PARADISE REGAINED
A Poem
by
John Milton
with NOTES of various Authors,
by
CHARLES DUNSTER, M.A.

Here nobly pensive, Milton sat & thought.

LONDON
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PARADISE REGAINED,

A POEM,

IN FOUR BOOKS,

BY JOHN MILTON.

A NEW EDITION,
WITH NOTES OF VARIOUS AUTHORS,

BY CHARLES DUNSTER, M.A.

TO

THE RIGHT HONORABLE

GEORGE, EARL OF EGREMONT,

THIS EDITION

OF THE

PARADISE REGAINED

IS,

WITH SINCERE RESPECT, REGARD, AND GRATITUDE

INSCRIBED

BY

HIS MUCH OBLIGED AND FAITHFUL SERVANT,

CHARLES DUNSTER.
PREFACE.

The present publication originates in an opinion, (which perhaps begins to prevail,) that the Paradise Regained of our great English poet has never had justice done it either by critics or commentators. As it has been generally and unjustly under-rated, so it has been negligently and scantily illustrated. Bp. Newton, though an excellent scholar, was not, it has been said *, in every respect qualified for an Editor of Milton. His edition of the Paradise Lost is however an able work; and has been most acceptable to the public. But his edition of our Author’s other poems bears evident marks of haste: that of the Paradise Regained in particular is extremely imperfect. Much here remained to be done. Hopes were entertained that the late Mr. Warton, whose eminence in every branch of criticism so peculiarly qualified him for the office, would have undertaken both the Paradise Regained and the Samson Agonistes. But that hope, (it is much to be regretted,) is no more: and, by an

unfortunate accident *, the Editor is precluded from the possibility of benefiting by the collections which Mr. Warton had made for that purpose.

To rescue in some degree from neglect and oblivion, (by more ample illustration than it has hitherto received,) a poem, of which the great Author himself thought so highly, is the object of the present attempt; which, it is hoped, may not be unacceptable, at least to the admirers of Milton. At all events the pains of the Editor have not been without their recompence, in the very great pleasure which he has found from a closer examination of a poem replete with that species of intrinsic beauty, which, though it may not allure and fascinate at the first glance, is certain, when attentively considered, to engage and rivet the admiration.

Of the notes given in Bp. Newton's edition, the greater part are here retained; some are omitted, and some are

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* On being informed of this work, Dr. Joseph Warton, with that liberality which generally attends superior attainments in literature, was perfectly disposed to have honoured me with the communication of his own and his late brother's remarks on the Paradise Regained. But the interleaved Milton, in which they were contained, on the removal of his books and papers from Winchester, was unfortunately lost or mislaid; so that, after the trouble of much search for it, he was prevented from accomplishing his benevolent intentions towards me.—Interleaved Miltons, in proportion to their value, seem doomed to unfortunate accidents. That of Mr. Thyer, (the very respectable auxiliary of Bp. Newton in his Paradise Lost,) was dropped upon the road by the carrier: and the very able notes, supplied by that gentleman, were furnished only from his recollection of what he had long before written.
considerably curtailed; the name of the author is always subjoined. Where any thing has been gleaned from the excellent edition of the Juvenile Poems, or from any other printed work, it is generally attributed to the writer from whom the remark is taken: when this is omitted, it is entirely accidental.—The Editor is accountable to but few persons for the favour of assistance. To one gentleman his obligations are indeed so considerable, that it might be difficult for him to state the extent of them with any degree of accuracy; but this is so far from being necessary, that he is not at liberty to mention the name of the friend to whom he is so materially indebted.

The Reader, when he first casts his eye over the following work, may perhaps incline to think that the citations from Milton's other poems are too abundant; and that many passages, not absolutely material, particularly from the Paradise Lost, have been transfused into the notes, so as to swell them unnecessarily. It is however hoped that none are given but what have some sort of tendency to illustrate the poem; and that, however they may be numerous, they will, on consideration, be found to have their use. In the excellent Observations on the Faery Queen it is justly said, that "to produce an Author's imitations of himself" is particularly useful in the three following respects: it discovers his favourite images; it teaches us how variously he expresses
expresses the same thought; and it often explains difficult passages and words.

It may also be observed respecting this poem, that where we find the poet palpably referring to his greater work, it is either to some passage so eminently beautiful, as well to deserve being pointed out, or to some part, which seemed to look forward to future elucidation. Indeed the Paradise Regained is so necessary a sequel to the Paradise Lost, that we cannot but imagine that Milton, when he wrote the one, was not without an intention, (though not perhaps of writing the other exactly in the form, in which we now see it,) of producing something of the kind for the purpose of completing his subject. Accordingly the two poems mutually coincide with, and admirably illustrate, each other; while they comprehend the whole of an argument the most interesting that can be to human beings,—to fallen and redeemed creatures.
TO THE

EARL OF EGREMONT.

The theme divine, in Chalfont's sheltering bower
Which the immortal Bard essay'd to sing,
Striking with master-hand his deep-toned singing,
What time the wrath of Heaven's almighty power
It's vengeful shafts of pestilence bad shower
On the proud city,—unto thee I bring,
Patron and Friend! from whom the blessings spring
Of "letter'd ease," that wing my heavier hour:
Then, while these calm sequester'd shades among
I meditate on Milton's hallow'd page,
In reverence rapt of his high poesy,
And to each charm of his sublimer song
Would rouse the attention of a listless age,
The bold attempt I dedicate to thee.

CHARLES DUNSTER.

New-Grove,
September 20, 1799.

Printed by John Nichols,
Red Lion Passage, Fleet Street.
The reception, which this edition of Milton's Paradise Regained has found from many persons of distinguished taste and literature, far exceeded my most sanguine expectations; and, I must acknowledge, has been highly gratifying to me.——It has also procured me some valuable and very obliging communications tending to illustrate the poem.——On the first appearance of this work, rather more than four years ago, a much-respected friend sent me a valuable proof print of the Temptation, by Salvador Rosa; which furnished the frontispiece now prefixed.——In the course of last summer a gentleman, of much taste in the belles lettres and elegant arts, suggested to me, as an ornament highly appropriate to this edition a view of the house, at Chalfont St. Giles in Buckinghamshire, where Milton resided in the year 1665, while the plague was in London; and where he conceived and composed this poem. An old friend in that neighbourhood procured me two accurate sketches of the premises, and sent me in the kindest manner an exact account of their present state. Mr. De Corte had also the goodnea to oblige me with the use of two admirable drawings, from his peculiarly neat and accurate pencil, made by him on the spot: from one of which the sketch in the title-page is taken.

The plates are from the hand of a young and rising artist, whose friendship I am particularly bound to acknowledge; as it has led him, upon this occasion, to deviate from the immediate line of that profession, in which he promises eminently to distinguish himself.

The frontispiece may serve to illustrate a remark, in p. 55, that "Milton's description of the Desert is worthy the pencil of Salvator." It may, indeed, corroborate the observations of Mr. Hayley and Mr. Walker *, that "the effusions of the pencil, which Milton surveyed in his travels, had a considerable influence on his imagination, and served to enrich his fancy." Salvator was a Neapolitan, and was born between five and six years after Milton. At the time when the latter was at Naples, the former was in his 25th or 26th year; and had then probably acquired his last instructions in painting, in the school of Spagnoletto, in that city. But he had before given many proofs of his eminent talents in design; some of which were on scriptural subjects. By a most spirited drawing, and an historical painting of Hagar and Ishmael, which accidentally fell into the hands of Lanfranc, he recommended himself to the favour and protection of that scientific artist, by whose liberal assistance he was enabled to become a student under Spagnoletto, and to receive instructions from Daniel Falcone, a distinguished Neapolitan battle-painter; at a time when, by the death of his father, he was reduced to much distress, and was obliged to support himself by selling, at a very low price, the numerous hastily productions of his pencil.——If we refer to Milton's description of the tempter's first interview with our blessed Lord, and accurately compare the manner in which the poet and painter have treated the same subject, we cannot but conjecture that the Temptation of the latter must have been known to the Poet of Paradise Regained. If this was not the case, it is an uncommon instance of the coincidence of Genius in the Sister Arts. Salvator, similarly with the poet, has drawn the Son of God in

A pathless desert dawns with horrid shades, B. 7. ver. 296.

and

——— with dark shades and rocks encompass'd round, Ibid. ver. 185.

* See Hayley's Life of Milton, and Walker's Historical Memoir on Italian Tragedy.
to London until "the sickness was over, and the city was well cleansed, and become safely habitable."—Elwood proceeds to inform us, that "when he waited on him afterwards in London, which he seldom failed to do when his occasions led him thither," Milton shewed him his second poem; and "in a pleasent tone," (which to me indicates his own full approbation of his work,) said to him, "This is owing to you, for you put it in my head by the question you put to me at Chalfont; which before I had not thought of." It seems therefore nearly certain, that the whole of the poem was compos'd at Chalfont. As it was conceived with fervor, it was, I doubt not, proceeded in "with eager thought." This was the characteristic of Milton in composition, as may be collected from his letter to his friend Deodat, (September 2, 1637,) where he describes his own temper to be marked with an eagerness to finish whatever he had begun;—"meum sic est ingenium, nulla ut mora, nulla quies, nulla periculo illius rei cura, aut cogitatione dispendio, quod pervadit quod erit, et grandem alium studiorum meorum quod periodum conficiam." EPIST. FAMILIAR. vi. —There is also such a high degree of unity, connexion, and integral perfection in the whole of this second poem, as indicates it to have been the uninterupted work of one season; and, as I would suppose, the exclusive occupation of his divine genius during his residence in Buckinghamshire. To have compos'd the whole of the poem in that time, would require him to produce only about ten lines a day; and many parts are given so perfectly con amore, that I am confident, upon those occasions, he proceeded at a very different rate.—That the Paradise Regained was not publish'd till five years after the time when I suppose it to have been completed, might be the ground on which Mr. Warton considered it as not being then finish'd: and yet many other reasons might be assign'd for its not being printed sooner. Paradise Lost, we know, was finish'd at least two years before it was print'd; and it was not till a year after Milton's return to London from Chalfont, that the contract with Samuel Simons for the copy of it was sign'd, and the first purchase money of five pounds was paid for it. Milton, we find, received the second five pounds two years after; the stipulated number of copies, to entitle him thereto, being then sold. The author probably did not think of going again to the press with his second poem, till he saw the requisite sale of the first accomplish'd. Paradise Regained might also wait for the completion of its companion, the Samson;—a work, which furnishes some internal proofs of its having been compos'd at different periods. In July, 1670, the two poems were licen'd, and were print'd the year following. In 1670 was print'd his History of England: so that Milton was not without his occupations between the time of his return to London, in the spring 1666, and his procuring the licence for printing his Paradise Regained and Samson Agonistes in July 1670.—That he might reviue and correct his brief epic previous to this, is very possible: but that it was compos'd in its first form at Chalfont, I think cannot be doubted. Accordingly I regard the little mansion there with no small degree of veneration, as being exclusively the incunabula of Milton's Paradise Regained. I should approach it as a Tibur or a Tufculum; and should feel myself on classic ground.

Mr. Warton has observed (see note in his Milton, p. xxxii.) that "the house at Chalfont is still standing; small, but pleasantly situated:" which latter circumstance is however not so. The adjacent country is indeed extremely pleasent; but the immediate spot is as little picturesque or pleasing as can be well imagined. Immediately in front of the house, a grave field rises so abruptly as completely to exclude all prospect: and the common road of the village passes by the gate end, adjoining to which is the end of a small dwelling, which runs behind that inhabited by Milton. The mansion, dignified with having been his temporary residence, is thirty-five feet long in front. It consists at present of a kitchen and parlour; besides a little porch, once the entrance, but the door of which is now made up. The parlour, which is on the right hand as you enter, is nearly fourteen feet square, and only between six and seven feet in height; and over it is a bed-chamber, in which the poet
poet is supposed to have slept. Over the little porch is a small, rather projecting, closet, which the present inhabitant of the house shews, as having been the study of a great man,—one Master Milton. The whole of this part of the building, from the ground to the tiling, is barely fourteen feet high. The house fronts nearly south-west. All the premises, including garden and potatoe-ground, do not exceed three roods of land.—Very little alteration appears to have been made in the house since Milton's time; only it seems as if it then consisted of two parlours, and that what is now a small separate tenement, was then a kitchen adjoining. The oldest inhabitant of the parish, a very intelligent man now in his eightieth year, does not remember, nor has ever heard of, any alteration being made in the house; which is the property of Mr. John Anthony, a substantial yeoman of that country, who purchased the premises some years ago.—Under the window over the porch, are the arms of Fleetwood. A branch of the baronet's family of that name was seated at the Vache, in the parish of Chalfont St. Giles, in the middle of the sixteenth century. In the 6th of Elizabeth, Thomas Fleetwood, Esq. of the Vache, was sheriff of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire; and, in the 32d of the same reign, George Fleetwood, Esq. of the Vache, was sheriff of Buckinghamshire: which George Fleetwood, who was afterwards knighted, had a numerous issue, and his seventh son, James, was made Bishop of Worcester after the Reformation. It seems therefore probable, that the house, which Milton inhabited, was built by one of this family, towards the middle of the seventeenth century. —Sir William Fleetwood, who settled at Miflenden Abbey in the same county, eight miles from Chalfont, towards the latter end of the sixteenth century, descended from a younger branch of the same family. —Milton's biographers mention, that at the latter part of his life, "in warm sunny weather, he was habituated to sit at the door of his house; and there, as well as in his room, received the visits of persons of distinguished parts as well as quality." They tell us also, that at times "he was led out into the fields, for the benefit of fresh air." Subject, as he was, to head-ach, fresh air was perhaps frequently necessary to him: and it may be observed, that the summer of 1665 is recorded by Dr. Bynard, a physician who wrote on the plague, to have been distinguished by "such a general calm and serenity of weather, as if both wind and rain had been expelled the kingdom; so that for many weeks together he could not discover a breath of wind." (See Maitland's History of London, p. 288.) —So that, if we consider Milton's own habits, the season of the year when he went to Chalfont, and the peculiar closeness of the atmosphere at that time, together with the lowness of his rooms, we may fancy him sitting much, (like Adam at the door of his bower,) in the old porch or entrance; and we may suppose that this particular spot was probably the immediate scene of his conversation with Elwood, and the place where he not unfrequently meditated his second divine poem.—In contemplating therefore the little mansion at Chalfont St. Giles, I cannot but view its old porch with a certain degree of that enthusiastic reverence, with which Cicero (De Fin. L. v. C. 1.) makes Atticus describe himself as having visited the house where Pythagoras died at Metapontum, and the feast in which he was there accustomed to sit.—For the minute tediosines of this note some excuse should be made;—let the Roman Orator be my advocate, and the sentiments, attributed by him to his accomplished friend, my apology! —"Moveurn necio quo pacto locis ipsis, in quibus eorum, quos diligimus aut admiramus, adiuvit vestigis. Me quidem illis ipsis nostrae Athenae non tam operibus magnificis exquisitisque antiquorum artibus delectant, quam recordatione summorum virorum, ubi quisque habitare, ubi sedere sit solitus; —De Legibus. L. II. C. 2.

April 12, 1800.

C. D.
MAURITANIA
or the Realm of Bocchus
THE

FIRST BOOK

or

PARADISE REGAINED.
ARGUMENT OF BOOK I.

The Subject proposed. Invocation of the Holy Spirit.—The Poem opens with John baptizing at the river Jordan. Jesus coming there is baptized; and is attested, by the descent of the Holy Ghost, and by a voice from Heaven, to be the Son of God. Satan, who is present, upon this immediately flies up into the regions of the air: where, summoning his Infernal Council, he acquaints them with his apprehensions that Jesus is that seed of the woman, destined to destroy all their power, and points out to them the immediate necessity of bringing the matter to proof, and of attempting, by snares and fraud, to counteract and defeat the person, from whom they have so much to dread. This office he offers himself to undertake; and, his offer being accepted, sets out on his enterprise.—In the mean time God, in the assembly of holy Angels, declares that he has given up his Son to be tempted by Satan; but foretells that the Tempter shall be completely defeated by him:—upon which the Angels sing a hymn of triumph. Jesus is led up by the Spirit into the wilderness, while he is meditating on the commencement of his great office of Saviour of Mankind. Pursuing his meditations he narrates, in a soliloquy, what divine and philanthropic impulses he had felt from his early youth, and how his mother Mary, on perceiving these dispositions in him, had acquainted him with the circumstances of his birth, and informed him that he was no less a person than the Son of God; to which he adds what his own enquiries and reflections had supplied in confirmation of this great truth, and particularly dwells on the recent attestation of it at the river Jordan. Our Lord passes forty days, fasting, in the wilderness; where the wild beasts become mild and harmless in his presence. Satan now appears under the form of an old peasant; and enters into discourse with our Lord, wondering what could have brought him alone into so dangerous a place, and at the same time professing to recognize him for the person lately acknowledged by John, at the river Jordan, to be the Son of God. Jesus briefly replies. Satan rejoins with a description of the difficulty of supporting life in the wilderness; and entreats Jesus, if he be really the Son of God, to manifest his divine power, by changing some of the stones into bread. Jesus reproves him, and at the same time tells him that he knows who he is. Satan instantly avows himself, and offers an artful apology for himself and his conduct. Our blessed Lord severely reprimands him, and refutes every part of his justification. Satan, with much semblance of humility, still endeavors to justify himself; and, professing his admiration of Jesus and his regard for virtue, requests to be permitted at a future time to hear more of his conversation; but is answered, that this must be as he shall find permission from above. Satan then disappears, and the Book closes with a short description of night coming on in the desert.
PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK I.

I, who ere while the happy garden sung
By one man’s disobedience lost, now sing
Recover’d Paradise to all mankind,
By one man’s firm obedience fully try’d

PARADISE REGAINED.

“Of Paradise Regained,” says Johnson in his Life of Milton, “the general judgment seems now to be right; that it is in many parts elegant, and every where instructive.” But surely this Poem has merits far superior to occasional elegance, and general instruction; and that this is really the case is sufficiently implied in the immediately succeeding sentence, where it is justly observed, that “it was not to be supposed, that the author of Paradise Lost could ever write without great effusions of fancy, and exalted precepts of wisdom.”

“The basis of Paradise Regained,” says the same eminent biographer of our English poets, “is narrow; a dialogue without action can never please like an union of the narrative and dramatic powers.” — Bentley also, in a note on Paradise Lost, B. x. 182, observes, that “Milton, when he wrote that passage, thought Paradise was chiefly regained at our Saviour’s resurrection. This,” continues he, “would have been a copious and sublime subject for a second poem. The wonders then to be described would have erected even an ordinary poet’s genius; and in episodes he might have introduced his conception, birth, miracles, and all the history of his administration while on earth. And I much grieve, that instead of this, he should choose for the argument of his Paradise Regained the fourth chapter of Luke, the temptation in the wilderness; a dry, barren, and narrow ground to build an epic poem on. In that work he has amplified his scanty materials to a surprizing dignity; but yet, being cramped down by a wrong choice, without the expected applause.”

Bp. Newton, in his Life of Milton, speaking of this Poem, says, “Certainly it is very worthy of the author, and, contrary to what Mr. Toland relates, Milton may be seen in Paradise Regained as well as in Paradise Lost; if it is inferior in poetry, I know not whether it is not superior in sentiment; if it is less descriptive, it is more argumentative; if it doth not sometimes rise so high, neither doth it ever sink so low; and it has not met with the approbation it deserves, only because it has not been more read and considered. His subject indeed is confined,
PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK I.

Through all temptation, and the tempter foil'd
In all his wiles, defeated and repuls'd,
And Eden rais'd in the waste wilderness.

"and he has a narrow foundation to build upon;
but he has raised as noble a superstructure, as
such little room and such scanty materials would
allow."

Mr. Thyer, in the concluding part of a note on
the opening of the second book of this poem, like-
wise remarks the barrenness of the subject. "If,"
says he, "the Paradise Regained is inferior, as
indeed I think it must be allowed to be, to the
Paradise Lost, it cannot be justly imputed, as
some would have it, to any decay of Milton's
genius, but to his being cramped down by a
"barren and contracted subject."—Bishop War-
burton also pronounces the plan to be "a very
unhappy and defective one."—But none of
these learned critics seem to have considered what
we may collect from our author himself; that he
designed this poem for, what he terms, the brief
epic, which he particularly distinguishes from the
great and diffuse epic, of which kind are the great
poems of Homer and Virgil, and his own Paradise
Lost. In the introduction to the second book of
his Reason of Church-Government, he says, "Time
serves not now, and perhaps I might seem too
profuse, to give any certain account of what the
mind at home, in the spacious circuits of her
musing, 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: or whether the rules of Aristotle
herein are strictly to be kept, or nature to be
followed, which, in them that know art, and use
judgment, is no transgression, but an enriching
of art."—His model then we may suppose to
have been in a great measure the book of Job; and
however the subject which he selected may have
been considered as narrow ground, and one that
 cramped his genius, there is no reason to imagine
that it was chosen hastily or inconsiderately. It
was particularly adapted to the species of poem he
meant to produce, namely, the brief, or didactic,
epic. The basis he thought perfectly adequate to
the superstructure which he meant to raise; to the
merit of which the lapse of time bears the material
testimony of a gradually increasing admiration.

Since the above was written, I am happy to
add the opinion of a gentleman, whose judgment
must have the greatest weight, if to have excelled
eminently in poetry is, (as it should be supposed to be,) a title to judge of it in others. "Milton,"
says Mr. Hayley, "had already executed one ex-
tensive divine poem, peculiarly distinguished by
richness and sublimity of description: in framing
a second he naturally wished to vary its effect;
to make it rich in moral sentiment, and sublime
in its mode of unfolding the highest wisdom that
man can learn; for this purpose it was necessary
to keep all the ornamental parts of the poem in due
subordination to the precept. This delicate and
difficult point is accomplished with such felicity;
they are blended together with such exquisite
harmony and mutual aid, that, instead of arraign-
ing the plan, we might rather doubt if any pos-
sible change could improve it. Assuredly there
is no poem of an epic form, where the sublimest
moral is so forcibly and so abundantly united to
"poetical delight: the splendor of the poet does
not blaze indeed so intensely as in his larger pro-
duction; here he resembles the Apollo of Ovid,
softening his glory in speaking to his son, and
"avoiding to dazzle the fancy that he may descend
"into the heart." Hayley's Life of Milton,
prefixed to the new folio edition of Milton's
Poetical Works, by Boydell and Nicoll, p. 126.

The same biographer, in another place, having
spoken of the "uncommon energy of thought and
"felicity of composition apparent in Milton's two
"poems, however different in design, dimension,
"and
Thou Spirit, who ledst this glorious eremite
Into the desert, his victorious field,

"and effect," adds, "To censure the Paradis[e
"Regained, because it does not more resemble
"the Paradis[e Lost, is hardly less absurd, than
"it would be to condemn the Moon for not being
"a Sun, instead of admiring the two different
"luminaries, and feeling that both the greater and
"the less are equally the work of the same divine
"and inimitable power." p. 104.

1. I, who see while the happy garden sung
   By one man's disobedience lost, now sing
   Recover'd Paradise to all mankind.]

This is plainly an allusion to the Ille ego qui quondam, &c. attributed to Virgil.

Thus also Spenser:

Lo, I the man, whose Muse whilom did mask,
As time she taught, in lowly shepherd's weeds,
Am now enforce'd a far unfitter task,
For trumpet stern to change mine oaten reeds, &c.

Newton.

2. By one man's disobedience, &c.—

The opposition of one man's disobedience in this verse to one man's obedience in verse 4. is somewhat in the style and manner of St. Paul, Rom. v. 19.

For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners; so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous.

Newton.

The argument of Paradise Lost was

MAN'S FIRST DISOBEDIENCE

3. Recover'd Paradise—

It may seem a little odd, that Milton should impute the recovery of Paradise to this short scene of our Saviour's life upon earth, and not rather extend it to his agony, crucifixion, &c. But the reason no doubt was, that Paradise, regained by our Saviour's resisting the temptations of Satan, might be a better contrast to Paradise, lost by our first parents too easily yielding to the same seducing spirit. Besides he might, very probably, and indeed very reasonably, be apprehensive, that a subject, so extensive as well as sublime, might be too great a burden for his declining constitution, and

a task too long for the short term of years he could then hope for. Even in his Paradise Lost he expresses his fears, lest he had begun too late, and lest an age too late, or cold climate, or years, should have damp'd his intended wing; and surely he had much greater cause to dread the same now, and to be very cautious of launching out too far. Thyer.

7. And Eden rais'd in the waste wilderness.

There is, I think, a particular beauty in this line, when one considers the fine allusion in it to the curse brought upon the Paradisiacal earth by the fall of Adam,—Cursed is the ground for thy sake—Thaurus also and thistles shall it bring forth to thee.

Thus in the fourth Book of this poem, Ver. 523:

And follow'd thee still on to this waste wild.

Waste is an epithet which our author had annexed to wilderness at an early period of his life. In his translation of the cxxxvith Psalm, written when he was only fifteen, he has

His chosen people he did bless
In the wasteful wilderness.

In that instance, perhaps, he borrowed the whole phrase from his favorite Spenser:

Far hence (quoth he) in wasteful wilderness
His dwelling is—

Fairy Queen, B. I. c. 1. 32.

But the expression and the application of it, in this place, were evidently taken from a passage in Isaiah. C. li. 3.

"The Lord shall comfort Zion, he will comfort all her waste places, and he will make her wilderness like Eden, and her desert like the garden of the Lord."

From whence Pope also, in his Eloisa to Abelard,

You rais'd these hallow'd walls, the desert smil'd,
And Paradise was open'd in the wild.

135.
PARADISE REGAINED.

Against the spiritual foe, and brought'st him thence 10
By proof the undoubted Son of God, inspire,
As thou art wont, my prompted song, else mute,

And in the introduction to the second book of
The Reason of Church-Government urged against
Prelacy, where he promises to undertake some-
things, he yet knows not what, that may be of use
and honour to his country, he adds, "This is not
"to be obtained but by devout prayer to that
"Eternal Spirit, who can enrich with all atten-
"dance and knowledge, and sends out his Seraphim,
"with the hallowed fire of his altar, to touch and
"purify whom he pleases."—Here then we see,
that Milton's invocations of the Divine Spirit were
not merely exordia pro formâ.—Indeed his prose
works are not without their invocations.

Milton's third wife, who survived him many
years, related of him, that he used to compose his
poetry chiefly in winter; and on his waking in
a morning would make her write down sometimes
twenty or thirty verses. Being asked, whether he
did not often read Homer and Virgil, she under-
stood it as an imputation upon him for stealing
from those authors, and answered with eagerness,
"he stole from nobody but the Muse who inspired
him;" and, being asked by a lady present who
the Muse was, replied, "it was God's grace and
"the Holy Spirit that visited him nightly."

Newton's Life of Milton.

Mr. Richardson also says, that "Milton would
"sometimes lie awake whole nights, but not a
"verse could he make; and on a sudden his
"poetical fancy would rush upon him with an
"impetus or cæsum."  Johnson's Life of Milton.

Else mute might have been suggested by a pas-
sage of Horace's most beautiful ode to the Muse;

O testudinis aureæ
Dulceque strepitum, Piæri, temperas!
O mutis quoque piscibus
Donatura cygnis, si libeat, sonum!

L. iv. Ode 3.

Or
BOOK I.

PARADISE REGAINED.

And bear, through heighth or depth of nature's bounds,
With prosperous wing full summ'd, to tell of deeds
Above heroic, though in secret done,
And unrecorded left through many an age;
Worthy to have not remain'd so long unsung.

Or from Quinctilian; "ipsam
igitur orandi majestatem, quâ nihil dii immor-
tales melius homini dederunt, et quâ remotâ
MUTA SUNT OMNIA, et luce presenti et me-
moriâ posteritatis carent, toto aniino petamus."
L. xii. 11.

13. And bear, through heighth or depth of nature's bounds,]
Possibly in allusion to the expression of St. Paul,
"That ye may be able to comprehend with all
saints, what is the breadth, and length, and
DEPTH, AND HEIGH'r." Ephes. iii. 8.
We may compare the following passage of Spenser;
which is much in Milton's own style.
Who now shall give unto me words and sound
Equal unto this haughty enterprise?
Or who shall lend me WINGS, WITH WHICH FROM
GROUND
MY LOWLY VERSE MAY LOXTILY ARISE,
AND LIFT ITSELF UNTO THE HIGHEST SKIES?
More ample spirit, than hitherto was wont,
Here needs me.—
FAERY QUEEN, B. ii. C. x. 1.

14. With prosperous wing full summ'd,—
We have the like expression in Paradise Lost,
vii. 421.

They sum'd their pens—and
and it was noted there that it is a term in falconry.
A hawk is said to be full summ'd, when all his
feathers are grown, when he wants nothing of the
sum of his feathers, cui nihil de summa pennarum
deet, as Skinner says.
Newton.
The prosperous wing full summ'd, on which the
poet is borne through "heighth and depth of na-
ture's bounds," resembles Horace's
Non usitatâ, NEC TENUI SERAR
Pennâ, biformis per liquidum athera

VATES; NEQUE IN TERRIS MORABOR
LONGIUS.—
L. ii. Ode 20.

14. —— of deeds
Above heroic,—]
Alluding, perhaps, in the turn of expression, to
the first verse of Lucan,
BELLA per Emathios PLUSQUAM CIVIRIA campos,
Jusque datum sceleri cunnumus.

Thyer.

Milton, in the opening of his Ninth Book of
the Paradise Lost, notices warlike achievements as
at that time the only subjects of heroic song;
Wars, hitherto the only argument
Heroic deem'd — — — — —
— — — THE BETTER fortitude
Of patience and heroic martyrdom
UNSUNG. ————

16. And unrecorded left through many an age;
Worthy to have not remain'd so long unsung.]

Milton, in one of his early poems, particularly
notices Vida's CHRISTIAD, and specifies the tempta-
tions of Christ as making a material part of the
subject.—Vida was a native of Cremona; of which
place he was also elected bishop.

These latent scenes confine my roving verse,
To this horizon is my Phoebus bound;
His god-like acts, and his temptations fierce,
And former sufferings other where are found;
Loud o'er the rest CREMONA's trump doth sound;
Me softer airs befit.—

ODE ON THE PASSION. ST. 4.

It is true temptations here seem only to
mean trials; but of these the temptation in the wil-
derness certainly made a part.—Vida's descrip-
tion of the Temptation is very short.

Now
Now had the great Proclamer, with a voice
More awful than the sound of trumpet, cry’d
Repentance, and Heaven’s kingdom nigh at hand
To all baptiz’d: to his great baptism flock’d
With awe the regions round, and with them came
From Nazareth the son of Joseph deem’d
To the flood Jordan; came, as then obscure,
Unmark’d, unknown; but him the Baptist soon
Descry’d, divinely warn’d, and witness bore
As to his worthier, and would have resign’d
To him his heavenly office, nor was long
His witness unconfirm’d: on him baptiz’d

18. ——— with a voice
More awful than the sound of trumpet,—]
Lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and shew
My people their transgressions. Isaiah, lviii. 1.
For ye are not come unto the mount that might be
touched, and that burned with fire, nor unto black-
ext, and darkness, and tempestt, and the sound of
A trumpet, and the voice of words; which
voice they that heard intreated that the word should
not be spoken unto them any more. Hebrews, xii. 18, 19.
20. Repentance, and Heaven’s kingdom nigh at hand]
In those days came John the Baptist, preaching in
the wildershess of Judæa, and saying, Repent ye;
for the kingdom of Heaven is at hand.
Mat. iii. 1. 2.
91. ——— to his great baptism flock’d
With awe the regions round,—]
Then went out to him Jerusalem, and all Judæa,
and all the region round about Jordan.
Mat. iii. 5.
95. ——— but him the Baptist soon
Descry’d, divinely warn’d,—]
John the Baptist had notice given him before,
that he might certainly know the Messiah by the
Holy Ghost descending and abiding upon him.
And I knew him not, but he that sent me to baptize
with water, the same said unto me, Upon whom thou
shalt see the Spirit descending and remaining on him,
the same is he which baptizeth with the Holy Ghost.
John, i. 33. But it appears from St. Matthew,
that the Baptist knew him, and acknowledged him
before he was baptized, and before the Holy
Ghost descended upon him. Mat. iii. 14. I have
need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me?
To account for which we must admit with Milton,
that another divine revelation was made to him
at this very time, signifying that this was the per-
son, of whom we had such notice before. Newton.
26. ——— divinely warn’d,—]
To comprehend the propriety of this word di-
vinely, the reader must have his eye upon the Latin
divinitus, from Heaven, since the word divinely
in our language scarce ever comes up to this mean-
ing. Milton uses it in much the same sense in
Paradise Lost, vii. 500.
She heard me thus, and though divinely brought.

Heaven
Heaven open'd, and in likeness of a dove
The Spirit descended, while the Father's voice
From Heaven pronounc'd him his beloved Son.
That heard the Adversary, who, roving still
About the world, at that assembly fam'd
Would not be last, and, with the voice divine
Nigh thunder-struck, the exalted man, to whom
Such high attest was given, a while survey'd
With wonder, then, with envy fraught and rage,
Flies to his place, nor rests, but in mid air
To council summons all his mighty peers,
Within thick clouds and dark ten-fold involv'd,
A gloomy consistory; and them amidst,
With looks aghast and sad, he thus bespake.

33. —— the Adversary.—
Satan is frequently thus styled in the Paradise Lost. See iii. 156.—vi. 281.—and, ix. 947.—Satan, in Hebrew, signifies the Adversary. Hence Paradise Lost, i. 81; —— To whom the Arch-enemy,
And hence in Heaven call'd Satan,

33. —— who, roving still
About the world.—]
And the Lord said unto Satan, Whence comest thou? Then Satan answered the Lord, and said, From going to and fro in the earth, and from walking up and down in it. Job. i. 7.
—Your adversary the Devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour. 1. Peter, v. 8.

41. Within thick clouds and dark ten-fold involv'd,]
Milton, in making Satan's residence to be in mid air, within thick cloud and dark, seems to have St. Austin in his eye, who, speaking of the region of clouds, storms, thunder, &c. says—"ad ista caliginosa, id est, ad hunc aerem, tanquam ad carcerem, damnatus est diabolus, &c." Enarr. in Ps. i. 48. S. 9. Tom. 5. p. 1677. Edit. Bened. Thyer.

But Milton, in his Paradise Lost, places the Deity also "amidst thick clouds and dark," taking his idea from the sublime descriptions in the Psalms;
"He made darkness his secret place; his pavilion round about him were dark waters, and thick clouds of the skies." Psalm xviii. 11.
"Clouds and darkness are round about him." Psalm xcivii. 2.

42. A gloomy consistory.—]
O ancient Powers of air, and this wide world, 
(For much more willingly I mention air,
The true reason is, he found it impossible to exceed or equal the speeches in his former council, and therefore has assigned the best reason he could for not making any in this.

Newton.

The object of this council, it should be recollected, is not to debate, but merely for Satan to communicate to his compeers his apprehensions of their approaching danger, and to receive from them a sort of commission to act, in prevention of it, as circumstances might require, and as he should judge best. This gives the poet an opportunity of laying open the motives and general designs of the great antagonist of his hero. A council, with a debate of equal length to that in the second Book of the Paradise Lost, would have been totally disproportionate to this brief epic; which, from the nature of its subject, already perhaps abounds too much in speeches.—In the second book of this poem, where this infernal council is again assembled, a debate is introduced, which, though short, is very beautiful.

"Every parenthesis" says Lord Monboddo, "should contain matter of weight; and if it throws "in some passion or feeling, it is so much the better, "because it furnishes the speaker with a proper oc- "cation to vary the tones of his voice, which ought "always to be done in speaking a parenthesis, but is "never more properly done than when some passion "is to be expressed." Origin and Progress of Language, Part II. B. iv. 6. This precept is carried too far, when applied to every parenthesis; as it excludes entirely the parenthesis of mere expla- nation, which is often a very necessary figure. But it must be allowed that where a parenthesis, containing "matter of weight and pathos," is introduced in a speech, it has certainly a fine effect; of which this passage of the Paradise Regained is an eminently striking instance.—

"The
This our old conquest, than remember Hell,
Our hated habitation,) well ye know
How many ages, as the years of men,
This universe we have possess’d, and rul’d,
In manner at our will, the affairs of earth,
Since Adam and his facil consort Eve
Lost Paradise, deceiv’d by me; though since
With dread attending when that fatal wound

"Ancients," the same writer had just before ob-
served, "were fond of the parenthesis; and partic-
ularly Demosthenes. "Milton," he adds, "in this as in other things followed their taste and judgment, thinking he could not vary his compos-
tion sufficiently, nor sometimes convey the sense, so forcibly as he could wish, without the use of this figure."——I cannot but express my surprise that this writer, to whom we are indebted for so many judicious criticisms on Milton's style of com-
position, should never, (in any one instance, I believe,) have cited a single passage from the Paradise Regained. Possibly, like many other learned persons, he is but little acquainted with this poem; which, I conceive, would have furnished him with examples as striking, and as closely applying to many of his remarks on the writings of our author, as any that he has himself selected from the Paradise Lost. Indeed I cannot help fancying that the general tenour of his observations applies more directly to this second poem than even to the Paradise Lost; particularly where, having noticed the great skill of the Ancients in composition, he points out Milton as singularly forming his style on their chaste model, and abounding in passages which are "beautiful and sublime, without metaphor or figure, or any thing of what is now called fine language!" (See Dissertation On the Composition of the Ancients, at the end of the second Volume of the Origin and Progress of Language.)——If I am right in this suppo-
sition; if it should happen to be the fact that the learned critic has, from the consideration of the Paradise Lost alone, deduced a variety of observ-
ations on the excellence of our author's style and composition, which in a particular manner apply to the Paradise Regained;——it seems necessarily to follow that Milton, instead of sinking beneath the allowed perfection of his preceding poem, has in this last work not only continued to write in his usual dignified and classical manner, but has even carried his mode of writing to a higher degree of eminence, so as more strikingly to exemplify the species of excellence attributed to him by the author of the Origin and Progress of Language.

45. ———— air,

This our old conquest,—
—— ——— through the air,
The realm itself of Satan long usurp’d;
Paradise Lost, x. 188.

51. ———— his facil consort Eve]
Thus in the Paradise Lost, ix. 1158.
Too facil than thou didst not much gainsay,
Nay didst permitt, approve, and fair dismiss.
And again, B. iv. 967.
The facil gates of Hell too slightly barr’d—

53. ———— attending—
i. e. awaiting, expecting; from the French attendre.
Or in their pearly shells at ease attend
Moist nutriment ————
Paradise Lost, vii. 427.
C ———— and

Shall be inflicted by the seed of Eve
Upon my head. Long the decrees of Heaven
Delay, for longest time to him is short;
And now, too soon for us, the circling hours
This dreaded time have compass'd, wherein we
Must bide the stroke of that long-threaten'd wound,
(At least if so we can, and by the head
Broken be not intended all our power
To be infringing'd, our freedom and our being,

and patiently attend
My dissolution
Is. xi. 551.

Milton frequently makes use of Gallicisms.
Thus he has defend, in this poem, in the sense of
forbid, from the French defendre;
DEFENDS the touching of these viands pure.

And in Paradise Lost, xi. 85. he terms the
forbidden fruit, "that defenced fruit."

When that first wound
Shall be inflicted by the seed of Eve
Upon my head.
Between thee and the woman I will put
Enmity, and between her and thy seed;
HER SEED SHALL BRUISE THY HEAD, thou bruise
his heel.

Paradise Lost, K. 179.

Long the decrees of Heaven
Delay, for longest time to him is short;

"This observation, that "the decrees of Heaven"
"are long delayed," must be understood as being
limited to this particular instance; or to its being
sometimes, not always so. Why any interval should

ever occur between the decrees of the Almighty
and his execution of them, a reason is immediately
subjoined, which forms a peculiarly fine transition
to the succeeding sentence. Time is as nothing to
the Deity; long and short having in fact no exist-
cence to a Being with whom all duration is present.

Time to human beings has its stated measurement,
and by this Satan had just before estimated it;

How many ages, as the years of men,
This universe we have possess'd,

Time to guilty beings, human or spiritual, passes
so quick, that the hour of punishment, however
protracted, always comes too soon;
And now, too soon for us, the circling hours
This dreaded time have compass'd, wherein we
Must bide the stroke of that long-threaten'd wound.

Wak'd by the circling hours

And in the seventh Book, Ver. 342. he speaks of the

--- circling years.

Thus Virgil, Georgic. ii. 402;

--- redit labor aehus in orbem,
Atque in suam per vestigia volvit annus:

Kumian to circle, as used by the Greek poets, some-
ten times signifies to lead the choral dance.—The circling
hours, then, are the same "with the hours in dance."

--- universal Pan,
Knit with the Graces and the hours in dance,
Led on the eternal spring.

Paradise Lost, iv. 266.
In this fair empire won of earth and air,)
For this ill news I bring, the woman's seed,
Destin'd to this, is late of woman born.
His birth to our just fear gave no small cause;
But his growth now to youth's full flower, displaying
All virtue, grace, and wisdom to achieve
Things highest, greatest, multiplies my fear.
Before him a great prophet, to proclaim
His coming, is sent harbinger, who all
Invites, and in the consecrated stream
Pretends to wash off sin, and fit them, so
Purified, to receive him pure, or rather
To do him honor as their king: all come,
And he himself among them was baptiz'd,
Not thence to be more pure, but to receive
The testimony of Heaven, that who he is
Thenceforth the nations may not doubt; I saw
The prophet do him reverence; on him, rising
Out of the water, Heaven above the clouds

74. Purified, to receive him pure.—
Alluding to the Scripture expression, 1 John,
iii. 3. And every man that hath this hope in him,
PURIFIETH HIMSELF EVEN AS HE IS PURE.
Newton.

