the great Biblical epics. We shall discuss, with occasional references to other passages, the seventh book of Paradise Lost, the book which contains the account of the creation. Our purpose will not be to show the great similarity existing between this account and the first two chapters of Genesis,—although this word for word resemblance is most instrumental in giving to the epic its distinctly Biblical color,—but to point out how practically all the supplementary material, that Milton uses, is based on allusions to verses of Scripture.

When, in the opening lines of Book Seven, Milton addresses the Muse, Urania,

"heavenly born,
Before the hills appeared or fountain flowed,
Thou with eternal wisdom didst converse,
Wisdom, thy sister." 7-10.

he is apparently identifying this muse of classical mythology with "Prudence" mentioned in Proverbs 8:12, 23, 24; "I wisdom dwell with prudence, and find out knowledge of witty inventions.... I was set up from everlasting, from the beginning, or ever the earth was. When there were no depths, I was brought forth; when there were no fountains abounding with water."
Even where he speaks of himself,

"On evil days though fallen, and evil tongues,
In darkness, and with dangers compassed round." 26-27.

he uses Biblical phraseology, Hebr. 5:2, "for that he himself also is compassed with infirmity."

The name of Raphael, "the affable archangel," 40-41, and his characterization, are taken, as has been pointed out, from the apocryphal book of Tobit, while the expression "the peace of God" in the line: "And war so near the peace of God in bliss", 1. 55, is derived from the blessings in Paul's epistles, e.g. Phil. 4:7, "And the peace of God, which passeth all understanding etc."

The very next lines,

"but the evil soon
Driven back, redounded as a flood on those
From whom it sprung." 56-58.

probably allude to Ps. 34:21, "Evil shall slay the wicked."

The reference to the Sun in Adam's speech,

"And the great light of day yet wants to run
Much of his race, though steep." 98-99.

as well as later references to the same thought, are based on that beautiful description in Ps. 19:5,6, "...the sun, which is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, and rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race. His going forth is from the ends of the heaven, and his circuit unto the ends of it."

The description of Lucifer as"brighter once...than that star the stars among," 1. 132, is taken from Isa. 14:12, quoted in an earlier chapter, while the warning of Raphael that Adam should not let "his inventions hope things not revealed."
... to none communicable in earth or heaven," expresses the thought contained in Rev. 5:3, "No man in heaven was able to open the book."

Regarding the work of Creation we read;

"Immediate are the acts of God, more swift
Than time or motion, but to human ears
Cannot without process of speech be told,
So told as earthly notion can receive,"

a thought which Milton derives from Ps. 33, which being a Psalm of praise of God's work in creation, says in v. 9,
"For he spake and it was done; he commanded, and it stood fast." The remainder of the quotation is interesting in that it throws light on Milton's attitude toward the account in Genesis. He would not require a literal interpretation of the six days of creation but looked upon the narrative as another adaptation of things divine to human comprehension.

When the plans of creation were announced in heaven, we read;

"Great triumph and rejoicing were in heaven."

This line is taken directly from Job 38:7, "All the sons of God shouted for joy." Their song,

"Glory they sung to the Most High, good will
To future men, and in their dwelling peace-
Glory to him whose just avenging ire
Had driven out the ungodly from his sight
And the habitations of the just."

is based on Luke 2:14, the angels' song on the fields of Beth-
lehem at the occasion of Christ's birth, and on Ps. 1:5, "The ungodly shall not stand in the judgement, not sinners in the congregation of the righteous."

The interesting description of the chariots of God, "and chariots winged
From the armoury of God, where stand of old
Myriads, between two brazen mountains lodged
Against a solemn day, harnessed at hand,
Celestial equippage." 198-203.

is taken from Zech. 6:1, "And behold there came four chariots out from between two mountains; and the mountains were mountains of brass." And when the poem continues;

"and now came forth
Spontaneous, for within them Spirit lived,
Attendant on their Lord." 203-205.

the allusion is to Ezech. 1:21, where the prophet says of the wheels in his vision, "Whithersoever the spirit was to go, they went,... for the spirit of the living creatures was in the wheels."