81. Heaven above the clouds
Unfold her crystal doors:—

Thus Milton, in his Latin poem on the death of
Felton, Bp. of Ely, written at the age of seventeen;
Erraticorum siderum per ordines,
Per laetias vechor plagas,
Velocitatem sepe miratus novam;
Donec nitentes ad forti
Venium est Olympi, et regiam crystalli-
Nam, et
Statum smaragdis atrium.

St. Matthew (iii. 16.) says, the Heavens were
opened; St. Mark (i. 10.) that they were cloven
or rent, exiguæ, thus also, Psalm lxxviii. 23.
So be commanded the clouds above, and opened
THE DOORS OF HEAVEN.
The Latin and Greek poets describe the Heavens
absolutely opened, or burst asunder.

Thur
PARADISE REGAINED. BOOK I.

Unfold her crystal doors; thence on his head
A perfect dove descend, (whate'er it meant,)

Thus Virgil, Æn. ix. 20.
— video medium discedere cœlum,
where some copies read discindere; and Homer, Il. viii. 554.

Wetstein, on the passage in St. Mark above referred to, cites from Philemon the phrase ἔξωθον ὁ ὄψαμα—Livy, relating the prodigies which preceded Hannibal’s entrance into Italy in the second Punic war, mentions a great light that was said to have shone at Falerii from the Heavens, which appeared to be sent with a great char. —"Falerii "cœlum àdiu visum velut magno hiatus; "quaque patuerit, ingens lumen effusisse." L. xxii. C. 1.—Pliny speaks of "cæli ipsius hiatus; "quod vocat chasmas." L. ii. C. 26.—And Seneca says, "Sunt chasmata, cum aliquando "cæli spatium discedit, et flammatum de- "his chasma velut in abditum ostentat." Nat. Quæst. L. i. C. 14.—See Parkhurst’s Greek Lexicon; Vox, Ἐχθρατζ.

83. A perfect dove descend.—}

He had expressed it before, Ver. 30. in likeness of a dove, agreeably to St. Matthew, the Spirit of God descending like a dove, iii. 16. and to St. Mark, the Spirit like a dove descending upon him, i. 10. But as Luke says, that the Holy Ghost descended in a bodily shape, iii. 22. the poet supposes with Tertullian, Austin, and others of the fathers, that it was a real dove, as the painters always represent it.

Newton.

The ancient fathers were in general of this opinion; but some of the later commentators consider the ὁ ὄψαμα to relate only to the manner of a dove’s descending upon anything, and suppose that the luminous appearance, which issued from the skies, came down upon Christ, and hung hovering over his head, after the manner and motion of a dove. It is difficult however to reconcile this

with what is said (Luke, iii. 22.) that "the Holy "Ghost descended in a bodily shape, like a "dove." Bp. Pearce indeed understands the words ὁ ὄψαμα not to mean bodily shape, but rather bodily appearance; for "Luke," says he, "means "by ὁ ὄψαμα what John ὁ ὄψαμα saw, namely, the Holy "Ghost manifesting himself in a bright light or "glory, called by the Jews the Shechinah, which "light had a bodily appearance, and descended "upon Jesus after the same manner as a dove de- "scends to the earth."—But nothing can be plainer or more determinate than the expression of St. Luke; and it matters little whether we render ὁ ὄψαμα with bodily shape, or bodily appearance. The question is not whether the Holy Spirit descended in the real corporeal form of a dove; but whether it descended apparently in the shape of a dove, or resembled a dove only in its manner of descending, and not in its bodily shape or appearance. It is not easy to understand what Bp. Pearce means by the Shechinah, or Divine Light, having a bodily appearance; a term which surely cannot be applied to light. A bodily appearance must imply somewhat that has, or appears to have, dimensions, and that is, or seems to be, tangible; and the word ὁ ὄψαμα seems purposely used in contradistinction to a spiri- tual appearance, such as the light on Mount Sinai and the Shechinah. Fire and light, considered as abstracted from burning bodies, have no bodily appearance; and to ascribe any such to them is to pervert both fact and language.

Milton, where he says, from scriptural authority, that "God is Light," (Paradise Lost, iii. 3.) describes light, not as having the semblance of a body, but as

Bright effulgence of bright essence increase.

Vida, like Milton, describes the Holy Ghost descending as a "perfect dove;"

Protinus aurifluo Jordanes gurgite fulsit,
Et super tâm vasto intonuit domus alta fragore:
Imperet et cæli claro delapsa columba est
Vertice per purum, candidi argentea pluma

Terga,
And out of Heaven the sovran voice I heard, 
"This is my Son belov'd, in him am pleas'd." 85
His mother then is mortal, but his sire
He who obtains the monarchy of Heaven:
And what will he not do to advance his Son?
His first-begot we know, and sore have felt,
When his fierce thunder drove us to the deep:
Who this is we must learn, for man he seems
In all his lineaments, though in his face

---

The overthrown he rais'd, and, as a herd
Of goats or timorous flock together throng'd,
Drove them before him thunder-struck, pursued
With terrors and with furies, to the bounds
And crystal wall of Heaven, which opening wide
Roll'd inward, and a spacious gap disclos'd
Into the wasteful deep; the monstrous sight
Struck them with horror backward, but far worse
Urg'd them behind; headlong themselves they threw
Down from the verge of Heaven; eternal wrath
Burnt after them to the bottomless pit.

91. Who this is we must learn,—]
Our author favors the opinion of those writers,
Ignatius and others among the ancients, and Beza
And others among the moderns, who believed that
The Devil, though he might know Jesus to be some
extraordinary person, yet knew him not to be the
Messiah, the Son of God.

It was requisite for the poet to assume this
opinion, as it is a necessary hinge on which part
of the poem turns.

92. In all his lineaments,—]
Milton, in the fifth Book of his Paradise
Lost, describing Raphael, when on his arrival at
Paradise, he resumes his own proper shape of "a
"seraph wing'd," says

--- six wings he wore to shade
His lineaments divine——

The
The glimpses of his father’s glory shine.
Ye see our danger on the utmost edge
Of hazard, which admits no long debate,
But must with something sudden be oppos’d,
(Not force, but well-couch’d fraud, well-woven snares,)

No’s γαρ ὃν παντισσων ΕΠΙ ΚΥΡΟΥ ΙΣΤΑΤΑΙ
ΑΚΜΗΣ
Η μαλα λυγης ελθης Αχαιηι, νε βωτιαν,

IL. x. 173.

Each single Greek, in this conclusive strife,
Stands on the sharpest edge of death, or life.

Pope.

For the very frequent use of Επι γε της ακμής,
among the Greek writers, see a note of Vallckenaer
on Herodotus, L. vi. C. ii. ——And Warton on
Thescrius, Idyl. xxii. 6.

Milton has twice used nearly the same expression
in his Paradise Lost;

On the rough edge of battle, ere it join’d,—

vi. 108.

where I am not a little surprised to find Bp. Newton
and Dr. Jortin both endeavouring to trace out the
phrase, without being at all aware that it was so
common an expression among the Greeks, as to be
quite proverbial. See Lucian, Jupit. Taget.

97. well-couch’d fraud,—]

Satan, in the beginning of the Fourth Book of
Paradise Lost, having, while addressing his fine
speech to the Sun, manifested by his furious ges-
tures the violent passions that agitated him, is de-
scribed as presently assuming a more tranquil
appearance, for fear of observation or discovery. The
description of this is consistent with the character of
fraud and artifice, which this part of his speech
here displays; and has some resemblance to it in the
expressions. It is said that he

Each perturbation smooth’d with outward calm,
Artificer of fraud; and was the first

That
Ere in the head of nations he appear,
Their king, their leader, and supreme on earth.
I, when no other durst, sole undertook
The dismal expedition to find out
And ruin Adam; and the exploit perform'd
Successfully: a calmer voyage now
Will waft me; and the way, found prosperous once,
Induces best to hope of like success.

He ended, and his words impression left
Of much amazement to the infernal crew,

With splendor, arm'd with power, if aught propos'd,
And judg'd of public moment, in the shape
Of difficulty or danger could deter
Me from attempting. Wherefore do I assume
These royalties, and not refuse to reign,
Refusing to accept as great a share
Of hazard as of honor, due alike
To him who reigns, and so much to him due
Of hazard more as he above the rest
High-honor'd sits? Go therefore, mighty Powers,
Terror of Heaven, though fallen; intend at home,
While here shall be our home, what best may ease
The present misery, and render Hell
More tolerable, if there be cure or charm
To respite, or deceive, or slack the pain
Of this ill mansion: intermit no watch
Against a wakeful foe, while I abroad,
Through all the coasts of dark destruction, seek
Deliverance for us all: this enterprise
None shall partake with me.

Thus, in Paradise Lost, ii. 1041, where
Satan begins to emerge out of chaos, it is said
the remainder of the journey became so much easier,

That Satan with less toil, and now with ease,
Waits on the calmer wave——

Distracted
Distracted and surpris'd with deep dismay
At these sad tidings; but no time was then
For long indulgence to their fears or grief:
Unanimous they all commit the care
And management of this main enterprize
To him, their great dictator, whose attempt
At first against mankind so well had thriv'd
In Adam's overthrow, and led their march
From Hell's deep vaulted den to dwell in light,
Regents, and potentates, and kings, yea Gods,
Of many a pleasant realm and province wide.
So to the coast of Jordan he directs
His easy steps, girded with snaky wiles,

116. — *Hell's deep vaulted den* —

In the *Paradise Lost*, there are some similar
descriptions of Hell. It is termed

—*the fiery concave*— ii. 635.

And the Devils are described,

Hovering on wing under the cope of Hell.
i. 345.

And speaking of Satan, when he has raised him-
self from the burning lake, and moves on the dry
land of the infernal regions, it is said,

— the torrid clime
Smote on him sore besides, *vaulted with fire*.

117. *Regents, and potentates, and kings, yea Gods, Of many a pleasant realm and province wide*]

—*god-like shapes, and forms*

Excelling human, princely dignities,
And powers that erst in Heaven sat on thrones.

*Paradise Lost*, i. 358.

119. — *to the coast of Jordan* —

The wilderness, where our Saviour underwent
his forty days temptation, was on the same bank of

Jordan where the baptism of John was; St. Luke
witnessing it, that Jesus being now baptized, ἐπιτεταγμένος στὴν βάπτιστὴν, returned from Jordan.

Newton.

120. *His easy steps, —*]

In reference, (as Bp. Newton has observed,) to the calmness or easiness of his present expedition,
compared with the danger and difficulty of his former one to ruin mankind. Accordingly Satan
in the conclusion of his speech had said,

— a calmer voyage now

Shall wait me: —

But easy steps seem here also to include an intended contrast with a passage in the *First Book* of the
*Paradise Lost*, where, speaking of Satan, it is said,

His spear, to equal which the tallest pine,
Hewn on Norwegian hills to be the mast
Of some great armament, were but a wand,
He walk'd with, to support *uneasy steps*
Over the burning marle.

120. — *girded with snaky wiles.*]
Where he might likeliest find this new-declar’d,
This man of men, attested Son of God,
Temptation and all guile on him to try;
So to subvert whom he suspected rais’d
To end his reign on earth, so long enjoy’d:
But, contrary, unweeting he fulfill’d
The purpos’d counsel, pre-ordain’d and fix’d,
Of the most High; who, in full frequence bright
Of Angels, thus to Gabriel smiling spake.

Girded with snaky wiles alludes to the habits of sorcerers and necromancers, who are represented in some prints as girded about the middle with the skins of snakes and serpents. Newton.

But girded here seems used only in a metaphorical sense; as in Scripture the Christian, properly armed, is described having his loins girt about with truth. (Ephes. vi. 14.) “Girded with snaky wiles” is equivalent to the “dolis instratus” of Virgil, Æn. ii. 152.—Thus also, in the beginning of the third Book of this poem, Satan is described,

At length collecting all his serpent wiles.

Thus, in the Paradise Lost, i. 794;
The great Seraphic Lords and Cherubim
In close recess and secret conclave sat,
A thousand demi-gods on golden seats,
Frequent and full.

And he has the same expression of full frequence, in the second Book of this poem, Ver. 130.

This speech is properly addressed to Gabriel, among the Angels, as he seems to have been the Angel particularly employed in the embassies and transactions relating to the Gospel. Gabriel was sent to inform Daniel of the famous prophecy of the seventy weeks; Gabriel notified the coareptic of John the Baptist to his father Zacharias, and of our blessed Saviour to his Virgin Mother. The Jewish Rabbis say that Michael was the minister of severity, but Gabriel of mercy; accordingly our poet makes Gabriel the guardian angel of Paradise, and employs Michael to expel our first parents out of Paradise: and for the same reason this speech is directed to Gabriel in particular.

Tasso speaking of Gabriel, who is the Messenger of the Deity to Godfrey, in the opening of the Gerusalemme Liberata, says

E tra Dio questi e l’anime migliori
Interpreti fedel, nuncio giuondo:
Giù i decreti del ciel portata ed al cielo
Riporta dè mortali i preghi, e ’l zelo.

‘Twixt God and souls of men that righteous been
Ambassador is he for ever blest;
The just commands of Heaven’s eternal King,
‘Twixt skies and earth, he up and down doth bring.

Smiling is here no casual expletive. It is a word of infinitely fine effect, and is particularly meant to contrast the description of Satan, in the preceding part of the Book, where his “gloomy consistory” of infernal Peers, it is said,

With looks aghast and sad he thus bespake.

The benevolent smile of the Deity is finely described by Virgil, Æn. i. 254.
Gabriel, this day by proof thou shalt behold,
Thou and all Angels conversant on earth
With man or men's affairs, how I begin
To verify that solemn message, late
On which I sent thee to the Virgin pure
In Galilee, that she should bear a son,
Great in renown, and call'd the Son of God;
Then told'st her, doubting how these things could be
To her a virgin, that on her should come
The Holy Ghost, and the power of the Highest
O'ershadow her. This man, born and now up-grown,

...
To show him worthy of his birth divine  
And high prediction, henceforth I expose  
To Satan; let him tempt, and now assay  
His utmost subtlety, because he boasts  
And vaunts of his great cunning to the throng  
Of his apostasy: he might have learnt  
Less overweening, since he fail'd in Job,  
Whose constant perseverance overcame  
Whate'er his cruel malice could invent.  
He now shall know I can produce a man,  
Of female seed, far abler to resist  
All his solicitations, and at length  
All his vast force, and drive him back to Hell;  
Winning, by conquest, what the first man lost,  
By fallacy surpris'd. But first I mean  
To exercise him in the wilderness;  
There he shall first lay down the rudiments  
Of his great warfare, ere I send him forth  
To conquer Sin and Death, the two grand foes,

---

This alludes, says Mr. Thyer, to what Satan said to his companions, Ver. 100.:
1. when no other durst, sole undertook &c.

Thus, Paradise Lost, ix. 142.;
By humiliation and strong sufferance:
His weakness shall o'ercome Satanic strength,
And all the world, and mass of sinful flesh,
That all the Angels and ethereal Powers,
They now, and men hereafter, may discern,
From what consummate virtue I have chose

"which," he adds, "was a lively emblem of
"Christ's conquest over our great enemy." This
latter is clearly the prophetic sense of the verse
just cited; which is accordingly referred to as such
by our Lord himself, Mat. xxi. 16.

We may compare Paradise Lost, xii. 567.

162. And all the world,—
I have overcome the world. John, xvi. 33.

163. That all the Angels and ethereal Powers,
They now, and men hereafter, may discern,
From what consummate virtue I have chose
This perfect man, by merit call'd my Son,
To earn salvation for the sons of men.]

Not a word is said here of the Son of God, but
what a Socinian would allow. His divine nature
is artfully concealed under a partial and ambiguous
representation; and the Angels are first to learn the
mystery of the incarnation from that important
conflict, which is the subject of this poem. They
are seemingly invited to behold the triumphs of the
Christ Jesus over the enemy of mankind; and
these surprise them with the glorious discovery of the
God,

in shrined
In fleshly tabernacle and human form.

The Father, speaking to his eternal Word,
Paradise Lost, iii. 308, on his generous undertakings
for mankind, saith,

and hast been found
By merit more than birthright Son of God.

Calton.

This
This perfect man, by merit call'd my Son,
To earn salvation for the sons of men.

So spake the eternal Father, and all Heaven
Admiring stood a space, then into hymns
Burst forth, and in celestial measures mov'd,
Circling the throne and singing, while the hand
Sung with the voice, and this the argument.

"toral drama, consisting of two persons and a
"double chorus;" and he speaks of the Apocalypse
of St. John, as "the majestic image of a high and
"stately tragedy, shutting up and intermingling
"her solemn scenes and acts with a sevenfold
"chorus of hallelu'jahs and harping symphonies."

That day, at other solemn days, they spent
In song and dance about the sacred hill—
Ibid. v 615.

Then shall thy saints unmix'd, and from the impure
Far separate, circling thy holy mount,
Unfeigned Hallelujahs to thee sing,
Hymns of high praise, and I among the chief.
Ibid. iv. 740.

If we would see how wonderfully Milton could
dilate, or compress, the same thought, we may
compare, with this short but masterly passage, the
following exquisite lines of his Paradise Lost,

Then crown'd again their golden harps they took,
Harps ever tuned, that glittering by their side
Like quivers hung, and with pimbleme sweet
Of charming symphony they introduce
Their sacred song, and waken raptures high;
No voice exempt, no voice but well could join
Melodious part, such concord is in Heaven.

iii. 385.
PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK I.

VICTORY and triumph to the Son of God,
Now entering his great duel, not of arms,
But to vanquish by wisdom hellish wiles!

171. while the hand

We have nearly the same phrase in Tibullus, iii. iv. 41.

Sed postquam fuerunt digitis cum voce loguti,
Edidit hoc dulci trium verba modo.

The word hand is used again in this poem, B. iv. V. 254, to distinguish instrumental harmony from vocal:

There thou shalt hear and learn the secret power
Of harmony, in tones and numbers hit
By voice or hand.

Also in the Arcades, V. 77:

If my inferior hand or voice could hit
Inimitable sounds.

Calton.

To the passage above cited by Mr. Calton, from Tibullus, may be added one from Lucretius;

Chordarumque sonae fieri, dulcisque querelas,
Tibia quas fundit digitis pulsata canentum:

iv. 588.

Canum signifies not only to sing, but also to perform on any instrument. Thus Asconius Paedianus, in verrem; "Cum canunt citharistae, utrisque manus funguntur officio; dextra plectro utitur, "et hoc est fortis canere; sinistra digitis "chordas carpit, et hoc est intus canere."

174. Now entering his great duel.—]

If it be not a contradiction, it is at least inaccurate in Milton, to make an Angel say in one place

Dream not of their fight

As of a duel—Paradise Lost, xii. 385.

and afterwards to make the Angels express it here in the metaphor of a duel.

Newton.

There is, I think, a meanness in the customary sense of the word duel, that makes it unworthy of these speakers, and of this occasion. The Italian


guelle, if I am not mistaken, bears a stronger sense, and this I suppose Milton had in view.

Thyer.

Milton might rather be supposed to look to the Latin; where duelum is equivalent to bellum.

Fabula, qua Paradis propter narratur amorem
Gracia Barbarae leno collisae duello.—Hor. i Epist. ii. 6.

—vacuum duelis
Janum Quirini clausit.—Ibid. 4. Ode xiv. 18.


But duel here is used by our author in its most common acceptation of single combat; and now entering his great duel means "now entering the lists to prove, in personal combat with his avowed antagonist and appellant, the reality of his own divinity." See note on Ver. 130, of this Book.

In the opening of this poem we may notice allusions to the duel or trial by combat;

the tempter foll'd,
In all his wiles defeated and repuls'd.

And in the Invocation,

Thou Spirit, who ledst this glorious eremite
Into the desert, his victorius field,
Against the spiritual foe, and brought'st him thence
By proofs th' undoubted Son of God—

Indeed the PARADISE REGAINED absolutely exhibits the temptation of our blessed Saviour in the light of a duel, or personal contest, between him and the Arch-enemy of mankind; in which our Lord, by his divine patience, fortitude, and resignation to the will of his heavenly Father, vanquishes the wiles of the Devil. He thereby attests his own superiority over his antagonist, and his ability to restore the lost happiness of mankind, by regaining Paradise for them, and by rescuing and redeeming them from that power, which had led them captive.

175. But to vanquish—]

Milton.
The Father knows the Son; therefore secure Ventures his filial virtue, though untry'd, Against what' er may tempt, whate'er seduce, Allure, or terrify, or undermine. 

Be frustrate, all ye stratagems of Hell, 
And, devilish machinations, come to naught!

So they in Heaven their odes and vigils tun'd: 
Mean while the Son of God, who yet some days Lodg'd in Bethabara, where John baptiz'd, 
Musing and much revolving in his breast, 
How best the mighty work he might begin

Milton lays the accent on the last syllable in vanquish, as elsewhere in triumph; and in many places he imitates the Latin and Greek prosody, and makes a vowel long before two consonants. 

175. —— by wisdom —— 
This is wisdom in its frequent scriptural sense of true piety. 

182. —— So they in Heaven their odes and vigils tun'd; 
Mean while the Son of God.— 

How nearly does the poet here adhere to the same way of speaking which he had used in Paradise Lost on the same occasion, iii. 416. !

Thus they in Heaven, above the starry sphere, 
Their happy hours in joy and hymning spent. 
Meanwhile upon the firm op'rous globe 
Of this round world, &c.— 

T he y e r. 

182. —— vigils tun'd; 
This is a very uncommon expression, and not easy to be understood, unless we suppose, that by vigils, the poet means those songs which they sung while they kept their watches. Singing of hymns is their manner of keeping their wakes in Heaven. And I see no reason why their evening service may not be called vigils, as their morning service is called matins. 

185. —— who yet some days Lodg'd in Bethabara, where John baptiz'd.] 

The evening service in the Roman Catholic churches is called vespers. There was formerly a nocturnal service called vigils, or nothurns, which was chanted and accompanied with music. 

Ducange explains vigiliae " ipsum officium nocturnum quod in vigiliis nocturnis olim decantabatur." — The old writers often speak of the vigiliarum cantica. 

183. —— who yet some days Lodg'd in Bethabara, where John baptiz'd.] 

The poet, I presume, said this upon the authority of the first chapter of St. John's gospel, where certain particulars, which happened several days together, are related concerning the Son of God, and it is said, Ver. 28. These things were done in Bethabara beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing. 

185. —— much revolving in his breast, 

M U L T A M O V E N S A N I M O — — Virg. Æn. x. 890. 
At p i u s Æneas per noctem plurima volvens, 
Æn. i. 309.
Of Saviour to mankind, and which way first
Publish his God-like office now mature,
One day forth walk’d alone, the Spirit leading
And his deep thoughts, the better to converse
With solitude, till, far from track of men,
Thought following thought, and step by step led on,
He enter’d now the bordering desert wild,

189. One day walk’d forth alone, the Spirit leading
And his deep thoughts.—]

In what a fine light does Milton here place that
text of Scripture, where it is said that Jesus went
led up of the Spirit into the wilderness! He adheres
strictly to the inspired historian, and at the same
time gives it a turn which is extremely poetical.

Til. 22

190. the better to converse
With solitude;—]

wisdom’s self
Oft seeks to sweet retir’d solitude.

Comus. 375.

193. He enter’d now the bordering desert wild,
And, with dark shades and rocks environ’d round;

The wilderness, in which John preached the gospel,
and where Jerusalem, and all Judea, and all the
region round about Jordan went out to him and were
baptized in Jordan, we are expressly told by St.
Matthew, iii. 1. was the wilderness of Judea;
which extended from the river Jordan all along
the western side of the Asphalitic Lake, or Dead
Sea. The different parts of this wilderness had
different names, from the neighbouring cities or
mountains; thus 1 Sam. xxiii. 14. it is called
the wilderness of Ziph, and, xxiv. 1. the wilderness
of Engaddi. The word בֵּיתָן in scripture,
which in our version is rendered wilderness or
desert, does not mean a country absolutely barren
or uninhabited, but only uncultivated. Indeed in
the 15th chapter of Joshua, where the cities of
Judah are enumerated, we read of six cities in the
wilderness. Of these Engaddi stood nearest to the
river Jordan, and the northern end of the Dead Sea.
The desert, where Milton, following what could be
collected from scripture, now places our Lord, we
may suppose then to be that part of the wilderness
of Judea, in the neighbourhood of Engaddi.—
The wildernesses, or uncultivated parts of Judea,
appear chiefly to have been forests and woods, loca
saltuosa et sylvosa. (See Reland’s Palestina, L. 1.
C. 56. de locis incultis et sylvis Palestinae.) About
Engaddi also there were many mountains and rocks.
David is described (1 Sam. xxiii. 29.) dwelling
in strong holds at Engaddi; and of Saul, when in
pursuit of him, (xxiv. 1.) it is said that he went
to seek David and his men upon the rocks of the wild
goats.
The “bordering desert” then is the rocky uncul
tivated forest country nearest to that part of
Jordan where John had been baptizing, and our
blessed Lord is accordingly, with the greatest ac
curacy of description, there represented, as enter
ing
now the bordering desert wild,
And with dark shades and rocks environ’d round.

It should be observed, that D’Anville, in the
map of Palestine in his Geographie Ancienne,
has laid down Bethabara wrong. He places it
towards the northern end of that part of Jordan,
which flows from the lake of Genezaret into the
Dead Sea; and on the eastern bank of the river;
almost opposite Enon. But it is nearly certain,
that it really stood, as Bp. Pearce supposes, (see his
note
And, with dark shades and rocks environ'd round,
His holy meditations thus pursu'd.

O what a multitude of thoughts at once
Awaken'd in me swarm, while I consider
What from within I feel myself, and hear
What from without comes often to my ears,
Ill sorting with my present state compar'd!
When I was yet a child, no childish play
To me was pleasing; all my mind was set

note on John, i. 28.) at the southern end of the
river Jordan, on the western bank; and within a
little distance of the wilderness, being only a very
few miles from the Dead Sea.—An opportunity of
considering this more fully will occur, towards the
beginning of the second book of this Poem.

201. When I was yet a child, no childish play
To me was pleasing:—]

How finely and consistently does Milton here
imagine the youthful meditations of our Saviour!
How different from, and superior to, that superstitious
trumpery, which one meets with in the Evangelium
Infantiae, and other such apocryphal trash! Vid.
Fabricii Cod. Apoc. N. Teft.

Oh! how
Thyer.

He seems to allude to Callimachus, who says
elegantly of young Jupiter, Hymn, in Jov. 56.

Οδού ἀπαίζεται, ταχύν ὑπὶ τὸν θάνατον ἡμῶν.
Ἀλλ' ἦτι παιδὸς ἐν ἱματίσιν παῦν τιλινίας.

Swift was thy growth, and early was thy bloom,
But earlier wisdom crown'd thy infant days.

Fortin.

Henry Stephens's translation of the latter verse
is very much to our purpose,

Verum ætate purer, digna erat meditatus adulta:
or rather his more paraphrasical translation,

And Pindar in like manner praises Demophilus.
Pyth. Od. iv. 501. κεφαλι γὰρ ἐν σαι καθισμώ, κεφαλι βαμβακίοις. Our author might allude to these
passages, but he certainly did allude to the words of
the Apostle, 1 Cor. xiii. 11. only inverting the
thought, When I was a child, I spake as a child;

Newton.

He seems purposely, in this description, to have
elevated the character of the Divine Person above
that of the inspired one, of our blessed Lord above
that of his Apostle, whose account of his own
infantine disposition he certainly had here in his
mind.

The following passage, from Plutarch's life of
Cato, is perhaps more apposite than either of the
above from Callimachus and Pindar.

Ἀργυρᾶ τε Κατών, εὐθὲς εἰ παιδίν, τῇ τε θυρῇ καὶ τῇ
περισσω, καὶ ταῖς περὶ τε τος παιδιὰς διάτριβαις, ὡς
ἀντίκειν αἱριθαίων, καὶ αἵε τε βίδανοι ν παίων.


"It is related of Cato, that, from his childhood,
"by his countenance, his manner of speaking,
"and even his boyish amusements, he displayed a
"disposition uniformly steady, firm, and reso-
"lute."

Serious
PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK I.

Serious to learn and know, and thence to do
What might be public good; myself I thought
Born to that end, born to promote all truth,
All righteous things: therefore, above my years,
The law of God I read, and found it sweet,
Made it my whole delight, and in it grew
To such perfection, that, ere yet my age

it is said of him that he increased in wisdom and stature.

And thus Spence,

Ne in her speech, ne in her haviour
Was lightness seen, or looser vanity,
But gracious womanhood, and gravity
Above the reason of her youthful years,

FAERY QUEEN, B. ii. C. ii. 15.

In the second Chapter of St. Luke, after the
return of Jesus to Nazareth from Jerusalem, where
he had been found in the Temple,

Among the gravest Rabbin disputant,
On points and questions sitting Moses' chair,

Ece sacerdotum in medio conspicimus illum,
(Prima rudimenta, et virtutis signa futurae,
Alta recensentem vatum monumenta, patrumque
Primores ultra sciamtem obscura, docentemque.

illum.
Had measur'd twice six years, at our great feast
I went into the temple, there to hear
The teachers of our law, and to propose
What might improve my knowledge or their own;
And was admir'd by all: yet this not all
To which my spirit aspir'd; victorious deeds
Flam'd in my heart, heroic acts, one while
To rescue Israel from the Roman yoke,
Then to subdue and quell, o'er all the earth,
Brute violence and proud tyrannic power,
Till truth were freed, and equity restor'd:
Yet held it more humane, more heavenly, first
By winning words to conquer willing hearts,
And make persuasion do the work of fear;  
At least to try, and teach the erring soul,  
Not wilfully misdoing, but unaware  
Misled; the stubborn only to subdue.  
These growing thoughts my mother soon perceiving,  
By words at times cast forth, inly rejoic'd,  
And said to me apart, "High are thy thoughts,  
O Son, but nourish them, and let them soar  
To what heighth sacred virtue and true worth  
Can raise them, though above example high;  
By matchless deeds express thy matchless Sire,  
For know, thou art no son of mortal man;  
Though men esteem thee low of parentage,  

which expression of Virgil seems to be taken from Xenophon, Oeconomic. xxii. 12. Οὐ γὰρ οἶκον  
μοι δοκεῖ ἔλθην τῇ το αὐξάνῃ αἰθητίᾳ λόγῳ, ἀλλὰ ἔκκλησι,  
τὸ ἐκλάνειν ἂν χρήσειν.  

226. the stubborn only to subdue.]  
This is Virgil's  
— debellare superius——.  

227. ——— my mother soon perceiving  
Inly rejoic'd.]  

Virgil, Æn. i. 502.  
Latone tacitum pertorrent gaudia presta.  

Fortun.  
The reader should recollect, that the occasion  
of the above verse, which is finely descriptive  
of maternal delight, was the distinguishing personal  
and divine appearance of Diana on the  
banks of Eurotas, surrounded by her nymphs;  
among whom  
—— illa pharetram  
Fert humero, gradiensque Deas supereminet omnes.  

231. ——— true worth]  

Nec vera virtus, cum semel excidit,  
Curat reponi deterioribus.  

Hor. L. 3. Ode 5.  

233. By matchless deeds express thy matchless Sire;  
Milton, in one place of his Paradise Lost,  
uses the verb to express, in the same sense as he has  
done here. It is one of the speeches of the Deity  
to Adam after his creation.  
Thus far to try thee, Adam, I was pleas'd,  
And find thee knowing, not in beasts alone,  
Which thou hast rightly nam'd, but of thyself,  
Expressing well the spirit within thee free,  
My image, not imparted to the brute,  

Matchless Sire may remind us of a line in the  
same poem, of which this line has also a considerable  
resemblance, both in the rhythm and in the  
repetition.  
Warring in Heaven against Heaven's matchless king.  

iv. 41.  

235. Though men esteem thee low of parentage.]  
"Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his  
mother called Mary? and his brethren James, and  
Joses, and Simon, and Judas?"  
"And
Thy father is the eternal King who rules
All Heaven and earth, Angels and sons of men;
A messenger from God foretold thy birth
Conceiv'd in me a virgin; he foretold,
Thou should'st be great, and sit on David's throne,
And of thy kingdom there should be no end.
At thy nativity, a glorious quire
Of Angels, in the fields of Bethlehem, sung
To shepherds, watching at their folds by night,
And told them the Messiah now was born,
Where they might see him, and to thee they came,
Directed to the manger where thou lay'st,
For in the inn was left no better room:
A star, not seen before, in Heaven appearing
Guided the wise men thither from the east,
To honor thee with incense, myrrh, and gold;
By whose bright course led on they found the place,

"And his sisters, are they not all with us?"
"Where is the man all these things?"
"And they were offended in him." —
Mat. xiii. 55, 56, 57. and Mark vi. 3.

"He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of the Highest: and the Lord God shall give unto the throne of his Father David:" —
"And he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever; and of his kingdom there shall be no end."
Luke i. 32, 33.

Of Angels, in the fields of Bethlehem, sung
To shepherds, watching at their folds by night, &c.

His place of birth a solemn Angel tells
To simple shepherds, keeping watch by night;
They gladly thither haste, and by a quire
Of squadron'd Angels hear his Carol sung.

Paradise Lost, xii. 364.

A star, not seen before, in Heaven appearing
Guided the wise men thither from the east,
To honour thee with incense, myrrh, and gold;
Yet at his birth a star,
Unseen before in Heaven, proclaims him come,
And guides the Eastern sages, who inquire
His place, to offer incense, myrrh, and gold.

Affirming...
Affirming it thy star, new-graven in Heaven,
By which they knew the king of Israel born.
Just Simeon and prophetic Anna, warn'd
By vision, found thee in the temple, and spake,
Before the altar and the vested priest,
Like things of thee to all that present stood.”
This having heard, strait I again revolv'd
The law and prophets, searching what was writ
Concerning the Messiah, to our scribes
Known partly, and soon found, of whom they spake
I am; this chiefly, that my way must lie
Through many a hard essay, even to the death,

255. Just Simeon and prophetic Anna,—
It may not be improper to remark how strictly
our author adheres to the Scripture history, not
only in the particulars which he relates, but also in
the very epithets which he affixes to the persons;
as here Just Simeon, because it is said, Luke ii. 25.
and the same man was just: and prophetic Anna,
because it is said, Luke ii. 36. and this was one
Anna a prophetess. The like accuracy may be
observed in all the rest of this speech.

261. to our scribes
Known partly,—
When the Magi arrived at Jerusalem enquiring
where they might find the Messiah, whom they
were come to worship, Herod called upon the Chief
Priests and Scribes for information where Christ
should be born. They truly answered him, from
the Prophet Micah, in Bebritchim of Judæa. Mat.
ii. 4, 5. Thus did these learned Jews, these of-
ficial expounders of their sacred writings, partly
know, or so far clearly understand, the prophecies
concerning the Messiah.

262. and soon found of whom they spake
I am—

The Jews thought that the Messiah, when he
came, would be without all power and distinction,
and unknown even to himself, till Elias had anointed
and declared him. "τὸν εαυτὸν ὁμοιότατον μοι εἶναι, ἦν ἐνότατον ἐν τῇ Ἰσραήλ," he
said. "ὁ άναστάς αὐτός, ὁ ἀνεμοικοδομήθης, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰν ἀνάμνεσιν ἠνεμοικοδομήθης τοῦ Κυρίου τοῖς ἄγγελοις αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν θάνατον καὶ τὴν ζωήν." Just. Mart. Dial. cum

264. Through many a hard essay, even to the death,
Thus in the Comus, 972.
And sent them here, through hard essays,
And Spenser, Faery Queen, B. vi. C. vi. St. 3.
And pass'd through many perilous essays—

Unto the death is an expression used in our trans-
lation of the Scriptures.—St. Paul, speaking of
his mode of life and conduct previous to his con-
version, says, I persecuted this way unto the death.
Acts, xxii. 4. See also Judges, v. 18. Revel.
xii. 11.
Ere I the promis'd kingdom can attain, 265
Or work redemption for mankind, whose sins' 270
Full weight must be transferr'd upon my head.
Yet, neither thus dishearten'd or dismay'd, 275
The time prefix'd I waited; when behold
The Baptist, (of whose birth I oft had heard,
Not knew by sight,) now come, who was to come
Before Messiah, and his way prepare!
I, as all others, to his baptism came,
Which I believ'd was from above; but he
Strait knew me, and with loudest voice proclaim'd
Me him, (for it was shown him so from Heaven,) 280
Me him, whose harbinger he was; and first
Refus'd on me his baptism to confer.
As much his greater, and was hardly won:

Behold Me then; Me for him, life for life
I offer; on Me let thine anger fall!

Milton has given repetitions of this kind, with
much effect, in his Paradise Lost.

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266. *whose sins*
Full weight must be transferr'd upon my head—]

Isaiah, liii. 6. The Lord hath laid on him the
iniquity of us all.

271. *Not knew by sight—]

Though Jesus and John the Baptist were related,
yet they were brought up in different countries, and
had no manner of intimacy or acquaintance with
each other. John the Baptist says expressly,
John i. 31, 33, And I knew him not. He did
not so much as know him by sight, till our Saviour
came to his baptism; and afterwards it doth not
appear that they ever conversed together.

276. *Me him, (for it was shown him so from Heaven,) 279. As much his greater—]

Me him, whose harbinger he was—]

Milton has given repetitions of this kind, with
much effect, in his Paradise Lost.

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279. As much his greater—]

Here Milton uses the word *greater* in the same
manner as he had done before, Paradise Lost,
V. 172.

Thou Sun, of this great world both eye and soul,

Acknowledge him thy greater.

And this, I think, is a proof that the present reading
there is right, and that both Dr. Bentley's
emendation and mine ought absolutely to be re-
jected.

Dr. Bentley had proposed to read

Acknowledg.
But, as I rose out of the laving stream, 
Heaven opened her eternal doors, from whence 
The Spirit descended on me like a dove;  
And last, the sum of all, my Father’s voice,  
Audibly heard from Heaven, pronounced me his,  
Me his beloved Son, in whom alone 
He was well pleas’d; by which I knew the time 
Now full, that I no more should live obscure,  
But openly begin, as best becomes.  
The authority which I deriv’d from Heaven.  
And now by some strong motion I am led  
Into this wilderness, to what intent  
I learn not yet; perhaps I need not know,  
For what concerns my knowledge God reveals.

Acknowledge him Creator

And Mr. Thyer

Acknowledge thy Creator

out of the laving stream,  
Alluding to the phrase laver of regeneration so frequently applied to baptism. It may be observed in general of this soliloquy of our Saviour, that it is not only excellently well adapted to the present condition of the divine speaker, but also very artfully introduced by the poet, to give us a history of his hero from his birth to the very scene with which the poem is opened.

eternal doors—  
So in Psal. xxiv. 7. 9. everlasting doors. And, 
Paradise Lost, vii. 205.  
Heaven open’d wide 

Now full—  
Alluding to the Scripture phrase, the fulness of time. When the fulness of time was come, &c. Gal. iv. 4.

For what concerns my knowledge God reveals.]  
This whole soliloquy is formed upon an opinion, which hath authorities enough to give it credit, that Christ was not, by virtue of the personal union of the two natures, and from the first moment of that union, possessed of all the knowledge of the Logos, as far as the capacity of a human mind would admit. [See Le Blanc’s Elucidatio Status Controversiarum, &c. Cap. 3.] In his early years he increased in wisdom, and in stature. St. Luke ii. 52. And Beza observes upon this place, that — ipsa \( \Theta\alpha\nu\tau\iota\varphi\iota\varphi\nu \) plenitudo sese, prout & quatenus ipsi libuit, humanitati assumtæ insinuavit: quicquid garriant mataeologi, & novi Ubiquitarii Eutychiani. Grotius employs the same principle, to explain Mark,
BOOK I.

PARADISE REGAINED.

So spake our Morning Star; then in his rise,
And, looking round, on every side beheld
A pathless desert, dusk with horrid shades;
The way he came not having mark’d, return
Was difficult, by human steps untrod;
And he still on was led, but with such thoughts
Accompanied of things past and to come
Lodg’d in his breast, as well might recommend
Such solitude before choicest society.

St. Mark, xiii. 32.—Videtur mihi, ni meliora
docear, hic locus non impie posse exponi hunc in
modum, ut dicamus divinam sapientiam menti
humanae Christi efficitus suos impressisse pro tempore
rum ratione. Nam quid alii est, si verba non

torquemus, πρωντητῇ σεφιν, Luc. II. 52? And
our Tillotson approved the opinion.—"It is
not unreasonable to suppose, that the Divine
Wisdom, which dwelt in our Saviour, did com-
municate itself to his human soul according to
his pleasure, and so his human Nature might at
some times not know some things. And if this
be not admitted, how can we understand that
passage concerning our Saviour, Luke, ii. 52.
that Jesus grew in wisdom and stature?"

Calton.

294. So spake our Morning Star—]
So our Saviour is called in the Revelation, xxii.
16. the bright and morning star. — Newton.
And thus Spenser, in his HYMN OF HEAVENLY
Love.

O blessed well of love! O flower of grace!
O glorious morning star! O lamp of light!
Most lively image of thy Father’s face,
Eternal King of glory, Lord of might,
Meek Lamb of God before all worlds behight,
How can we thee requite for all this good?
Or what can prize that thy most precious blood?

296. —— on every side beheld
A pathless desert, dusk with horrid shades;]

Thus Virgil describes the wood in which Ery
yalus is taken, in his ninth Æneid.

Sylva fuit, late DUMIS ATQUE ILICIE SAGRA
Horrida, quam densi compleant undique sentes:
RARA FRF OCCULTOS LUCEBAT SEMITA CALLES.

381.

But dusk with horrid shades is more immediately
from

HORRENTIQUE ATRUM NEMUS IMMINET UMBRA.

ÆN. i. 165.

298. —— by human steps untrod;]
Silius Italicus describes the Alps

NEGATAS

GRESSUS HUMANIS ALPIS

xvii. 508.

299. And he still on was led, but with such thoughts
Accompanied of things past and to come
Lodg’d in his breast, as well might recommend
Such solitude before choicest society.]

The Poet here resumes and continues the description
he had given of our blessed Lord, previous to
his Soliloquy, on his first entering the desert,
v. 189.

302. Such solitude before choicest society.]

This verse is of the same measure as one in the
Paradise Lost, ix. 249, and is to be scanned in the
same manner.

For Solitude sometimes is; best soliciety.
Such solitude before choicest soliciety.

F

Or
PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK I.

Full forty days he pass’d, whether on hill
Sometimes, anon on shady vale, each night
Under the covert of some ancient oak
Or cedar to defend him from the dew,

Or we must allow that an Alexandrine verse (as it is called,) may be admitted into blank verse as well as into rhyme.

Newton.

I agree with Bp. Newton that this verse is to be scanned in the same manner as the one he has cited from the Paradise Lost; but I do not accede to his manner of scanning them. Their only irregularity, (if we read choice accent on the last syllable, as we must ---from, v. 175. of this Book, where see Jortin’s note,) is their having two hypercatalectic syllables, which Shakespeare and the Dramatic Poets frequently use. Thus in MACBETH,

Come take my milk for gall, ye murdr’ring ministers!—

Bp. Newton, although perfectly well-read in the Latin Poets, appears to have paid but little attention to the very wide difference which there is between the quantity of Latin verse, and the accent, or ictus, on which the rhythm of English verse entirely depends. In consequence of this, in his first note on the Paradise Lost, speaking of the measure, he has some observations that seem highly erroneous.---He there cites the following verse, as an instance of Milton’s sometimes using the Trochee, or foot of one long and one short syllable, | − − |, instead of the Iambic, which consists of one short and one long, | − |.

Who durst defy th’ Omnipotent to arms.

Here, reading with a classical eye, but laying aside his English ear, he thus marks Omnipotent. But, according to the invariable pronunciation of our language, the ictus falls so strong on the second syllable of Omnipotent, that the first is comparatively short; and the verse, scanned accordingly, becomes a pure English Iambic.


Neither does he seem to have at all considered how much Milton availed himself both of elisions and contractions. Otherwise he would scarcely have cited the three following verses, (See Newton’s first note on the Paradise Lost,) as exhibiting the one a Daëtyl | − − |, the other an Anapaest | − − |, the third a Tribrachus | − − − |; for, in fact, the first and third are pure Lambics; and the second has no irregularity, except in the first foot, in which place much licence is often taken, and the Trochee, particularly, is often introduced with the best effect.

Hœrid headlong flœ’ning from th’ ethereal sky,
Mœriads though bright; if he whom mus’tual league,
Tœ man’y a rowl of pipes th’ sound|-board breathes.

Milton’s practice of frequently cutting off the letter, in the conclusion of a word, when it precedes a vowel, has been remarked by Mr. Addison in his Critique on the language of the Paradise Lost.

303. Full forty days he pass’d, whether on hill
Sometimes, anon on shady vale, &c.——]

Here the Poet of Paradise Lost breaks out in his meridian splendor. There is something particularly picturesque in this description.

305. Under the covert of some ancient oak
Or cedar——]

The Cedar and the Oak are frequently mentioned together in Scripture. Isaiah ii. 13.—xliv.

306. —-- to defend him from the dew.

That the dews of that country were very considerable may be collected from several parts of Scripture. The dews of mount Hermon are particularly noticed in the 133d Psalm, as producing the most irrigous effects. Maundrell, in his Travels, when within little more than half a day’s journey of this mountain, says, ‘‘we were sufficiently
Or harbour’d in one cave, is not reveal’d;
Nor tasted human food, nor hunger felt
Till those days ended, hunger’d then at last
Among wild beasts: they at his sight grew mild,
Nor sleeping him nor waking harm’d; his walk

towards man. Having described Adam and Eve in Paradise, in their state of innocence, he says,

About them frisking play’d
All beasts of the earth, since wild, and of all chase
In wood or wilderness, forest or den;
Sporting the lion ramp’d, and in his paw
Dandled the kid; bears, tigers, ounces, pard;
Gambol’d before them—

Immediately after the Fall, among other changes of nature, the animals begin to grow savage.

Discord first,
Daughter of Sin, among the irrational
Death introduced through fierce antipathy:

Beast now with beast ’gan war, and fowl with fowl,
And fish with fish; to graze the herb all leaving
Devour’d each other, nor stood much in awe
Of man, but fled him; or with countenance grim
Glar’d on him passing—

Here, upon the appearance of perfect innocence in a human form amongst them, they begin to resume a certain proportion of their Paradisiacal disposition.

In Homer’s Hymn to Venus, where that Goddess descends on Mount Ida, to visit Anchises at his folds, her appearance is described as having the same effect, in its fullest extent.

To Ida, source of many a bursting fount,
Nurse of wild beasts, she came, and to the folds

Travers’d direct the summit. Grisly wolves,
Grim-visag’d lions, bears, and swift of foot
Pards who the timorous deer unsated gore;
Before her lawning crouch’d, and on her steps

Attend’d playful—

The
The fiery serpent fled and noxious worm,
The lion and fierce tiger glar’d aloof.
But now an aged man in rural weeds,
Following, as seem’d, the quest of some stray ewe,
Or wither’d sticks to gather, which might serve

312. The fiery serpent fled and noxious worm.]
The word worm, though joined with the epithet noxious, may give too low an idea to some readers; but, as we observed upon the Paradise Lost, ix. 1068, where Satan is called false worm, it is a general name for the reptile kind; and a serpent is called the mortal worm, by Shakespear, 2 Henry VI. SIXTH, Act III.

And in the Midsummer Night’s Dream, Act III.

Could not a worm, an adder do as much?
Shakespear also, in his Antony and Cleopatra, calls the Aspic, “the pretty worm of Nilus,” on which Johnson observes that “worm is the Teutonic word for serpent.” He adds, “we have the blind-worm and slow-worm still in our language, and the Norwegians call an enormous monster, seen sometimes in the northern ocean, the sea-worm.”

313. The lion and fierce tiger glar’d aloof.]—about them round
A LION now he stalks with fiery glare;
Then is a tiger—
Paradise Lost, iv. 401.

In a passage of the Paradise Lost, cited in the last note but one, it is said that, after the fall, the wild beasts, ceasing to graze,
Devour’d each other, nor stood much in awe
Of man; but fled him, or with countenance grim
Glar’d on him passing—
The latter part of which description is palpably taken from Shakespear.

I met a lion
Who glar’d upon me, and went surly by,
Without annoying me—

Julius Caesar, Act I, Sc. 4.

313. ——— aloof.] But safest he who stood aloof
When insupportably his foot advance’d—
Sams. Agon. 135.

314. But now an aged man—]
As the Scripture is entirely silent about what personage the Tempter assumed, the Poet was at liberty to indulge his own fancy; and nothing, I think, could be better conceived for his present purpose, or more likely to prevent suspicion of fraud. The poet might perhaps take the hint from a design of David Vinkboon, where the Devil is represented addressing himself to our Saviour, under the appearance of an old man. It is to be met with among Vischer’s cuts to the Bible, and is engraved by Landerselt.

314. — an aged man in rural weeds,]—Thus, in the first Book of the Faery Queen, Una and the Red-cross Knight are met by the Enchanter Archimago, disguised under the appearance of an old Hermit,
At length they chanc’d to meet upon their way
An aged man in long black weeds yclad.
B. i. C. i. 29.

And, in Comus, v. 84, the Spirit says, he must put off his celestial habiliments,
And take the weeds and likeness of a swain.
The weeds of a swain are “rural weeds;” and thus Satan, under this disguise, in verse 337 of this Book, is called the swain.

315. Following, as seem’d, the quest of some stray ewe,] — I came not here on such a trivial toy
As a stray’d ewe——
Comus, 508.

Against
Against a winter's day, when winds blow keen,
To warm him wet return'd from field at eve,
He saw approach, who first with curious eye
Perus'd him, then with words thus utter'd spake.

SIR, what ill chance hath brought thee to this place
So far from path or road of men, who pass
In troop or caravan? for single none
Durst ever, who return'd, and dropt not here
His carcass, pin'd with hunger and with drought,
I ask the rather, and the more admire,
For that to me thou seem'st the man, whom late
Our new baptizing Prophet at the ford
Of Jordan honor'd so, and call'd thee Son

Milton seems here to have had in his mind the vast sandy deserts of Africa; which Diodorus Siculus describes—

And in the Paradise Lost, B. viii. where Adam relates to Raphael his own sensations, immediately after his creation, having with infinite beauty described the scene that surrounded him, and first attracted and gratified his attention, he thus proceeds to speak of his survey of himself.
PARADISE REGAINED.  

BOOK I.

Of God: I saw and heard, for we sometimes
Who dwell this wild, constrain’d by want, come forth
To town or village nigh, (nighest is far,)
Where ought we hear, and curious are to hear
What happens new; fame also finds us out.

To whom the Son of God. Who brought me hither, 335
Will bring me hence; no other guide I seek.

By miracle he may, reply’d the swain;
What other way I see not, for we here
Live on tough roots and stubs, to thirst inur’d

This new-created world, whereof in Hell
Fame is not silent

328. ———— for we here
Live on tough roots and stubs—]

This must certainly be a mistake of the printer, and instead of stubs it ought to be read shrubs. It is no uncommon thing to read of hermits and ascetics living in deserts upon roots and shrubs, but I never heard of stubs being used for food, nor indeed is it reconcilable to common sense. Some have thought that the on, which the Scripture says were the meat of the Baptist, were the tops of plants or shrubs.

Yet, in the Tempest, Prospero threatens Ferdinando with nearly as hard fare. Act I. Sc. 3.

thy food shall be
The fresh brook mussels, wither’d roots, and husks
Wherein the acorn cradled

Stubs are in fact only broken ends of the larger withered roots.

339. ———— to thirst inur’d
More than the camel—]

It is commonly said that camels will go without water three or four days. Sitim & quattuor tolerant. Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. viii. Sect. 26. But Tavernier
More than the camel, and to drink go far,
Men to much misery and hardship born:
But, if thou be the Son of God, command
That out of these hard stones be made thee bread,
So shalt thou save thyself, and us relieve
With food, whereof we wretched seldom taste.

He ended, and the Son of God reply'd.
Think'st thou such force in bread? Is it not written,
(For I discern thee other than thou seem'st,)
Man lives not by bread only, but each word
Proceeding from the mouth of God, who fed
Our fathers here with Manna? In the mount.

Tavernier says, that they will ordinarily live without drink eight or nine days.

Julius Pollux, (L. i. C. 10.) speaking of camels comparatively with horses, says they are ἱπποτέρεις, "more capable of rendering service, because they are not affected by thirst."—An Arabian author, cited by Bochart, in his Hierozoicon, (Part i. B. 2. C. 2.) says, "the camel can not only go without water for ten days, but will eat such things as grow in the deserts, which no other beasts of burden will eat."

348. For I discern thee other than thou seem'st,
In the concluding Book of this Poem, our Lord says to the Tempter,

andes, thou art discern'd
And toil'st in vain

349. Man lives not by bread only, but each word Proceeding from the mouth of God, who fed Our fathers here with Manna?—

The words of St. Matthew, C. iv. 44. are,
But he answered and said, It is written man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God. And this refers to the eight Chapter of Deuteronomy, V. 3, where the humiliation of the Israelites in the wilderness, and their being there miraculously fed with manna, are recited as arguments for their obedience, and he humbled thee, and suffered thee to hunger, and fed thee with manna, which thou knewest not, neither did thy fathers know; that he might make thee known that man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live.

The Poet, who was, beyond a doubt, "mighty in the scripture," has, with much art, availed himself of the original passage in the Old Testament, as it affords him such an immediate and apposite transition to the miraculous feeding the Children of Israel, their great lawgiver, and afterwards Elijah, in the wilderness.

351. ———— in the mount
Moses was forty days, nor eat, nor drank;
"And he was there," (i.e. in the mount)
"with the Lord, forty days and forty nights; he did neither eat bread, nor drink water."

Exodus, xxxiv, 28. See also Deuter. ix. 9.

Moses
Moses was forty days, nor eat, nor drank;  
And forty days Elijah, without food,  
Wander'd this barren waste; the same I now:  
Why dost thou then suggest to me distrust,  
Knowing who I am, as I know who thou art?  
Whom thus answer'd the Arch-Fiend, now undisguis'd.  
'Tis true I am that Spirit unfortunate,

353. And forty days Elijah, without food,  
Wander'd this barren waste—]  
After Elijah had been miraculously fed in the wilderness, it is said of him that he spent in the strength of that meat forty days and forty nights,  
into Horeb, the mount of God.  
1 Kings, xix. 8.  

356. Knowing who I am—]  
This is not to be understood of Christ's divine nature. The Tempter knew him to be the person declared the Son of God by a voice from Heaven,  
V. 385, and that was all that he knew of him.  
Calton.  

357. ———— the Arch-Fiend—]  
Satan is thus called in the Paradise Lost,  
Book 1.  
Whereo with speedy words the Arch-Fiend reply'd,  
136.  
So, stretch'd out huge in length, the Arch-Fiend lay.  
209.  
When he breaks the horrid silence in his first speech to Beelzebub, he is termed the Arch-Enemy.  

358. 'Tis true I am that Spirit unfortunate.]  
Satan's instantaneous arousal of himself here has a great and fine effect. It is consistent with a certain dignity of character which is given him in general, through the whole of the Paradise Lost.—The rest of his speech is artfully submissive.  
It may not be improper in this place, to consider the conduct of the Poet, and the reason of it, respecting the Arch-Fiend's appearance and de-
Who, leagu'd with millions more in rash revolt
Kept not my happy station, but was driven
With them from bliss to the bottomless deep,
Yet to that hideous place not so confin'd

forth, as might be expected from his haughty and violent character, into sentiments of indignation and rage, and prepares for the most determined resistance; from which however he is deterred by a sign from above, which he knew to proceed immediately from the hand of God. On the present occasion, "aw from above had quell'd his heart." He was aware of the superiority of the Son of God, and, as the Scripture says of him, he believes and trembles;

But thou art plac'd above me, thou art Lord,
From thee I can, and must submiss, endure
Check, or reproof; and glad to escape so quit.

Milton's different representations of the conduct of Satan, in these two different exigencies, may be considered as meant to elucidate and exalt the character of our Lord, whom the Almighty had before directed all the angels of Heaven to adore and honor as himself,

— All ye Gods,
Adore the Son, and honor him as me.

Paradise Lost, iii. 343.

Neither are his glory and honor confined to the celestial mansions; but even the infernal spirits are involuntarily led to pay him the same homage.—We may observe, as a further circumstance of the marked superiority of our Lord's character over that of the blessed angels, that Ithuriel and Zephon, on Satan's resuming his own proper shape, knew him not, until he informed them who he was; and that Gabriel himself, at Satan's first appearance before him, says only that he:

— by his gait,
And fierce demeanour, seems the Prince of Hell.

But our Lord here is acquainted with all the wiles and intentions of his adversary, and knows him under all his disguise, and at his first approach.—

The first entrance of Satan into Paradise, we may also recollect, was under disguise; in which he deceived Uriel, who was held to be

The sharpest sighted Spirit of all in Heaven.

But, as he says,

— neither man nor angel can discern
Hypocrisy, the only evil that walks
Invisible, except only to God alone,

Paradise Lost, iii. 682.

This discovery of Satan then may be considered as an intended proof of our Lord's divine character, in his discerning what was invisible, except to God alone; and the submiss and crouching behaviour of the Arch-Fiend, so different from what it was upon all other occasions, amounts to a further attestation of it.

360. Kept not my happy station—]
A manner of speaking borrowed from the Scripture, Jude vi. And the angels which kept not their first estate.

360. — but was driven
With them from bliss, to the bottomless deep.] — Him the almighty power
Hurl'd headlong flaming from the ethereal sky,
With hideous ruin and combustion, down
To bottomless perdition

Paradise Lost, i. 44.

— eternal wrath
Burnt after them to the bottomless pit.—

vi. 865.

362. — that hideous place—]
The Devils, immediately after their expulsion from Heaven, in the first Book of Paradise Lost, are described "abject and lost,

Under amazement of their hideous change.

G
By rigor unconniving, but that oft,
Leaving my dolorous prison, I enjoy
Large liberty to round this globe of earth,
Or range in the air; nor from the Heaven of Heavens
Hath he excluded my resort sometimes.
I came among the sons of God, when he
Gave up into my hands Uzzean Job
To prove him and illustrate his high worth;
And, when to all his Angels he propos'd
To draw the proud king Ahab into fraud

Milton frequently uses this expression of "the
"Heaven of Heavens," Paradise Lost, iii.
365. vii. 553; xii. 451.
Solomon, in his prayer at the dedication of the
Temple, says, But will God indeed dwell in the
earth? Behold the Heaven, and Heaven of
Heavens cannot contain thee; how much less this
house that I have builded!
1 Kings, viii. 27.

368. I came among the Sons of God—]
Now there was a day when the sons of God came
to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan came
also among them. Job, i. 6.

369. Uzzean Job]
"There was a man in the land of Uz, whose
name was Job." Job, i. 1.

370. To draw the proud king Ahab into fraud]
This story of Ahab is related, 1 Kings, xxii.
19, &c. I saw the Lord sitting on his throne, and
all the host of Heaven standing by him, on his right
hand and on his left. And the Lord said, Who shall
persuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth-gilead? And one said on this manner, and an-
other on that manner. And there came forth a Spirit,
and stood before the Lord, and said, I will persuade
him.
That he might fall in Ramoth, they demurring,
I undertook that office, and the tongues
Of all his flattering prophets glibb’d with lies
To his destruction, as I had in charge;
For what he bids I do. Though I have lost
Much lustre of my native brightness, lost
To be belov’d of God, I have not lost

Think not, revolted Spirit, thy shape the same,
Or undiminish’d brightness to be known,
As when thou stood’st in Heaven upright and pure;
That glory then, when thou no more wast good,
Departed from thee;

I have not lost
To lose, at least contemplate and admire,
What I see excellent in good, or fair,
Or virtuous—

After the rebuke of Zephon to Satan, part of which is cited in the preceding note, it is said,

So spake the Cherub; and his grave rebuke,
Severe in youthful beauty, added grace
Invincible; abash’d the Devil stood,
And felt how awful goodness is, and saw
Virtue in her shape how lovely; saw, and pin’d
His loss.

Thus also, in the second Book of the Paradise Lost, where the fallen Angels are described doing homage to the Public Spirit of their Chief, it is said,

for neither do the Spirits damn’d
Lose all their virtue.

And, where Satan first sees Adam and Eve in Paradise, he "contemplates them with admiration." Speaking of them he says

whom my thoughts pursue

With wonder, and could love, so lively shines
In them divine resemblance, and such grace
The hand that form’d them on their shape hath pour’d.

Paradise Lost, iv. 362.
To love, at least contemplate and admire,
What I see excellent in good, or fair,
Or virtuous; I should so have lost all sense:
What can be then less in me than desire
To see thee and approach thee, whom I know
Declar'd the Son of God, to hear attent
Thy wisdom, and behold thy Godlike deeds?
Men generally think me much a foe
To all mankind: why should I? they to me
Never did wrong or violence; by them
I lost not what I lost, rather by them
I gain'd what I have gain'd, and with them dwell,
Copartner in these regions of the world,
If not disposer; lend them oft my aid,
Oft my advice by presages and signs,
And answers, oracles, portents and dreams,
Whereby they may direct their future life.
Envy they say excites me, thus to gain

The following passage of Cicero reflects so much light on these lines, as would incline one to believe that Milton had it in his mind.

"Multa cernunt haruspices; multa augures provident; multa oraculis declarantur, multa vaticinationibus, multa somniis, multa portentis: quibus cognitis, multa scilicet res hominum sententia atque utilitate partes;" (or, as Lambinus read, ex animi sententia atque utilitate partes) "multa etiam pericula depulsa sunt." —

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**385.** to hear attent

Milton seems to have borrowed this word, and this emphatical manner of applying it, from Spenser,

**Faery Queen, B. vi. Cant. 9. St. 26.**

"Whil'st thus he talk'd, the knight with greedy ear Hung still upon his melting mouth attent."—Thyser.

Shakespeare also, Hamlet, Act I. Scene 2. has

Season your admiration for a while
With an attent ear.

**393.** lend them oft my aid,

"Oft my advice by presages and signs,
And answers, oracles, portents and dreams,
Whereby they may direct their future life.

"They
Companions of my misery and woe.
At first it may be; but, long since with woe
Nearer acquainted, now I feel, by proof,
That fellowship in pain divides not smart,
Nor lightens ought each man's peculiar load.
Small consolation then, were man adjoin'd:
This wounds me most, (what can it less?) that man,
Man fallen shall be restor'd, I never more.
To whom our Saviour sternly thus reply'd.
Deservedly thou griev'st, compos'd of lies
From the beginning, and in lies wilt end;
Who boast'st release from Hell, and leave to come

"They say" is not here merely expletory, or
only of general reference. It relates to what
Raphael in express terms had said in the conclusion
of the sixth Book of the Paradise Lost, where
he warns Adam of Satan's purposes against him and
the motives of them.

— he who envies now thy state,
Who now is plotting how he may seduce
Thee also from obedience, that with him
Bereav'd of happiness thou may'st partake
His punishment, eternal misery;
Which would be all his solace and revenge,
As a despite done against the most High,
Thee once to gain companion of his woe.

Our author had in his eye this line of the poet,
Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris.
Thyer.

We may compare the following passage of Cicero;
"Nam illud non intelligo, quamobrem, si vivere
honeste non possunt, perire turpiter velint: aut
Cur minore dolore perituros se cum

"Multis, quam si soli perant, arbitren-
"tur."

404. This wounds me most, (what can it less?) that man,
Man fallen shall be restor'd, I never more.

The Poet very judiciously makes the Tempter
conclude with these lines concerning the restoration
of fallen man, in order to lead our Saviour to say
something about the manner of it, to know which
was one great part of his design, that he might be
able, if possible, to counterplot and prevent it.
With no less judgment is our Saviour represented
in the following answer, taking no other notice of
it than by replying, Deservedly thou griev'st, &c.
Thyer.

In the first speech of the Deity, in the third
Book of the Paradise Lost, the difference
between the Fall of the Angels, and the Fall of
Man, and the respective future consequences of each
are thus pointed out.

The first sort by their own suggestion fell,
Self-tempted, self-deprav'd; man falls deceiv'd
By the other first; man therefore shall find grace,
The other none.
Into the Heaven of Heavens: thou com'st indeed,
As a poor miserable captive thrall
Comes to the place where he before had sat
Among the prime in splendor, now depos'd,
Ejected, emptied, gaz'd, unpitied, shunn'd,
A spectacle of ruin, or of scorn,
To all the host of Heaven: the happy place
Imparts to thee no happiness, no joy,
Rather inflames thy torment, representing
Lost bliss, to thee no more communicable,
So never more in Hell than when in Heaven.
But thou art serviceable to Heaven's King.
Wilt thou impute to obedience what thy fear
Extorts, or pleasure to do ill excites?
What but thy malice mov'd thee to misdeem
Of righteous Job, then cruelly to afflict him

411. As a poor miserable captive thrall
Thrall is an old word for slave; frequently used
by Spenser.

411. As a poor miserable captive thrall]
ne did he cease,
Till that he came where he had Cambell seen,
Like captive thrall, two other knights a'ween,
Faery Queen, B. iv. C. iv. 34.

Milton in the Paradise Lost, has

412. Among the prime in splendor—
These were the prime in order and in might.
Paradise Lost, i. 506.

413. Among the prime in splendor—
Of those heaven-warring champions.

414. Ejected, emptied, gaz'd, unpitied, shunn'd,]
Milton is fond of accumulating a cluster of participles.

Exhausted, spiritless, afflicted, fallen.
Paradise Lost, vi. 852.

416. — the happy place
Imparts to thee no happiness, no joy,
Rather inflames thy torment, representing
Lost bliss, to thee no more communicable,]

We find the same sentiment also, in Paradise
Lost, ix. 467.

But the hot hell that always in him burns,
Though in mid Heaven, soon ended his delight;
And tortures him now more, the more he sees
Of pleasure not for him ordain'd.

Thyer.

With
With all inflections? but his patience won.
The other service was thy chosen task,
To be a liar in four hundred mouths;
For lying is thy sustenance, thy food.
Yet thou pretend'st to truth; all oracles
By thee are given, and what confess'd more true
Among the nations? that hath been thy craft,
By mixing somewhat true to vent more lies.
But what have been thy answers, what but dark,
Ambiguous, and with double sense deluding,

435

tuis enim oraculis Chrysippus totum volumen implevit, partim falsis, ut ego opiner, partim casu veris, ut fit in omni oratione supermissi; partim flexiloquis, et obscuris, ut interpretes egeat interprete, et sors ipsa ad sortes referenda sit; partim ambiguis, et quae ad dialecticum deferenda sint. Cicero De Div. ii. 56.

Milton, in these lines about the Heathen oracles, seems to have had in view what Eusebius says more copiously upon this subject in the fifth book of his Preparatio Evangelica. That learned father reasons in the very same way about them, and gives many instances from history of their delusive and double meanings. It may not perhaps be impertinent to mention one by way of illustration. Croesus, sending to consult the Delphic oracle about the success of his intended expedition against the Persian, received this answer,

κροευς Ἀλουδίας μεγαλῆς επομενήν καταλύασιν.
Croesus Halyms penetrande magnm pervertet opum vim, which, by the ambiguity of one word, might either signify the conquest of the Persian empire, or the ruin of his own: but he, as it was natural enough for an ambitious prince to do, construing it according to his own flattering hopes, was overcome, and lost his kingdom.

Tuyer.
Which
Which they who ask'd have seldom understood,
And not well understood as good not known?
Who ever by consulting at thy shrine
Return'd the wiser, or the more instruct,
To fly or follow what concern'd him most,
And run not sooner to his fatal snare?
For God hath justly given the nations up
To thy delusions; justly, since they fell
Idolatrous: but, when his purpose is
Among them to declare his providence
To thee not known, whence hast thou then thy truth,
But from him, or his Angels president

439. in instruct.] Thus, B. ii. ver. 399, he writes suspected for suspected. In the Paradise Lost he always writes the participles at length; but in this Poem he has in every respect condensed his style, which may be one reason why it does not "please the million."

447. But from him, or his angels president
In every province?-
Utilitur etiam eis Deus (Demonibus) ad veritatis manifestationem per ipsos fiendum, dum divina mysteria eis per Angelos revelantur. The words are quoted from Aquinas (2da 2dae Quest. 172. Art. 6.)
Calton.


Milton has here followed the Septuagint reading in Deuteronomy. Οτε διηρίζεται ο θεος—εἰς των εἰσαὶ ἱερὰ κατὰ αἰτίμια αὑτῷ διε. Warburton.
In every province, who, themselves disdaining
To approach thy temples, give thee in command
What, to the smallest tittle, thou shalt say,
To thy adorers? Thou, with trembling fear,
Or like a fawning parasite, obey'st:
Then to thyself ascrib'st the truth foretold.
But this thy glory shall be soon retrench'd;
No more shalt thou by oracling abuse
The Gentiles; henceforth oracles are ceas'd,
And thou no more with pomp and sacrifice
Shalt be inquir'd at Delphos, or elsewhere;

455. And in the fifth Book of Lucan's Pharsalia,
where Appius is desirous to consult the Delphic
oracle, but finds it dumb, the priestess tells him;
--- muto Parnassus hiath

CONTICUIT, presuitque Deum, seu spiritus istas
Destituit saeues, mundique in devia versum
Duxit iter --- --- --- --- --- --- --- ---
--- --- --- seu sponte Deorum
Cypra silet.

Thus also Milton, in his Hymn on the Nativity;
The oracles are dumb,
No voice or hideous hum
Runs through the arched roof in words deceiving,
Apollo, from his shrine,
Can no more divine,
With hollow shriek the sleep of Delphos leaving.
And before him, Giles Fletcher, in his Christ's
Victory in Heaven, St. 82.
The Angels caroled loud their song of peace,
The cursed oracles were stricken dumb.—

458. Delphos,—

In the famous controversy about ancient and modern learning, Mr. Wotton reproves Sir William
Temple for putting Delphos for Delphi every where
in his Essays, Mr. Boyle justifies it, and says that

Thy.
At least in vain, for they shall find thee mute.
God hath now sent his living oracle
Into the world to teach his final will,
And sends his Spirit of truth henceforth to dwell
In pious hearts, an inward oracle
To all truth requisite for men to know.

So spake our Saviour; but the subtle Fiend,
Though inly stung with anger and disdain,
Dissembled, and this answer smooth return'd.
Sharply thou hast insisted on rebuke,
And urg'd me hard with doings, which not will
But misery hath wrested from me. Where
Easily canst thou find one miserable,
And not enforc'd oft-times to part from truth,
If it may stand him more in stead to lie,
Say and unsay, feign, flatter, or abjure?

it is used by all the finest writers of our tongue, and best judges of it, particularly Waller, Dryden, Creech, &c. If these authorities may justify Sir William Temple, they may also justify Milton; but certainly the true way of writing it is not Delphys in the accusative case, but Delphi in the nominative.

But Delphys in English is as proper as Argos, which by Livy, Virgil, and most of the Latin authors is written Argi.

460. ———— his living oracle

Christ is stiled by the Greek Fathers αὐτῷerver, ἐστω κοινεῷ, λόγος ὃς, essential life, the living counsel, and the living word of God. And St. John says, that in him was life, and the life was the light of men. i. 4.

And in Acts, vii. 38. where it is said, Who received the lively (or living) oracles to give unto us, instead of λόγος ὃς, some copies read λόγος ὁς.

469. —————— which not will
But misery hath wrested from me.—]

Thus, in Romeo and Juliet, the starved Apothecary excuses his selling poison,
My poverty, but not my will, consents.

474. Say and unsay, feign, flatter, or abjure?]
Might not Milton possibly intend here, and particularly by the word abjure, to lash some of his complying friends, who renounced their republican principles at the Restoration?

But
BOOK I.  PARADISE REGAINED.  51

But thou art plac'd above me, thou art Lord;
From thee I can, and must submiss, indure,
Check or reproof, and glad to escape so quit.
Hard are the ways of truth, and rough to walk,
Smooth on the tongue discours'd, pleasing to the ear,
And tuneable as sylvan pipe or song;

478. Hard are the ways of truth, and rough to walk,[]

Thus Silius Italicus, iv. 605. ;
Explicant adversa viros, perque aspera duro
Nititur ad laudem virtus interrita clivo.

And in Book the FIFTEENTH, where Virtue is
the speaker;
Casta mihi domus, et celso stant colle penates;
Aspera saxolo perducta semita clivo;
Asper principio, (nec enim mihi fallere mos est,) Prosequitur labor. Admittendum intrare volenti.

101.

Thus also Hesiod, Opera et Dies, 289.

478. Hard are the ways of truth, and rough to walk,
Smooth on the tongue discours'd, pleasing to the ear,
And tuneable as sylvan pipe or song;

Abroad in arms, at home in studious kind,
Who seeks with painful toil, shall honour soonest find.
In woods, in waves, in wars, she wants to dwell,
And will be found with peril and with pain;
Ne can the man, that moulds in idle cell,
Unto her happy mansion attain;
Before her gate high God did sweet ordain,
And wakeful watches ever to abide:
But easie is the way, and passage plain,
To pleasure's palace; it may soon be spide,
And day and night her doors to all stand open wide.

Thus in the Comus, V. 476.

How charming is divine philosophy!
Not harsh, and crabbed, as dull fools suppose,
But musical, as is Apollo's lute,
And a perpetual feast of celestial sweets—
And, in a passage in his Tractate on Education, cited by the late most able Editor of the Juvenile Poems, and exhibited also by Dr. Blair, in his Lectures on Rhetoric, as a sentence eminent for the admirable harmony of its structure, he says; “I shall not detain you longer in the demonstration of what we should not do; but strait conduct you to a hill-side, where I will point ye out the right path of a virtuous and noble education, laborious indeed at the first ascent, but also so smooth, so green, so full of goodly prospects and melodious sounds, that the harp of Orpheus was not more charming.”

480. —- tuneable as sylvan pipe or song—
—- such prompt eloquence
Flow'd from their lips in prose, or numerous verse.

Fairfax.

And from him Spenser, Faery Queen, B. II.
C. iii. 40. 41.
What wonder then if I delight to hear
Her dictates from thy mouth? Most men admire
Virtue, who follow not her lore: permit me
To hear thee when I come, (since no man comes,)
And talk at least, though I despair to attain.
Thy father, who is holy, wise, and pure,
Suffers the hypocrite or atheous priest
To tread his sacred courts, and minister
About his altar, handling holy things,
Praying or vowing; and vouchsaf’d his voice
To Balaam reprobate, a prophet yet
Inspir’d: disdain not such access to me.
To whom our Saviour, with unalter’d brow:
Thy coming hither, though I know thy scope,

More tunable than needed lute or harp
To add more sweetness.

More tunable than lark to shepherd’s ear;

Most men admire Virtue, who follow not her lore:—]
Imitated from the well-known saying of Medea.
Ovid Met. vii. 20.

Video meliora, proboque;
Deteriora sequor.

Cicero, speaking of Diogoras, says, “qui
‘Atheos dixit est.”

De Nat. Deor. i. 23.

To tread his sacred courts,—]
When ye come to appear before me, who hath re-
scribed this at your hand, to tread my courts?
 Isaiah, i. 11. 12.

Thus, 1 Cor. ix. 13.—they which minister
About holy things.—

Besides sacrifices of prayer and thanksgiving, the
Jews had vow-sacrifices, (Lev. vii. 16.) oblations
for vows, (xxii. 18.) and sacrifices in performing
their vows (Numbers, xv. 3. 8.)

And vouchsaf’d his voice
To Balaam reprobate,—]

An argument more plausible and more fallacious
could not have been put into the mouth of the
Tempter. Perfectly to enter into all the circum-
stances of this remarkable piece of Scripture his-
tory, and clearly to apprehend the judicious appli-
cation of it by the poet in this place, we may
refer to Bp. Butler’s excellent Sermon on the Cha-
acter of Balaam, or to Shuckford’s account of it
in the twelfth Book of his Connection of Sacred
and Prophane History.

I bid
Ibid not, or forbid; do as thou find'st
Permission from above; thou canst not more.
He added not; and Satan, bowing low
His gray dissimulation, disappear'd
Into thin air diffus'd: for now began
Night with her sullen wings to double-shade

498. *His gray dissimulation.—*]
Satan is still under his assumed character of an
old countryman.

— an aged man in rural weeds.

In our author's Latin poem on the *Fifth of
November*, where also he introduces him under the
disguise of an old Francisan friar, it is said,
— *Assumptis micantur tempora canis,*
which is equivalent to his *gray dissimulation* here.

499. *Into this air diffus'd:—*]
So Virgil, *Æn. iv.* 278.

E pluribus *tenuemc oculis evanuit auram.*

*Newton.*

And Shakespeare,

— these our actors,

As I foretold you, were all spirits, and

Are melted into air, into thin air.

**Tempest**, Act IV. Sc. 2.

499. *for now began
Night with her sullen wings to double-shade
The desert; fowls in their clay nests were couched:
And now wild beasts came forth the woods to roam.*

This brief description of night coming on in
the desert is singularly fine. It is a small but
exquisite sketch, which so immediately shews the
hand of the master, that his larger and more
finished pieces can hardly be rated higher.

The commencement of this description, both in
respect of its beginning with an hemistich, and
also in the sort of instantaneous coming on of night
which it represents, resembles much a passage in
Tasso,

*Cosi diss' egli;— e gia la notte oscura
Hovea tutti del giorno i raggi spenti;*  

Thus he complain'd;— but now the sable shade,
Icleped night, had thick enveloped
The sun in veil of double darkness made.

*Fairfax.*

500. *her sullen wings—*]
Nox ruit, et *fuscis tellurem ampléctitur alis.*

*Virg. Æn.* v. 369.

Thus also Manilius, speaking of the constellation
Orion;

*Quo fulgente super terras cxulumque trabente,*

Ementia *diem nigras non contrahit alis,*

*Astron.* v. 59.

And Tasso describes night covering the sky with
her wings.

*Sorgea la notte in tanto, e sotto l' ali
Recopriva del Cielo i campi immensi:*  

viii. 57.

But now the night dispers'd her lazy wings
O'er the broad fields of Heaven's bright wilderness.

*Fairfax.*

Spenser also, *Faery Queen,* B. VI. C. viii. 44.

— and now the even-tide

*His broad black wings had through the Heavens
wide
By this dispers'd.*

*And Allegro, 6;*

Where *brooding darkness spreads her jealous
wings.*

500. *to double-shade
The desert;—*]

i. e. to double the natural shade and darkness
of the place.—This is more fully expressed in
Hoggeus's translation of this passage.

*Nam nunc obscuras nox atra expandere pennas
Ceperat atque *nigras nemorum gelinare terras.*

*Thus*
The desert; fowls in their clay nests were couch’d;
And now wild beasts came forth the woods to roam *.

Thus in *Comus*, the elder brother, when separated
from his sister in the forest by night, addresses the
moon;
—— thou fair moon,
That wont’st to love the traveller’s benison,
Stoop thy pale visage through an amber cloud,
And disinherit chaos, that reigns here
In doUbLe night of darkness and of shades;
In a note on which last verse, in Mr. Warton’s
edition of the *Juvenile Poems*, the following line
of Pacuvius, cited by Cicero, (De Divinat. i. 14.)
is exhibited;

_Tenebrae conduplicantur, noctis et nimborum
occaent migror._

---

We may also compare Ovid, Met. xi. 548.;

--- tanta vertigine ponunt
Fervet, et induit pièces a nubibus umbrā
Omne latet cælum, duplicataque noctis imago
est.

And Ibid, 521.;

_Cœcaque non premitur tenebrisque hyemisque
suisque._

501. ——— fowls in their clay nests were couch’d:
       bird, and beast,
They to their grassy couch, these to their nest,
Were slunk._

**Paradise Lost**, iv. 600.

* That the *Paradise Regained* has been considerably under-rated by the world, seems of late to be
an opinion almost generally admitted. But perhaps we shall state the fact more correctly, if we say that
it has been neglected, rather than under-rated, that it has been more unknown, than not admired. This is so
much the case, that I apprehend some of the warmest panegyrics of the *Paradise Lost* have never honored
this Poem with a perusal; or only with a casual and most unfair one, under a cloud of prejudices
against it.—A critic, whose taste, judgment, and candor are unquestioned, has given it absolutely
no place at all among the Works of its Author. “If I might venture to place Milton’s Works according
as to their degrees of poetic excellence,” says Dr. Joseph Warton, “it should be perhaps in the following
order, *Paradise Lost, Comus, Samson Agonistes, Lycidas, L’Allegro, il Penseroso.*”
(See concluding note to the *Lycidas*, in Warton’s Edition of Milton’s *Juvenile Poems!*) I should hope that
*Paradise Regained* slipped accidentally out of the list: indeed what the late Mr. Warton has said
of the *Comus*, I do not hesitate to apply to the Poem before us, and to hazard freely my unqualified
opinion, that “the Author is here inferior only to his own *Paradise Lost*.”

If we take this opportunity to re-consider this first Book, we shall find much to admire, and little to
censure.

The Proposition of the Subject (Ver. 1.) is clear and dignified, and is beautifully wound up in the
concluding line,

_And Eden rais’d in the waste wilderness._

The Invocation of the Holy Spirit (Ver. 8.) is equally devout and poetical. The Baptism of John
(Ver. 18.) carries us with the best effect in medias res. Satan’s Infernal Council (Ver. 40.) is briefly, but
finessly, assembled; his Speech is admirable; and the effect of it is strongly depicted. This is strikingly
contrasted by the succeeding beautiful description of the Deity surrounded by his Angels; his Speech
to them; and the triumphant Hymn of the Celestial Choir.—Indeed the whole opening of this Poem is
executed in so masterly a manner, that making allowance for a certain wish to compress, which is palpably
visible, very few parts of the *Paradise Lost* can in any respect claim a pre-eminence.—The brief description
(Ver. 193.) of our Lord’s entering
now the bordering desert wild,
And with dark shades and rocks environ'd round,
And again, (Ver. 295.) where "looking round on every side he beholds"
A pathless desert, dusk with horrid shades,

are scenes worthy the pencil of Salvador. Our Lord's Soliloquy (Ver. 196.) is a material part of the Poem, and briefly narrates the early part of his life. In the Paradise Lost, where the divine persons are speakers, Milton has so chastened his pen, that we meet with few poetical images, and chiefly scriptural sentiments, delivered, as near as may be, in scriptural, and almost always in unornamented, language. But the Poet seems to consider this circumstance of the Temptation, (if I may venture so to express myself,) as the last, perfect, completion of the Initiation of the man Jesus in the mystery of his own divine nature and office: at least he feels himself entitled to make our Saviour while on earth, and "inshrined in fleshly tabernacle," speak in a certain degree, subject, or, after the manner of men. Accordingly all the speeches of our blessed Lord, in this Poem, are far more elevated than any language that is put into the mouth of the divine speakers in any part of the Paradise Lost. The ingrafting Mary's Speech (Ver. 230.) into that of her Son, it must be allowed, is not a happy circumstance. It has an awkward effect, loads the rest of the Speech, and might have been avoided, and better managed. The description (Ver. 303.) of the probable manner of our Lord's passing the forty days in the wilderness is very picturesque; and the return of the wild beasts (Ver. 310.) to their Paradisiacal mildness is finely touched. The appearance of the Tempter in his assumed character (Ver. 314.) the deep art of his two first speeches, covered, but not totally concealed, by a semblance of simplicity; his bold avowal and plausible vindication of himself (Ver. 357.); the subsequent detection of his fallacies (Ver. 407.), and the pointed reproofs of his impudence and hypocrisy, on the part of our blessed Lord,—cannot be too much admired. Indeed, the whole conclusion of this Book abounds so much in closeness of reasoning, grandeur of sentiment, elevation of style and harmony of numbers, that it may well be questioned whether poetry on such a subject, and especially in the form of dialogue, ever produced any thing superior to it.