A more complete description of this celestial equippage Milton gives us in the account of the war in heaven, where it greatly enhances the poetic effect. He is telling of Christ's preparations to enter the battle against Satan;

"Forth rushed with whirlwind sound
The chariot of Paterhal Deity,
Flashing thick flames, wheel within wheel;
undrawn,
Itself instinct with spirit, but convoyed
By four cherubic shapes. Four faces each
Had wondrous; as with stars their bodies all
And wings were set with eyes; with eyes the wheels
Of beryl, and careering fires between;
Over their heads a crystal firmament,
Whereon a saphire throne, inlaid with pure
Amber and colours of the showery arch."
Bk. VI 749-759.

This most interesting description is taken entirely from the first chapter of Ezechiel. I shall quote only the parallel verses: "Behold a whirlwind came out of the north, a great cloud, and a fire infolding itself...as the color of amber.... And out of the midst thereof came four living creatures... And every one had four faces and every one had four wings.... Now as I beheld the living creatures, behold one wheel upon the earth by the living creatures... The appearance of the wheels and their work was like unto the colour of beryl... as it were a wheel in the middle of a wheel. ...and the rings were full of eyes round about them four. ...And the likeness of the firmament upon the heads of the living creatures was as the colour of terrible crystal... And above the firmament was the likeness of a throne, as the appearance of a saphire stone,... as the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain."

The next lines,
"Heaven opened wide
Her ever-during gates, harmonious sound
On golden hinges moving, to let forth
The King of Glory." 205-209.
immediately call to mind Ps. 24:7, "Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors; and the King of Glory shall come in."
And then comes that highly anthropomorphic account of the work of Christ in laying the foundations of the world, all of which is derived, however, from Scriptural allusions.

"and in his hands

He took the golden compasses, prepared
In God's eternal store to circumscribe
This universe, and all created things."

The allusion is to Proverbs 8:27, "When he prepared the heavens... when he set a compass upon the face of the depths," together with numerous other, more general, references to the creation, e.g., Isa. 48:13, "My hand also hath laid the foundations of the earth, and my right hand hath spanned the heavens."

For the line, "And earth, self-balanced, on her centre hung," 1. 242, he follows Job 26:7, "He stretcheth out the north over the empty place, and hangeth the earth upon nothing," while the thought,

"for yet the Sun

Was not; she in cloudy tabernacle
Sojourned the while." 247-249.

is an unusual application of Psalm 19:4, "In them hath he set a tabernacle for the Sun, Which is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber etc." (see reference above)

In describing the plants that sprang forth in obedience to Christ's command, Milton mentions the gourd,

"forth crept the smelling gourd." 321.

The selection of this particular plant is explained, no doubt, by its mention in Jonah 4:6, "And the Lord prepared a gourd, and made it to come up over Jonah." The
same is true, in the case of the animals, of the "Leviathan",
"There Leviathan,
Hugest of living creatures on the deep,"
412-413.

which animal is mentioned in Job 41:1 "Canst thou draw out Leviathan with a hook?" The book of Job also mentions "Behemoth," Ch. 40: 15,19, "Behold now Behemoth, which I made with thee; .... He is the chief of the ways of God." Milton describes him as follows;

"scarce from his mould
Behemoth, biggest born of earth, upheaved
His vastness."
470-472.

As for the other animals listed and described in this connection, which are not found mentioned or especially emphasised in Scripture, Dunster has found the source for their selection and treatment in Sylvester's translation of Bu Bartas, Divine Weeks and Works, known to have been one of the early books with which the boy Milton came in contact. As has often happened in a study of this kind, however, Dunster has been led to greatly overemphasize the importance of this source, attempting to make it the prime source of the epic. (3)

(3) Dunster, The Prima Stamina of Paradise Lost.

The realistic account of the waters being "gathered into one place,"

"Thither they
Hasted with glad precipitance uprowled...

For haste; such flight the great command
impressed
On the swift floods. As armies at the call
Of trumpet (for of armies thou hast heard)
Troop to their standard, so the watery throng,
Wave rowling after wave, where way they found—""
290-291, 294, 298.

is a direct allusion to Psalm 104: 6-7, "The waters
stood above the mountains. At thy rebuke they fled; at
the voice of thy thunder they hasted away."

The picture of the ant in ll. 484-489 is taken from
Proverbs 6: 6-8 and 30: 24-25.

"First crept
The parsimonious Emmet, provident
Of future, in small room large heart enclosed,-
Pattern of just equality perhaps
Hereafter - joined in her popular tribes
Of commonalty."

Proverbs 6: 6-8, "Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her
ways and be wise: Which having no guide, overseer, or ruler,
provideth her meat in the summer and gathereth her fruit
in the harvest." 30: 24-25, "There be four things which are
little upon the earth, but they are exceeding wise: The
ants are a people not strong, yet they prepare their meat
in the summer."

In telling of the songs of praise to the creator, Christ,

"The Earth, the Air
Resounded (thou remember'st for thou heard'st)
The heavens and all the constellations rung." 560-562.

Milton quotes Ps. 19:1, "The heavens declare the glory of
God; the firmament sheweth his handiwork." The contents of
the song of the attendant angels,

"Open ye everlasting gates, they sung;
Open, ye heavens, your living doors! let in
The great Creator," 565-567.

of course, is taken from Ps. 24:7 ff., already quoted.

The lines,

"To God's eternal house direct the way-
A broad and ample road, whose dust is gold,
And pavement stars," 576-578.

were suggested by the description of the New Jerusalem in Rev, 21:21, "and the street of the city was pure gold, as it were transparent glass," while the opening words of the song of praise which the angels address to God on the seventh day and with which Raphael ends his account of the creation,

"Great are thy works, Jehovah! infinite
Thy power!" 602-603.

bring to mind, among other passages, Rev. 15:3, "Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord, God Almighty!"

Before ending this discussion of Paradise Lost, we shall refer to one more phase of Milton's work, namely, his description of the angels. The most complete is that of Raphael in Book V:

"A seraph winged. Six wings he wore, to shade
His lineaments divine: the pair that clad
Each shoulder broad came mantling o'er his breast
With regal ornament; the middle pair
Girt like a starry zone his waist, and round
Skirted his loins and thighs with downy gold
And colours dipt in heaven; the third his feet
Shadowed from either heel with feathered mail,

Another interesting thought regarding the angels, i.e. that even they must veil their eyes at sight of the resplendent glory of God is brought out in two other passages. The first is in the angelic song of praise with which the angels receive the announcement of God's eternal plan of creation and salvation of the world;

"The, Father, first they sung, Omnipotent, ....
Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appear,
Yet dazzle heaven, that brightest Seraphim
Approach not, but with both wings veil their eyes" Bk. III 372, 380-382.

The other is in Bk. V, where Raphael has just been entrusted with the mission of warning Adam and Eve of their danger,

"Nor delayed the winged saint
After his charge received; but from among
Thousand celestial Ardours, where he stood
Veiled with his gorgeous wings, upspringing light,
Flew through the midst of heaven." Bk. V 247-251.

All of these passages are based, primarily, on Isa. 6:1-4,

"In the year that king Uzziah died I saw also the Lord sitting upon a throne, high and lifted up, and his train filled the temple. Above it stood the seraphims: each one had six wings; with twain he covered his face, and with twain he covered his feet, and with twain he did fly. And one cried unto another, and said, Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts: the whole earth is full of his glory. And the posts of the
door moved at the voice of him that cried, and the house was filled with smoke."

The last two quotations from *Paradise Lost* were made, especially, because of the unwarranted use which Mutschmann has made of them in attempting to prove Milton an albino. He says, "Das Beschatten der Augen mit der Hand oder dem Unterarm, das der Albino zum Schutze gegen die Lichtwirkung uebt, scheint seinen Niederschlag gefunden zu haben in der Beschreibung der Engel, die nicht ohne ihre Augen mit den Fluegeln zu schuetzen, dem strahlenden Throne der Gottheit nahen." (4) But why, we ask, shouldn't Milton, in describing the angels, turn to the most complete description which the Bible affords, Isa, 6:1-4? And why should he not, Albino or no Albino, include the most interesting part of that description, namely, the thought that the angels are obliged to shield their eyes with their wings whenever they approach the throne of God? What Mutschmann has proved by this citation is not that Milton is an albino, but that he was possessed of a better knowledge of, and a greater ability to use, his principle source, the Bible, than is Mr. Mutschmann.

(4) Heinrich Mutschmann, "Milton und das Licht", - Bei-

What we have here, is merely another case of most effective Biblical allusion. It is by his singularly appropriate practice of not only following his immediate Scriptural source, in the case of Book VII the first two chapters of Genesis, practically word for word, but of choosing all his illustrative material, all his phrases and expressions from the pages
of Holy Writ, that Milton achieves that Biblical color which is so prominent and adds so much to the effect.