The singular beauty of the brief description of Night coming on in the Desert, has been particularly noticed in its place: it closes the Book with such admirable effect, that it leaves us con la bocca dolce.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.
ARGUMENT OF BOOK II.

The Disciples of Jesus, uneasy at his long absence, reason amongst themselves concerning it. Mary also gives vent to her maternal anxiety: in the expression of which she recapitulates many circumstances respecting the birth and early life of her Son.—Satan again meets his Infernal Council, reports the bad success of his first temptation of our Blessed Lord, and calls upon them for counsel and assistance. Belial proposes the tempting of Jesus with women. Satan rebukes Belial for his dissoluteness, charging on him all the profligacy of that kind ascribed by the poets to the Heathen Gods, and rejects his proposal as in no respect likely to succeed. Satan then suggests other modes of temptation, particularly proposing to avail himself of the circumstance of our Lord’s hungering; and, taking a band of chosen spirits with him, returns to resume his enterprise.—Jesus hungers in the desert.—Night comes on; the manner in which our Saviour passes the night is described.—Morning advances.—Satan again appears to Jesus, and, after expressing wonder that he should be so entirely neglected in the wilderness, where others had been miraculously fed, tempts him with a sumptuous banquet of the most luxurious kind. This he rejects, and the banquet vanishes.—Satan, finding our Lord not to be assailed on the ground of appetite, tempts him again by offering him riches, as the means of acquiring power: This Jesus also rejects, producing many instances of great actions performed by persons under virtuous poverty, and specifying the danger of riches, and the cares and pains inseparable from power and greatness.
MEAN while the new-baptiz’d, who yet remain’d
At Jordan with the Baptist, and had seen
Him whom they heard so late expressly call’d
Jesus Messiah, Son of God declar’d,

1. Mean while the new baptiz’d, &c.—

The greatest, and indeed justest, objection to this
Poem is the narrowness of its plan, which, being
confined to that single scene of our Saviour’s life
on earth, his Temptation in the Desert, has too
much sameness in it, too much of the reasoning,
and too little of the descriptive part; a defect
most certainly in an epic poem, which ought to
consist of a proper and happy mixture of the in-
structive and the delightful. Milton was himself,
no doubt, sensible of this imperfection, and has
therefore very judiciously contrived and introduced
all the little digressions that could with any sort
of propriety connect with his subject, in order to
relieve and refresh the reader’s attention. The
following conversation betwixt Andrew and Simon
upon the missing of our Saviour so long, with the
Virgin’s reflections on the same occasion, and the
council of the Devils, how best to attack their
enemy, are instances of this sort, and both very
happily executed in their respective ways. The
language of the former is cool and unaffected,
corresponding most exactly to the humble pious
character of the speakers; that of the latter is full
of energy and majesty, and not inferior to their
most spirited speeches in the Paradise Lost.

4. Jesus Messiah, Son of God declar’d,]

This is a great mistake in the Poet. All that
the people could collect from the declarations of
John the Baptist, and the voice from Heaven, was
that he was a great prophet, and this was all they
did in fact collect; they were uncertain whether he
was their promised Messiah.

Warburton.

But surely the declaration, by the voice from
Heaven, of Jesus being the beloved Son of God was,
as Milton terms it, “high authority” for believing
that he was the Messiah.—John the Baptist
had also, John, i. 29, expressly called him the
Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the
world, referring, as is generally supposed, to Isaiah,
liii. 7. And, the day following, John’s giving him
the same title, “Behold the Lamb of God!” (John,
i. 36,) is the ground of Andrew’s conversion,
who thereupon followed Jesus, and having passed
some time with him, declared to his brother
Peter.
And on that high authority had believ'd,
And with him talk'd, and with him lodg'd; I mean
Andrew and Simon, famous after known,
With others though in holy writ not nam'd;
Now missing him, their joy so lately found,
(So lately found, and so abruptly gone,)
Began to doubt, and doubted many days.
And, as the days increas'd, increas'd their doubt.
Sometimes they thought he might be only shewn,
And for a time caught up to God, as once
Moses was in the mount and missing long,
And the great Thisbite, who on fiery wheels

Peter, We have found the Messiah, which is, being interpreted, the Christ.

6. And with him talk'd, and with him lodg'd —

These particulars are founded, (as Bp. Newton observes,) on what is related in the first chapter of St. John, respecting two of John's disciples, (one of whom was Andrew, and the other probably John the Evangelist himself,) following Jesus to the place where he dwelt, and abiding with him that day.

6. Andrew and Simon —

This sounds very prosaic; but I find a like instance or two in Harrington's translation of the Orlando Furioso. Cant. 31. St. 46.

And calling still upon that noble name,
That often had the Pagans overcome,
(I mean Renaldo's house of Montalbano.)

And again, St. 55.

How she had seen the bridge the Pagan made,
(I mean the cruel Pagan Rodomont.)

13. Sometimes they thought he might be only shewn,]

Virg. Añ. VI. 870.

Ostendent terris hunc tantum fatis, nec ultra
Esse sinent.

14. ——— ——— as once

Moses was in the mount, and missing long;

And when the people saw that Moses delayed to come down out of the mount, the people gathered themselves together unto Aaron, and said unto him, Up, make us gods, which shall go before us; for as for this Moses, the man that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him.

Exodus, xxxii. 1.

16. And the great Thisbite —

Or Tishbite, as he is called in Scripture, 1 Kings, xvii 1. Elijah, a native of Thisbe or Tishbe, a city of the country of Gilead, beyond Jordan.

Newton.

Milton, in one of his early Latin Poems, terms
Elijah,

vates terrae Thesbitidis —

El. iv. 97.

16. — who
Rode up to Heaven, yet once again to come:
Therefore, as those young prophets then with care
Sought lost Elijah, so in each place these
understood to limit the sense of it to what was
then passed, to a prophecy already accomplished.
Bp. Pearce in his commentary on the passage has,
"WAS TO COME first and restore all things."
And Beza, in a note on the place, says, Hæc
autem intelligenda sunt, forma dicendi e medio
petita, perinde ac si dicere Christus, "Verum
"quidem est quod Scribæ dicunt etiam videlicet
"antegressurum fuisset Messiam, et secutæ in
"stausurationi viam aperturum; sed dico vobis Eliam
"cum venisse, &c."
It was however the general tradition of the elder
writers of the Christian Church, from those words
of Malachi, that Elias the Tishbite was to come in
person before our Lord's second advent; which
opinion, the Jesuit De la Cerda, in his commentary
on Tertullian De Resurrec. Carn. C. 23.
says, all the ancient Fathers have delivered, tradit
nota Patrum antiquitatis.

2. Therefore as those young prophets then with care
Sought lost Elijah—

2 Kings, ii. 15. 16. 17. And when the sons of
the prophets, which were to view at Jericho, saw
him, they said, The spirit of Elijah doth rest on
Elisha. And they came to meet him, and bowed
themselves to the ground before him.—And they said
unto him, Behold now, there be with thy servants
fifty strong men, let them go, we pray thee, and seek
thy master; lest peradventure the Spirit of the Lord
hath taken him up, and cast him upon some mountain,
or into some valley. And he said, Ye shall not send.
—And when they urged him till he was ashamed,
he said, Send. They send therefore fifty men; and
they sought three days, but found him not.

19. so in each place these
Nigh to Bethabara—

These things were done in Bethabara beyond Jor-
dan, where John was baptizing.
John, i. 28.
Nigh
Nigh to Bethabara, in Jericho
The city of palms, Ænon, and Salem old,

It has been observed in a preceding Note (B. i. V. 193.) that M. D'Anville, in the map of Judea in his Geographie Ancienne, has laid down Bethabara wrong. The same error I find in the Map annexed to the small Greek Testament published by Wetstein, in 1711, with Mills's Prolegomena prefixed. Adrichomius, in his Theatrum Terrae Sanctae, places Bethabara on the eastern bank of the river Jordan, at a small distance from the Dead Sea, nearly opposite Jericho. Indeed if we consider it to have been the place where the Israelites passed over Jordan to go into the land of Canaan, on which ever side of the river we place it, it must have been nearly opposite Jericho. As it is expressly said, Joshua, iii. 16. the people passed over right against Jericho. The Eastern Travellers also show that the place, where the tradition of that country supposes Jesus to have been baptized by John in Jordan, was not more than a day's journey distant from Jerusalem; and that Jericho lay directly in the way to it. (See Pococke's Travels in the East, and Maundrell's Journal.) Bp. Pearce places Bethabara on the same side of the river with Jericho, that is, on the western bank. This opinion he grounds on what is said, Judges, vii. 24. about the inhabitants of Mount Ephraim taking the waters, (i.e. taking possession of all the springs,) from them unto Bethabara and Jordan. Bethabara indeed (John, i. 28,) is described beyond Jordan, την θάλασσα; but this Bp. Pearce reconciles by showing that την θάλασσα often signifies in scripture, on the side of, or on this side of. For this construction of την θάλασσα, he cites many authorities in his note on Mat. iv. 15, and likewise refers to Casaubon's note on John, i. 28. But it should be observed that Beza has the same remark, and that he renders την θάλασσα not την την θάλασσα not from Jordanum, but secus Jordanum, 'nigh to Jordan,' both in Mat. iv. 15, and John, i. 28.—St. Jerom, De Nominationibus Hebraeis, speaks of Bethanara as standing partly on the western, and partly on the eastern, bank of the river Jordan.

By the expression on this side the broad lake Genezareth, I would understand not on the opposite side of the river to Peræa, but below the lake of Genezareth, or to the south of it, between that and the Asphaltic Lake, or the Dead Sea; which is exactly the situation of the places here mentioned, none of which could be properly said to have stood on this side, that is on the western side of the lake of Genezareth, though three of them stood on the western side of the river Jordan. Or in Peræa, may be only understood to mean and in Peræa, or even in Peræa. Such is often the conjunctive sense of vel, and sometimes of aut in Latin, and of ἄν in Greek.—It is probable that Milton had the same idea of the situation of Bethabara, with that noticed in the preceding note, as admitted by Bp. Pearce, and before suggested by Beza and Casaubon. This he may be supposed to have acquired from Beza, whose translation of the Greek Testament with notes, we may imagine, was in no small degree of repute, at the time when our Author visited Geneva.—Accordingly the first place
Paradise regained.

Machærus, and each town or city wall'd
On this side the broad lake Genezaret,
Or in Peræa; but return'd in vain.

Then on the bank of Jordan, by a creek,

place where he makes the disciples seek Jesus is
Jericho, on the same side of the river as Bethabara,
and the nearest place of any consequence to it; then
Aphon and Salem, both likewise on the same side,
but higher up towards the lake of Genezareth;
then he seems to make them cross the river and
seek him in all the places in the opposite country
of Peræa, down to the town and strong fortress of
Machærus, which is mentioned by Josephus, De
bello Jud. L. 7. C. 6. Milton had good authority
for terming Salem, Salem old. Adrichomius, speaking
of Salem, or Salim, says, Ex veteribus Hebreworum
Rabinis doctet Hieronymus, non videri hanc esse Hierusalem, quod nomen ipsum demonstrat ex
greco hebraicoque compositum, sed oppidum juxta
Scythopolin, quod usque bodie appellatur Salem;
uti ostenditur palatum Melchisedec, ex magnitudine
ruinarum veteris opcis ostendens magnificencia
de quo in posteriore parte Genesis scriptum est: Venit Jacob in Soccoth, et transit in Salem
civitatem regionis Sichem. See Hieronym. Epist. ad
Evag.—The Septuagint, Gen. xxxiii. 18. writes
it Εαλαφα.

23. —— the broad lake Genezaret,]
The Lake of Genezaret, or Genezareth, through
which the river Jordan ran, is computed by Josephus
to be eighteen miles long, and five broad. It is
described by Pliny as sixteen miles long, and six
broad; Pococke likewise says it is fourteen or fifteen
miles long. The same Author states its distance
from the Asphaltic Lake, or Dead Sea, to be about
seventy-five miles. The adjoining country was beau-
tiful and fertile: the waters of the lake were sweet
and pleasant, and it abounded with a variety of
fish. It was a common saying among the Jews,
that God loved this more than all the other seas.

25. — on the bank of Jordan, by a creek,
Where winds with reeds and osiers whispering plays.]
Where winds with reeds and osiers whispering play,
Plain fishermen, (no greater men them call,) 30
Close in a cottage low together got,
Their unexpected loss and plaints out breath'd.

**Alas, from what high hope to what relapse**
Unlook'd for are we fallen! our eyes behold
Messiah certainly now come, so long
Expected of our fathers; we have heard
His words, his wisdom full of grace and truth;

That heavenly voice I more delight to hear,
Than gentle airs to breathe, or swelling waves
Against the sounding rocks their bosoms tear,
Or **whistling reeds** that ugly Jordan lays,
Christ's Triumph over Death, St. 2.

86. **whispering play.**

*The *whispering* of the wind is an image that
Milton is particularly fond of, and has introduced
in many beautiful passages of his *Paradise Lost.*
In the opening of the fifth Book, where Adam
wakens Eve in a speech of tenderest affection, his
address to her is described as whispered with the
softness of the gentle gale.

then with voice

Mild, **as when Zephyrus on Flora breathes,**
Her hand soft touching, whispered thus.

He also applies whispering to the flowing of a
stream; to the air that plays upon the water, or by
the side of it; and to the combined sounds of the
breeze and the current.

In the fourth Book of this Poem, he terms
the river Ilyssus, a

**whispering stream.**

And, *Paradise Lost,* iv. 325, he describes

a soft of shade, that on a green

**Stood whispering soft by a fresh fountain's side.**

In his *Lycidas,* V. 136. likewise, he addresses the

valleys low, where the mild whispers use

Of shades, and wanton wings, and gushing

**brooks.**

"The mild *whisper* of the refreshing breeze"
he had before introduced in his Latin poem, *In
Adventum Veris,* V. 27.

Quaque jacet circums multeit lena susurrant
Auras—

which might have been originally suggested to him
by Virgil's *Culex,* 152.

At circa passim fessae cubuere capelle,
Excelsisque super dumis; qui leniter ad planis
Auras susurrantem posuit confundere venti.

27. Plain fishermen, (no greater men them call,)

Thus Spenser, in the beginning of his Shepherd's
Calendar,

A shepherd's boy, (no better do him call,)

*Newton.*

And, from him, Pope, in his second Pastoral.

A shepherd's boy, (he seeks no better name),
Led forth his flocks beside the silver Thame.

29. Their unexpelled loss and plaints out breath'd.

Thus he resolv'd, but first from inward grief
His bursting passion into plaints thus pour'd.

*Paradise Lost,* ix. 98.

30. *Alas, from what high hope to what relapse*
Unlook'd for are we fallen! —]

— *ve misero mihi, quanta de spe decidi!*

*Terence. Heauton.* Act II. Sc. 2. 9.

*Newton.*

34. **full of grace and truth.**

And
Now, now, for sure, deliverance is at hand,
The kingdom shall to Israel be restor’d;
Thus we rejoic’d, but soon our joy is turn’d
Into perplexity and new amaze:
For whither is he gone, what accident
Hath rapt him from us? will he now retire
After appearance, and again prolong
Our expectation? God of Israel,
Send thy Messiah forth, the time is come;
Behold the kings of the earth, how they oppress
Thy chosen; to what hight their power unjust
They have exalted, and behind them cast
All fear of thee; arise and vindicate

And the word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, — — FULL OF GRACE AND TRUTH.
John, i. 14.

36. The kingdom shall to Israel be restor’d;
They are properly made to talk in the language, and according to the expectations of the Jews.
Lord, wilt thou at this time RESTORE AGAIN THE KINGDOM TO ISRAEL?
Acts, i. 6.

37. — — our joy is turn’d
Into perplexity—]
When Mary Magdalene, and the other women, went on the first day of the week to the sepulchre with spices, but found not the body of Jesus, we read that, they were much perplexed.

40. Ralphi from us?—]
Mr. Warton, in his Note on Il Penseroso, V. 40, observes that Browne, in his Pastorals, often uses the verb to rape.
Milton has often the participle rapt, which he might have borrowed from the Italian. Thus Berni, Orl. Inam. L. i. C. 25. 42.

"RAPIT in Paradiso."——

47. — — God of Israel,
Send thy Messiah forth, &c.]
This sudden turn and breaking forth into prayer to God is beautiful. The prayer itself is conceived very much in the spirit of the Psalms, and almost in the words of some of them. Newton.

48. Behold the kings of the earth; how they oppress
Thy chosen—]
The kings of the earth set themselves, and
the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord,
and against his anointed.
Psalm ii. 2.

It is possible, that some allusion might be here intended to the situation of Milton’s Party at the Restoration.

48. — — and behind them cast
All fear of thee—]
Nevertheless they were disobedient and rebelled
against thee, and cast thy law behind their backs.

Thy
Thy glory, free thy people from their yoke.
But let us wait; thus far he hath perform’d,
Sent his Anointed, and to us reveal’d him,
By his great Prophet, pointed at and shown
In public, and with him we have convers’d;
Let us be glad of this, and all our fears
Lay on his providence; he will not fail,
Nor will withdraw him now, nor will recall,
Mock us with his blest sight, then snatch him hence;
Soon we shall see our hope, our joy return.

Thus they out of their plaints new hope resume
To find whom at the first they found unsought:
But, to his mother Mary, when she saw
Others return’d from baptism, not her son,
Nor left at Jordan, tidings of him none,
Within her breast though calm, her breast though pure,
Motherly cares and fears got head, and rais’d
Some troubled thoughts, which she in sighs thus clad.

51. pointed at and shown
Should it not rather be pointed out? Though perhaps Milton had in his mind Persius, Sat. i. 28.

65 Some troubled thoughts, which she in sighs thus clad.
It is hardly possible not to notice the striking beauty of this line. There is a passage somewhat resembling it in the Paradise Lost, i. 620.

Thus Cicero; “Sententias reconditas exquisita
"tasque mollis et pellucens vestiebat oratio."”
And again, “Concinnitas illa crebritaque sen-
tentiarum pristina nianebat; sed ea vestitu
"illo orationis, quo consueverat, ornata non
"erat.” Ibid. 327.
A similar figure of speech occurs in a Sonnet of Drummond of Hawthornden, which is so eminently beautiful, for the age in which it was written, that I cannot forbear citing it entire.

Sweet bird, that sing’st away the early hours,
Of winters past, or coming, void of care,
O what avails me now that honor high
To have conceiv'd of God, or that salute,
"Hail highly favor'd, among women blest?"
While I to sorrows am no less advanc'd,
And fears as eminent, above the lot
Of other women, by the birth I bore;
In such a season born, when scarce a shed
Could be obtain'd to shelter him or me
From the bleak air; a stable was our warmth,
A manger his; yet soon enforc'd to fly
Thence into Egypt, till the murderous king
Were dead, who sought his life, and missing fill'd

Well pleased with delights which present are,
Fair seasons, budding sprays, sweet-smelling flow'rs,
To rocks, to springs, to rills, from leafy bow'rs,
Thou thy Creator's goodness dost declare,
And what dear gifts on thee he did not spare;
A stain to human sense in sin that low'rs.
What soul can be so sick, which by thy songs
Attir'd sweetniss sweetly is not driven
Quite to forget earth's turmoils, spites and wrongs,
And lift a reverent eye and thought to heaven?
Sweet artless songster! thou my mind dost raise
To airs of spheres, yea and to Angels' lays.

66. O what avails me now that honor high, &c.—]
In several parts of this speech Milton appears to have had Vida in his mind. In this opening of it, at verse 77, and from verse 87 to 92, we plainly trace him to Mary's lamentation under the Cross.

At non certe olim prepes demissus Olympo
Nuntius haec pavide decretum promissa puellae.
Sic una ante alias felix ego, sic ego cel:
Incendo regina? mea est haec gloria magna,
Hic meus altus honos. Quo regis munerea opima
Obtulerunt mihi post partus? Quo carmina lata
Celestes cecinere chori, si me ista manebat
Sors tamen, et vitam, eladem banc visura, trahebam?

Felices illa, natos quibus impius hausit
Insontes regis furor ipsi in limine vitæ,
Dum tibi vasta timens funus molitur acerbum:
Ut cuperem te diluvio cessidine sub illo!
Hinc, hos horribilis monitu trepidantia coroa
Terrificans senior luctus sperare jubebat,
Et cecinit foræ; cum pectus mini figureret ensis:
Nunc altı muro, nunc altı vulnus adaætum.

Christiad. v. 879.

75—yet soon enforc'd to fly
Thence into Egypt till the murderous king
Were dead who sought his life, and missing fill'd
With infant blood the streets of Bethlehem;

We may compare the following Stanza of Giles Fletcher's Christ's Victory in Heaven.

And yet but newly he was infanted,
And yet already he was sought to die;
Yet scarcely born, already banished,
Not able yet to go, and forc'd to fly;
But scarcely fled away, when by and by
The Tyrant's sword with blood is all defil'd,
And Rachel, for her sons with fury wild,
Cries, "O thou cruel king!" and, "O my sweetest child!"

With
With infant blood the streets of Bethlehem;
From Egypt home return'd, in Nazareth
Hath been our dwelling many years; his life
Private, unactive, calm, contemplative,
Little suspicious to any king; but now,
Full grown to man, acknowledg'd, as I hear,
By John the Baptist, and in public shown,
Son own'd from Heaven by his Father's voice,
I look'd for some great change; to honor? no,
But trouble, as old Simeon plain foretold,
That to the fall and rising he should be
Of many in Israel, and to a sign
Spoken against, that through my very soul
A sword shall pierce; this is my favor'd lot,

Very possibly not without an intended reference
to Milton's own way of life after the Restoration.

80. That to the fall and rising he should be
Of many in Israel, and to a sign
Spoken against, that through my very soul
A sword shall pierce—

And Simeon blessed them, and said unto Mary his
Mother, Behold this child is set for the fall and
Rising again of many in Israel; and for a
Sign which shall be spoken against: (see
A sword shall pierce through thy own soul
also) that the thoughts of many hearts may be revealed.

Luke, ii. 34. 35.

91. A sword shall pierce—

By a like metaphor it is said in 1 Tim. vi. 10,
some have piercèd themselves through with many
sorrows; and in Homer, Il. E. 399: we have the
same kind of expression,

To which may be added that of Josephus Antiq,
viii, 8. 3. πληγήτες ἵπτο ταῖς λαοῖς, ὃς 'πον ρυγήπ, "wounded
My exaltation to affliictions high;
Afflicted I may be, it seems, and blest;
I will not argue that, nor will repine.
But where delays he now? some great intent
Conceals him: when twelve years he scarce had seen,
I lost him, but so found, as well I saw
He could not lose himself, but went about
His Father's business; what he meant I mus'd,

"wounded with the words, as with a sword." (See
Bp. Pearce's note on Luke, ii. 35.)

Thus also, Psalm xlii. 10. As with a sword
in my bones mine enemies reproach me,
while they say daily unto me, where is thy God?

91. ——— this is my favor'd lot,
My exaltation to afflictions high;

These are the afflictions that Mary notices; nor
the circumstances of dwelling in a disreputable
place, but her anxiety about her son, and what she
then suffered, and was still to suffer, upon his
account.

92. Afflicted I may be, it seems, and blest;
I will not argue that, nor will repine.
But where delays he now? some great intent
Conceals him—]

How charmingly does Milton here verify the
character he had before given of the Blessed Virgin
in the lines above!

Within her breast though calm, her breast though pure,
Motherly cares and fears got head.
We see at one view the piety of the saint, and the
tenderness of the mother; and I think nothing can
be conceived more beautiful and moving than the
sudden start of fond impatience in the third line,
But where delays he now? breaking in so abruptly
upon the composed resignation expressed in the two
preceding ones. The same beauty is continued in
her suddenly checking herself, and resuming her
calm and resigned character again in these words
——some great intent conceals him. Thyer.

94. I will not argue that—]
This is seemingly with a view to the sense of
argu in Latin, to blame, reprehend, accuse.

95. I lost him, but so found, as well I saw
He could not lose himself—]

This is one of those sentiments so expressed, as,
according to Mr. Addison, to degenerate into a
Pun. This Poem, (even considering its propor-
tionate length,) is less censurable in this respect
than the Paradise Lost. But though these blemishes
are rare, they are, when they occur, extremely
offensive. Ubi plura nitent in carmine, great al-
lowance must be made for parts that are feeble and
less perfect; but, in proportion as we admire and
venerate the Poet, we grieve to find him, even for
a moment, thus losing himself.

98. ——— but went about
His Father's business—]

"And be said unto them, How is it that ye
sought me? Wist ye not that I must be about

99. ——— what he meant I mus'd,]
The verb to muse is thus used in our translation
of the Scripture;
—I was afraid of her, and mused what it
might be. 2 Esdras, x. 25.

—And all men mused in their hearts of John,
whether he were the Christ or not;

Luke, iii. 15

Thus
PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK II.

Since understand; much more his absence now
Thus long to some great purpose he obscures.
But I to wait with patience am inur'd;
My heart hath been a store-house long of things
And sayings laid up, portending strange events.

Thus Mary, pondering oft, and oft to mind
Recalling what remarkably had pass'd
Since first her salutation heard, with thoughts
Meekly compos'd awaited the fulfilling:
The while her Son, tracing the desert wild,
Sole, but with holiest meditations fed,
Into himself descended, and at once

Thus also Spenser,

And as she look'd about she did behold,
How over that same door was likewise writ,
Be bold, be bold, and every where be bold,
That much she mus'to, yet could not construe it
By any riddling skill, or common wit.

FAERY QUEEN, B. III. C. xi. 54.

And Shakespeare,

I cannot too much muse
Such shapes, such gestures, &c.—

Tempest, Act III. Sc. 2.

100. his absence now
Thus long to some great purpose he obscures.

O might I here
In solitude live savage, in some glade

Obscur'd.—

PARADISE LOST, in. 1084.

103. My heart hath been a storehouse long of things
And sayings laid up, portending strange events.

Thus Mary pondering oft, &c. &c.—

Alluding to what is said of her, Luke, ii. 19.
But Mary kept all these things, and pondered them
in her heart: and again, ver. 51. but his mother
kept all these sayings in her heart: so consistent is

the part that she acts here with her character in
Scripture.

Newton.

107. with thoughts
Meekly compos'd awaited the fulfilling;

This is beautifully expressed.—There is a passage
somewhat similar, in PARADISE LOST, xii. 596,
where Michael, having concluded what he had to
shew Adam from the mountain, and what he had
further to inform him of in narration there, says
they must now descend from this "top of specula-
tion;" and, bidding Adam go awaken Eve, adds
Her also I with gentle dreams have calm'd
Portending good, and all her spirits compos'd
To meek submission.

110. with holiest meditations ftd.,

Mr. Thyer notices the similarity of this expres-
sion with that in PARADISE LOST, iii. 37.

Then feed on thoughts that voluntary move
Harmonious numbers.

111. Into himself descended—

Ut rem in se seculam descendere!

Pis. Sat. iv. 23.

Newton.

All
All his great work to come before him set;  
How to begin, how to accomplish best  
His end of being on earth, and mission high:  
For Satan, with sly preface to return,  
Had left him vacant, and with speed was gone  
Up to the middle region of thick air,  
Where all his potentates in council sat;  
There, without sign of boast, or sign of joy,  
Solicitous and blank, he thus began.

Princes, Heaven's ancient Sons, ethereal Thrones;  
Demonian Spirits now, from the element

Satan, in the first Book of this Poem, had assembled his infernal Council
in mid air,
Within thick clouds and dark confusion involv'd.

In contrast to the boasting manner in which Satan had related his success against Man, on his return to Pandæmonium, Paradise Lost, i. 460.

Solicitous—"
Solicitous seems here used under a recollection of the definition given by Cicero of Solicitude, which he terms 'Agritudo cum cogitatione.'

Thus in the Paradise Lost, ix. 888.

Adam, soon as he heard  
The fatal trespass done by Eve, amaz'd,  
Astonied, stood and blank.

And in our Poet's early Version of the Sixth Psalm.

Mine enemies shall all be blank, and dash'd  
With much confusion; —

Demonian Spirits now, from the element
Each of his reign allotted, rightlier call'd  
Powers of fire, air, water, and earth beneath;]

It was a notion among the Ancients, especially among the Platonists, that there were Demons in each element, some visible, others invisible, in the æther, and fire, and air, and water, so that no part of the world was devoid of soul: και δὲ και ακέναι δαιμονίων, ἢς και καλοί αν τις γνωτε διή, καθ' ἐκάκοι των θοιχίων, οἰ μὲν ῥατοῖ, οἱ δ' ἄστρατοι, εἰ τοι σείρι, καὶ σείρι, αἱρε ται καὶ ὅδαται, ἢς μὴν κατὰ μέσαν ἐνεπείγασσεν αἰματος, ἐκακοὶ δεξοται, as Alcinous in his summary of the Platonic doctrines says, cap. 5.—Michael Psellus, in his dialogue concerning the operation of Demons, from whence Milton borrowed some of his notions of Spirits, (as we observed in a note upon the Paradise Lost, i. 423,) speaks to the same purpose, that there are many kinds of Demons, and of all sorts of forms and bodies, so that the air above us and around us is full, the earth and the sea are full, and the inmost and deepest recesses: καὶ τὰ σωματας τὰ θαυματας τὰ υπερθραυμνα καὶ τον σειραν ἀναπηρης, καὶ τον υγειαν ἀναπηρης, καὶ τον ἕλεως, καὶ τὴν ἔλειαν, καὶ τὸν μυκητας καὶ τὸν ψυχος, καὶ τὸν κρύπτας καὶ τὸν πνευματικο, καὶ τὸν χρυσαμον καὶ τὸν οὐρανον, καὶ τὸν νεφελικον.
Each of his reign allotted, rightlier call'd
Powers of fire, air, water, and earth beneath,
(So may we hold our place and these mild seats
Without new trouble,) such an enemy
Is risen to invade us, who no less
Threatens than our expulsion down to Hell;
I, as I undertook, and with the vote
Consenting in full frequency was impower'd,
Have found him, view'd him, tasted him, but find
Far other labor to be undergone
Than when I dealt with Adam, first of Men,
Though Adam by his wife's allurement fell,
However to this man inferior far;
If he be man by mother's side, at least
With more than human gifts from Heaven adorn'd,
Perfections absolute, graces divine,
And amplitude of mind to greatest deeds.

135. However to this man inferior far;
If he be man by mother's side, at least
With more than human gifts from Heaven adorn'd,
Perfections absolute, &c. &c.—]

I have ventured here to correct the punctuation. The passage in the first editions, and in Bp. Newton's, stands pointed thus:

However to this man inferior far,
If he be man by mother's side at least,
With more than human gifts from Heaven adorn'd, &c.

On this Mr. Calton observes: "The Tempter had no doubt of Christ's being a man by the mother's side; but the want of a comma in its due place after If he be man, hath puzzled both the sense and the construction. He is must be understood at the end of the verse, to support the syntax;

If he be man, by mother's side at least (he is)"

Bp. Newton has however preserved the pointing of Milton's own edition, because some, he says, may choose to join the whole together, and understand it thus: "Satan had heard Jesus declared from Heaven, and knew him to be Son of God; and now, after the trial he had made of him, he questions if he be man even by the mother's side,"

If he be man by mother's side at least,

He further observes, that it is the purport of Satan, in this speech, not to say any thing to the evil spirits that may lessen, but every thing that may raise, their idea of his antagonist.

It seems to me, that there can be no doubt respecting this passage. Bp. Newton certainly sees it in its true light: but I conceive his sense of it is strengthened and brought forward with additional beauty, and the whole of the sentence is rendered more clear and perfect by the punctuation which I have adopted; and which I think most probably to have been intended by Milton.

137. With more than human gifts from Heaven adorn'd,
Perfections absolute, graces divine,
And amplitude of mind to greatest deeds.]

Many lines of the Paradise Regained have been censured as harsh and inharmonious; but even of these the greater part may be vindicated, (as it has been done in some instances by Mr. Thyer,) by shewing that they are very far from being of that kind quas incuria fudis, and that many of them are peculiarly expressive, and were purposely designed as such by the Poet.—The three lines above cited seem however secure from every possibility of disapprobation. They are indeed so eminently beautiful, that they must strike every ear that is not quite devoid of feeling and of taste.—Mr. Thyer particularly notices the fine effect of the last line, and the dignity and significance of the expression amplitude of mind; which he also supposes might have been suggested by the following passage in Tully's Tusc. Disput. ii. 25. Hoc igitur tibi propose, amplitudinem et quasi quandam exaggerationem quam altissimam animi, qua maxime eminet contemptus et despiciendis doloribus, nam esse omnium rem pulcherrimam.

Milton, in a Chorus of the Samson Agonistes, V. 1279, describes the "deliverer," who shall "quell the mighty of the earth," and overthrow "tyrannic power,"

With plain heroic magnitude of mind
And celestial vigor arm'd.

Therefore
Therefore I am return'd, lest confidence
Of my success with Eve in Paradise
Deceive ye to persuasion over-sure
Of like succeeding here; I summon all
Rather to be in readiness, with hand
Or counsel to assist; lest I, who erst
Thought none my equal, now be over-match'd.

So spake the old Serpent doubting, and from all
With clamor was assur'd their utmost aid
At his command; when from amidst them rose
Belial, the dissolutest Spirit that fell,
The sensuallest, and, after Asmodai,
The fleshliest Incubus, and thus advis'd.

140. ——lest confidence
Of my success with Eve in Paradise
Deceive ye to persuasion over-sure
Of like succeeding here—

In his speech to the infernal council, in the preceeding Book, Satan had augured well of his present enterprise, from his former success against man:

1, when no other durst, sole undertook
The dismal expedition to find out
And ruine Adam, and the exploit perform'd
Successfully; a calmer voyage now
Will waft me; and the way, found prosperous once,
Induces best to hope of like success.

147. ——the old serpent—
that old serpent, called the Devil,
and Satan,
Revelat. xii. 9. & xx. 2.

150. Belial, the dissolutest Spirit that fell,
The sensuallest, and, after Asmodai,
The fleshliest Incubus—

I have heard these three lines objected to as harsh and inharmonious, but in my opinion the very objection points out a remarkable beauty in them. It is true they do not run very smoothly off the tongue, but then they are with much better judgment so contrived, that the reader is obliged to lay a particular emphasis, and to dwell for some time upon that word in each verse, which most strongly expresses the character described, viz. dissolutest, sensuallest, fleshliest. This has a very good effect by impressing the idea more strongly upon the mind, and contributes even in some measure to increase our aversion to the odious character of Belial, by giving an air of detestation to the very tone of voice with which these verses must necessarily be read.

The character of Belial is given nearly in the same manner, in the Paradise Lost, i. 490.

Belial came last, than whom a spirit more lewd
Fell not from Heaven.

151. ——after Asmodai,
The fleshliest Incubus—

The character of Belial in the Paradise Lost, and the part he sustains there, sufficiently show how
Set women in his eye, and in his walk,
Among daughters of men the fairest found;
Many are in each region passing fair
As the noon sky; more like to Goddesses
Than mortal creatures, graceful and discreet,
Expert in amorous arts, enchanting tongues
Persuasive, virgin majesty with mild
And sweet allay'd, yet terrible to approach,
Skill'd to retire, and, in retiring, draw

Thus Romeo, in commendation of his mistress,
when Benvolio charges him with being in love:
Shew me a mistress that is passing fair;
What doth her beauty serve, but as a note
Where I may read who pass'd this passing fair.
Romeo and Juliet, Act I Sc. 2.

Possibly suggested by Claudian:
Misce tur decori virtus, pulcherque severa
Armatur terrore pudor.

Thus also, Paradise Lost, ix. 489.
—divinely fair, fit love for Gods,
Not terrible, though terror be in love
And beauty, not approach'd by stronger hate.

In
Hearts after them tangled in amorous nets.
Such object hath the power to soften and tame
Severest temper, smooth the rugged’st brow,
Enerve, and with voluptuous hope dissolve,
Draw out with credulous desire, and lead

In the same manner Milton, in his description
of Eve, *Paradise Lost*, viii. 504.

Not obvious, not obtrusive, but retik’d,
The more desirable.

*Tnyer.*

162. — tangled in amorous nets]

Milton, in his first *Elegy*, V. 60, speaks of the
Arqueque fallan retia tendit amor.

And, *Paradise Lost*, xi. 585.

The men, though grave, ey’d them, and let their eyes
Rove without rein, *’till in the amorous net*
First caught they lik’d; and each his liking chose.

Thus also Spenser, *Sonnet* 37.

Is it that men’s frail eyes, which are too bold,
She may entangle in that golden snare,
And being caught may craftily enjold
Their weaker hearts, which are not well aware?
Take care therefore, mine eyes, how ye do stare,
Henceforth too rashly on that guileful net,
In which if ever ye entrapped are,
Out of her hands ye by no means shall get.


I do, quoth he, perceive
My King is tangled in affections to
A creature of the Queen’s, Lady Anne Bulle.

163. Such object hath the power to soften and tame
Severest temper, &c. &c.]

Probably in this place Milton had the following stanza of his favorite Spenser in his mind.

Naught under Heaven so strongly doth allure
The sense of man, and all his mind possess,
As beauty’s lovely bait, that doth procure
Great warriors oft their rigor to repress,
And mighty hands forget their manliness;
Drawn with the power of an heart-robbing eye,
And wrapt in fetters of a golden crescent.

That can with melting pleasance mollify
Their harden’d hearts enur’d to blood and cruelty.

*Faery Queen*, B. v. C. 8. 1.

164. —— smooth the rugged’st brow.

Thus in the Penelope, 58.

— Smoothing the rugged brow of night.

And in the opening of Shakespeare’s *Richard III*,
Grim visag’d war hath smooth’d his wrinkled front.

In some verses of Diphylus, a writer of the later
Greek Comedy, which are preserved in Athenæus,
the same effect is ascribed to the God of wine,
which is here attributed to beauty;

... In the same manner, Horace in one of his Odes,
that exhorts to conviviality;

... This beautiful expression was formed partly
upon Horace’s

... *spes animi credula mutui.*

... L. 4. Ode i. 30.

And partly, as Mr. Thyer thinks, from a passage
in the *Andria* of Terence, Act IV. Sc. i. 23.

— non tibi satis esse hoc visum solidum est gaudium,
Nisi me laclasses amantes, et falsa spe produce res?

*Newton.*

*Credulus* might have been suggested by an Ode
of Horace, which Milton himself has translated.

Qui nancet fruitor *credulus* aurea,
Qui semper vacuum, semper amabilis

*Spers.*
At will the manliest, resolutest breast,
As the magnetic hardest iron draws.

Women, when nothing else, beguil'd the heart

Sperat, nescius auræ
Fallacis.——

L. I. Ode v. 9.

168. As the magnetic—]

It should be the magnet, or magnetic stone. But Milton often converts the adjective, and uses it as the substantive.

169. Women, when nothing else, beguil'd the heart

Of wisest Solomon, and made him build,
And made him bow to the Gods of his wives.]

For it came to pass when Solomon was old, that his wives turned away his heart after other gods:
and his heart was not perfect with the Lord his God, as was the heart of David his father. — For Solomon went after Ashtoreth the goddess of the Zidonians, and after Milcom the abomination of the Ammonites. — — — They did Solomon build an high place for Chemosh, the abomination of Moab, in the hill that is before Jerusalem; and for Molech the abomination of the children of Ammon. And likewise did he for all his strange wives, which burnt incense and sacrificed unto their gods.

1 Kings, xi. 4. 5. 7. 8.

In the first Book of Paradise Lost, where the Poet gives a catalogue of the fallen spirits, under the names of the idols worshipped in Canaan, and in the countries adjoining, speaking of Asirate, the goddess of the Phoenicians and the Sidonians, he describes her,

In Sion also not unsung, where stood
Her temple on the offensive mountain, built
By that uxorious king, whose heart, thus great,
Beguil'd by fair idolatrous mel, fell
To idols foul.——

412.

Spenser, in the beginning of the eighth Canto of the fifth Book of his Faery Queen, where he speaks of the power of Beauty in seducing men to any weak or improper conduct, instances the examples of Samson, Hercules, and Antony.

That of Solomon is here more in point, as he was led by it to the worshipping of false Deities.
Of wisest Solomon, and made him build,
And made him bow, to the Gods of his wives.
To whom quick answer Satan thus return’d.
Belial, in much uneven scale thou weigh’st
All others by thyself; because of old
Thou thyself doat’dst on womankind, admiring
Their shape, their colour, and attractive grace,
None are, thou think’st, but taken with such toys.
Before the flood thou with thy lusty crew,
False titled sons of God, roaming the earth
Cast wanton eyes on the daughters of men,
And coupled with them, and begot a race.
Have we not seen, or by relation heard,
In courts and regal chambers how thou lurk’st,

173. Before the flood thou with thy lusty crew,
False titled sons of God, roaming the earth
Cast wanton eyes on the daughters of men,
And coupled with them,—

It is to be lamented that our author has so often
adopted the vulgar notion of the Angels having
commerce with women, founded upon that mis-
taken text of Scripture, Gen. vi. 2. The sons of
God saw the daughters of men, that they were fair;
and they took them wives of all which they chose.
See Paradise Lost, iii. 463, and V. 447. But
though he seems to favour that opinion, as we may
suppose, to embellish his poetry, yet he shews else-
where that he understood the text rightly, of the
sons of Seth, who were the worshippers of the true
God, intermarrying with the daughters of wicked
Cain.

To these that sober race of men, whose lives
Religious titled them the sons of God,
Shall yield up all their virtue, all their fame

Ignobly, to the trains and to the smiles
Of these fair atheists.