Such a study, as that Just presented, proves once and for all, if that were still necessary, how very incorrect is the dictum of the French critic, Lamartine, who characterized Paradise Lost as the dream of a Puritan poet, fallen asleep over the first pages of the Bible. Even this seventh Book, the story of which is, indeed, taken from the first two chapters of Genesis, contains an abundance of material from various other books of the Bible. The whole Bible, from cover to cover, was Milton's source for Paradise Lost. Just as the poem presents the whole history of salvation, not only the fall, but, in the promised Messiah, also the salvation, so its source is found, not only in Genesis, but in all the books of Scripture. Paradise Lost is a truly Biblical poem in contents, in spirit, in imagery, and in terminology.

What has been said of Paradise Lost is true in an eminent degree also of Paradise Regained. The primary source for this poem is found in the gospel according to St. Matthew, ch. 4:1-11, with its parallel; and again we observe that Milton has embodied the very words of the Biblical account in his poem. Thus in the third temptation, which Milton has placed second, Satan says:

"The kingdoms of the world, to thee I give... On this condition, if thou wilt fall down, And worship me..." Bk. IV 163, 166-167.

And in Christ's answer,

"It is written, The first of all commandments, 'Thou shalt worship The Lord, thy God, and only him shalt serve; ..."
Get thee behind me! " ... Bk. IV 175-177, 193.

In addition to Milton's own amplification, often so elaborate as to be quite out of harmony with the stirringly simple narration of the event in Scripture, the original is expanded by numerous allusions to various passages of Holy Writ. Thus in answering Satan's first attack Christ refers to Moses and Elijah,

"In the mount
Moses was forty days, nor eat nor drank;
And forty days Elijah without food
Wandered this barren waste; the same now."

Bk. I 351-354.

The incidents referred to are found recorded in Ex. 24:18 and 1Kings 19:8, respectively. The frequent reference of Satan to Scriptural precedence and his quotation of Biblical verses are entirely in accord with the Bible story. He says, in defence of himself, that God had,

"outsafed his voice
To Balaam reprobate, a prophet yet
Inspired: disdain not such access to me."

Bk. I 490-492.

The allusion is to the story of Balaam found in Numb. 22. Many of the speeches of Christ contain statements which he made later in the course of his teaching. Christ says;

"Deservedly thou griev'st, composed of lies
From the beginning, and in lies wilt end."

Bk. I 407-408.

The speech is taken from John 8:44, where Christ says to the Pharisees, "ye are of your father, the devil... When he speakest a lie he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar and the father of it."
When Christ describes his own future kingdom,

"know, therefore, when my season comes to sit

On David's throne, it shall be like a tree

Spreading and overshadowing all the earth,"

Bk. IV 146-148.

the thought is taken from the parable of the mustard seed,
Mark 4: 30-32. Perhaps the most interesting allusion in the
whole poem, however, occurs at the very end, where Milton
says of the ministrations of the angels, they

"set before him spread

A table of celestial food, divine
Ambrosial fruits fetched from the Tree of Life
And from the F-ount of Life ambrosial drink,

That soon refreshed him wearied."

Bk. IV 587-591.

For this thought Milton is indebted to the book of Revelation
ch. 2:7, "To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the
tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God."

In his tragedy, Samson Agonistes, Milton's practice, as
regards the use of Scripture, is much the same as in his other
poems, except that the references to Scriptures, other than
his immediate source, are fewer in number. The story of the
drama is based on the lengthy account of the life and deeds
of Samson recorded in Judges 13-16. To this account Milton
has added the character of Harapha, the product of his own
imagination. The name is formed from the Hebrew word for
giant, הָיָךְ, 2 Sam. 21:16. While the action of the tragedy
itself covers only the last morning of Samson's life, ending
with the marvellous manifestation of returned strength by
means of which he destroys the Philistine temple and all his feasting enemies, all the events connected with his birth and early life are utilised in the various speeches of Samson, his father Manoah, Dalila, and the chorus.

Of the few allusions to other passages of Scripture we shall point out the reference, 11. 277-289, to the stories of Gideon and Jephtha, Judges 6 and 12, respectively, the mention in Dalila's speech, by way of comparison, of Jael,

"Jael who with inhospitable guile,
Smote Sisera sleeping, through the temples nailed,"

found in Judges 4, and the words which Samson addresses to Jehovah,

"God of our fathers! what is man,
That thou toward him with hand so various–...
Temper'et thy providence through his short course."

which are quite obviously drawn from Ps. 8:4, "What is man, that thou art mindful of him; and the son of man, that thou visitest him?"

The subject of Samson was one that appealed very strongly to the aged Milton. Like the hero of his tragedy, Milton had seen all that he had striven to accomplish through many years of his life topple in ruin about him and furthermore, like Samson, he was a broken man in body and spirit, robbed of his eyesight and hounded by his enemies. This subject gave him the opportunity to give free reign to his troubled thoughts and to exercise his trust in God and his justice.

Chorus: "Just are the ways of God,
And justifiable to men,
Unless there be who think not God at all
If any be, they walk obscure." 293-296.
C. The Influence of Biblical Form.

We have seen how Milton drew his characters as well as the bulk of his material from the Bible. There remains to be discussed, how his chief material source, the Bible, also influenced him in respect to form. Although, as we have indicated in our first chapter, the art of the ancient Greeks and Romans was and, in all probability, remained his model and ideal, he valued certain books of Scripture very highly as examples of literary art. The judgment regarding Scriptural models given in that most interesting autobiographical section of the Reason of Church Government has already been alluded to, but we shall repeat it here a little more fully. "Time serves not now...to give any certain account of what the mind at home... hath liberty to propose to herself, though of highest hope and hardest attempting; whether that epic form whereof the two poems of Homer and those other two of Virgil and Tasso, are a diffuse, and the book of Job a brief model....The Scripture also affords us a divine pastoral drama in the Song of Solomon, consisting of two persons, and a double chorus, as Origen rightly judges. And the Apocalypse of St. John is the majestic image of a high and stately tragedy, shutting up and intermingling her solemn scenes and acts with a sevenfold chorus of hallelujahs and harping symphonies." (1)


The book of Scripture that seems to have had the greatest artistic appeal for Milton was the one which he termed a brief epic, the book of Job. So strong was this appeal that he
modelled his shorter epic, *Paradise Regained*, after it. Regarding the latter, it must seem strange to us, at first sight, that Milton chose for this poem, the purpose of which is to portray how Christ, the "second Adam", won again for mankind all the happiness which the first Adam had lost in Eden, the subject of the temptation in the wilderness. Why the temptation and not the death on Calvary, by means of which the salvation was fully accomplished?

Mutschmann says: "Den Opfertod Christi haette Milton nicht darstellen koennen; es fehlte ihm dazu gaenzlich die Faehigkeit, sich einzufuehlen .... Ein Mensch, der fuer andere den Sklaventod stirbt,... war fuer Milton etwas Unbegreifliches." (2) Such an evaluation of Milton's faith is obviously false. If this were true of Milton he could not have written the "Nativity Ode," "Circumcision," parts of *Paradise Lost*, and the pertinent sections of *DE DOCTRINA CHRISTIANA*. The reason for his choice of subject for *Paradise Regained* is not to be found in Milton's convictions or temperament at all, but is a purely literary one. *Paradise Regained* was intended by its author as a brief epic, modelled directly after the Biblical example of the book of Job. For such treatment the incident of Christ's temptation was admirably suited, being a perfect parallel to the temptation of Job, while its selection for this purpose was justified by the circumstance, that, in rejecting the suggestions of Satan, Christ abandoned all else and dedicated himself sole-
ly to the task of saving mankind in the way that God's eternal decree had specified. The angels' song, with which the poem ends, closes with the words,

"On thy glorious work
Now enter, and begin to save mankind."
Bk. IV 634-635.

In treating of Paradise Regained it is quite natural to compare it with Milton's long epic and to apply to it all the rules of classic epic poetry. Such criticism, however, does not do justice to the poem, as it was never intended to fulfill all these requirements. If we would judge it fairly, we must compare it with that poem after which it was obviously patterned, the book of Job. The resemblance between these two poems is striking. In the first place, their subject matter is similar. Both poems treat of temptations, temptations in which Satan, though employing different means, exerts all his craft and guile to accomplish the downfall of his opponents; and in both cases he is unsuccessful. That Milton had the book of Job continually in mind appears from the frequency of reference to it. Thus God, the Father, speaking of Satan, says,

"He might have learnt
Less overweening, since he failed in Job
Whose constant perseverance overcame
Whate'er his cruel malice could invent."
Bk. I 146-149.