183. Have we not seen, or by relation heard,]

This passage is censured by Bp. Warburton, as
suiting only the Poet speaking in his own person;
but surely there is no impropriety in the Arch-
Fiend’s being well acquainted with the fables of
the Heathen Mythology, and the amours and ad-
vventures of their Gods, or, (according to Milton’s
system,) his own infernal Compeers.—If we censure
this passage, we must still more decisively con-
demn one in the Fourth Book; where, in answer
to Satan’s speech, describing, while he shews it,
the splendor of Imperial Rome, our Lord, taking
up the subject, carries on the description to the
luxurious way of living among the Romans of that
time, with this verse in a parenthesis,

For I have also heard, perhaps have read—

183. In courts and regal chambers how thou lurk’st,]
In wood or grove, by mossy fountain side,
In valley or green meadow, to way-lay
Some beauty rare, Calisto, Clymene,
Daphne, or Semele, Antiopa,
Or Amymone, Syrinx, many more

Thus Milton, in his description of Belial, Para-
dise Regained, i. 497:

In courts and palaces he also reigns,
And in luxurious cities,—

The story of Calisto is recorded also by Milton's
favourite Tragic Poet, Euripides.

Outside Arcadia's pole parein
Kallistus, Δέσι α λίθων επι-
-Εις, τετραβαμπο γενις
'Ως πολυ ματίς μνής ελάχις πλεον
Euripides. Helen. 384.

Happy Calisto, thou Arcadian nymph,
That didst ascend the couch of Jove; transform'd
To a four-footed savage, far more blest
Art thou, than she to whom I owe my birth.

And Semele is mentioned in his Hyppollitus,
v. 456.

They who with ancient writings have convers'd,
And ever dwell among the tuneful Nine,
Know how to Theban Semele's embrace
Flew amorous Jove.—

The story of Antiopa, or Antiope, is recorded
likewise by Propertius, (L. iii. Et. 14.) a Poet
whom (as Mr. Warton observes) Milton has oc-
casionally imitated. Antiopa is also mentioned
in a Greek Epigram, in the Anthologia, where
four of Jupiter's principal amours, and the dis-
guises under which he accomplished them, are
recited with the usual Greek Epigrammatic brevity.

Justin Martyr, in his First Apology, having
spoken of the gross fables of heathenism, says,
"we Christians dedicate ourselves to the service
"of
Too long, then lay'st thy scapes on names ador'd,
Apollo, Neptune, Jupiter, or Pan,

"of the unbegotten, impassible God; who never
had, we are sure, any affair with Antiope
or such like."

Rees's Translation.

A concise way of speaking for many more too long to mention. The author had used it before.
Paradise Lost, iii. 473. Indeed more would have been too long, and it would have been better if he had not enumerated so many of the loves of the Gods. These things are known to every school-boy, but add no dignity to a divine poem: and in my opinion are not the most pleasing subjects in painting any more than in poetry.

Poetry, as strictly discriminated from Prose, may be defined elevated and ornamented language.
Among the most allowed modes of elevating and decorating language, independent of metrical arrangement, mythological references and allusions and classical imitations hold a principal place.
A poet precluded from these would be miserably circumscribed, and might with equal or better effect relate the fable which he imagines, the historic facts which he records, or the precepts which he lays down, in that species of language which asks no ornaments but purity and perspicuity. A divine poem certainly requires to be written in the chastest style, and to be kept perfectly free from the glare of false ornament: but it must still be considered that the great reason of exhibiting any serious truths, and especially the more interesting facts of religious history, through the medium of poetry, is thereby more powerfully to attract the attention. Poetry, to please, must continue to be pleasing. In the beauty and propriety of his references and allusions, the poet shews the perfection of his taste and judgment, as much as in any other circumstance whatever: and Milton has eminently distinguished himself in this respect. How beautifully has he sprinkled his Paradise Lost with the flowers of Classic Poetry, and the fictions of Greek and Roman Mythology! And he has done this with so judicious a hand, with a spirit so reverent, that the most religiously delicate ear can not but be captivated with it.—I confess my surprise that Bp. Newton does not see the passage before us in this light. It appears to me not only in the highest degree justifiable, but absolutely as one of those loci laudandi which the best critics ever delight to exhibit from the works of the more eminent poets. Milton here admirably avails himself of the fabulous amours of the Heathen Deities. He transfers them to the fallen Angels, to Belial and "his lusty crew;" and, by the judicious application of these disgraceful tales, he gives them a propriety which they never before possessed. He furnishes even "the school-boy" with a moral to the fable which he has been reading, and recalls to maturer minds the classical beauty of these fabulous descriptions, which admirably relieve and adorn his divine Poem.

This is a Gallicism. Eschappe in French signifies a prank or frolic. Boyer explains it Fâtion imprudente d'un jeune homme.

Calisto, Semele, and Antiope, were mistresses to Jupiter; Clymene and Daphne to Apollo; and Syrinx to Pan.—Both here and elsewhere, Milton considers the Gods of the Heathens as Demons or Devils. Thus, in the Septuagint version of the Psalms; Παντες εσει των εθνων δαμασιναι. Psalm cxxvi. 5. (and likewise in the Vulgate Latin, Quoniam omnes Dii gentium daemonia.) And the notion of the Demons having commerce with women in the shape of the Heathen Gods is very ancient, and is expressly asserted by Justin Martyr.

See Apol. i. P. 16 & 33. Edit. Thirliii.

Newton.
Satyr, or Faun, or Sylvan? But these haunts
Delight not all; among the sons of men,
How many have with a smile made small account
Of beauty and her lures, easily scorn’d
All her assaults, on worthier things intent!
Remember that Pellean conqueror,
A youth, how all the beauties of the east
He slightly view’d, and slightly overpass’d;
How he sirnam’d of Africa dismiss’d,
In his prime youth, the fair Iberian maid.
For Solomon, he liv’d at case, and full
Of honor, wealth, high fare, aim’d not beyond
Higher design than to enjoy his state;
Thence to the bait of women lay expos’d:
But he, whom we attempt, is wiser far
Than Solomon, of more exalted mind,
Made and set wholly on the accomplishment
Of greatest things. What woman will you find,
Though of this age the wonder and the fame,
On whom his leisure will vouchsafe an eye

205. Behold a greater than Solomon is here.—
Mat. xii. 42.

206. of more exalted mind,
Made and set wholly on the accomplishment
Of greatest things.—]

Thus in our Saviour’s soliloquy in the first
Book.

all my mind was set
Serious to learn and know, and thence to do
What might be public good.

And again,

yet this not all
To which my Spirit aspir’d; victorious deeds
Flam’d in my heart, heroic acts, one while
To rescue Israel from the Roman yoke,
Then to subdue and quell, o’er all the earth,
Brute violence and proud tyrannic power,
’Till truth were freed, and equity restor’d.

210. On whom his leisure will vouchsafe an eye
Of fond desire?—]

This eye of fond desire is very beautifully expressed by Æschylus, whom our author perhaps had in view. Suppl. ver. 1011.

I subjoin the translation of the passage of Æschylus from Mr. Potter;

And on the delicate tints, that kindling glow
On beauty’s vermil cheek, each roving youth
With melting wishes darts the amorous glance.

The eye of fond desire was perhaps suggested by an old Dialogue Poem, written by the Earl of Oxford in Queen Elizabeth’s time, and printed in the second Volume of Bp. Percy’s Reliques of Ancient English Poetry, p. 178. It is there entitled Fancy and Desire. Fancy is the questioner, and Desire the respondent.

F. Come hither shepherd swayne!
D. Sir what do you require?
F. I pray thee, shew to me thy name.
D. My name is fond desire.

And, in a following Stanza;

F. What thing doth please thee most?
D. To gaze on beauty still.
BOOK II.

PARADISE REGAINED.

Of fond desire? Or should she, confident
As sitting queen ador’d on beauty’s throne,
Descend with all her winning charms begirt
To enamour, (as the zone of Venus once
Wrought that effect on Jove, so fables tell,) How would one look from his majestic brow,

held in captivity by her, and changed to beasts,
thus refers to the fable of Circe in Homer’s
Odyssey;

Once men they liv’d, but now the men were dead
And turn’d to beasts; so fabled Homer old
That Circe, with her potion charm’d in gold,
Us’d many souls in beastly bodies to immolat.

Stanza, 49

one look from his majestic brow,
Seated as on the top of virtue’s hill,

Here is the construction that we often meet with in Milton: from his majestic brow, that is, from the majestic brow of him seated as on the top of virtue’s hill: and the expression of virtue’s hill was probably in allusion to the rocky eminence on which the virtues are placed in the table of Cebes, or the arduous ascent up the hill to which virtue is represented pointing in the best designs of the judgment of Hercules.

Newton.

Milton’s meaning here is best illustrated by a passage in Shakespeare; which most probably he had in his mind.—Hamlet, ‘in the scene with his mother, pointing to the picture of his father, says,

See what a grace was seated on that brow!
Hyperion’s curls, the front of Jove himself;
An eye, like Mars to threaten or command, &c.

Thus also, in Love’s Labour Lost,
What peremptory eagle-sighted eye,
Dares look upon the heaven of her brow,
That is not blinded by her majesty?

Act III. Sc. 4.

his majestic brow,

“Greatness, nobleness, authority, and awe,” says Bentley, “are by all Greek and Latin poets placed in the forehead. So, Paradise Lost, ix.

537, Satan to Eve,
Seated as on the top of virtue's hill,
Discountenanced her despis'd, and put to rout
All her array; her female pride deject,
Or turn to reverent awe! for beauty stands
In the admiration only of weak minds
Led captive; cease to admire, and all her plumes
Fall flat and shrink into a trivial toy,

— nor have fear'd
Thy awful brow, more awful thus retir'd——
And, vii. 509.

— and upright with front serene
Govern the rest.—

And Spenser's Belphoebe,
Her ivory forehead full of bountie brave
Like a broad table did itself dispread,
All good and honour might therein be read,
And there their dwelling was——

Such is Bentley's note, where he wishes to correct
the following generally, and justly, admired passage
in the Paradise Lost, viii. 557, by reading forehead instead of loveliest.

Greatness of mind and nobleness their seat
Build in her loveliest——
Perhaps it would have been more acceptable, had
it been given, only to illustrate another passage
scarcely less beautiful:

His fair large front and eye sublime declared
Absolute rule.—

Paradise Lost, iv. 300.

219. — her female pride deject,
Or turn to reverent awe!—]

Thus in Comus, V. 450, we have,
— rigid looks of chaste austerity,
And noble grace, that dash'd brute violece,
With sudden adoration and blank awe.

220. — for beauty stands
In the admiration only of weak minds
Led captive;—

Among Milton's early Latin Elegies we find one
(the seventh) of the amatory kind. But when
he published his Latin Poems, eighteen years after-wards, he thought it necessary to add to it ten
lines apologising for the puerile weakness, or rather
vacancy, of his mind, that could admit such an
impression.

221. In the admiration only of weak minds
Led captive;—]

The expression is from 2 Tim. iii. 6. 7.—
of this sort are they which creep into houses, and
lead captive silly women laden with sins,
led away with divers lusts; ever learning, and
never able to come to the knowledge of the truth.

222. — ceaze to admire, and all her plumes
Fall flat, and sink into a trivial toy,
At every sudden slighting quite abash'd;]

This is a very beautiful and apposite allusion
to the peacock; speaking of which bird, Pliny
notices the circumstance of its spreading its tail
under a sense of admiration; "Gemmantes lau-
datum expandidi colores, adverso maxime sole,
qua sic fulgentius radiant.


Tasso compares Armida, in all the pride and
vanity of her beauty and ornaments, to a peacock
with its tail spread,

Nè il superbo pavon si vago in mostra
Spiega la pompa delle occhiute piume.

C. XVI. St. 24.

The jolly peacock spreads not half so fair
The eyed feathers of his pompous train.

Fairfax.

223. —— a trivial toy;—
I came not here on such a trivial toy
As a stray'd ewe.—

Comus, 502.

At
At every sudden slighting quite abash'd.
Therefore with manlier objects we must try
His constancy; with such as have more show
Of worth, of honor, glory, and popular praise,
Rocks whereon greatest men have oftest wreck'd;
Or that which only seems to satisfy
Lawful desires of nature, not beyond;
And now I know he hungers where no food
Is to be found, in the wide wilderness:
The rest commit to me, I shall let pass
No advantage, and his strength as oft assay.

He ceas'd, and heard their grant in loud acclame;
Then forthwith to him takes a chosen band
Of Spirits, likest to himself in guile,
To be at hand, and at his beck appear,
If cause were to unfold some active scene
Of various persons, each to know his part;
Then to the desert takes with these his flight,
Where, still from shade to shade, the Son of God
After forty days fasting had remain'd,
Now hungring first, and to himself thus said.

225. His constancy; with such as have more show.

226. to him takes a chosen band
Of Spirits likest to himself in guile.
Then goeth he and taketh with himself seven other spirits more wicked than himself.

228. and at his beck appear.

Thus Hamlet, Act III. Sc. i.

235. Then forthwith to him takes a chosen band
Of Spirits, likest to himself in guile,
To be at hand, and at his beck appear,
If cause were to unfold some active scene
Of various persons, each to know his part;
Then to the desert takes with these his flight,
Where, still from shade to shade, the Son of God
After forty days fasting had remain'd,
Now hungring first, and to himself thus said.

236. to him takes a chosen band
Of Spirits likest to himself in guile.

Then goeth he and taketh with himself seven other spirits more wicked than himself.

238. and at his beck appear.

Thus Hamlet, Act III. Sc. i.

239. to unfold some active scene
Of various persons, each to know his part.

The phrases are here dramatic: personis is in the Latin sense of Persons; 'scenic or assumed character.'
Where will this end? four times ten days I've pass'd.
Wandering this woody maze, and human food
Nor tasted, nor had appetite; that fast
To virtue I impute not, or count part
Of what I suffer here; if nature need not,
Or God support nature without repast
Though needing, what praise is it to endure?
But now I feel I hunger, which declares

There seems, I think, to be a little inaccuracy
in this place. It is plain by the Scripture account,
that our Saviour hungered before the Devil first
tempted him by proposing to him his making
stones into bread, and Milton's own account in
the first book is consistent with this: is there not
therefore a seeming impropriety in saying that he
now first hungered, especially considering the time
that must have necessarily elapsed during Satan's
convening and consulting with his companions?

Milton comprizes the principal action of the
Poem in four successive days. This is the second
day; in which no positive temptation occurs, for
Satan had left Jesus (as was said, V. 116 of this
Book) vacant, i. e. unassailed that day. Previous
to the Tempter's appearing at all, it is said (B. i.
503.) that our blessed Lord had "passed full forty
"days" in the wilderness. All that is here meant
is that he was not hungry till the forty days were
ended; and accordingly our Saviour himself pre-
sently says that during that time he

— human food
Nor tasted, nor had appetite.

As to the time necessary for convening the in-
fernal council, there is the space of twenty-four
hours taken for the Devil to go up to the region of
mid air, where his council was sitting, and where
we are told he went with speed (V. 117, of this
Book), and for him to debate the matter with his
council, and return with his chosen band of spirits:
for it was the commencement of night, when he
left our Saviour at the end of the first Book, and it
is now "the hour of night," (V. 260) when he is
returned.—But it must also be considered that
spiritual beings are not supposed to require, for
their actions, the time necessary to human ones;
otherwise we might proceed to calculate the time
requisite for the descent of Michael, or Raphael,
to Paradise, and criticise the Paradise Lost
accordingly.—But Raphael, in the eighth Book
of that Poem, says to Adam, enquiring concerning
celestial motions,

The swiftness of those circles attribute,
Though numberless, to his omnipotence,
That to corporeal substances could add
Speed almost spiritual; me thou think'st not
slow,

Who since the morning hour set out from Heaven
Where God resides, and ere mid day arriv'd
In Eden, distance inexpressible
By numbers that have name.

We are also expressly told by St. Luke, when
the Devil took our Lord up into a high mountain,
that he shewed unto him all the kingdoms of the
world in a moment of time.

Luke, iv. 5.

In the blind mazes of this tangled wood,
Comus, 181.

Nature
Nature hath need of what she asks; yet God
can satisfy that need some other way,
Though hunger still remain: so it remain
Without this body's wasting, I content me,
And from the sting of famine fear no harm;
Nor mind it, fed with better thoughts, that feed
Me hungering more to do my Father's will.

It was the hour of night, when thus the Son
Commun'd in silent walk, then laid him down
Under the hospitable covert nigh
Of trees thick interwoven; there he slept,
And dream'd, as appetite is wont to dream,
Of meats and drinks, nature's refreshment sweet:

And Virgil, **Georg.** iv. 24;
Obviaque **hospitales** tentas frondentibus arbore.

Milton also, **Comus,** 186;
---such cooling fruit
As the kind hospitable woods provide.

Thus **Comus,** 543;
---a bank
With ivy canopied, and *interwove*
With flaunting honey-suckle,

Thus Lucretius, speaking of dreams as produced
by the actual sensations of mind or body;
Flumen item *sitens,* aut fontem propter amenum,
Adsideit, et totum prope sacribus occupat amenum.

---the hospitable covert nigh
Of trees thick interwoven;---

Thus Horace;
Qua pinus ingens albaque populus

---fed with better thoughts, that feed
Me hungering---]
Then *fed on thoughts,* that voluntary move
Harmonious numbers;---
**Paradise Lost,** iii. 37.

---Me hungering more to do my Father's will.]---
In allusion to our Saviour's words, **John,** iv. 34.
*My meat is to do the will of him that sent me,* and to finish his work.---
Newton.

But with a reference also to, *Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteous:---*
**Mat.** v. 6.

---Commun'd in silent walk, then laid him down---
Agreeable to what we find in the Psalms, iv. 4.
*Commune with your own heart upon your bed,* and be still.---
Newton,

---the hospitable covert nigh
Of trees thick interwoven;---

Thus Horace;
Qua pinus ingens albaque populus
PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK II.

Him thought, he by the brook of Cherith stood,
And saw the ravens with their horny beaks
Food to Elijah bringing even and morn,
Though ravenous, taught to abstain from what they brought;
He saw the prophet also, how he fled
Into the desert, and how there he slept
Under a juniper; then how awak'd
He found his supper on the coals prepar'd,
And by the Angel was bid rise and eat,
And eat the second time after repose,
The strength whereof suffic'd him forty days:
Sometimes that with Elijah he partook,
Or as a guest with Daniel at his pulse.

266. Him thought,—]
We say now, and more justly, he thought; but 
him thought is of the same construction as me thought,
and is used by our old writers, as by Fairfax,
Cant. 13. St. 40.

Him thought he heard the softly whistling wind.

267. with their horn}' beaks]}
Cicero, De Natura Deorum, L. i. C. 36,
speaking of storks, describes them "aves excelsae,
cruribus rigidis, corneo "procerque rostro."

278. Or as a guest with Daniel at his pulse.]
Thus wore out night; and now the herald lark
Left his ground-nest, high towering to descry

Daniel, when a captive at Babylon, being destined to serve in some capacity about the king, was, together with other young men, ordered to be educated and supported by a daily provision of meat and wine from the royal table. As it was customary among the Babylonians to offer some part of what they eat to their gods, Daniel and three other Jewish youths considered these provisions from the king's table as having been already offered to idols, and consequently unclean. They therefore declined eating of them, and desired to have only pulse and water for their subsistence; with which poor food they yet retained more appearance of health and vigour, than others who were more luxuriously and abundantly fed. Daniel, C. i.

To hear the lark begin his flight,
And sing the shell the dull night,
From his watch-tower in the skies,
Till the dappled dawn doth rise.

And Drayton, Polyolb. S. iii. speaks of the lark
— climbing up to Heaven, her high-pitcht hymn to sing
Unto the springing day.

Thus, in Chaucer's Knight's Tale, 1492, "the lark's saluting the morning with her song" is the signal for his knight to rise.

The merry lark, messengere of the day,
Sale with in her song the morrow gray,
And joyous Phebus risith up so bright
That all the orient laugheth at the sight,
And with his stemis dryeth in the greves
The silver drops hanging in the leves,
And Arcite that of the Court riall
With THESEUS is Squyer Principall,
Is rise, and looketh on the merry day
And doth his observances to May.

In the same manner Spenser, Faery Queen,
B. i. C. xi. 51;

The joyous day 'gan early to appear,
And fair Aurora from her dewy bed
Of aged Tithone 'gan herself to rear,
With roie cheeks for shame as blushing red;
Her golden locks for haste were loosely shed
About her ears, when Una did her mark,
Climb to her charet all with flowers spread,
From Heaven high to chase the cheerlesse dark;
With merry notes her loud salutes the mounting lark.

Then franksly up arose the doughty Knight,
All healed of his hurts, &c.

Mr. Calton observes that the herald lark greeting the approach of morning with its song, is "a beauti-
ful thought which modern wit has added to "the stock of antiquity." At the same time he says,
The morn's approach, and greet her with his song:
As lightly from his grassy couch up rose
Our Saviour, and found all was but a dream;
Fasting he went to sleep, and fasting wak'd.
Up to a hill anon his steps he rear'd,
From whose high top to ken the prospect round,
If cottage were in view, sheep-cote, or herd;
But cottage, herd, or sheep-cote none he saw,
Only in a bottom saw a pleasant grove,

says, "we may see it rising out of a low hint of
Theocritus, like the bird from his thatch'd pallat;"
and he refers to the passage already cited from the
Greek Pastoral Poet. He then exhibits the four
first lines of the passage in Chaucer, and the latter
part of the stanza of Spenser, which is here given
entire. The lines from Chaucer he terms four of
the finest lines in all his works. Dryden, in his
Palamon and Arcite, has paid them the com-
pliment of preserving the three first unaltered, con-
sidering them, we may suppose, as rising to that
degree of excellence, which, under any advance-
ment of language, it is not easy to improve:
the fourth, by altering orient to horizon, and ex-
tending the verse to "a needless Alexandrine," he
certainly has not improved. I subjoin the whole
passage from Dryden.

The morning-lark, the messenger of day,
Saluted in her song the morning gray,
And soon the sun arose with beams so bright,
That all th' horizon laugh'd to see the joyous sight;
He with his tepid rays the rose renew'd,
And licks the drooping leaves, and dries the dews;
When Arcite left his bed, resolv'd to pay
Observance to the month of merry May.

282. —— from his grassy couch —
—— for beast and bird,
They to their grassy couch, these to their nests
Were slunk. ——— Paradise Lost, iv. 600.

283. —— and found all was but a dream.]
—— but, O! how glad I wak'd
To find this but a dream!——
Paradise Lost, v. 58.

286. From whose high top to ken the prospect round.
—— It was a hill,
Of Paradise the highest, from whose top
The hemisphere of earth, in clearest ken,
Stretch'd out to the amplest reach of prospect lay.
Paradise Lost, xi. 377.

287. If cottage were in view, sheep-cote, or herd;
But cottage, herd, or sheep-cote none he saw.]
This mode of repetition our Poet is fond of, and
has frequently used with singular effect.—Thus,
Comus, 221.

Was I deceiv'd, or did a sable cloud
Turn forth her silver living on the night?
I did not err, there does a sable cloud
Turn forth her silver living on the night,
And casts a gleam over this tufted grove.

Thus also, Paradise Lost, iv. 640, a delight-
ful description of morning, evening, and night, is
beautifully recapitulated.

289. Only in a bottom saw a pleasant grove,
With chant of tuneful birds resounding loud;
Thither he bent his way, determin'd there
To rest at noon, and enter'd soon the shade
High-roof'd, and walks beneath, and alleys brown,
That open'd in the midst a woody scene;]
With chant of tuneful birds resounding loud:
Thither he bent his way, determin’d there

The Tempter here is the Magician of the Italian Poets. This “pleasant grove” is a magical creation in the desert, designed as a scene suited for the ensuing temptation of the Banquet. Thus Tasso lays the scene of the sumptuous banquet, which Armida provides for her lovers, amidst

High trees, sweet meadows, waters pure and good
* * * * * * * * *
Under the curtain of the Greenwood shade,
Beside the brook, upon the velvet grass,

Fairfax’s Tasso, C. x. 63. 64.

The whole of Milton’s description here is very beautiful; and I rather wonder that the noble author of the Anecdotes of Painting did not subjoin it to his citations, from the Paradise Lost, in his Observations on Modern Gardening. He there ascribes to our author the having foreseen, “with the prophetic eye of taste,” our modern style of gardening. It may however be questioned, whether his idea of a garden was much, if at all, elevated above that of his contemporaries. In the Comus, speaking of the gardens of the Hesperides, he describes cedar alleys, and crisp shade and bowers; and in his Penseroso, “retired leisure” is made to please itself in trim gardens. Mr. Warton, in a note on the latter passage, observes that Milton had changed his ideas of a garden when he wrote his Paradise Lost. But the Paradise which he there describes is not a Garden, either ancient or modern. It is in fact a Country in its natural, unconstrained state, only rendered beautiful, and, (which is more essential to happiness in a hot climate,) at all times perfectly habitable from its abundance of pleasingly-disposed shade and water, and its consequent verdure and fertility. From all such poetical delineations, as from Nature herself, the Landscape Gardener may certainly enrich his fancy, and cultivate his taste. The Poet in the mean time contributes to the perfection of Art, not by laying down rules for it, but by his exquisite descriptions of the more beautiful scenes of Nature, which it is the office of Art to imitate and to represent. One merit of our modern art of laying out ground, independent of the beauty of its scenery, is its being peculiarly adapted to the circumstances of our climate. A modern English pleasure-ground would not be considered as a Paradise on the sultry plains of Assyria, if it could be formed, or exist there: accordingly another mode of gardening has always prevailed in hot countries, which, though it would be the height of absurdity to adopt it in our own island, may be well defended in its proper place by the best of all pleas, necessity.

—The reader may see this question fully discussed, with great taste and judgment, by my learned friend Dr. Falconer, in his Historical View of the Taste for Gardening and laying out Grounds, among the Nations of Antiquity.

290. With chant of tuneful birds resounding loud;]

Virgil, Georg. ii. 328, has

Avium resonant AVIBUS VIRGULS CANORIS,

Spenser seldom fails to adorn his groves in gardens with singing birds;

And on the other side a pleasant grove
* * * * * * * * *
Therein the merry birds, of every sort,
Chanted aloud their cheerful harmony,

FAERY QUEEN, B. II. C. v. 31.

No dainty flower or herb that grows on ground,
No arboret, with painted blossoms drest,
And smelling sweet, but there it might be found
To bud out fair, and her sweet smells throw all around.

No tree whose branches did not bravely spring,
No branch whereon a fine bird did not sit;
No bird but did her shrill notes sweetly sing,
No song but did contain a lovely dit:
Trees, branches, birds, and songs were framed fit
For to allure frail men to careless ease.—


determin’d there

To rest at noon—]
PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK II.

To rest at noon, and enter'd soon the shade
High roof'd, and walks beneath, and alleys brown,

The custom of retiring to the shade and reposing,
in hot countries, during the extreme heat of the
middle part of the day, is frequently alluded to by
Milton in his PARADISE LOST.

Yon flowery arbors, yonder alleys green,
Our walk at noon with branches overgrown,—
in what BOWER or SHADE
Thou find'st him, from the heat of noon retir'd,
To respit his day-labor with repast,
Or with repose;—

Him through the spicy forest onward come
Adam discons'ld, as in the door he sat
Of his cool bower, while now the mounted sun
Shot down direct his fervid rays—

She to him as oft cogis'd
To be return'd by noon amid the bower,
And all things in best order to invite
Noon-tide repast, or afternoon's repose.

Thus in the Penseroso, 133.

To arched walks of twilight groves,
And shadows brown that Sylvan loves—

And, in the manuscript of his Comus, V. 184,
Milton had written

In the blind ALLEYS of this ARCHED WOOD—

And in Paradise Lost, i. 302;
Thick as autumnal leaves that strew the brooks
In Vallumbrosa, where the Etruscan shades
High over-ARCH'd imbower—

Such are also the arched over-shading groves of
Spenser, with their walks, alleys, and arbours.

A shady grove not far away they spied,
That prompt'd his tempest to withstand;
Whose lofty trees yelad with summer's pride
Did spread so broad that heaven's light did hide,
Not piercable with power of any star;

And all within were paths and allies wide.

FAIRY QUEEN, B. I. C. i. 7.

And again, B. IV. C. x. 27.

And all without were walks and allies bright.
With divers trees enrang'd in even ranks;
And here and there were pleasant arbors bright,
And shady seats and sundry flowering banks;

High-roof'd reminds us of some of Milton's
descriptions in the PARADISE LOST.

A shady bank
Thick overhead with verdant roof imbower'd,

Speaking of Adam's bower he says,

The roof
Of thickest covert was imbower'd shade,
Laurel and myrtle, and what higher grew
Of firm and fragrant leaf—

Again, in reference to the bower,

And on their naked limbs the flowery roof
Shower'd roses—

Thus also he brings our first parents out to 'their
'morning orisons,'—

from under shady arborious roof,

The deep shade, produced by great masses of
wood, is a favorite object of our Poet's description.
The epithet brown that he applies to it,
as here "alleys brown," he borrowed from the
Italian Poets; as has been justly observed by
Mr. Thyer, who brings several instances of its
being used by them to describe any thing shaded.
See his note on PARADISE LOST, iv. 246; where
our Author, with the Italian imbrunir in his mind,
says

the unpierc'd shade

imbrown'd the noon tide bower—

In Book IX. 1086, as Bp. Newton remarks, he
also expresses himself in a similar manner,

woods, impenetrable
To star or sun-light, spread their umbrage broad
And brown as evening;—
That open'd in the midst a woody scene;
Nature's own work it seem'd, nature taught art,
And, to a superstitious eye, the haunt

In the following passage in the *Tempest*,
Act IV. Scene 1,

that thy broom groves,
Whose shadow the dismissed bachelor loves,
Sir Thomas Hanmer inclines to read, and it
seems justly, brown groves.

294. That open'd in the midst a woody scene;
Nature's own work it seem'd, nature taught art,
And, to a superstitious eye, the haunt
*Of Wood-Gods and Wood-Nymphs*—

Here is some resemblance of Homer's Description
of the Bower of Calypso.

Without the grot a various sylvan scene
Appear'd around, and groves of living green;
Poplars and alders ever quivering play'd,
And nodding cypress form'd a fragrant shade;

A scene where if a God should cast his sight,
A God might gaze, and wonder with delight.

It may be observed, that "a various sylvan
"scene" was possibly suggested by Milton's

thus was this place
*A happy rural seat of various view;*
*Paradise Lost*, iv. 246.

295. Nature's own work it seem'd, nature taught art,

Thus Spenser in his description of the Gardens
of Acrasia. Having spoken of

The painted flowers, the trees up-shooting high,
The dales for shade, the hills for breathing-space,
The trembling groves, the crystal running by,

he adds,

And that, which all fair works doth most grace,
The Art, which all that wrought, appeared in no place.

One would have thought, (so cunningly the rude
And scorched pasts were mingled with the fine,) That Nature had for wantonness ensu'd
Art, and that: Art at Nature did repine;
So, striving each the other to undermine,
Each did the other's work more beautify;
So, differing both in wills, agreed in fine:
So all agreed, through sweet diversity,
This garden to adorn with all variety.

*Faery Queen*, B. II. C. xii. 58. 59.

But here he is not a little indebted to his pre-
decessor Tasso, in his description of the Garden of
Armida.

Fior vari, e varie plante, erbi diverse,
Apriche collinette, ombrose valli,
Selve e spelonzhe in una vista offere:
E quel che il bello, e il caro accresce all'opre
L'arte, che tutto fa, nulla si scopre,
Stimi (ti misso il culto e col negletto)
Sol naturali e gli ornamenti, e i siti,
Di naura arte par, che per diletto
L'imitatrice sua scherzando inuti.

C. xvi. 9. 10.

Fair trees, high plants, strange herbs, and flowrets new,
Sunshiny hills, dales hid from Phoebus' rays,
Groves, arbors, mossy caves, at once they view;
And that which beauty most, most wonder brought.
No where appear'd the art which all this wrought.

So with the rude the polish'd mingled was,
That natural seem'd all, and every part;
Nature would craft in counterfeiting past,
And imitate her imitator, Art:

*Fairfax*.

296. And, to a superstitious eye, the haunt
*Of Wood-Gods and Wood-Nymphs*—

Thus Lucretius, speaking of places remarkable
for their echo;

**Hec loca capripedes Satyros Nymphasque tenere**

Finitemi fingunt; iv. 584.

*Haunt*
Of Wood-Gods and Wood-Nymphs; he view'd it round,
When suddenly a man before him stood,
Not rustic as before, but seemlier clad,
As one in city, or court, or palace bred,
And with fair speech these words to him address'd.

With granted leave officious I return,
But much more wonder that the Son of God

Haunted is a favourite word with Milton, in similar
descriptions in the Paradise Lost.

— yet not the more
Cease I to wander, where the Muses haunt,
Clear spring, or shady grove, or sunny hill, iii. 26.

In shadier bower,
More sacred and sequester'd, though but feign'd,
Pan or Sylvanus never slept, nor nymph
Nor Faunus haunted. iv. 705.

See also Paradise Lost, viii. 330.—ii. 273.

299. Not rustic as before, but seemlier clad;]
The Tempter is very properly made to change
his appearance and habit with the temptation. In
the former book, when he came to tempt our Saviour
to turn the stones into bread to satisfy their hunger,
he appeared as a poor old man in rural needs; but
now, when he comes to offer a magnificent enter-
tainment, he is seemlier clad, and appears as a
wealthy citizen or a courtier: and here with fair
speech he addresses his words, there it was only with
words thus utter'd spake. These lesser particular
have a propriety in them, which is well worthy of
the reader's observation. Newton.

302. With granted leave—]
It is true that Satan at parting, in the conclusion
of the former book, had asked leave to come again,
but all the answer that our Saviour returned was
Thy coming hither, though I know thy scope,
I bid not or forbid; do as thou find'st
Permission from above.

But as the Tempter must needs have been a most
impatient being, it was perfectly in character to
represent him as taking permission for granted
leave. Newton.

The granted leave here, is "permission from
"above." In answer to Satan's request, (B. 1-
492.)

didn't such access to us,
our Saviour had said,
do as thou find'st
Permission from above.

Satan therefore here introduces himself with a
boast of that permission from him, who had before
given up Job to be tempted by him;

he
Gave up into my hands Uzzean Job
To prove him. i. 368.

Indeed our Author makes the Deity, in his
speech to Gabriel, say, speaking of our blessed
Lord,

this man, born and now up-grown,
To shew him worthy of his birth divine
And high predilection, henceforth I expose
To Satan; let him tempt and now assay
His utmost subtilty. i. 140.

302. officious—]
"Officious" is here adopted from the Latin,
and used in the same sense as by Cicero—
"—ipsi Lampscaci summne in omnnes cives Rom-
"manos officios." In Verri. i. 24
In this wild solitude so long should bide
Of all things destitute; and, well I know,
Not without hunger. Others of some note,
As story tells, have trod this wilderness;
The fugitive bond-woman, with her son
Out-cast Nebaioth, yet found here relief
By a providing Angel; all the race
Of Israel here had famish’d, had not God
Rain’d from Heaven manna; and that Prophet bold,
Native of Thebez, wandering here was fed

308. The fugitive bond-woman, with her son
Outcast Nebaioth,—]

Hagar, who fled from the face of her mistress,
Gen. xvi. 6, is therefore called a fugitive: her son
was not a fugitive, but an out-cast; so exact
was our author in the use of his epithets. But
then what shall we say to the words, Out-cast
Nebaioth? For Nebaioth was the eldest son
of Ishmael, (Gen. xxv. 13,) and grandson of Abra-
ham and Hagar. He seems here to be put by mis-
take for Ishmael: at least it is not usual to call
the father by the name of the son. Newton.

There is no immediate instance of a grandson
being substituted for a son in scripture: and yet
the curse is addressed to Canaan, (Genesis, ix. 25,) though it was Ham, his father, who had offended
Noah; and, (2 Sam. xix. 24,) Mephibosheth, the
son of Jonathan, is called the son of Saul.

312. ———— and that Prophet bold,]

In the character of Elijah, as it stands portrayed
in scripture, we trace a spirit and resolution of the
most dignified kind. Hence it is said, 1 Maccab.
ii. 58, that he was taken up into Heaven for being
fervent and zealous for the law. The twelve
first verses of the forty-eighth Chapter of Eccle-
siasticus are entirely occupied with a panegyric upon

313. Native of Thebez,—]

Thebez is the same as Thebe, or Thibbe, or
Tisbe, the birth-place of the prophet Elijah.
Newton.

Milton, Fl. iv. 97, describes Elijah,

Vates terrae Thesbidentis:
Twice by a voice inviting him to eat:
Of thee these forty days none hath regard,
Forty and more deserted here indeed.
To whom thus Jesus. What conclud'st thou hence?
They all had need, as I thou seest have none.
How hast thou hunger then? Satan reply'd.
Tell me, if food were now before thee set,
Would'st thou not eat? Thereafter as I like
The giver, answer'd Jesus. Why should that
Cause thy refusal? said the subtle Fiend.
Hast thou not right to all created things?

313. wandering here was fed]
It appears that Milton conceived the wilderness, where Hagar wandered with her son, and where the
Israelites were fed with manna, and where Elijah
retreated from the rage of Jezebel, to be the same
with the wilderness, where our Saviour was tempted.
And yet it is certain, that they were very different
places; for the wilderness, where Hagar wandered,
was the wilderness of Beer-sheba, Gen. xxi. 14;
and where the Israelites were fed with manna was
the wilderness of Sin, Exod. xvi. 1; and where
Elijah retreated was in the wilderness, a day's
journey from Beer-sheba, 1 Kings, xix. 4; and
where our Saviour was tempted was the wilderness
near Jordan. But our author considers all that
tract of country as one and the same wilderness,
though distinguished by different names from the
different places adjoining.

324. Hast thou not right to all created things?
Owe not all creatures by just right to thee
Duty and service, &c. &c.

This part of the Tempter's speech alludes to the
heavenly declaration which he had heard at Jor-
dan, This is my beloved Son, &c. One may observe
too, that it is much the same sort of flattering ad-
dress with that which he had before made use of
to seduce Eve, Paradise Lost, ix. 539:

Thee all things living gaze on, all things thing,
By gift, &c.

Thye.

Owe
Owe not all creatures by just right to thee
Duty and service, not to stay till bid,
But tender all their power? Nor mention I
Meats by the law unclean, or offer'd first
To idols, those young Daniel could refuse;
Nor proffer'd by an enemy, though who
Would scruple that, with want oppress'd? Behold,
Nature asham'd, or, better to express,
Troubled, that thou should'st hunger, hath purvey'd
From all the elements her choicest store,
To treat thee, as beseems, and as her Lord,
With honour: only deign to sit and eat.

He spake no dream; for, as his words had end,
Our Saviour lifting up his eyes beheld,
In ample space under the broadest shade,
A table richly spread, in regal mode,

Comus, thus, briefly concludes his invitation to
the Lady, to taste of his banquet,
Be wise and taste. Comus, 813.

And Adam, in the Paradise Lost, invites the
Angel in his bower
To rest, and what the garden choicest bears
To sit and taste._v. 368.

This was no dream, as before Ver. 264, but
a reality. Newton.

This temptation is not recorded in Scripture,
but is however invented with great consistency,
and
With dishes pil’d, and meats of noblest sort
And savor; beasts of chase, or fowl of game,

and very aptly fitted to the present condition of our Saviour. This way of embellishing his subject is a privilege which every poet has a just right to, provided he observes harmony and decorum in his hero’s character; and one may further add, that Milton had in this particular place still a stronger claim to an indulgence of this kind, since it was a pretty general opinion among the Fathers, that our Saviour underwent many more temptations than those which are mentioned by the Evangelists; nay, Origen goes so far as to say, that he was every day, whilst he continued in the wilderness, attacked by a fresh one. The beauties of this description are too obvious to escape any reader of taste. It is copious, and yet expressed with a very elegant conciseness. Every proper circumstance is mentioned, and yet it is not at all clogged or incumbered, as is often the case, with too tedious a detail of particulars. It was a scene entirely fresh to our author’s imagination, and nothing like it had before occurred in his Paradise Lost, for which reason he has been the more diffuse, and labored it with greater care, with the same good judgment that makes him in other places avoid expatiating on scenes which he had before described. In a word, it is in my opinion worked up with great art and beauty, and plainly shews the crudity of that notion which so much prevails among superficial readers, that Milton’s genius was upon the decay when he wrote his Paradise Regained.

The banquet here furnished by Satan, Bp. Newton observes, is like that prepared by Armida for her lovers. Tasso, C. x. 64.

Apprestar v’ô l’herbeta, ov’ò più densa
L’ombra, e vicino al suon de l’aquae chiare,
Pece di scultì vasi altera mensa,
E ricco di vivande clete e care,
Era qui ch’ogni stagion dispensa,
Ciò che dona la terra, o maesta il mare,
Ciò che l’arte condisce, e conto belle
Servivano al convito accorte ancelle.

Under the curtain of the green-wood shade,
Beside the brook upon the velvet grass,
In massy vessel of pure silver made,
A banquet rich and costly furnish’d was;
All beasts, all birds beguil’d by fowler’s trade,
All fish were there in floods or seas that pass;
All dainties made by art: and at the table
An hundred virgins serv’d——

Fairfax.

In Comus, where the Lady is tempted by the Enchanter, the scene is laid “a stately palace set out with all manner of deliciousness, soft music, and tables spread with all dainties.”

310. — richly spread, in regal mode.

Regal mode was probably intended to glance at the luxury and expence of the Court at that time: it is however well covered by classical authority.

Epulique artis orbis parat.

Regifico luxu.

Virg. Æn. vi. 604.

Instituunt de more epulis, festamque per urbem
Regificum celebrant convivias mensas.
Sil. Iuil. xi. 272.

341. With dishes pil’d.—]

Rais’d of grassy turf
Their table was, and mossy seats had round,
And on her ample square from side to side
All autumn pil’d,—

Paradise Lost, v. 391.

all in circles as they stood,
Tables are set, and on a sudden pil’d
With Angels’ food,—

Ibid. v. 633.

342. —— beasts of chase——]

All beasts of the earth since wild, and of all chase
In wood or wilderness,

Paradise Lost, iv. 341.