Again, Satan, referring to himself,

"I came among the sons of God, when he
Gave up into my hands Uzzean Job."
Bk. I 368-369.

In his answer to him Christ says,
"What but thy malice moved thee to misdeem
Of righteous Job ... but his patience won."
Bk. I 424-426.

And in Book Three there are two more references, 11. 63-70, and 92-95.

Furthermore, in both poems there is very little action, both consisting almost exclusively of dialogue, in the case of the book of Job, between the suffering Job and his wife and three friends consecutively; in Paradise Regained, between Christ and Satan in his different appearances. Corresponding to the limited action, there are also, in both epics, very few characters. Besides the chief actors, the book of Job mentions, as incidental to the story, Job's seven sons and three daughters and God and his angels in heaven. In his poem Milton mentions, besides Christ and Satan, only his mother, his disciples, and, at the end of the poem, the angels. The council of the fallen angels is referred to but only Belial is mentioned by name and made to speak. The great settings also which characterised Paradise Lost, where heaven and earth were his stage, are in the shorter epic conspicuously lacking. In this respect also he is quite in accord with his model.

By thus comparing the poem with its model, bearing in mind the author's purpose in composing it, we find that many of the things which have been criticised as its gravest faults no longer appear as such and our appreciation of the work increases. At the same time, however, such a comparison reveals shortcomings in Milton's work wherein it falls far short of the parent epic. It lacks, especially, the interest of the latter, a lack due, for the most part, to the almost total ab-
sence of suspense. We know from the beginning, or almost
the beginning, of the poem what the outcome of the struggle
between Christ and Satan will be. When Christ, after the
first temptation, unmasks Satan,

"Why dost thou, then, suggest to me distrust,
Knowing who I am, as I know who thou art?"
Bk. I 355-356.

we know that the "Arch-fiend undisguised" is not going to
prevail against the Son of God; all suspense is lost, and
our interest flags in consequence.

The second fault we would point out derives from the
circumstance that Milton was obliged to amplify greatly
the material which he found in his source, the gospel account.
In this his amplification of the original story he is not
always as judicious as he was in Paradise Lost. The part of
the story which received the greatest expansion is that
which tells of the second temptation, of which the gospel
merely says, "And the devil sheweth him all the kingdoms of
the world, and the glory of them." Milton, however, devotes
the major portion of the whole poem to it, presenting it
in several progressive stages. He has Satan depict the power
of wealth as a means of satisfying physical appetite and as a
means of accomplishing his work as the Messiah, as a means of
securing worldly fame and material power, and finally, as that
temptation which in Milton's eyes was the greatest that the
world had, he has Satan picture the culture and learning of
ancient Greece. Hanford sees in these temptations of Christ
a universal appeal. While for Christ all Satan's elaborate
ttempts represent no temptation at all, interpreted sym-
bolically they represent a universal experience of mankind. "The poem," he says, "is a majestic piece of symbolism, expressing in objective and historical terms a subjective and universal content." (3) If that was Milton's plan and purpose,


he has, as the authority for such treatment, the verse of Scripture, Hebr. 4:15, "For we have not an high-priest which cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities; but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin."

Nevertheless, we cannot help but feel that the description of the feast, with which the second temptation begins, (4)

(4) That this feast represents a phase of the second temptation, and not a repetition of the first, has been shown by A.H. Gilbert, "The Temptation in Paradise Regained - Journal of English and Germanic Philology, 1916."

is very much out of place,

"A table richly spread in regal mode,
With dishes piled and meats of noblest sort
And savour - beasts of chase or fowl of game,
In pastry built, or from the spit, or boiled,
Grisamber-steamed .... distant more,
Under the trees now tripped, now solemn stood,
Nymphs of Diana's train, and Naiades ... And all the while harmonious airs were heard."


By such inappropriate amplifications Milton loses the ef-
fect of majestic simplicity which is such a marked characteristic of the Scriptural account.

Lord Macaulay has given a just evaluation of the poem, "That Milton was mistaken in preferring this work, excellent as it is, to the Paradise Lost, we readily admit. But we are sure that the superiority of the Paradise Lost to the Paradise Regained is not more decided, than the superiority of the Paradise Regained to every poem which has since made its appearance." (5)

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