In
In pastry built, or from the spit, or boil'd,
Gris-amber-steam'd; all fish, from sea or shore,
Freshet or purling brook, of shell or fin,
And exquisittest name, for which was drain'd

343. *In pastry built—*]

The pastry in the beginning of the last century,
was frequently of considerable magnitude and soli-
dity. Of such kind must have been the pye in which Jeffrey Hudson, afterwards King James's Dwarf, when eight years old was served up to table at an entertainment given by the Duke of Buckingham. We may suppose this pye was not considerably larger than was usual on such occasions, otherwise the joke would have lost much of its effect from something extraordinary being expected. A species of *mural* pastry seems to have prevailed in some of the preceding centuries, when artificial representations of castles, towers, &c. were very common at all great feasts, and were called *sulteties, subtilties, or sotilties.*—Leland, in his account of the entertainment at the inthronization of Archbishop Warham in 1504, (*Collectanea, Vol. 6,* ) mentions "a sultety of three stages, "with vanes and towres embattled," and "a "warner with eight towres embattled, and made "with floweres," which possibly meant *made in pastry.*—In the catalogue of the expences at this feast, there is a charge for wax and sugar, *in opera-
tione de los sotilties.* Probably the wax and sugar were employed to render the paste of flour more adhesive and tenacious, the better to support itself when moulded into such a variety of forms.

344. *Gris-amber-steam'd;—*]

Ambergris or grey-amber is esteemed the best,
and used in perfumes and cordials. A curious lady
communicated the following remarks upon this
passage to Mr. Peck, which we will here trans-
scribe. "Grey amber is the amber our Author here "speaks of, and melts like butter. It was for-
merly a main ingredient in every concert for "a banquet; viz. to fume the meat with, and "that whether boiled, roasted, or baked; laid

"often on the top of a baked pudding; which "last I have eat of at an old courtier's table. And "I remember, in an old chronicle there is much "complaint of the nobilities being made sick at "Cardinal Wolsey's banquets, with rich scented "cakes and dishes most costly dressed with am-
bergries. I also recollect I once saw a little book "writ by a gentlewoman of Queen Elizabeth's "court, where ambergris is mentioned as the haut- "gout of that age. I fancy Milton transposed the "word for the sake of his verse; to make it read "more poetically." And Beaumont and Fletcher
in the *Custom of the Country,* Act III.
Scene 2.

--- Be sure

The wines be lusty, high, and full of spirit,
And *amber'd* all.

*Newton.*

Mr. Warton, in his Note on *Comus,* V. 863,
cites several curious passages, which show that am-
ber was formerly a favourite in cookery; among
others, one from Massinger's *City Madam,* where "pleasants *drenched with ambergrise*" are spoken of as a prime delicacy; and another from
Marston's *Antiquary,* which mentions "a fat "nightingale seasoned with pepper and *amber-
grise.*"

*346. And exquisittest name,—*]

This alludes to that species of Roman luxury,
which gave *exquisitae names* to fish of exquisite taste,
such as that they called *cerebrum Jovis.* They ex-
tended this even to a very capacious dish, as that
they called *clypeum Minervae.* The modern Italians
fall into the same wantonness of luxurious impety,
as when they call their exquisite wines by the
names of *lacrymae Christi* and *lac Virginis.*

*Warburton.*

246. *fr*
Pontus, and Lucrine bay, and Afric coast.

(Alas, how simple, to these cates compar'd,

316. for which was drained

Pontus, and Lucrine bay, and Afric coast.)

The fish are brought, to furnish this banquet from all the different parts of the world then known; from Pontus, or the Euxine Sea, in Asia; from the Lucrine Bay, in Italy; and from the coast of Africa; all which places are celebrated for different kinds of fish by the authors of antiquity.

Milton had here in his mind the excessive luxury of the Romans in the article of fish; in regard to which it is said by Juvenal that, having exhausted their own seas, they were obliged to be supplied from their distant provinces.

Et jam defect nostrum mare, dum gula vastit,
Retibus asiduis penitus scrutante macello
Proxima, nec patitur Tyrhenenum crescere piscem.
Instulti ergo focum provinciæ:— Sat. v. 94.

In Tiberius's time, the Scarus, a favorite fish, was brought by one of their admirals in immense quantities, from the furthest part of the Mediterranean, in vessels so constructed as to convey them alive; on purpose to stock the sea all along the coast of Naples to the mouth of the Tiber. That they might increase abundantly, it was forbidden to take one for five years. Pliny, ix. 17. Macrobius. Saturn. ii. 12.

Petronius seems to have alluded to this circumstance when speaking of their luxury in carrying this fish alive from the Sicilian Straits for their entertainments; he calls it, *Siculus scarus aquore mersus*; where *mersus* seems to imply that it was not a native of that sea, but brought from a distance and introduced there.

Ingeniosa gula est, *Siculus scarus aquore mersus*

347. Pontus—]

Pliny observes how quickly all sorts of fish came to perfection in the Pontus Euxinus. *Piscium genus omne praecipua celebritate adolescit, maxime

"in Ponto. Causa, multitudo annium dulces inferentium aquas. L. ix. 15.

317. Lucrine bay—]

Horace notices the shell-fish of the Lucrine Lake,

Non me Lucrina juverint conchylia,
Epod. ii. 49.

and particularly commends its muscles,

Murice Baiano melius Lucrina peloris:
2 Sat. iv. 32.

Martial records the excellence of the Lucrine Oysters,

Ostrea tu sumis stango saturata Lucrino,

These were so much in request that *Lucrina* alone is sometimes used by the last-mentioned poet to signify oysters. L. vii. Ep. xi. 5. & L. xii. Ep. xlviii. 4. Sergius Orata was the first person who discovered the superior excellence of the Lucrine Oysters, and, having found out the method of fattening them in beds on the coast of Baiae, derived much advantage to himself from the sale of a delicacy so highly in request. See Pliny, ix. 54. Macrobius, Saturn. ii. 11. and Val. Maximus, ix. 1. — Petronius speaks of the high price which these oysters bore,

inde Lucrini
Eruta litoribus vendunt conchylia corvum.

De Bell. Civil.

The Oysters of the English coast were also in repute at Rome; and, as we may collect, were considered at least equal to those of the Lucrine Lake. Pliny, speaking of the Lucrine Oysters first coming into fashion, says, "nondum Britam taminam serviebant littora, cum Orata Lucrina nobilitabat." ix. 54.

Juvenal particularly mentions the Oysters of Rhutupium, or Richborough, on the coast of Kent.

Circenis nata forent, an Lucrinum ad saxam, Rutupinove edita fundo

Ostrea. — Sat. iv. 140.

347. Afric
Was that crude apple that diverted Eve!
And at a stately side-board by the wine,

The Ancients prised their wines according to their fragrance. *Omos αοιδομακα* was the term of supreme commendation among the Greeks. In the *Plutus* of Aristophanes, among the advantages of being rich enumerated by *Cario* the servant, a principal one is

"Ος 0' αμφοτέροις οἷν μέλανος ανθρακός,

Ver. 807 Ed. Bruck."

Casks full of fragrant and deep-coloured wine.

In the *Female Orators* of the same Comic Poet, a female servant descants upon the superior fragrance of wine above that of the richest ointment; and, calling for a cup of wine, she particularly desires it may be *unmixed and selected for its fragrance, as affording a gratification of the most durable kind.*

"Κρασοί ακρατοί, ευφραντὶ τὴν νυχὶ ὅλη,  

Εὔλυγγον ἵ τι αἱ μαλίσ' οσμῆς εὖχν."

Thus *Laena*, a drunken old woman, in the *Circulio* of Plautus, Act I. Scene 2.

"Flos veteris vini mea narius objectus est.  

Ejus amos cupidam me huc proelict per tenebras.  

Ubi, ubi est? Propone me est. Evax habeo. Salve animi mi!  

Liberi lepos! Ut veteris vetusti cupida sum!  

Nam omnium ungentum odor pra coae neutae est.  

Tu mihi stacete, tu cinnamomum, tu rosa,  

Tu crocinum et casia est, tu bdellium."

And in a fragment of the old Comic Poet Hermippus, preserved by Athenæus, the praises of a wine named *Sapria* or *Saprian*, are celebrated as so highly fragrant, that if the least vent is given to be cask, an odor equal to that of violets, roses, and hyacinths, immediately rushes out.

"Εγι δὲ τοις οίνοις ἐν δε Σαπριαν καλοίοις,  

'Ον γὰρ απὸ το Γαματος Γαμανος ανθρακομανον  

Οἵδι κατο, οἷδι κατοιρεόι, οἷδι ὑποκύκλιον  

Οἵδι διαποστία."
That fragrant smell diffus'd, in order stood

Tall stripling youths rich clad, of fairer hue

Than Ganymed or Hylas; distant more

Under the trees now tripp'd, now solemn stood,

The ὤνες αὐθαγματα, according to Athenæus, was
an artificial preparation; it seems to have been
drunk in a state of fermentation to make the in-
 fused odours more perceptible. Archestratus, whose
skill in these matters we may collect from his sir-
name of διπταλύς, in a passage preserved also in
Athenæus, mentions the Lesbian wine as most
excellent, when it "flowers in the cup" so as to
have a cream at the top.

— νυφικας λυκη πεταχασμα αειν.

And, speaking of the same wine, he says, its
fragrancy was such, that it was more like ambrosia
than wine.

— κίνες δε ελεκτρι

Ουκ ειρη συν εχας ομοιο γιγας, αριστατι δι.

Theophrastus, in his Treatise De Odoribus,
Edit. Heinsii, Fol. 1613. p. 443. speaks of the
infusing liquid odors into wine, or mixing sweet
spices with it, πα εις τοις ευοις επιχυρωσις, η τα
αρμαστα εμπωξονται.

354. Then Ganymed or Hylas;—

These were two most beautiful youths, the one
beloved by Jupiter, to whom he was cup-bearer,
the other by Hercules for whom he drew water;
they are therefore both properly mentioned upon
this occasion.

Newton.

Milton had mentioned these two boys in his
seventh Elegy, where he compares the God of
Love to them.

Arsan Amor lego, pellis Amor impiger alis,
Prodidit vastæm motis pharetra Deum:
Prodidit et facies, et dulce mitantis ocelli,
Et quicquid puero dignum et Amore fuit.
Talis in æterno juvénis Sicillus Ólimpo
Musculaturi pocula plea Jovi;
Aut, qui formosiss pellexit ad oscula nymphas,
Thiodomætæs Naiadæ repus Ílías.

In which he had most probably an eye to Spenser's
description of Fancy in his Mask of Cupid.

The first was Fancy, like a lovely boy,
Of rare aspect, and beauty without peer;
Matchable either to that imp of Troy,
Whom Jove did love and chose his cup to bear;
Or that same dainty lad which was so dear
To great Alcides, that, when as he dy'd,
He wailed woman-like with many a tear,
And every wood and every valley wide
He fill'd with Hylas' name; the nymphs eke Hylas cry'd.

F A R Y  Q U E E N,  B.  I I I.  C.  xii.  7.

Juno likewise describes herself,

Ast ego que Divum incedo regina,

Jbid. i. 46.

And, in the fifth Æneid, among the distinguishing
marks of divinity, we find the gressus eunti:

divini signa decoris

Ædentesque notate oculos; qui spiritus illi,

Qui vulci, vocisque sonus, vel gressus eunti.

647.

The most ancient statues represent the Dit Ma-
jores with their feet even; not as walking, but with
a sort of sliding motion. The gracefulness of their
motion was supposed proportionate to their rank:
the supremacy of majestic grace was attributed to
Juno; Athenæus has the phrase ἡνεκτι βασιλικαι, and
Propertius, L. ii. E. i. 2. describing the charms of
his mistress, says,

Fulva coma est, longeque manus: et maxima toto
Corporis: et incedit vel Jove digna soror.

Milton,
Nymphs of Diana's train, and Naiades
With fruits and flowers from Amalthea's horn,

Milton, in his Paradise Lost, ascribes in the same manner to the Angels a gait proportioned to their rank. When Satan, in the third Book, assumes the form of a stripling Cherub, previous to his conference with Uriel, he has "decency," that is graceful, "steps." But, when Michael descends to Paradise to dispossess our first Parents, Adam says to Eve,

I desir'd,
From wonder blazing cloud that veils the hill,
One of the heavenly host, and of his gait
None of the meanest, some great potentate,
Or of the thrones above, such majesty
Invests him coming; xi. 228.

To these rural Goddesses likewise, these Deities, Milton ascribes solemn, that is graceful, attitudes, and a motion "more than human." In the continuation of the passage just cited, Adam describes the Angel, as he approaches,

That I should fear, nor sociably mild,
As Raphael, that I should much O'kaid,
But solemn and sublime; whom, not to offend,
With reverence I must meet.

And in the twelfth Book, Michael, foreboding the circumstances attending our Lord's birth, says,

His place of birth a solemn Angel tells
To simple shepherds, keeping watch by night;

"Solemn," then, conveys to us the idea of stately gracefulness, while tripping implies a motion of a divine, but festive, kind. Mr. Richardson, in a Note on Paradise Lost, xi. 847, derives to trip from the Latin tripudio, which he renders to step lightly on the toe. Tripping, as Mr. Warter observes on the word, Comus, 960, was the proper pace of Fairies. Thus, in the same Masque, V. 117,

And on the tawny sands and shelves
Trip the pert Fairies and the dapper elves.

And, i. 10, 964, the Dryads are termed the mincing Dryades: to illustrate which phrase Mr. Richardson cites Isaiah, iii. 16, where the Daughters of Zion are described mincing as they go, and where the marginal reading for "mincing" is tripping nicely.—In the allegro also, Milton, having described Euphrosyne, the Goddess of Cheerfulness, attended by her "Groupe of Mirth," calls upon her to advance in the most festive and engaging manner:

Come, and trip it, as you go,
On the light fantastic toe.

In this highly-finished description of a banquet, replete with every species of luxury that could engage the attention or solicit the appetite, these seemingly divine and beautiful attendants are thus distinguished by their graceful attitude, or festive elegant motion, purposely to set off, and increase the effect of, their personal beauty.

Hamlet likewise in the scene with his Mother, where he compares the personal qualities of his Father and Uncle, as represented in their pictures, having noticed the beauty and expression of his Father's countenance,

See what a grace was seated on that brow;
Hyperion's curls; the front of Jove himself;
An eye, like Mars, to threaten or command;
thus exemplifies the gracefulness of his person,

A station like the herald Mercury
New-lighted on a heaven-kissing hill;

where "station" is attitude, or the act of standing.

Nymphs of Diana's train,—]
Homer, Odyss. vi. 105, having described Diana, adds,

Τὰ δὲ θάμνα Νυμφῶν, κάτα Διὸς Ἀιγιβόν, 
Ἀγριωμεί παίζουν.

P  

Arouet
And ladies of the Hesperides, that seem'd Fairer than feign'd of old, or fabled since

Arund her spottive play the rural nymphs,
Daughters of ægis-bearing Jove,

Milton, in the very beautiful part of the ninth Book of the Paradise Lost, where Eve previous to her temptation separates herself from Adam, compares her to a nymph of Delia's train, that is, of the train of Diana, who was likewise called Delia from her birth-place Delos;

----- like a Wood-nymph light;
Oread or Dryad, or of Delia's train,
where it may be observed that light refers to Eve's graceful, goddess-like; motion, and it is added that she
----- Delia's self
Suras'd in gait, and goddess-like deport.

355. ----- Naiades
With fruits and flowers from Amalthea's horn,

The story of Amalthea's Horn, strictly so called, is given by Ovid, Fast. v. 115.

Nais Amalthea Creatae nobilis Ida
Dictaur in sylvis occulsit Jovem.
Huic fuit hædorum mater formosa duorum
Inter Dithaeos conspicienda greges.
Cornibus acris atque in sua terga recurvis,
Ubere, quod nutrix possit habere Jovis.
Lae dabat illa Deo. Sed friget in arbores cornu;
Truncaque dimidiâ parte decoris erat.
Sustulit hoc Nymphæ; cælumque recennis herbis
Et plenum pomis ad Jovis ora tuit.
Ille, ubi res cari tenuit, solioque paterno
Sedid, et invicto nil Jove majus erat,
Sidera nutricem, nutricis fertili cornu
Fecit; quod Domine nunc quoque nomen habet.

But in the beginning of the ninth Book of the Metamorphoses, (where the River-God Achelous relates to Theseus the story of his being conquered by Hercules, with whom he fought for Deianira, in which contest he assumed several shapes, and lastly that of a Bull,) a different history of a Cornucopia is given, which seems to be more immediately referred to in this passage of the Paradise Regained.

Nec satis id fuerat; rigidum fera dextera cornu
Dom tenet infregit; truncàque a fronde revelit.

357. ---- Naiades hoc, pomis et odorò flore reple'tum,
Sacrarunt; divesque meo bona Copia cornu est.

The daughters of Hesperus, the brother of Atlas, are said by the poets to have possessed gardens or orchards, which produced apples of gold; Ovid. Met. iv. 656. Milton frequently alludes to these Ladies of the Hesperides. Thus, in the Comus, 981;

All amidst the gardens fair
Of Hesperus and his daughters three,
That sing about the golden tree:

Mr. Warton asks, what ancient fabler celebrates these damsels for their skill in singing? He then cites a passage from Apollonius Rhodius, Argon. iv. 1396, (an author whom, he observes, Milton taught to his scholars,) where these Νυμφαι Ἐστί πιπομεναι νυμφαι are described ΕΦΙΜΕΡΟΝ ΑΕΙΟΥΣΑΙ sweetly singing,—Our Author's favorite Tragic Poet, Euripides, also celebrates them under the title of ζώονες κοπαί.

358. Fairer than feign'd of old, or fabled since]

In Paradise Lost, v. 380, Eve is described

----- more lovely fair

Then came he to the harmonious nymphs, that band
Whose in Hesperian gardens hold
Their station; where the vegetative gold
Glows in the fruitage; with resistless hand
To snatch the apple from its height,

Woodbull.

And, B. ix. 30. the Poet speaks of

----- fabled knights

In battle feign'd;
Of faery damsels, met in forest wide
By knights of Logres, or of Lyons,

559. — Faery damsels met in forest wide
By knights of Logres, or of Lyons,
Lancelot, or Pelleas, or Pellevois.]

Sir Lancelot, Pelleas, and Pellevois, (the latter
by the title of King Pellevois,) are Persons in the
old Romance of Morte Arthur, or The Lyf
of King Arthur, of his noble Knyghtes of the round
table, and in thonde the dolorous deeth of them all;
written originally in French, and translated into
English by Sir Thomas Malleory, Knt. printed by
William Caxton, 1484.—From this old Romance,
Mr. Warton, (Observations on Spenser, Sext. 2,) shews
that Spenser borrowed much. Sir Lancelot
is there called of Logria; and Sir Tristram is named of
Lyones, under which title he appears also in the
Faery Queen. Logria is the same with Loegria,
(according to the more fabulous historians, and
amongst them Milton,) an old name for England.
Hollinshed calls it both Loegria and Logiers. In
his History of England, B. ii. 4, 5, having related
the conquest of our Island by Brute, or Brutus, a
Trojan, and his building the city of Troyovant,
he thus proceeds. "When Brutus had builded this
city and brought it under his subjection, he by
the advice of his nobles commanded this isle,
(which before hight Albion,) to be called Britain,
and the inhabitants Britons after his name, for
a perpetual memorie that he was first bringer of
them into the land. In this mean while also he
had by his wife three sons, the first named Lo-
crinus or Locrine, the second Cambris or Cam-
ber, the third Albanus or Albanaft. Now
when the time of his death drew neere, to the
first he beoke the government of that part of
the land now known by the name of England,
so that the same was long after called Loegria
or Logiers of this Locrineus, &c. &c. — The
same author, in his Description of Britain, instead
of Loegria, or Logiers, writes it Lhoegres. The
Title of his twenty-second Chapter is, after
what manner the sovereignie of this isle doth re-
maine to the princes of Lhoegres or kings of England,

Spenser, in his Faery Queen, where he gives the
Chronicle of the early Briton Kings from Brute to
Uther's reign, calls it Logis.

Locrine was left the sovereign lord of all,
But Albanaft had all the northern part,
Which of himself Albania he did call;
And Camber did possess the western quart,
Which Severn now from Logres doth depart.

B. ii. C. x. 14.

Lyones was an old name for Cornwall, or at least
for a part of that county. Camden, (in his Brit-
nia,) speaking of the Land's End, says, "the
inhabitants are of opinion that this promontory
did once reach farther to the West, which the
sea-men positively conclude from the rubbish
they draw up. The neighbours will tell you too,
from a certain old tradition, that the land there
drowned by the incursions of the sea was called
Lionesse." Sir Tristram of Lyones, or Lionesse,
is well known to the readers of the old romances.
In the French translation of the Orlando Inamo-
rato of Boiardo, he is termed Tristram de Leonnois,
although in the original he is only mentioned by
the single name of Tristram. In the Orlando Inamorato
also, among the knights, who defend Angelica in
the fortress of Albacca against Africana, is Sir
Hubert of Lyones, Uberto dal Lione.—Tristram,
in his account of himself in the Faery Queen,
B. vi. C. ii. 28, says,

And Tristram is my name, the only heir
Of good king Meliogras, which did reign
In Cornwall, 'till that he through life's despair
Untimely died.—

He then relates how his Uncle seized upon the
crown, whereupon his Mother, conceiving great
fears for her Son's personal safety, determined to
send him into "some foreign land."

So, taking counsel of a wise man read,
She was by him advis'd to send me quite
Out of the country wherein I was bred,
The which the fertile Lionesse is hight,
Into the land of Faery.

P 2
These
Lancelot, or Pelleas, or Pellenore.

And all the while harmonious airs were heard
Of chaming strings, or charming pipes; and winds
Of gentlest gale Arabian odors fann'd

These particulars, Mr. Warton shews, are drawn from the Morte Arthur, where it is said "there was a knight Melyodas, and he was Lord and King of the county of Lyones, and he wedded King Marke's sister of Cornewale." — The issue of this marriage was Sir Tristram. — These Knights, he also observs, are there often represented as meeting beautiful damsels in desolate forests. — Indeed a forest was almost as necessary in an old Romance as a valorous Knight, or a beautiful Damself, whose beauty and prowess were severally to be endangered and proved by the difficulties and dangers they underwent amidst — forests and inchantments drear,

Penseroso, 119.

Milton's later thoughts could not, we find, but rove at times where, as he himself told us, his "younger feet wandered," when he "betook him among those lofty fables and romances, which recount in solemn Cantos the deeds of knighthood founded by our victorious kings, and from hence had in renown over all Christendome." Apol. for Smectym. p. 177. Prose Works. Ed. Amt. 1698.

Sir Pelleas, "a very valorous knight of Arthur's round table," is one of those who pursue the Blatant beast, when, after having been conquered and chained up by Sir Calidore, it "broke its iron chain" and again "ranged through the world." Faery Queen, B. VI. C. xii. 39.

Spenser, as Mr. Calton observes, thus likewise uses the verb to charm:

Like as the fowler on his guileful pipe
Charms to the birds full many a pleasant lay,


But Spenser has to charm frequently in this sense. Thus, in the opening of his Colin Clout's Come Home Again,

The shepherd's boy (best known by that name)
That after Tityrus first sang his lay,
Lays of sweet love, without rebuke or blame,
Late (as his custom was) upon a day
Charming his oaten pipe unto his peers.——

And again in the conclusion of his October,
Here we our slender pipes may safely charm.

363. ——— and winds
Of gentlest gales Arabian odors fann'd
From their soft wing, —]

Mr. Thyer, who supposes this circumstance introduced in compliance with the eastern custom of using perfumes at their entertainments, has noticed the similarity of the following lines,

now gentle gales
Fanning their odoriferous wings dispense
Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole
Those balmy spirts. ———

Paradise Lost, iv. 156.

He might also have cited a beautiful line from our Author's early Elegy, In adventum veris; Cinnamon Zephyrus leve plaudit odorifer anla. 69.

Milton in the same Elegy refers to the "Arabian odors;"

Atque Arabum spiritus mellea ——— 59.

And in the continuation of the passage from the Paradise Lost, exhibited by Mr. Thyer, he speaks of the winds blowing

Substan odors from the spicry shore
Of Arabia the blest; ———

From
From their soft wings, and Flora's earliest smells.
Such was the splendor; and the Tempter now
His invitation earnestly renew'd.

To the first part of which passage we may trace
Mr. Gray, in a highly-finished line of his Eney;—
The breezy call of incense-breathing morn,—
We find a semblance of "Flora's earliest smells" in the following very picturesque and poetical stanza of Spenser.

Thus being enter'd they behold around
A large and spacious plan, on every side
Strowed with pleasure, whose fair grassy ground
Mantled with green, and goodly beautified.
With all the ornaments of Flora's pride,
Wherewith her mother Art, as half in scorn
Of niggard Nature, like a pompous bride
Did deck her, and too lavishly adorn,
When forth from virginsower she comes in
'The early morn.'

Virgil describing the magnificent entertainment prepared by Dido for Æneas, (Æn. i. 637) says,
At domus interior regali splendida lux
Instruitur;

on which La Cerda observes, "Apt et signata splendida, nam splendor de convivis exae;" and he cites from Athenæus, B. iii. AAMPTOANTH

The description of the splendid entertainment here prepared, purposely to captivate each of the senses, resembles the Address of Pleasure to Hercules in the famous Allegory of Prodicus, which Xenophon has preserved in his Memorabilia, L. 2, as repeated by Socrates. The Temptress there offers the young Hero that, if he will follow her, he shall enjoy whatever can gratify the senses;

—tī αν θεομεταφερομενον ετιτιν ποταμον ενιον, η τι αν
νομα τη καμαρα: τετελειεν, η των στηνουμενοιν αν ανα
μαλανος νοθειαν. —The translation subjoined is from the Choice of Hercules published in Mr. Spence's Poly Metis.

Then will I grant thee all thy soul's desire;
All that may charm thine ear and please thy sight.
What doubts the Son of God to sit and eat?
These are not fruits forbidden; no interdict
Defends the touching of these viands pure;
Their taste no knowledge works, at least of evil,
But life preserves, destroys life's enemy,
Hunger, with sweet restorative delight.
All these are Spirits of air, and woods, and springs,
Thy gentle ministers, who come to pay
Thee homage, and acknowledge thee their Lord:
What doubt'st thou, Son of God? Sit down and eat.
To whom thus Jesus temperately reply'd.
Said'st thou not that to all things I had right?

All that thy thought can frame or wish require,
To steep thy ravish'd senses in delight:
The sumptuous feast enhanc'd with music's sound,
Fittest to tune the melting soul to love:
Rich odors breathing choicest sweets around;
The fragrant bower, cool fountain, shady grove;
Fresh flowers to strew thy couch and crown thy head;
Joy shall attend thy steps, and ease shall smooth thy bed.

These are not fruits forbidden, no interdict
Defends the touching of these viands pure,
Their taste no knowledge works, at least of evil,
This sarcastical allusion to the Fall of Man,
and to that particular command by the transgression of which, being seduced by Satan, he fell, is finely in character of the speaker.
Milton, in his Paradise Lost, terms the forbidden fruit

Of interdicted knowledge

And, in the Eighth Book, where Adam, relating to the Angel what he remembered since his own creation, particularly recites the divine command not to eat of the tree of knowledge;

But of the tree whose operation brings Knowledge of good and ill, * * *

Remember what I warn thee, shun to taste,
And shun the bitter consequence; for know,
The day thou eat'st thereof, my sole command
Transgress'd, inevitably thou shalt die,
From that day mortal, and this happy state
Shalt lose, expell'd from hence into a world
O: woe and sorrow. Sternly he pronounc'd
The rigid interdiction, which resounds
Yet dreadful in my ear,

From the French defendre to forbid. See a preceding note, B. i. 53.

These "Spirits of air, and woods, and springs," remind us of Shakespeare's
— elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes and groves,
in the Tempest; where Prospero in the last act addressing his spiritual ministers, and reciting what wonderful feats he had performed by their assistance, professes his intention of breaking his staff, drowning his book, and renouncing all magical arts for the future.

And
And who withholds my power that right to use?
Shall I receive by gift what of my own,
When and where likes me best, I can command?
I can at will, doubt not, as soon as thou,
Command a table in this wilderness,
And call swift flights of Angels ministrant
Array’d in glory on my cup to attend:
Why should’st thou then obtrude this diligence,
In vain, where no acceptance it can find?
And with my hunger what hast thou to do?

385. —— flights of Angels—]
An expression likewise in Shakespeare, Hamlet,
Act V. Sc. 6;
And flights of Angels sing thee to thy rest.

385. —— Angels ministrant—]
Laertes, in Hamlet, tells the Priest who refuses any further funeral rites to the body of Ophelia, on account of her having destroyed herself;

I tell thee, churlish priest,
A Ministering Angel shall my sister be
When thou liest howling.

And, Paradise Lost, x. 86, when the Son of God descends to judge and pass sentence on Adam and Eve after their Fall,

—— him thrones and powers,
Princedoms and dominations ministrant,
Accompanied to Heaven gate,

St. Paul, speaking of the inferiority of the angels to the Son of God, says, Are they not all ministering spirits?
Heb. i. 14.

Whence, in the sixth Book of the Paradise Lost, Satan, in derision of his opponents,

I see that most through sloth had rather serve,
Ministering spirits, train’d up in feast and song;

386. —— on my cup to attend:]
In the New Testament an Angel attends on the mystical Cup of Christ’s Passion. Luke, xxii. 42. Pharaoh’s chief butler was his cup-bearer; accordingly he says, Pharaoh’s cup was in my hand, — — — and I gave the cup into Pharaoh’s hand. Gen. xl. 11. — And in later times all great personages had cup-bearers. It was a place of great honour; the King of Bohemia is great cup-bearer to the Emperor.

When Adam entertains the Angel, in Paradise Lost, Eve is their cup-bearer, or attends on their cup.

—— at table Eve
Minister’d naked, and their flowing cups
With pleasant liquors crown’d:

Ministrare poculum and miscere poculum are classical phrases.

Non ambrosia Deos, aut neciare, aut juventute pocula ministrante, ietari arbitrór.

Cicero, i Tusc. Quæst. 26.

Arrípit Iliadem, qui nunc quoque pocula miscet,
 Invítáque Jovi nectar jubébat ministrat.

Ovid, Met. x. 100.

Thy
Thy pompous delicacies I contemn,
And count thy specious gifts, no gifts but guiles.
To whom thus answer'd Satan malecontent.
That I have also power to give, thou seest;
If of that power I bring thee voluntary
What I might have bestow'd on whom I pleas'd,
And rather opportunely in this place
Chose to impart to thy apparent need,
Why should'st thou not accept it?
But I see
What I can do or offer is suspect;
Of these things others quickly will dispose,
Whose pains have earn'd the far fet spoil. With that
Both table and provision vanish'd quite

391. And count thy specious gifts no gifts, but guiles.] Not without a resemblance to Virgil's

— timeo Danaos et dona ferentes;
Æn. ii. 49.

and to a preceding part of the same speech of Laocoon;

— O miseris, que tanta insania, cives?
Creditis avctos hostes, aut ullâ putatis
Dona carere dolis Danaum?

Bp. Newton observes, that "thy gifts no gifts"
is from Sophocles,

Εχθρων αδερα δωρα, και ουκ οντιμα.
Ajax, 675.

Gifts proffer'd by an enemy 'twere wrong
To reckon gifts, or look for profit from them.

401. ———— far fet—)

Bp. Newton collects several instances of Chaucer, Spenser, and Johnson, using fet; and accompanies them with an observation "that fet is much softer" "than fetch'd," upon which he grounds another remark that "our old writers had a better ear," and studied the beauties of sound more than the "moderns." I confess, to my ear far-fetch'd reads

at least as musically as far-fet. But "fet" is one of those old words which Milton sometimes introduces purposely to deviate from the more modernised language of the day. Obvious and ordinary forms of speech, as Mr. Addison observes, in his Critique on the Language of the Paradise Lost, are so far debased by common use, that they became improper for a Poet or an Orator. "Old words" he adds, "make a poem appear the more venerable, by giving it an air of antiquity."

Fet is frequently used for fetched in our version of the Scriptures.

401. ———— With that
Both table and provision vanish'd quite
With sound of harpies' wings, and talons heard:

In which the Author has imitated Virgil, Æn.
iii. 225.

At subitâ horribundo lapsu de montibus adsunt
Harpyias, et magis quamquam clangoribus alas,
Diripie teque dapès.

Shakespeare has a like scene in the Tempest,
At III, where several strange shapes bring in a banquet;
With sound of harpies' wings and talons heard:
Only the importune Tempter still remain'd,
And with these words his temptation pursu'd.

By hunger, that each other creature tames,
Thou art not to be harm'd, therefore not mov'd;
Thy temperance, invincible besides,
For no allurement yields to appetite;
And all thy heart is set on high designs,
High actions: but wherewith to be achiev'd?
Great acts require great means of enterprise;
Thou art unknown, unfriended, low of birth,
A carpenter thy father known, thyself
Bred up in poverty and straits at home,
Lost in a desert here and hunger-bit:
Which way, or from what hope, dost thou aspire
To greatness? whence authority deriv'st?
What followers, what retinue canst thou gain,
Or at thy heels the dizzy multitude,
PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK II.

Longer than thou canst feed them on thy cost?
Money brings honor, friends, conquest, and realms:
What rais'd Antipater the Edomite,
And his son Herod plac'd on Judah's throne,
Thy throne, but gold that got him puissant friends?

Therefore, if at great things thou would'st arrive,
Get riches first, get wealth, and treasure heap,
Not difficult, if thou hearken to me;
Riches are mine, fortune is in my hand,

And him that reign'd into his room thrust down,
And whom I lust do heap with glory and renown?

Horace has a passage not dissimilar.

In pretio pretium nunc est. Dat census honores;
Census amicitias: pauper ubique Jacet.

This appears to be the fact from history. When
Josephus introduces Antipater upon the stage, he
speaks of him as abounding with great riches.

And Ovid, Fasti, i. 217.

In quicquid vortice nunc est. Dat census honores;
Census amicitias: pauper ubique Jacet.

This is possibly here in Milton's mind:

The dizzy multitude is the ventosa plebs of the
Roman Poet, who speaks of them, as to be gained
in the same manner.

Non ego ventosæ plebis suffragia vedor
Imp. nis cenarum,———
Hor. l. i. Epist. xix. 37.

The following passage in Shakespeare's Timon
of Athens, Act ii. Sc. 2 was possibly here in
Milton's mind:

How many prodigal bits have slaves and peasants
This night englutt'd? Who now is not Timon's?
What heart, head, sword, force, means, but is Lord
Timon's?

Great Timon, noble, worthy, royal Timon's?
Ah! when the means are gone that buy this praise,
The breath is gone whereof this praise is made:
Fast-fond, fast-lost; one cloud of winter showers,
These flies are couched.

Thus, Henry V. Act iv. Sc. 3:

Nor care I who doth feed upon my cost.

Money brings honour, friends, conquest, and realms.

Mammon, in the Faery Queen, attempts the
virtue of Sir Guyon with the same pretences.

B. iii. Cant. vii. St. 11.

Vain-glorious Eliz. id he, dost thou not weet,
That money can thy wants at will supply?
Shields, steeds, and arms, and all things for thee meet
It can purvey, in twinkling of an eye;
And crowns and kingdoms to thee multiply.
Do I not kings create, and throw the crown
Sometimes to him that low in dust doth he?

And him that reign'd into his room thrust down,
And whom I lust do heap with glory and renown?

Calvin.

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It can purvey, in twinkling of an eye;
And crowns and kingdoms to thee multiply.
Do I not kings create, and throw the crown
Sometimes to him that low in dust doth he?
They whom I favor thrive in wealth amain,
While virtue, valor, wisdom, sit in want.
To whom thus Jesus patiently reply'd.
Yet wealth, without these three, is impotent
To gain dominion, or to keep it gain'd.
Witness those ancient empires of the earth,
In hight of all their flowing wealth dissolv'd:
But men endued with these have oft attain'd
In lowest poverty to highest deeds;
Gideon, and Jephthah, and the shepherd lad,
Whose offspring on the throne of Judah sat
So many ages, and shall yet regain

This Temptation we owe to our Author's invention, as Mr. Thyer observes, who adds, that "it is very happily contrived, as it gradually leads the reader on to the stronger ones in the following books." It affords also a fine opportunity of concluding this book with some reflexions, the beauty of which Mr. Thyer has justly noted, on the insufficiency of riches and power to the happiness of mankind.

The language here reminds us of Spenser, who puts a similar speech in the mouth of Mammon. God of the world and wordings I me call,
Great Mammon, greatest God below the sky,
That of my plenty pour upon all,
And unto none my grace do envie;
Riches, renown, and principality,
Honour, estate, and all this world's good,
For which men swink and sweat incessantly,
From me do flow.  

439. To whom thus Jesus patiently replied.] Our Saviour is rightly made to cite his first instances from Scripture, and of his own nation, as being the best known to him; but it is with great art that the poet also supposes him not to be unacquainted with Heathen history, for the sake of introducing a greater variety of examples. Gideon saith of himself, 'O my Lord, wherewith shall I save Israel? behold my family is poor in Manasseh, and I am the least in my father's house.' Judges, vi. 15. And Jephtha was the son of an harlot, and his brethren thrust him out, and said unto him, Thou shalt not inherit in our father's house, for thou art the son of a strange woman. Judges, xi. 1, 2. And the exaltation of David from a sheep-hook to a sceptre is very well known. He chose David also his servant, and took him from the sheep-folds: From following the ewes great with young, he brought him to feed Jacob his people, and Israel his inheritance. Psalm lxxviii. 70, 71. Newton.

That
That seat, and reign in Israel without end.
Among the Heathen, (for throughout the world
To me is not unknown what hath been done
Worthy of memorial,) canst thou not remember
Quintius, Fabricius, Curius, Regulus?
For I esteem those names of men so poor,
Who could do mighty things, and could contemn

445. *Quintius, Fabricius, Curius, Regulus.*

*Quintius Cincinnatus* was twice invited from following the plough, to be consul and dictator of Rome; and after he had subdued the enemy, when the senate would have enriched him with public lands and private contributions, he rejected all these offers, and retired again to his cottage and old course of life. *Fabricius* could not be bribed by all the large offers of king Pyrrhus to aid him in negotiating a peace with the Romans: and yet he lived and died so poor, that he was buried at the public expense, and his daughters fortunes were paid out of the treasury. *Curius Dentatus* would not accept of the lands which the senate had assigned him for the reward of his victories; and when the ambassadors of the Samnites offered him a large sum of money as he was sitting at the fire and roasting turnips with his own hands, he nobly refused to take it, saying that it was his ambition not to be rich, but to command those who were so.

And *Regulus*, after performing many great exploits, was taken prisoner by the Carthaginians, and sent with the ambassadors to Rome to treat of peace, upon oath to return to Carthage, if no peace or exchange of prisoners should be agreed upon: but was himself the first to dissuade a peace, and chose to leave his country, family, friends, every thing, and return a glorious captive to certain tortures and death, rather than suffer the senate to conclude a dishonourable treaty. Our Saviour cites these instances of noble Romans in order of time, as he did those of his own nation: And, as Mr. Calton observes, the Romans in the most degenerate times were fond of these (and some other like) examples of ancient virtue; and their writers of all sorts delight to introduce them: but the greatest honor that poetry ever did them is here, by the praise of the Son of God.

447. *For I esteem those names of men so poor, Who could do mighty things.*

The Author had here plainly Claudian in his mind. *De IV. Cons. Honor. 412.*

Disceur hinc quantum paupertas sobria possit:
Pauper erat Curius, cum rege simecerat armis;
Pauper Fabricius, Pyrrhus cum spernet aurum;
Sordida Serranus flexit Dictator aras: &c.

And again, *In Rufinum,* i. 200.

Semper inops, quinquecupe cupit. *Contentus honesto*
Fabricius parvo spernbat munera regum,
Sudaberque gravi Consul Serranus armo,
Et casa pugnantes Curius angusta tegebat.
Hae mihi paupertas opulentor.

It is probable that he remembered here some of his beloved republicans,

— those names of men so poor
Who could do mighty things—

and it is possible that he might also think of himself, who

— could contemn

Riches, though offer'd from the hand of kings,
if that story be true of his having been offered to be Latin Secretary to Charles the 2d, and of his refusing it.

Newton.

Riches
Riches, though offer'd from the hand of kings.
And what in me seems wanting, but that I
May also in this poverty as soon
Accomplish what they did, perhaps and more?
Extol not riches then, the toil of fools,
The wise man's cumbrance, if not snare; more apt
To slacken virtue, and abate her edge,
Than prompt her to do ought may merit praise.
What if with like aversion I reject
Riches and realms? yet not, for that a crown,

453. Extol not riches then, etc.—] Milton concludes this book and our Saviour's reply to Satan with a series of thoughts as noble and just, and as worthy of the speaker, as can possibly be imagined. I think one may venture to affirm, that, as the Paradise Regained is a poem entirely moral and religious, the excellency of which does not consist so much in bold figures and strong images, as in deep and virtuous sentiments expressed with a becoming gravity, and a certain decent majesty, this is as true an instance of the sublime, as the battles of the Angels in the Paradise Lost.

454. The wise man's cumbrance.—] The expression cumbrance has some resemblance to phrase of Horace, L. ii. Sat. ii. 77.

455. yet not, for that a crown—] Milton seems here to have had in his mind several parts of the soliloquy in Shakespeare's Henry
Golden in show, is but a wreath of thorns,
Brings dangers, troubles, cares, and sleepless nights,

Henry the Fifth, which the poet has put in the mouth of the king, immediately before the battle of Agincourt.

Upon the King! let us, our lives, our souls,
Our debts, our careful wives, our children, and
Our sins lay on the King! He must bear all.
O hard condition, and twin-born with greatness,
Subject to breach of every kind, whose sense
No more can feel but his own wringing.

What infinite heart-ease must Kings neglect!
That private men enjoy! * * * * * * * * * * *

* * * * * * Thou proud dream,
That playst so swiftly with a King's repose,
I am a King that find thee, and I know
'Tis not the balm, the sceptre, and the ball,
The sword, the mace, the crown imperial,
The enter-tissed robe of gold and pearl,
The farsed title running 'fore the King,
The throne he sits on, or the tide of pomp,
That beats upon the high shore of this world;
Nay, not all these thrice-gorgeous ceremonies,
Not all these, had in broad majestical,
Can sleep so soundly as the wretched slave,
Whoe'er, with a body fill'd and vacant mind,
Gets him to rest.

Or we may compare the Prince of Wales's Address to the Crown, when he finds his father sleep, with the crown upon his pillow, 2 Henry IV. Act IV.

Why doth the crown lie there upon his pillow,
Bring so troublesome a bed-fellow?
O polish'd perturbation! golden care!
That keep'st the ports of slumber open wide
To many a watchful night: sleep with it now!
Yet not so sound, and half so deeply sweet,
As he whose brow, with highly biggen bound,
Shines out the watch of night. O majesty!
When thou dost pinch thy bearer, thou dost sit
Like a rich armur worn in heat of day,
That wields with safety.

And in the opening of the third Act of the same play, where the King, complaining of his wakeful night, describes the sleep of the poor and laborious, and particularly of the ship-boy upon "the high and giddy mast," he adds,

Canst thou, O partial sleep, give thy repose
To the wet sea-boy in an hour so rude,
And in the calmest and the stillliest night,
With all appliances and means to boot,
Deny it to a King? Then happy low! lie down;
Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown.

In the Hero of Xenophon, (a Dialogue between Simonides the Poet, and Hiero, King of Syracuse, on the Pleasures and Pains of Royalty,) many passages likewise occur similar to the sentiments which Milton has here so admirably expressed. Some of the passages are subjoined from Mr. Graves's very pleasing translation.

Simonides, who is at first the advocate of the pleasures attendant on royalty, having said that "kings, in every particular, experience more pleasure and less pain than private persons," Hiero replies, "This is by no means the case; but be assured that kings taste much less pleasure, and feel much more chagrin than those individuals who are placed in the middle ranks of life." In another place Hiero says, "For my part I assure you, from my own experience, that kings have the least share of the greatest goods, and much the largest portion of the greatest evils incident to human life." And again, in a more particular and descriptive manner, "But I will now lay before you, my Simonides, a true account of those pleasures which I enjoyed when I was a private man, and which I find myself deprived of since I became a king. I then conversed familiarly with my equals; delighted with their company, as they were with mine; and I conversed also with myself whenever I chose to indulge in the calm of solitude. I frequently spent my time in convivial entertainments with my friends, so as to forget the chagris to which human life is obnoxious; my many affairs of extravagance; to singing, dancing, and every degree of festivity unrestrained but by our own inclinations. But I am now debarr'd from the society of those who could afford me any delight, as I have slaves alone for my com-
To him who wears the regal diadem,
When on his shoulders each man's burden lies;
For therein stands the office of a king,

"panions, instead of friends: nor can I converse
agreeably with men in whom I cannot discover
the least benevolence or attachment to me; and
I am forced to guard against intoxication or
sleep, as a most dangerous disease.—But now
"to be continually alarmed, either in a crowd or
in solitude: to be in fear when without guards,
and to be afraid of the guards themselves: to be
unwilling to have them about me without their
arms, and to be under apprehensions to see them
armed; what a wretched state of existence is
this!—Moreover to place a greater confidence
in strangers than in our own countrymen; in
barbarians than in Greeks; to be under a neces-
sity of treating freemen like slaves, and to
give slaves their freedom; are not all these evi-
dent symptoms of a mind disturbed and quite
deranged by fear? Now this passion of fear not
only creates uneasiness, and diffuses a constant
gloom over the mind, but, being mixed with all
our pleasures, deprives us of all kind of enjoy-
ment."

463. For therein stands the office of a king,
His honor, virtue, merit, and chief praise,
That for the public all this weight he bears,]

Milton, in the height of his political ardor,
declared that he was not actuated "by hatred to
kings, but only to tyrants." Neither is there any
occasion to question the truth of his assertion; but
such was his apprehension of monarchical tyranny,
that the current of his prejudices certainly ran
very strongly in favour of a republican govern-
ment.—Even in one of his latest political pub-
llications, The ready and easy way to establish a
Free Commonwealth, he professes that "though
there may be such a king, who may regard the
"common good before his own, yet this rarely
"happens in a monarchy not elective;" and, on
this ground, he strongly remonstrates against the
risk of admitting Kingship.—The contest how-
ever was now completely over; and our Author,
having seen the fallacy not only of his hopes, but
also of his confidence in those persons, of whose
consummate hypocrisy his ardent integrity had
been the dupe, seems, in thus sketching out the
laborious duties of a good and patriotic prince, to
be somewhat more reconciled to kingly govern-
ment. About this time also, seemingly under
the same impression, he had proceeded in his His-
tory, and composed the fifth and sixth Books, in
which we find no marks of any splanic dislike to
kings: on the contrary, many of the characters of
our early monarchs are drawn not merely with an
impartial hand, but often with a favorable one.
The character of Alfred in particular is given
with the most affectionate admiration, and is not
without its resemblance to the compressed descrip-
tion of a good king in this place.—"From the
time of his undertaking Regal charge, no man
more patient in hearing causes, more inquisitive
in examining, more exact in doing justice, and
in providing good laws, which are yet extant;
more severe in punishing unjust Judges, or obsti-
nate offenders; thieves especially and robbers, to
the terror of whom in cross ways were hung upon
a high post certain chains of gold, as it were
daring any one to take them thence, so that
justice seemed in his days not to flourish only,
but to triumph. No man than he more frugal of
two precious things in man's life, his time and
his revenue; no man wiser in the disposal of
both. His time, the day and night, he dis-
tributed, by the burning of certain tapers, into
three equal portions; the one was for devotion,
the other for public or private affairs, the third
for bodily refreshment. How each hour passed,
he was put in mind by one who had that office.
His whole annual revenue, which his first care
was should be justly his own, he divided into
two equal parts. The first he employed to secular
His honor, virtue, merit, and chief praise,
That for the public all this weight he bears.
Yet he, who reigns within himself, and rules
Passions, desires, and fears, is more a king;
Which every wise and virtuous man attains,
And who attains not, ill aspires to rule
Cities of men, or headstrong multitudes,
Subject himself to anarchy within,
Or lawless passions in him, which he serves.
But to guide nations in the way of truth

"uses, and subdivided those into three; the first
" to pay his soldiers, household servants and guard;
" the second was to pay his architects and work-
" men, whom he had got together of several
" nations, for he was also an elegant builder, above
" the custom and conceit of Englishmen in those
" days; the third he had in readiness to relieve or
" honor strangers according to their worth, who
" came from all parts to see him and to live under
" him. The other equal part of his yearly wealth
" he dedicated to religious uses, those of four sorts;
" the first to relieve the poor, the second to the
" building and maintenance of two monasteries,
" the third of a school, where he persuaded the
" sons of many noblemen to study sacred know-
" ledge and liberal arts, some say at Oxford; the
" fourth was for the relief of foreign churches.—
" Thus far, and much more might be said of his
" noble mind, which rendered him the mirror of
" Princes; his body was diseased in his youth with
" a great soreness in the siege, and, that ceasing of
" itself, with another inward pain of unknown
" cause, which held him by frequent fits to his
" dying day; yet not disenabled to sustain those
" many glorious labours of his life both in peace
" and war."
By saving doctrine, and from error lead
To know, and knowing worship God arise,
Is yet more kingly; this attracts the soul,
Governs the inner man, the nobler part;
That other o'er the body only reigns,
And oft by force, which, to a generous mind,
So reigning, can be no sincere delight.

Besides to give a kingdom hath been thought

_To know, and knowing worship God arise,
Is yet more kingly._

In this speech concerning riches and realms, our poet has culled all the choicest, finest flowers out of the heathen poets and philosophers who have written upon these subjects. It is not so much their words, as their substance sublimed and improved. But here he soars above them, and nothing could have given him so complete an idea of a divine teacher, as the life and character of our Blessed Saviour.

_Habere regnum, casus est: virtus, dare._

Possibly Milton had here in his mind the famous Christina Queen of Sweden, who, after having reigned twenty-one years, resigned her crown to her cousin Charles Gustavus, when she was still a young woman, being only thirty years old. Our Author had before paid her considerable compliments. The verses under Cromwell's picture, sent to Christina, have been generally supposed to be his: though Mr. Warton inclines to think they were written by Andrew Marvel, and adds that he suspects "Milton's habit of facility in elegiac " Latinity had long ago ceased." What ground he had for this suspicion he does not specify, nor is it easy to conjecture. I should not willingly persuade myself that our Author could soon lose any faculty which he had acquired. Besides these verses must have been written before the year 1654, when Christina abdicated; and only nine years before that, when he published a collection of his Latin and English Poems in 1645, he had added to his seventh Elegy ten lines which sufficiently shew that he then perfectly retained his Elegiac Latinity; and why it should be supposed entirely to cease in eight or nine years more I cannot imagine. As Marvel was not his associate in the Secretaryship till the year 1657, Milton has officially the best claim to them.
Greater and nobler done, and to lay down
Far more magnanimous, than to assume.
Riches are needless then, both for themselves,

It was also an employment which, we may well suppose, he was fond of, as at this time he certainly thought highly of Christina, and was particularly flattered with the idea that, on reading his Defensio Populi, she withdrew all her protection from his antagonist Salmasius, who was then resident at her court, and whom, it was then said, she dismissed with contempt, as a parasite and an advocate of tyranny. Accordingly, in his Defensio secunda, Milton honours her with a most splendid panegyric; and in appealing to her that he had no determined prejudices against kings, nor any wish wantonly to attack their rights, he particularly congratulates himself upon having a witness of his integrity tam vere regiam. The expression is sufficiently obvious and hackneyed in the flattery of royalty, but it is well worth observing, when it comes from one who so seldom sings in that strain. It may also be noticed here, as we trace a resemblance of it in some of the preceding lines, where our Author having said that in the laborious and disinterested discharge of magistracy consists the real and proper "office of a king," proceeds to ascribe a superior degree of royalty, or the most distinguished eminence, to him who is duly practised in the habit of self-command.

Yet he who reigns within himself and rules
Passions, desires, and fears, is more a king;
and still more to him who conscientiously labours
for the well-doing and well-being of mankind at large, by the zealous propagation of truth and pure unadulterated religion;

But to guide nations in the way of truth
By saving doctrine, and from error lead
To know, and knowing worship God aright,
Is yet more single.

Milton it appears however was rather unfortunate in his selection of a favourite from among the crowned heads of his time. Mr. Warton, in his note on the Verses to Christina, collects many curious anecdotes of her improprieties and absurdities; and Harte, the English Historian of Gustavus Adolphus, terms her "an unaccountable woman; reading much, yet not extremely learned; a collector and critic in the fine arts, but collecting without judgment, and forming conclusions without taste; affecting pomp, and rendering herself a beggar; fond to receive servile dependance, yet divesting herself of the means; paying court to the most serious Christians, and making profession of little less than atheism." But our Author saw only the bright side of her character, and considered her as a learned, pious, patriotic, disinterested Princess.

We may rather trace Milton here to Macrobius, than to the passage cited in a preceding note, from Quod quidam quoque unice claris sunt, in uno video fuisse mancipio, imperium regendi peritiam et imperium contemnendi magnanimitatem. Anaxilaus enim Messenius, qui Messanae in Sicilia condidit, sive Rheginorum tyrannus. Is, cum parvos relinquuerat liberos, Micitho servum suo commendasse consentius est. Is tutelam sancte gessit; imperiumque tam clementer obtinuit, ut Rheginus a servio regi non dedignarentur. Perducit deinde in maxatem pueris et bona et imperium tradidit. Ipsa parvo viatico sumpto profectus est; et Olympia cum summa tranquillitate consentiit.

Saturnal. I. ii.

And
And for thy reason why they should be sought,
To gain a sceptre, oftest better miss'd*.

* The opening of this second Book is not calculated to engage attention, by any particular beauty of the picturesque or descriptive kind; but by recurring to what passed at the river Jordan among Jesus's new disciples and followers upon his absence, and by making Mary express her maternal feelings upon it, the poet has given an extent and variety to his subject. It might perhaps be wished, that all which he has put into the mouth of the Virgin, respecting the early life of her Son, had been confined solely to this place, instead of a part being incorporated in our Lord's soliloquy in the first Book. There it seems awkwardly introduced, but here I conceive her speech might have been extended with good effect.—Our Lord (Ver. 110.) is, in a brief but appropriate description, again presented to us in the wilderness. The poet, in the mean time, makes Satan (Ver. 118.) return to his infernal council, to report the bad success of his first attempt, and to demand their counsel and assistance in an enterprise of so much difficulty. This he does (Ver. 122.) in a brief and energetic speech. Hence arises a debate; or at least a proposition on the part of Belial, and a rejection of it by Satan, of which I cannot sufficiently express my admiration. The language of Belial (Ver. 153.) is exquisitely descriptive of the power of beauty, without a single word introduced, or even a thought conveyed, that is unbecoming its place in this divine poem. Satan's reply (Ver. 173.) is eminently fine: his imputing to Belial, as the most dissolute of the fallen Angels, the amours attributed by the poets and mythologists to the Heathen Gods, while it is replete with classic beauty, furnishes an excellent moral to those extravagant fictions: and his description of the little effect which the most powerful enticements can produce on the resolute mind of the virtuous, while it is heightened with many beautiful turns of language, is in its general tenour of the most superior and dignified kind. Indeed all this part of his speech (from Ver. 191. to Ver. 225.) seems to breathe such a sincere and deep sense of the charms of real goodness, that we almost forget who is the speaker: at least we readily subscribe to what he had said of himself, in the first Book;

—— I have not lost
To love, at least contemplate and admire,
What I see excellent in good, or fair,
Or virtuous.———

After such sentiments so expressed, it might have been thought difficult for the poet to return to his subject, by making the Arch-Fiend resume his attempts against the divine person, the commanding majesty of whose invincible virtue he had just been describing with such seemingly heart-felt admiration. This is managed with much address, by Satan's proposing (Ver. 225.) to adopt such modes of temptation as are apt to prevail most, where the propensities are virtuous, and where the disposition is amiable and generous: and, by the immediate return of the Tempter and his associates to the wilderness, (Ver. 241.) the poem advances towards the height of its argument.—Our Saviour's passing the night (Ver. 261.) is well described. The coming on of morn (Ver. 279.) is a beautiful counterpart of "Night coming on in the desert," which so finely closed the preceding Book. Our Lord's waking (Ver. 282.)—his viewing the country (Ver. 285.)—and the description of the "pleasant grove," (Ver. 292.) which is to be the scene of the banquet—are all set off with every grace that poetry can give. The appearance of Satan (Ver. 298.), varied from his first disguise, as he has now quite another part to act, is perfectly well imagined; and his speech (Ver. 302.), referring to scripture examples of persons miraculously fed in desert places, is truly artful and in character; as is his second sycophantic address (Ver. 324.), where, having acknowledged our Lord's right to all created things, he adds,
Behold,
Nature asham'd, or, better to express,
Troubled that thou 'shalt hunger, hath purvey'd
From all the elements her choicest store,
To treat thee, as becom's, and, as her Lord,
With honour. ———

The banquet (Ver. 340.) comprises every thing that Roman luxury, Eastern magnificence, mythological fable, or poetic fancy can supply; and, if compared with similar descriptions in the Italian Poets, will be found much superior to them. In the concluding part of his invitation (Ver. 368.) the virulence of the Arch-Fiend breaks out, as it were involuntarily, in a sarcastic allusion to the divine prohibition respecting the tree of knowledge; but he immediately resumes his hypocritical servility, which much resembles his language in the ninth Book of the Paradise Lost, when, in his addresses to Eve, "persuasive rhetoric " sleek'd his tongue." The three last lines are quite in this style;

All these are spirits of air, and woods and springs,
Thy gentle ministers, who come to pay
Thee homage, and acknowledge thee their Lord.

Our Lord's reply is truly sublime;
I can at will, doubt not, as soon as thou,
Command a table in the wilderness,
And call swift flights of Angels ministrant,
Array'd in glory, on my cup to attend.

But I must not swell these notes with the citation of passages, the beauty of which is sufficiently obvious to every reader of taste; and yet, in reviewing the several parts of this admirable poem, it is often difficult to refrain. This part of it in particular is so highly finished, that I could wish this second Book had concluded, as it might well have done, with the vanishing of the banquet, (Ver. 403.)—The present conclusion, from its subject, required another style of poetry. It has little description, no machinery, and no mythological allusions to elevate and adorn it; but it is not without a sublimity of another kind. Satan's speech (Ver. 405.), in which he assails our Lord with the temptation of riches as the means of acquiring greatness, is in a noble tone of dramatic dialogue; and the reply of our Saviour, (Ver. 433.) where he rejects the offer, contains a series of the finest moral precepts expressed in that plain majestic language, which, in many parts of Didactic Poetry, is the most becoming vastitius orationis. Still it must be acknowledged, that all this is much lost and obscured by the radiance and enriched descriptions of the preceding three hundred lines. These had been particularly relieved, and their beauty had been rendered more eminently conspicuous, from the studied equality and scriptural plainness of the exordium of this Book; which has the effect ascribed by Cicero to the subordinate and less shining parts of any writing, "quo magis id, quod erit illuminatum, extare atque eminere videatur." De Orat. iii. 103. Ed. Proust.—But the conclusion of this Book, though excellent in its kind, unfortunately, from its loco-position, appears to considerable disadvantage. Writers of Didactic Poetry, to secure the continuance of their reader's attention, must be careful not only to diversify, but as much as possible gradually to elevate, their strain. Accordingly, they generally open their several divisions with their dryer precepts, proceed thence to more pleasing illustrations, and are particularly studious to close each Book with some description, or episode, of the most embellished and attractive kind.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.
THE
THIRD
BOOK
OF
PARADISE REGAINED.
ARGUMENT OF BOOK III.

Satan, in a speech of much flattering commendation, endeavours to awaken in Jesus a passion for glory, by particularizing various instances of conquests achieved, and great actions performed, by persons at an early period of life. Our Lord replies, by shewing the vanity of worldly fame, and the improper means by which it is generally attained; and contrasts with it the true glory of religious patience and virtuous wisdom, as exemplified in the character of Job. Satan justifies the love of glory from the example of God himself, who requires it from all his creatures. Jesus detects the fallacy of this argument, by shewing that, as goodness is the true ground on which glory is due to the great Creator of all things, sinful Man can have no right whatever to it.—Satan then urges our Lord respecting his claim to the throne of David; he tells him that the kingdom of Judea, being at that time a province of Rome, cannot be got possession of without much personal exertion on his part, and presses him to lose no time in beginning to reign. Jesus refers him to the time allotted for this, as for all other things; and, after intimating somewhat respecting his own previous sufferings, asks Satan, why he should be so solicitous for the exaltation of one, whose rising was destined to be his fall. Satan replies, that his own desperate state, by excluding all hope, leaves little room for fear; and that, as his own punishment was equally doomed, he is not interested in preventing the reign of one, from whose apparent benevolence he might rather hope for some interference in his favour.—Satan still pursues his former incitements; and, supposing that the seeming reluctance of Jesus to be thus advanced might arise from his being unacquainted with the world and its glories, conveys him to the summit of a high mountain, and from thence shews him most of the kingdoms of Asia, particularly pointing out to his notice some extraordinary military preparations of the Parthians to resist the incursions of the Scythians. He then informs our Lord, that he shewed him this purposely that he might see how necessary military exertions are to retain the possession of kingdoms, as well as to subdue them at first, and advises him to consider how impossible it was to maintain Judea against two such powerful neighbours as the Romans and Parthians, and how necessary it would be to form an alliance with one or other of them. At the same time he recommends, and engages to secure to him, that of the Parthians; and tells him that by this means his power will be defended from any thing that Rome or Caesar might attempt against it, and that he will be able to extend his glory wide, and especially to accomplish, what was particularly necessary to make the throne of Judea really the throne of David, the deliverance and restoration of the ten tribes, still in a state of captivity. Jesus, having briefly noticed the vanity of military efforts and the weakness of the arm of flesh, says, that when the time comes for ascending his allotted throne he shall not be slack: he remarks on Satan's extraordinary zeal for the deliverance of the Israelites, to whom he had always shewed himself an enemy, and declares their servitude to be the consequence of their idolatry: but adds, that at a future time it may perhaps please God to recall them, and restore them to their liberty and native land.
So spake the Son of God, and Satan stood
A while, as mute, confounded what to say,
What to reply, confuted, and convinc'd
Of his weak arguing and fallacious drift;
At length, collecting all his serpent wiles,
With soothing words renew'd him thus accosts.

I see thou know'st what is of use to know,
What best to say canst say, to do canst do;
Thy actions to thy words accord, thy words
To thy large heart give utterance due, thy heart
Contains of good, wise, just, the perfect shape.

10. To thy large heart—]
Thus, Paradise Lost, i. 444.
whose heart, though large,
Beguil'd by fair idolatresses fell
To idols foul.

And Cowley, in his Poem, On the Death of
Mr. William Hervey.
Large was his soul; as large a soul as ere
Submitted to inform a body here—

11. — of good, wise, just, the perfect shape.]
Milton, no doubt, by the word shape intended
to express the meaning of the Greek ἔδα, but in
my opinion it does not at all come up to it, and
seems rather harsh and inelegant. There are words
in all languages, which cannot well be translated
without losing much of their beauty, and even some
of their meaning; of this sort I take the word idea
to be. Tully renders it by the word species with
as little success as Milton has done here by his
English shape.

Thyer.

I should rather think it expressed from the perfecta forma honestatis, and the forma ipsa honesti of
Cicero.
Should kings and nations from thy mouth consult,
Thy counsel would be as the oracle
Urim and Thummim, those oracular gems
On Aaron's breast; or tongue of seers old
Infallible: or wert thou sought to deeds
That might require the array of war, thy skill
Of conduct would be such, that all the world
Could not sustain thy prowess, or subsist
In battle, though against thy few in arms.
These God-like virtues wherefore dost thou hide,
Affecting private life, or more obscure
In savage wilderness? Wherefore deprive

Cicero.  De Fin. ii. 15. Habes undique expletam et perfexitam, Torquate, formam bonitetatis, &c. De Off. i. 5. Formam quidem ipsum, Marce fili, et tanquam faciem honesti vides; quae, si oculis cernetur, &c. And the more, because he renders forma by shape in the Paradise Lost, iv. 848.

Virtue in her shape how lovely, Newton.

13. as the oracle
Urim and Thummim, those oracular gems
On Aaron's breast:—]

Aaron's breast-plate was a piece of cloth doubled, of a span square, in which were set in sockets of gold twelve precious stones bearing the names of the twelve tribes of Israel engraven on them, which being fixed to the ephod, or upper vestment of the high priest's robes, was worn by him on his breast on all solemn occasions. In this breast-plate the Urim and Thummim, say the Scriptures, were put. And the learned Prideaux, after giving some account of the various opinions concerning Urim and Thummim, says it will be safest to hold, that the words Urim and Thummim meant only the divine virtue and power, given to the breast-plate in its consecration, of obtaining an oracular answer from God, whenever counsel was asked of him by the high-priest with it on, in such manner as his words did direct; and that the names of Urim and Thummim were given hereto only to denote the clearness and perfection, which these oracular answers always carried with them. For Urim signifies light, and Thummim, perfection.

Newton.

15. or tongue of seers of old
Infallible:—]

The poet by mentioning this after Urim and Thummim seems to allude to the opinion of the Jews, that the Holy Spirit spake to the children of Israel during the tabernacle by Urim and Thummim, and under the first temple by the prophets. Sec Prideaux's Conneft. Part I. Book III.

Newton.

22. Affecting private life,—]

Shakespeare, and the poets of his time, frequently use to affect in the sense of affecto in Latin.

Sec tantum pictas, sed proinus ardua virtus
Affectata tibi;— Status, 5 Sylv. ii. 98.

All
BOOK III.

PARADISE REGAINED.

All earth her wonder at thy acts, thyself
The fame and glory, glory the reward
That sole excites to high attempts, the flame
Of most erect'd spirits, most temper'd pure
Ethereal, who all pleasures else despise,

25. ———— glory the reward]

Our Saviour having withstood the allurement of riches, Satan attacks him in the next place with the charms of glory. I have sometimes thought that Milton might possibly take the hint of thus connecting these two temptations from Spenser, who, in his second Book of the Faery Queen, representing the virtue of temperance under the character of Guyon, and leading him through various trials of his constancy, brings him to the house of riches, or Mammon's dwell as he terms it, and immediately after to the palace of glory, which he describes, in his allegorical manner, under the figure of a beautiful woman called Philistine. 

What the Tempter here says, on the subject of glory, is afterwards corrected by our Lord in his reply.

This is true glory and renown, when God
Looking on the earth with approbation marks
The just man, &c.——

60.

Taking the two passages together, we trace a striking resemblance of them in a beautiful part of the Lydidas.

Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise,
(The last infirmity of noble mind.)
To scorn delights and live laborious days;
But the fair gourdorn when we hope to find,
And think to burst out into sudden blaze,
Comes the blind Fury with the abhorred shears,
And slits the thin-upon life. But not the prize,
Phebus reply'd, and touch'd my trembling ear;
Fame is no plant that grows on mortal soil,
Nor in the glittering soil

Set off to the world, nor in broad rumor lie,
But lives and spreads aloft by those pure eyes,
And perfect witness of all-judging Jove;
As he pronounces lastly on each deed,
Of so much fame in heaven expect thy need.

27. Of most erect'd spirits,—]

The Author here remembered Cicero; Pro Archia. Trahimur omnes laudis studio, et optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur. De Off. i. 8. In maximis animis splendidissimisque ingenii pluramque existimatur honoris, impeti, potentiae, gloriae cupiditates.

Newton.

Erected spirits is a classical phrase. "Magno
"animo et erecto est, nec unquam succumbit
"inimicis, nec fortuna quidem."

Cicero, Pro Reg. Deiotaro, 15.

And Seneca, Epist. ix. "Ad hoc enim multis
"illi rebus opus est, ad illud tantum animo sano,
"et erecto, et desipiente fortunam."

It occurs likewise in Paradise Lost, i. 679.

Mammon the least erected spirit that fell From Heaven.

28. ———— who all pleasures else despise,
All treasures and all gain esteem as dross;]

Thus Spenser, in the conclusion of his Hymn
of Heavenly Love;

Thenceforth all world's desires will in thee die,
And all earth's glory, on which men do gaze,
Seem dirt and dross in thy pure-sighted eye.

And Milton, in his Verses on Time;

Which is no more than what is false and vain,
And merely mortal dross;—

S 2

All
All treasures and all gain esteem as dross,
And dignities and powers all but the highest?
Thy years are ripe, and over-ripe; the son
Of Macedonian Philip had ere these
Won Asia, and the throne of Cyrus held
At his dispose; young Scipio had brought down
The Carthaginian pride; young Pompey quell'd
The Pontic king, and in triumph had rode.
Yet years, and to ripe years judgment mature,
Quench not the thirst of glory, but augment.

31. Thy years are ripe, and over-ripe;—]
Our Saviour's Temptation was soon after his
Baptism; and he was baptized when he was about
thirty years of age.

32. Of Macedonian Philip had ere these
Won Asia, and the throne of Cyrus held
At his dispose;—]
Alexander was but twenty years old, when he
began to reign; and in a few years he overthrew
the Persian Empire, which was founded by Cyrus.
Alexander died in the thirty-third year of his age.

34. At his dispose;—]
Shakespeare writes dispose for disposal.
Needs must you lay your heart at his dispose,
Against whose fury and unmatched force
The aweless hon' could not wage the fight.

35. young Scipio had brought down
The Carthaginian pride;—]
Scipio Africanus was no more than twenty-four
years old, when he was sent Proconsul into Spain.
He was between twenty-eight and twenty-nine,
when, being chosen Consul before the usual time,
he transferred the war into Africa.

38. the thirst of glory—]
in this instance our Author is not so exact as in
the rest; for when Pompey was sent to command
the war in Asia against Mithridates king of Pontus,
he was above forty, but had signalized himself by
many extraordinary actions in his younger years,
and had obtained the honor of two triumphs before
that time. Pompey and Cicero were born in the
same year; and the Manilian law, which gave the
command in Asia to Pompey, was proposed when
Cicero was in the forty-first year of his age. But
no wonder that Milton was mistaken in point of
time, when several of the Ancients were. Plutarch,
speaking of Pompey's three memorable triumphs
over the three parts of the world, his first over
Africa, his second over Europe, and this last over
Asia, says, that as for his age, those who affect to
make the parallel exact in all things betwixt him
and Alexander the Great, would not allow him to
be quite thirty-four, whereas in truth at this time
he was near forty. ἐκεῖνος δὲ τοῦτο ὡς μεν ὁ κατὰ
φιλα τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρην παραπταλκόντος αὐτὸν καὶ ἅτομονος ἐξεις

39. young Pompey quell'd
The Pontic king, and in triumph had rode.

And
Great Julius, whom now all the world admires,
The more he grew in years, the more inflam'd
With glory, wept that he had liv'd so long
Inglorious: but thou yet art not too late.

To whom our Saviour calmly thus reply'd.
Thou neither dost persuade me to seek wealth
For empire's sake, nor empire to affect
For glory's sake, by all thy argument.
For what is glory but the blaze of fame,
The people's praise, if always praise unmix'd?

And our Author, in his Preface to his Eicono-
clastes; "I never was so thirsty after
"fame, nor so destitute of other hopes, and
"meanes better, and more certain to attain it."

Alluding to a story related of Julius Cæsar, that,
one day reading the history of Alexander, he sat
a great while very thoughtful, and at last burst into
tears, and his friends wondering at the reason of it,
Do you not think, said he, I have just cause to
weep, when I consider that Alexander at my age
had conquered so many nations, and I have all
this time done nothing that is memoriable? See
Plutarch's Life of Cæsar. Others say, it was at
the sight of an image of Alexander the Great—
amidversa apud Herculis templum magni Alex-
andri imagine, ingemuit; et quasi pertæsusignaviam
suam, quod nihil dum à se memorabile actum esset
in atate, qua jam Alexander orbes terrarum sub-

"Inglorious" here is Virgil's inglorius, i.e.
insensible to the charms of glory.
Rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes;
Flumina amem sylvasque inglorius.

44. Thou neither dost persuade me, Etc.—]  
How admirably does Milton in this speech expose
the emptiness and uncertainty of a popular character,
and found true glory upon its only sure basis, the
approbation of the God of truth! There is a
remarkable dignity of sentiment runs quite through
it, and I think it will be no extravagance to
assert, that he has comprised in this short compass
the substance and quintessence of a subject which
has exercised the pens of the greatest moralists in
all ages.
         Thyer.

This refers to Ver. 422, and 427, of the second
Book.

48. The people's praise, Etc.—]  
We may compare with this and some of the
following lines a stanza of Giles Fletcher.

Frail multitude! whose giddy law is list,
And best applause is windy flattering,
Most like the breath of which it doth consist,
No sooner blown, but as soon vanishing,
As much desired, as little profiting,
That makes the men that have it oft as light
As those that give it,

Christ's Triumph over Death, St. 31.
And what the people but a herd confus'd,  
A miscellaneous rabble, who extol
50  
Things vulgar, and, well weigh'd, scarce worth the praise?  
They praise, and they admire, they know not what,  
And know not whom, but as one leads the other;  
And what delight to be by such extoll'd,  
To live upon their tongues and be their talk,  
Of whom to be disprais'd were no small praise?  
His lot who dares be singularly good.  
The intelligent among them and the wise
Are few, and glory scarce of few is rais'd.  
This is true glory and renown, when God

49. And what the people but a herd confus'd,
A miscellaneous rabble, who extol  
Things vulgar, and, well weigh'd, scarce worth the praise?
They praise, and they admire, they know not what,
And know not whom, but as one leads the other.]

These lines are certainly no proof of a Democratic  
disposition in our Author.

58. Of whom to be disprais'd were no small praise.]  
This is an instance of that play upon words, in  
which, as Dr. Johnson justly observes, Milton  
"delighted too often." He seems to have fancied  
that in some places it had a particularly good effect.  
Possibly the following passage stood well in his  
own opinion.

For strength, from truth divided and from just,  
Ilaudable, naught merits but dispraise  
And ignominy, yet to glory aspires  
Vain glorious, and through infamy seeks fame.  
PARADISE LOST, vi. 381.

57. His lot who dares be singularly good.]

Bp. Newton conjectures that Milton might here  
allude to himself, "who dared to be as singular in  
his opinions and in his conduct as any man what-  
ever."—But the language of the poet in this place

is perhaps only classical, as it might well have been  
suggested by Horace's  

—— Spere audes;  
Incipe; vivendi recte qui prorogat horam,  
Rusticus expectat dum defuit annum; ———  
1. Epist. ii. 40.

59. — and glory scarce of few is rais'd.]  
Gloriam latius fusam intelligo; consensum  
enim multorum exigit. * * * * *  
* * * * * * * * * Quid inter  
inter claritatem et gloriam dicam; gloria multorum  
judiciis constat, claritas bonorum.  
Senec. Epist. 102.

60. This is true glory and renown, &c.]  
Here is a glory that is solid and substantial,  
expressa, as Tully says, non adumbrata; and that  
will endure, when all the records and memorials of  
human pride are perished.  
Calton.

The passage alluded to by Mr. Calton is well  
worth citing at large, particularly as it is not  
without its resemblance to some preceding senti-  
ments of our Author, as well as to this immediate  
place.——Cum vero accedit codem, quasi maximus  
quidam
Looking on the earth, with approbation marks
The just man, and divulges him through Heaven
To all his Angels, who with true applause
Recount his praises: thus he did to Job,
When, to extend his fame through Heaven and Earth, 65
As thou to thy reproach may'st well remember,
He ask'd thee, "Hast thou seen my servant Job?"
Famous he was in Heaven, on Earth less known;
Where glory is false glory, attributed

This celebrated passage of Seneca the amiable affectionate biographer of Milton applies to the principles and the afflictions of our Author. (Hawley's Life of Milton, p. 130.)—Possibly Milton himself, under a consciousness of his own determined integrity, (in which, as meriting and meeting divine approbation, he nobly prided himself,) might have intended in this place the same application.

62. and divulges him through Heaven]
Though fame divulges him father of five sons,
All of gigantic size, ——
Sams. Agon. 1245.
Cujus et extinxis, proper divina reperta,
Divulgata vetus jam ad column gloria fertur.
Lucrat. vi. 8.

67. He ask'd thee, "Hast thou seen my servant Job?"
Job, i. 8. And the Lord said unto Satan, Hast thou considered my servant Job, that there is none like him in the earth, a perfect and an upright man, one that feareth God, and escheweth evil?

69. Where glory is false glory, attributed
To things not glorious, men not worthy of fame.

In a passage cited from the Tuscular Questions, in a preceding note, Tully shews that true glory is really the praise of good men, and the echo, (or natural consequence,) of virtue. He afterwards proceeds to shew, that there "is a false semblance
To things not glorious, men not worthy of fame.

They err, who count it glorious to subdue
By conquest far and wide, to over-run
Large countries, and in field great battles win,
Great cities by assault: what do these worthies,
But rob and spoil, burn, slaughter, and enslave

"of this true glory, (a direct contrast of it,) which
"originates in the injudicious applause of the
"multitude, and is often bestowed upon the worst
"actions." Illa autem, quae se ejus imatricem esse
vult, temeraria atque inconsiderata, et plerumque
peccatorum vitiorumque laudatrix, fama popularis,
simulatione honestatis formam ejus pulcritudinem-
quae corrumpit. Qua excitante homines, cum quodam
etiam praclare cuperent, caque nescirent, nec ubi
nec qualia essent, funditus alii everterunt suas
civitates, alii ipsi occiderunt.—This passage is
cited by Mr. Calton; who observes, that, "when
Tully wrote his Tuscan Disputations, Julius
Cæsar had overthrown the constitution of his
"country, and was then in the plenitude of his
"power; and Pompey had lost his life in the same
"pursuit of glory."

Here might be an allusion intended to Lewis

The fourteenth, who at this time began to
disturb Europe, and whose vanity and ambition
were gratified by titles, such as are here mentioned,
from his numerous parasites.

We may here compare Paradise Lost, xi. 691.

To overcome in battle, and subdue
Nations, and bring home spoil with infinite
Manslaughter, shall be held the highest pitch
Of human glory, and for glory done
Of triumph, to be still'd great conquerors,
Patrons of mankind, Gods, and sons of Gods,
Destroyers rightlier call'd, and plagues of men.

And again, Ver. 789, of the same Book.

— in acts of prowess eminent
And great exploits, but of true virtue void;
Who having spilt much blood, and done much worse,
Subduing nations, and archieff'd thereby
Fame in the world, high titles and rich prey,
Shall change their course to pleasure, ease, and sloth.

74: what do these worthies,
But rob and spoil, &c. &c. —

Thus Drummond, in his Shadow of the
Judgment;

All live on earth by spoil • • • •
Who most can ravage, rob, ransack, blaspheme,
Is held most virtuous, hath a worthy's name: —

And Thucydides, describing the ancient inha-

bitants of Greece, says, "They betook themselves
"to robbing under the direction of persons by no
"means despicable, and spent their lives chiefly in
"plundering defenceless towns and villages; these
"practices being so far from discreditable, that
"they were attended with a certain degree of
"honour."—стратосто перо лутсис, ηγιασμαν αισθη-

την αδιατατητην — — κυ προστιθοιτες
πεπεπεις μαφιως, κυ κατα κυμας εικεμεναι ενια,
κυ τον πλησιον το διό επιτον επιθυμειν ευχητον των
αιχμαλωτων των εργα, γεφαρτο 3ε τη κυ δεικνυσ μελλον.
L. i. C. 5.

75: But rob and spoil, burn, slaughter, and enslave
Peaceable nations, neigh'ring, or remote,

Made captive,—

This description of the ravages of conquerors
may have been copied from some of the accounts
of the barbarous nations that invaded Rome. Ovid
describes
Peaceable nations, neighbouring, or remote,
Made captive, yet deserving freedom more
Than those their conquerors, who leave behind
Nothing but ruin wheresoe’er they rove,
And all the flourishing works of peace destroy,
Then swell with pride, and must be titled Gods,
Great Benefactors of mankind, Deliverers,
Worship with temple, priest and sacrifice,
describes the Getae thus spoiling, robbing, slaying,
enslaving, and burning:
Hostis, quo pollens longeque volante sagittis,
Victimam is ex depopulatur humum.
Diffugient alii; multisque suentibus agros
Incustodite diripuintur opes;
Ruris opes parvae, pecus et stridentia plaustra,
Et quas divitias incola pauper habet.
Pars agit virilis post tergum capta lacertis,
Respicientes frustra rura laecmque sum;
Pars cadit lamatis miserer confixa sagitis;
Nam voluci ferro tinctorle virus inest.
Quae nequent secum ferre aut abducere, perdont:
Et cernat insosces hostica flamma cases.
TRIST. iii. El. N. 55.

8. ———— who leave behind
Nothing but ruin—]

Thus, Joel, ii. 3. The land is as the garden of
Eden before them, and behind them a desolate
wilderness.

And Mr. Gray, in his Bard, has a similar
description finely expressed, where he speaks of the
conquests of Edward the Black Prince in France,

— What terrors round him wait!
Amazement in his van, with Flight combin’d,
And Sorrow’s faded form, and Solitude behind.

81. ———— and must be titled Gods,
Great Benefactors of mankind, Deliverers.]
The second Antiochus king of Syria was called
Antiochus Θεός, or the God: and the learned

speaks of a coin of Epiphanes inscribed Θεω Επι-
φανος. The Athenians gave Demetrius Poliorcetes,
and his father Antigonus, the titles of Εὐερήτερος,
Benefactor, and Σωτήρ, Deliverer. — Calton.

In Frolick’s Annales regum et rerum Syria there
are prints of five different coins of Antiochus
Epiphanes, with the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙ-
ΟΧΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ. The first Antiochus was
called ΣΩΤΗΡ; as was the first Ptolemy king of
Egypt. Two of the Ptolemies assumed the title
of ΕΥΕΡΗΤΕΗΣ.—Diodorus Siculus relates that
the Syracusans with one voice saluted Gelon by the
titles of Benefactor, Deliverer, and King.——μη
ἐνερχαίται ἀπεκεκληθής ΕΥΕΡΗΤΕΗΣ, καὶ ΣΩΤΗΡΑ,
καὶ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ.
L. ii. 26.

The title of ΕΥΕΡΗΤΕΗΣ as assumed by tyrants is
referred to, Luke, xxii. 25.—And they that exer-
cise authority over them are called benefac-
tors.

When Demetrius Poliorcetes returned from his
expedition to Coreya, the Athenians received him
with divine honours, and in their hymns and cho-
russes celebrated him as “ the only true God, for
“ that all other Gods were asleep, or were gone
“ abroad, or did not exist.”—25 in μεν ρομαίων οὐκ
ακούσως, ἢ δὲ ἄλλοι καθίσοντος, ἢ ἀποδημῶν, ἢ ἐκ
(One is the son of Jove, of Mars the other,)
Till conqueror Death discover them scarce men,
Rolling in brutish vices, and deform'd,
Violent or shameful death their due reward.
But if there be in glory aught of good,
It may by means far different be attain'd,
Without ambition, war, or violence;
By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,
By patience, temperance: I mention still
Him whom thy wrongs, with saintly patience borne,
Made famous in a land and times obscure;
Who names not now with honor patient Job?

84. (One is the son of Jove, of Mars the other.)

Alexander is particularly intended by the one, and Romulus by the other, who, though better than Alexander, founded his empire in the blood of his brother, and for his over-grown tyranny was at last destroyed by his own senate.

85. Rolling in brutish vices, and deform'd.

Thus, in Comus, those persons are described who drink of the Enchanter's Cup;

Soon as the potion works, their human countenance,
The express resemblance of the Gods, is changed
Into some brutish form of wolf, or bear,
Or ounce, or tiger, hog, or bearded goat,
All other pests remaining as they were;
And they, so perfect is their misery,
Not once perceive their foul disfigurement,
But boast themselves more comely than before,
And all their friends and native home forget,

86. To roll in vice is a mode of expression frequently used by Cicero.—in domesticis est germanitatiss

stupris volutatus.

Oratio De Haruspic. Respons. 20.

Quis um quam nepos tam libere est cum scortis, quam hic cum sororibus volutatus?

Ibid. 27.

cum omnes in omni genere et scelerum et flagitiorum volutentur.

Epist. Ad. Familiar. ix. 3.

Non jusjurandum reliquisti? non amicos prodidisti? non parenti manus intulisti? non denique in omni dedecore volutatus es?

Ad Herenn. iv. 19.

96. Poor Socrates, (who next more memorable

By what he taught, and suffer'd for so doing?)
For truth's sake suffering death unjust, lives now
Equal in fame to proudest conquerors.

Milton here does not scruple with Erasmus to place Socrates in the foremost rank of Saints; an opinion more amiable at least, and agreeable to that
By what he taught, and suffer'd for so doing?)  
For truth's sake suffering death unjust, lives now 
Equal in fame to proudest conquerors.  
Yet if for fame and glory aught be done,  
Aught suffer'd, if young African for fame  
His wasted country freed from Punic rage,  
The deed becomes unprais'd, the man at least,  
And loses, though but verbal, his reward.  
Shall I seek glory then, as vain men seek,  
Oft not deserv'd? I seek not mine, but his  
Who sent me; and thereby witness whence I am.  
To whom the Tempter murmuring thus reply'd.  
Think not so slight of glory; therein least

that spirit of love which breathes in the Gospel,  
than the severe orthodoxy of those rigid textuaries,  
who are unwilling to allow salvation to the moral  
virtues of the Heathen.  

Mr. Pope in his Temple of Fame, as Bp.  
Newton observes, has made Socrates the principal  
figure among the better sort of heroes.  

Much suffering heroes next their honours claim,  
Those of less noisy and less guilty fame,  
Fair Virtue's silent train; Supreme of these  
Here ever shines the god-like Socrates.

This shews plainly that he had spoken before of  
the elder Scipio Africanus; for he only can be said  
with propriety to have freed his wasted country from  
Punic rage, by transferring the war into Spain and  
Africa, after the ravages which Hannibal had committed in Italy during the second Punic war.

In the beginning of the sixth Chapter of St.  
Matthew, where the Pharisaical ostentation of good  
works and devotion is censured, it is twice said,  
Verily I say unto you they have their reward: in  
which passage some persons have wished rather to  
render with such they hinder, or prevent, their re-  
ward. It is possible that Milton had the passage,  
thus rendered, in his mind.

John, v. 18. He that seeketh his glory  
that sent him, the same is true, and no unright-  
eousness is in him. Where Bp. Pearce renders  
with a falsehood, rather than unrighteousness. (See  
his Commentary on the place; and likewise his  
Note on Luke, xvi. 9.)—And John, viii. 49. &  
50, Jesus says, I honour my Father—-I seek  
not mine own glory."

Think not so slight of glory;—}

There is nothing throughout the whole poem more  
expressive of the true character of the Tempter than
Resembling thy great Father: he seeks glory,
And for his glory all things made, all things
Orders and governs; nor content in Heaven
By all his Angels glorify’d, requires
Glory from men, from all men good or bad,
Wise or unwise, no difference, no exemption;
Above all sacrifice, or hallow’d gift,
Glory he requires, and glory he receives,
Promiscuous from all nations, Jew or Greek,

this reply. There is in it all the real falsehood of the
father of lies, and the gleazing subtilty of an insidious deceiver. The argument is false and unsound, and yet it is veiled over with a certain plausible air of truth. The poet has also, by introducing this, furnished himself with an opportunity of explaining that great question in divinity, why God created the world, and what is meant by that glory which he expects from his creatures. This may be no improper place to observe to the reader the author’s great art in weaving into the body of so short a work so many grand points of the Christian theology and morality.

Thyer.

118. Promiscuous, from all nations, Jew or Greek,
Or barbarous, nor exception hath declared;—]

It is observed by Bp. Warburton, with a reference to a passage in the twelfth Oration of Themistius, that the poet puts into the mouth of the Devil the absurd notions of the apologists for Paganism. The passage he here alludes to is thus cited in his DIVINE LEGATION, B. ii. Sect. 6.

1618.) instead of δειβον, we find πολτιτικός.

——In his Notes upon this part of the Divine Legation, the Bishop likewise cites a passage from the Jesuit Tachard; where a similar mode of reasoning forms the answer given by a King of Siam to a French Ambassador, who urged him, in his master’s name, to embrace the Christian religion.

"Je m’étonne que le roy de France mon bon ami "s’interesse si fort dans une affaire qui regarde "Dieu, où il semble que Dieu même ne prenne "aucun interest, et qu’il a entièrement laissé a "notre discretion. Car ce vrai Dieu, qui a créé "le ciel et la terre et toutes les creatures qu’on "y voit, et qui leur a donné des natures et des "inclinations si differentes, ne pouvoit il pas, s’il "cuit voulu, en donnant aux hommes des corps et "des ames semblables, leur inspirer les memes senti-mens pour la religion qu’il faillot suivre, et "pour la culte qui lui etoit le plus agreable, et "faire maitre toutes les nations dans une meme "loy? Cet ordre parmi les hommes et cette unite "de religion dependant absolument de la Pro-

"vidence divine, qui pouvoit aussi aisément in-
troduire dans le monde que la diversité des "sectes qui s’y sont etablies de tout temps; ne "doit en pas croire que le vrai Dieu prend autant "de plaisir a etre honore par des cultes et des "ceremonies differentes, qu’a etre glorifie par "une prodigieuse quantite de creatures qui le "
Or barbarous, nor exception hath declar'd;
From us, his foes pronounc'd, glory he exacts.

To whom our Saviour fervently reply'd.
And reason; since his word all things produc'd,
Though chiefly not for glory as prime end,
But to shew forth his goodness, and impart
His good communicable to every soul
Freely; of whom what could he less expect
Than glory and benediction, that is thanks,
The slightest, easiest, readiest recompense
From them who could return him nothing else,
And, not returning that, would likeliest render
Contempt instead, dishonour, obloquy?
Hard recompence, unsuitable return
For so much good, so much beneficence!
But why should man seek glory, who of his own
Hath nothing, and to whom nothing belongs,
But condemnation, ignominy, and shame?
Who, for so many benefits receiv'd,
Turn'd recreant to God, ingrate and false,

"loïent chacune a sa maniere?" Voyage de Siam,

138. The slightest, easiest, readiest recompense
The same sentiment occurs in the Paradise Lost, iv. 46.

What could be less than to afford him praise,
The easiest recompense, and pay him thanks?
How due!

Newton.

132. Hard recompence, unsuitable return
For so much good, so much beneficence—]
Ah wherefore? He deserv'd no such return
From me, whom he created what I was
In that bright eminence,—

Paradise Lost, iv. 44.

138. recreant—]

In Shakespeare's King John, Act III. Sc. 2,
where Constance reproaches the Duke of Austria
And so of all true good himself despoil'd,
Yet, sacrilegious, to himself would take
That which to God alone of right belongs;
Yet so much bounty is in God, such grace,
That who advance his glory, not their own,
Them he himself to glory will advance.

So spake the Son of God; and here again
Satan had not to answer, but stood struck
With guilt of his own sin, for he himself,
Insatiable of glory, had lost all;
Yet of another plea bethought him soon.

Of glory, as thou wilt, said he, so deem;
Worth or not worth the seeking, let it pass.
But to a kingdom thou art born, ordain'd
To sit upon thy father David's throne,
By mother's side thy father; though thy right
Be now in powerful hands, that will not part
Easily from possession won with arms;
Judæa now and all the promis'd land,

with having deserted her cause, and being perjured
and a coward, she says to him;

Thou wear a lion's hide? Doff it for shame,
And hang a calf's skin on those recreant limbs.

And Spenser, Faery Queen, B. II. C. vi. 28.

Thou recreant knight,

Where Mr. Warton observes that "recreant "knight" is a term of romance; and cites the following passage from the Morte Arthur.
"Than said the knight to the king, thou art in

"my daunger whether me lyst to save thee or to
"sley thee; and, but thou yield thee as overcome
"and recreant, thou shalt dye. As for death,
"said king Arthur, welcome be it when it cometh;
"but as to yield me to thee as recreant, &c.

Recreant, or recreditus, in the feudal signification imported the highest degree of treason, baseness, and cowardice. Du Cange says, "probrorum adeo
"censuit vocabulum, ut illud describere noluerit
"Ranulfus de Glanvillus."
Reduc'd a province under Roman yoke,  
Obey's Tiberius; nor is always rul'd  
With temperate sway; oft have they violated  
The temple, oft the law, with foul affronts,  
Abominations rather, as did once  
Antiochus: and think'st thou to regain  
Thy right, by sitting still, or thus retiring?  
So did not Maccabeus: he indeed

158. Reduced a province under Roman yoke,
Juda'a was reduced to the form of a Roman Province, in the reign of Augustus, by Quiriniius, or Cyrenius, then governor of Syria; and Coponius, a Roman of the equestrian order, was appointed to govern it, under the title of Procurator. *Newton.*

159. --or is always rul'd

With temperate sway—]

The Roman government indeed was not always the most temperate. At this time Pontius Pilate was procurator of Juda'a, and, it appears from history, was a most corrupt and flagitious governor. See particularly Philo, *de Legatione ad Caian.*

*Newton.*

It is there related of Pilate that he had erected and dedicated some golden shields to Tiberius, not more to do honour to the Emperor than to vex the people, οὐκ εἰς τιγεν Τιβερίῳ μαλλοί, η ἡλικα τη λυτροσαυ πληθος. On their petitioning him to have them removed, he is described relating to them with much severity, as being of an inexorable disposition, τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ἐξεστάζει, το τα τοι μέλη αἰκαματος. On this the Jews threatened to apply to Tiberius himself, whereupon Pilate began to fear, lest his various other misconducts should be reported to the Emperor. —Τὸ τιμουσία τουτο μὲλητα αὐτο εξεστασε, κατανευτα μα τη νη πρεσβυτεριων, και τας ἀλλ ας αὐτο ἑπτεττα, εξεστίζεσ τας ἀνομίας, τας νομιμα, τας ἀργασιας, τας αικαμας, τας επιθες, τας εκριχις και περιτηρης τοις.


160. —of the have they violated

The temple, &c.—]

Pompey, with several of his officers, entered not only into the holy place, but also penetrated into the holy of holies, where none were permitted by the law to enter, except the high-priest alone, once in a year, on the great day of expiation. Antiochus Epiphanes had before been guilty of a similar profanation. See 2 Macab. C. v. *Newton.*

165. So did not Maccabeus, &c.—]

The Tempter had noticed the profanation of the temple by the Romans, as well as that by Antiochus Epiphanes, king of Syria; and now he would infer, that Jesus was to blame for not vindicating his country against the one, as Judas Maccabæus had done against the other. He fled indeed into the wilderness from the persecutions of Antiochus, but there he took up arms against him, and obtained so many victories over his forces, that he recovered the city and sanctuary out of their hands, and his family was in his brother Jonathan advanced to the high priesthood, and in his brother Simon to the principality, and so they continued for several descents sovereign pontiffs and sovereign princes of the Jewish nation till the time of Herod the great: though their father Mattathias, (the son of John, the son of Simon, the son of Asamonus, from whom the family had the name of Asmonians,) was
Retir'd unto the desert, but with arms;  
And o'er a mighty king so oft prevail'd,  
That by strong hand his family obtain'd,  
Though priests, the crown, and David's throne usurp'd,  
With Modin and her suburbs once content.  
If kingdom move thee not, let move thee zeal  
And duty; zeal and duty are not slow,  
But on occasion's forelock watchful wait:

no more than a priest of the course of Joarib, and dwelt at Modin, which is famous for nothing so much as being the country of the Maccabees. See 1 Mac. 9. Josephus, Prideaux, &c. Newton.

171. If kingdom move thee not—

Kingdom here, like regnum in Latin, signifies kingly state, the circumstances of regal power; or, as our Author in his Political works writes, kingship.

171. ——— let move thee zeal]

This is a bolder Latinism than is quite consonant with English Poetry. The same may be observed of the following passage, in the beginning of the NINTH Book of the PARADISE LOST.

Nor skill'd nor studious, higher argument Remain.

And again, ii. 443.

— what remains with less

Than unknown dangers and as hard escape?

Dr. Johnson, in his life of Milton, observes that "he formed his style by a perverse and pedantic "principle. He was desirous to use English words "with a foreign idiom. But such" adds the eminent biographer, "is the power of his poetry, that "his call is obeyed without resistance, the reader "seeks himself in captivity to a higher and a nobler "mind, and criticism sinks in admiration."

173. But on occasion's forelock watchful wait.

Spenser personifies Occasion, as an old hag with a grey forelock.

Her locks, that loathly were and hoary grey,  
Grew all afore, and loosely hung unroll'd;  
But all behind was bald and worn away,  
That none thereof could ever taken hold;

FAERY QUEEN, B. II. C. iv. St. iv.

And in Stanza 12, Sir Guyon

____ fast her bent

By the hoarse locks that hung before her eyes,

Spenser likewise, Sonnet 70, gives Time the same forelock.

Go to my love, where she is careless laid,  
Yet in her winter's bower not well awake;  
Tell her the joyous time will not be staid,  
Unless she do him by the forelock take.

Shakespeare, in his Othello, has

To take the safest occasion by the front.

The Greek and Latin Poets also describe occasion, i. e. time or opportunity, "with a forelock."

Thus Phædrus, in his OCCASIO DEPICTA,

Calvus, comosa fronte, nuda corpore,  
Quem si occupāris, tenēas; clāsum semel  
Non ipe possist Jupiter reprehendere;

And, in an Epigram on a statue of Time, in the ANTHOLOGIA;

'Η δη χρόνος, η κατ' ους; οπαξιοστηρ' αρεσθυν.  
Νο φιλε, τε ξοπότεν προς τε σαλακρα σφιλι;  
Τον γαρ απεις προκειομενα παραθρησετα με ποιον,  
Ουτις δ' ἑμενοι δραζιμω οφειν.  

Thus
They themselves rather are occasion best;
Zeal of thy father’s house, duty to free
Thy country from her Heathen servitude.
So shalt thou best fulfil, best verify
The prophets old, who sung thy endless reign;
The happier reign, the sooner it begins:
Reign then; what canst thou better do the while?

To whom our Saviour answer thus return’d.
All things are best fulfill’d in their due time;
And time there is for all things, Truth hath said.
If of my reign prophetic Writ hath told,
That it shall never end, so, when begin,
The Father in his purpose hath decreed;
He, in whose hand all times and seasons roll.
What if he hath decreed that I shall first
Be try’d in humble state, and things adverse,

Thus translated by Bergius;

Quid crinita autem frons monstrat? Ut obvia prender.
Cur calvum parte est posteriore caput?
Quod semel oblatum qui me permitit abire,
Copia ei in reliquum non datur sula mei.

175. Zeal of thy father’s house—]

Psalm lxix. 9. For the zeal of thine house
Both eaten me up; which passage is applied in the
New Testament (John, ii. 17.) to the zeal shewed
by our Lord for the honour of his Father’s house,
when he drove the buyers and sellers out of the
temple.

180. And time there is for all things, Truth hath said:
To every thing there is a season, and a time to
every purpose under the Heaven. Eccles. iii. 1.
Newton.

187. He in whose hand all times and seasons roll.]
It is not for you to know the times and the
seasons, which the Father hath put in his own
power.
Acts, i. 7.

187. Times and seasons roll.]
Thus Virgil; Æn. iii. 366.

And Claudian, in his Address to the Sun;
Sol, qui flammigeris mandum complexus habenis
Volvis inexhausto redeuntia secula motu,
Sparge diem meliore comit.

In Pros. et Olyb. Cons.

189. Be try’d in humble state, and things adverse.]
Explorent adversa visos—
Sil. Ital. iv. 605.

By
By tribulations, injuries, insults, Contempts and scorns, and snares, and violence, Suffering, abstaining, quietly expecting, Without distrust or doubt, that he may know What I can suffer, how obey? Who best Can suffer, best can do; best reign, who first Well hath obey'd; just trial, ere I merit My exaltation without change or end. But what concerns it thee, when I begin My everlasting kingdom? Why art thou Solicitous? What moves thy inquisition? Know'st thou not that my rising is thy fall, And my promotion will be thy destruction?

The same sentiment, as Bp. Newton observes, occurs in Aristotle and Plato.—Αλλα μη επιθυμηται γε το δοκιμασθαι αφεινη και αιχουμαι, και πολυτε δοκιμαι η αριστη τε το δεκαται και αφεινη, και αιχουμαι καλογ. Aristot. Politic. iii. 4. "To be at once capable of "governing and ready to obey is praiseworthy; "neither is the truly excellent citizen more distin- "guished by his able government, than by his "exemplary obedience." And again—Ουκ εστιν αφεινη μη αιχουμαι. Ibid. "He can never be fit "to reign, who has never himself been practised "in obedience,"—Plato also (De Leg. vi. p. 762. Ed. Ser.) lays it down as an incontrovertible truth—

"και μη διεκκασται ουδεν διεκκασται γενοτε αφεινη επαν, "that he, who has never been in the situation of "a subject, will never make a meritorious ruler."

Alluding to the rising and setting of opposite stars.—Milton, in the first Book of this Poem, terms our Lord

our morning-star, then in his rise, —
To whom the Tempter, inly rack'd, reply'd.
Let that come when it comes, 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 me 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.
My error was my error, and my crime
My crime; whatever, for itself condemn'd;
And will alike be punish'd, whether thou
Reign, or reign not; though to that gentle brow
Willingly could I fly, and hope thy reign,
From that placid aspect and meek regard,
Rather than aggravate my evil state,
Would stand between me and thy Father's ire.

Milton here, and in some of the following verses, plainly alludes to part of Satan's fine soliloquy, in the beginning of the fourth Book of the Paradise Lost;

So farewell hope, and, with hope, farewell fear!
Farewell remorse! All good to me is lost:
Evil, be thou my good!

Spenser, Shakespeare, and the poets of that time, I believe, uniformly wrote aspect thus accented on the second syllable; as Milton has likewise always done in his Paradise Lost.—I cannot forbear citing one instance on account of the exquisite beauty of the passage. It is a similar description of the same Divine Person, who had just been offering himself a ransom for man.

His words here ended, but his meek aspect
Silent yet spake, and breath'd immortal love
To mortal man—

Paradise Lost, iii. 205.

And Vida makes Mary, in her Lamentation at the foot of the cross, particularly refer to our Lord's placid, or meek, aspect;

Heu! quem te, nate, aspicio? Tuane illa serena
Luce magis facies aspectu grata?

Christiad, v. 860.

Would stand between me and thy Father's ire.]
(Whose ire I dread more than the fire of Hell,)
A shelter, and a kind of shading cool
Interposition, as a summer's cloud.
If I then to the worst that can be haste,
Why move thy feet so slow to what is best,
Happiest, both to thyself and all the world,
That thou, who worthiest art, should'st be their king?
Perhaps thou linger'st, in deep thoughts detain'd
Of the enterprise so hazardous and high;
No wonder, for, though in thee be united
What of perfection can in man be found,
Or human nature can receive, consider,
Thy life hath yet been private, most part spent
At home, scarce view'd the Galilean towns,
And once a year Jerusalem, few days'
Short sojourn: and what thence could'st thou observe?
The world thou hast not seen, much less her glory,
Empires, and monarchs, and their radiant courts,

Milton in one of his earliest poems, an Ode
on the Death of a Fair Infant, has a
similar expression.

But oh! why didst thou not stay here below
To bless us with thy heaven-lov'd innocence,
To slake his wrath whom sin hath made our foe,
To turn swift-rushing black perdition hence,
Or drive away the slaughtering pestilence,
To stand 'twixt us and our deserved smart?

221. a kind of shading cool
Interposition, as a summer's cloud.—

In the Twenty-Fifth Chapter of Isaiah, the Prophet addressing God, terms him a strength to

the poor, a strength to the needy in his distress, a
refuge from the storm, a shadow from the
heat, V. 4.

235. And once a year Jerusalem—
At the feast of the passover. Luke, ii. 41.

237. The world thou hast not seen, much less its glory;
Again the Devil taketh him up into an exceeding
high mountain, and showeth him all the kingdoms of
the world, and the glory of them. Matt. iv. 8.

Best
Best school of best experience, quickest insight
In all things that to greatest actions lead.
The wisest, unexperienc'd, will be ever
Timorous and loath, with novice modesty,
(As he, who seeking asses, found a kingdom,)
Irresolute, unhardy, unadventurous:
But I will bring thee where thou soon shalt quit
Those rudiments, and see before thine eyes
The monarchies of the earth, their pomp and state;
Sufficient introduction to inform
Thee, of thyself so apt, in regal arts,
And regal mysteries; that thou may'st know
How best their opposition to withstand.

With that, (such power was given him then,) he took
The Son of God up to a mountain high.

It was a mountain at whose verdant feet

242. (As he who seeking asses found a kingdom,)
Saul, seeking his father's asses, came to Samuel,
and by him was anointed king. 1 Sam. ix.

243. It was a mountain, &c.—]
All that the Scripture saith is, that the Devil
took Jesus up into an exceeding high mountain (Mat. iv. 8;) which commentators generally suppose to have been one of the mountains in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, or near the wilderness. The Ancients speak little concerning it; but the Moderns imagine it to have been the mountain Qurantania, as it is now called. Mr. Maundrell, in his Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, speaking of the plain of Jericho, says, "we descended into "it, after about five hours march from Jerusalem.

244. "As soon as we entered the plain, we turned up
"on the left hand, and, going about one hour
"that way, came to the foot of the Qurantania;
"which they say is the mountain into which the
"Devil took our blessed Saviour, when he tempted
"him with that visionary scene of all the kingdoms
"and glories of the world. It is, as St. Matthew
"stiles it, an exceeding high mountain, and in its
"ascent not only difficult but dangerous."—But
"this is all conjecture; and, as the Scripture has not
"specified any particular place, the poet was at liberty
"in this point to suit it to his own fancy. By his
"description here he must mean Mount Taurus, for
"he describes it exactly in the same manner as Strabo
"has described that part of Mount Taurus which
"divides the greater Armenia from Mesopotamia,

* U

and
A spacious plain, outstretch'd in circuit wide,

Lay pleasant; from his side two rivers flow'd,

and which contains the sources of the Euphrates
and Tigris. To δυον νευτοται (ζομεντατον) μολις
και ο Ταφος ιερων τω Λυβων απο των Μισοπόταμων.
Την δια των διμοτερων μοσου ω των Μισοπόταμων εγκε-

That part of Mount Taurus which bounds Meso-
opotamia on the north, we learn from Strabo, was
sometimes called simply Mount Taurus, and some-
times the Gordyean mountains; in the middle of
which, nearly above Nisibis, stood Mount Masius.
But this mountainous range does not contain the
sources either of the Euphrates or Tigris; although
from every part of it lesser contributory streams flow
into each of these rivers. In the passage cited by
Bp. Newton from Strabo, μοσος signifies only that
the two rivers rύων through, or amongst, these moun-
tains, and not that they spring, or have their sources,
in them. That such is here the sense of μοσος appears
from another passage of the same ancient
geographer in this part of his work, where, having
traced the course of Mount Taurus eastward to the
Euphrates, he speaks of the continuity of these
mountains being no further interrupted than by the
course of the river as it flows through the middle of
them—ον ουχι των ων προστριμων, πλησι δεν δια-
καπται ΡΕΠΝ δια μοσον τω πτωμας. Indeed Strabo is
very particular in pointing out the original sources
of these two rivers. The springs of the Tigris he
fixes in the southern side of Mount Niphates, which
is considerably north-east of Mount Masius and the
Gordyean mountains; and the prime source of the
Euphrates he carries very far north, (as Ptolemy
had also done,) and affirms that the springs of the
two rivers are two thousand five hundred stadia,
(which is above four hundred miles), distant from
each other. Possibly there is some error here, as
Eustathius, (on Dionysius, V. 985,) says they are
only one thousand five hundred stadia apart. As
the mountains, which constitute the head or northern
boundary of Mesopotamia, incline to the south, and
are absolutely the most southern part of the whole
ancient Taurus, the lower end of Mount Amanus
alone excepted, they are justly described by Strabo,
νευτοται; and why Bp. Newton should give ζομεν-
tατον, as an hypothetical emendation in a paren-
thesis, or why Xylander should render the passage
" maxime ad septentrones accedens," I do not com-
prehend. Mount Masius, or any projecting elevation
of that ridge, would have been no improper point
for viewing a great part of this geographical scene.
Milton might therefore, not without reason, be sup-
supposed to have followed Strabo as cited by Bp.
Newton: and indeed "from his "side two rivers "flow'd" seems almost an exact translation of
στοιχιοι δια μοσον πιδων, &c.—But still, all circum-
stances considered, I conceive this was not the exact
spot which he had selected in his mind for his
"specular mount." We must recollect that, at the
conclusion of the third Book of his Paradise
Lost, he makes Satan, in his way to Paradise,
aloft on the top of Mount Niphates; and, while
he is there, it is said that Eden

Lay pleasant. —

That he fixed upon Mount Niphates in that
place for Satan to light upon, and from thence
to survey Eden, was certainly owing to his con-
sidering it as the most elevated range of this part
of Mount Taurus; and, that it was so, he collected
from Strabo, who, having traced the course of the
mountain from the Euphrates eastward, or rather
north-east, and having described the Gordyean
mountains as being higher than any parts which he
had before considered, says, "from thence it rises
"still higher, and is distinguished by the name of
"Niphates," —ισατα πλεον εξειται, και καλειται
Νφατης. — The object of the poet, in this part of
the Paradise Regained, certainly was to select
a point of Mount Taurus inclining to the south
east, but sufficiently central and elevated to com-
mand the Caspian sea, ArtaXata, and other places
specified,
The one winding, the other strait, and left between
Fair champain with less rivers intervein'd,

specified, that lay directly, or nearly, north. Mount
Niphates most particularly suited his purpose, and
will, I imagine, he found to agree perfectly with all
his descriptions. It may be observed also that it
rises immediately above Assyria, which is the first
country shewed to our Lord. As to what is said,
that from its side two rivers flow'd, the sources of
the Tigris, it is agreed, were in the southern side
of this mountain; and several ancient authors have
supposed the Euphrates and Tigris to spring from
the same source. Sallust affirms this in a fragment
preserved by Seneca; "Sallustius, au<tor certis-
sum, asse$ Tigrin et Euphratem uno
frente manarre in Armenia, qui per diversa
euntis longius dividantur, spatio medio reli<to
multorum millium; qua tamen terra, qua ab
ipsis ambitur, Mesopotamia dicitur."—Bo<thius
likewise, (Cons. Philosopli. L. v.) says positively,

Tigris et Euphrates uno ex fente resolvunt;
And Lucan, L. iii. 256.

Quaque caput rapido tollit cum Tigride magnus
Euphrates, quos nondiversis fontibus edit
Persis; —

on which passage Grotius observes, that non di-
versis means parum distantibus, but adds "vulgo
"tamen creditum unum habuisse fontem." It is
also observable that one principal source of the
Euphrates, according to Strabo, was in Mount
Abus, at no considerable distance north of Mount
Niphates. Neither has the prime source of this
river been carried by other geographers so far north,
as Strabo and Ptolemy have inclined to place it.—
It may be further remarked, that the descriptions
of the Poet in other respects point out Niphates as
the "specular mount," in preference to Mount
Masius or any point of the Taurus between that
mountain and the Euphrates; as in such a station,
the verse describing the extent of the Assyrian
empire,

As far as Indus east, Euphrates west,
seems highly improper, when the speaker was stand-
ing so near the very bank of the last river.—Besides
had the spectators of this geographical scene been
placed on Mount Masius, or any point of the moun-
tains immediately at the head of Mesopotamia, the
plain "at the feet of these mountains" would have
been only Mesopotamia. But the Poet positively
distinguishes between Mesopotamia and his great
plain, that lay at the foot of that vast range of
Mount Taurus of which Mount Niphates may be
considered as the highest and most central point.
The latter he describes

A spacious plain outstretch'd in circuit wide;
while the former he places between its two rivers,
and terms it

Fair champain with less rivers intervein'd.

253. It was a mountain, at whose verdant feet
A spacious plain, outstretch'd in circuit wide,
Lay pleasant; —

It was a hill
Of Paradise the highest, from whose top
The hemisphere of earth, in clearest ken,
Stretch'd out to the ampest reach of
prospect lay.

Paradise Lost, xi. 377.

256. The one winding, the other strait—

Strabo, speaking of these two rivers, says the
Euphrates "is the largest, and passes through a
"greater tract of country with a winding stream."
Εις δέ μείζον τον Ευφρατην, και πλανω διέκισεν χυμαν,
σκελώ την μύτην. —L. xi. p. 521.—And Dionysius
describes it flowing at first for a considerable way
directly southward, then making several windings
eastward, before it passes through Babylon;

— ποταμον μεν απ' ερει ραβσειν Ἀσσυρίων
Μκεφος ἐκ τοῦ ουρὰς, πολυ δακτυλίῳ Μήδας
Αγυρ ποιοίς, μενων Βαβυλωνία περιεσθαί; —

978.

Statius gives it the epithet vagus, 5 SYLV. 1. 89.
Quid vagus Euphrates, quid ripa binominis Istri.
The rapidity of the Tigris, and the straitness of
its course, are noticed by Dionysius;

...
Then meeting join'd their tribute to the sea:
Fertile of corn the glebe, of oil, and wine;
With herds the pastures throng'd, with flocks the hills; 260

holy things; they also anointed kings with it, and any great persons to whom they meant to do honour. Oils and unguents were much in use throughout the East, at all entertainments. Hence the Psalmist, in acknowledgment of God's bounty to him, says, 
"then anointest my head with oil, my cup runneth over." Psalm xxii. 5. And (Luke, vii. 46.) our Lord says to the Pharisee, at whose house he was entertained, "Mine head with oil thou didst not anoint.

Bp. Newton, conceiving this description of the fertility of the country to refer only or principally to Mesopotamia, cites the following passage from Dionysius, as copied here by Milton. The geographical poet had been speaking of the country between the Euphrates and the Tigris.

Quintus Curtius likewise notices the peculiar fertility of the "fair champain," between the two rivers. "Inter Tigrim et Euphratem jacentia tam uberi et pingui solo sunt, ut a passu repelli pecora dicantur, ne satisetas perimatur." L. v. 1. — And Strabo terms Mesopotamia eisotos xvios, & evpata, a country abounding in pastures and rich vegetation. L. xvi. p. 747. — But the greater part of this "large prospect," at least of those countries which lay east of Mesopotamia as far as India, is well entitled to this description of fertility, either considered figurative, or literal; as both ancient and modern accounts combine to shew.

Huge
Huge cities and high tower'd, that well might seem
The seats of mightiest monarchs; and so large
The prospect was, that here and there was room
For barren desert, fountainless and dry.
To this high mountain’ top the Tempter brought
Our Saviour, and new train of words began.

Well have we speeded, and o’er hill and dale,
Forest and field and flood, temples and towers,
Cut shorter many a league; here thou behold’st
Assyria, and her empire’s ancient bounds,
Araxes and the Caspian lake; thence on
As far as Indus east, Euphrates west,

Thus in the succeeding Book, V. 33;
On each side an imperial city stood,
With towers and temples proudly elevate—
and in our Author’s most beautiful Sonnet, When
the assault was intended against the city.
Lift not thy spear against the Muses’ bower;
The great Emathian conqueror bid spare
The house of Pindarus, when temple and tower,
Went to the ground;

Mr. Warton observes that temple and tower
is a frequent combination in the old metrical romances.

The situation of Mount Niphates, it has been
already observed, was particularly adapted for
this view, in which the Poet traces accurately
the bounds of the Assyrian Empire in its greatest extent; the river Araxes and the Caspian Lake to
the north; the river Indus to the east; the river
Euphrates to the west, and oft beyond as far as the
Mediterranean; and the Persian Bay and the Deserts of Arabia to the south.
And oft beyond; to south the Persian bay,
And, inaccessible, the Arabian drouth:
Here Nineveh, of length within her wall

Solinus describes in a similar manner the most
desert parts of Africa. Speaking of the boundaries
of the province of Cyrene, he says, "A tergo
barbarorum variis nationes, et solitudo in-
accessa." C. 30.

This figure of speech is equally bold and of fine
effect. We might suppose it suggested by Virgil's

Hinc deserta siti regio,

Or by Lucan's

callidus Libye sitiens aedem.

Or still more by a description of the wilderness
of Barca in Silvius Italicus, who terms it

Barca sitiensibus Arida venis.

But, by adopting the reading of the elder edi-
tions, we find the very phrase in a passage of the
last-mentioned poet:

Ille, contra Libyamque sitiim Caurosque furientes,
Cernit devenas Lilybaei nobile Chelas.

It is true, in Drakenborch's edition, where this
reading is noticed, it is branded with a "Pessine
"priscæ editiones:" but, had every copy united in
reading Libyamque situm, surely there is a prosaic
flanness in the words, totally inconsistent with the
rest of the description. Libyca sitis would be
much more consonant to the Cauros furentes and the
Nobile Lilybaenus.

I cannot forbear inserting here a citation from
a poet of our own country, contemporary with
Milton, where a description of the "sandy desert"
is given in the same bold style. I cite the passage
more at large than is necessary, from an opinion
that the whole of it must be acceptable to the reader
of taste. It is taken from the Address to the Deity,
which concludes the Poems of George Sandy,

printed in 1653, under the title of a Paraphrase
on Divine Forms. The Author had been a great
traveller; and published his Travels in Turkey,
Egypt, and the Holy Land.

O who hath tasted of thy clemency
In greater measure, or more oft than I?
My grateful verse thy goodness shall display,
O thou that went'st along in all my way,
To where the morning with perfumed wings
From the high mountains of Panchæa springs;
To that new-found-out world, where sober night
Takes from the Antipodes her silent flight;
To those dark seas, where horrid winter reigns
And binds the stubborn floods in icy chains;
To Libyan wastes, whose thirst no showers
assuage,
And where swollen Nilus cools the lion's rage.

Sandy's was the translator of Ovid. Part of this
volume of Poems consists of a Paraphrase of the
Psalms; with tunes composed by Lawes, who or-
iginally set the songs in Comus to music. This
paraphrase Mr. Warton, in a Note on Milton's
Sonnet addressed to Lawes, justly terms admirable.
There is also a Paraphrase of the Book of Job, in
so masterly a style, that it may be well doubted if
any poet of the succeeding century has surpassed it
in a similar attempt.

This city was situated on the Tigris; of length,
i. e. of circuit, within her wall several days journey;
according to Diodorus Siculus, Lib. ii. its circuit
was sixty of our miles, and in Jonah, ii. 3, it is
said to be an exceeding great city of three days journey,
twenty miles being the common computation of a
day's journey for a foot-traveller: built by Nimrod,
after whom the city is said to be called Nineveh;
of that first golden monarchy the seat, a capital city
of the Assyrian empire, which the poet stiles golden
monarchy; probably in allusion to the golden bead
of the image in Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the
four empires; and seat of Salmanassar, who in the
reign
Several days journey, built by Ninus old,
Of that first golden monarchy the seat,
And seat of Salmanassar, whose success
Israel in long captivity still mourns;
There Babylon, the wonder of all tongues,
As ancient, but rebuilt by him who twice
Judah and all thy father David’s house
Led captive, and Jerusalem laid waste,

reign of Hezekiah king of Judah carried the
ten tribes captive into Assyria seven hundred and
twenty-one years before Christ, so that it might
now be properly called a long captivity. Newton.

Golden is here generally descriptive of the splendor
of monarchy. It may refer to what is said in his-
tory of the magnificence of the kings of Persia, their
golden palaces, golden thrones, golden beds, &c.

Thus, Paradise Lost, ii. 3.

Or where the gorgeous east, with richest hand,
Showers on her kings barbaric pearl and
gold.

Golden might also have a political reference to
Milton’s apprehensions of the great expences of
monarchy; with respect to which, in justifying
his republican principles, he had said that “the
trappings of a monarchy would set up an ordi-
ary commonwealth.”

As Nineveh was situated on the river Tigris,
so was Babylon on the Euphrates; the wonder
of all tongues, for it is reckoned among the seven
wonders of the world; as ancient as Nineveh, for
some say it was built by Belus, and others by
Semiramis, the one the father, and the other the wife,
of Ninus, who built Nineveh; but rebuilt by him,
i.e. whoever built it, it was rebuilt, and enlarged,
and beautified, and made one of the wonders of the
world by Nebuchadnezzar, (Is not this great Babylon
that I have built, &c. Dan. iv. 30;) who twice
Judah led captive, in the reign of Jehoiakim,
2 Kings, xxiv. and eleven years after in the reign
of Zedekiah, and laid waste Jerusalem, 2 Kings,
xxv; in which desolate condition it lay many years,
till Cyrus set them free, and restored the Jews to
their country again, Ezra, i. and ii. Newton.

In the Paradise Lost, i. 693, Milton speaks
of those who

That Babylon was reckoned among the seven
wonders of the world is noticed by Strabo, who
ascribes this to the great height and solidity of its
walls; δοσκε τιν διαι δαματοι δοτικας, L. xvi.
p. 738.—Diodorus Siculus describes the height of
the walls as incredible to those who had only heard
it reported; τοι ουν αντετ αει ταις καινοις. L. ii.
Pomponius Mela terms Babylon “urbs magn.
notudinis.” L. i. C. 11.—Quintus Curtius speaking
of this city, when it surrendered to Alexander,
says, “ipsius urbis pulchrius ac vetustas, non
regis modo, sed etiam omnium oculos in semet
haud immerito convertit.” L. v. C. 1.—And
Herodotus says it was adorned with a magnificence
at that time unexampled;—ιδοντας δε οι ως
ηδινοι των νησιων γομεν. L. i. p. 84. Ed. Wes-
seling.

Till
Till Cyrus set them free; Persepolis,
His city, there thou seest, and Bastra there;
Ecbatana her structure vast there shews;
And Hecatompyles her hundred gates;
There Susa by Choaspes, amber stream,

The name signifies a city with an hundred gates;
and so the capital city of Parthia was called, Ἐκα-
tόμπλαι το των Παρθών βασιλείαν. Strabo. L. xii.

Susa by Choaspes,—]
Susa, the Shushan of the holy scriptures, and the
royal seat of the kings of Persia, who resided here
in the winter and at Ecbatana in the summer, was
situated on the river Choaspes, or Euæus, or Ulai
as it is called in Daniel; or rather on the con-
fluence of these two rivers, which meeting at Susa
form one great river, sometimes called by one name,
and sometimes by the other.

DionyœJus describes the Choaspes flowing by
Susa,

Thus in the PARADISE LOST, iii. 358.

And where the river of bliss through mildness of heaven
Rolls o'er Elysian flowers her amber stream:

And Virgil. GEORG. iii. 522.

And Mr. Warton observes that her hair drops amber, because, in the poet's idea, her stream was
supposed to be transparent.
The drink of none but kings; of later fame,
Built by Emathian or by Parthian hands,

*Exemplum.* The drink of none but kings—]

If we examine it as an historical problem, whether
the kings of Persia alone drank of the river Choaspes,
we shall find great reason to determine in the negative.
We have for that opinion the silence of many authors,
by whom we might have expected to have found it confirmed,
had they known of any such custom. Herodotus, Strabo,
Tibullus, Ausonius, Maximus Tyrius, Aristides, Plutarch,
Pliny the elder, Athenaeus, Dionysius Periegetes, and Eustathius,
have mentioned Choaspes, (or Eulæus,) as the drink of the kings of Persia or Parthia,
or have called it *Castorium* *udor regia lympha,* but have not said that
they alone drank of it. I say *Choaspes* or *Eulæus,*
because some make them the same, and others counted them different rivers.
The silence of Herodotus ought to be of great weight,
because he is so particular in his account of the Persian affairs;
and, next to his, the silence of Pliny, who had read so
many authors, is considerable. Though it can hardly
be expected that a negative should be proved any
other way than from the silence of writers, yet so
it happens that *Aelian,* if his authority be admitted,
affords us a full proof that the water of Choaspes
might be drunk by the subjects of the kings of Persia.

The drink of none but kings; of later fame,
Built by Emathian or by Parthian hands,
The great Seleucia, Nisibis, and there
Artaxata, Teredon, Ctesiphon,
Turning with easy eye, thou may'st behold.
All these the Parthian, (now some ages past,

Paradise Regained. Book III.

The great Seleucia, Nisibis, and there
Artaxata, Teredon, Ctesiphon,
Turning with easy eye, thou may'st behold.
All these the Parthian, (now some ages past,

Parthians, whose empire was founded by Artaces,
who revolted from Antiochus Theus, according to
Prideaux, two hundred and fifty years before Christ.
This view of the Parthian empire is much more
agreeably and poetically described than Adam's
prospect of the kingdoms of the world from the
mount of vision in the Paradise Lost, xi. 385—

411: but still the anachronism in this is worse than
in the other: in the former Adam is supposed to
take a view of cities many years before they were
built, and in the latter our Saviour beholds cities,
as Nineveh, Babylon, &c. in this flourishing
condition many years after they were laid in ruins;
but it was the design of the former vision to exhibit
what was future, it was not the design of the latter
to exhibit what was past.

The immediate object of this Temptation was
to awaken ambition in our blessed Lord, by shewing
him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of
them, that is, the splendor of the great empires that
had been, or still were in existence. These are
shewed by means of their principal cities, the exten-
and magnificence of which may be supposed to
mark the great power and riches of the princes,
that built or inhabited them:

Huge cities and high-tower'd, that well might seem
The seats of mightiest monarchs;

Thus, having traced the extensive bounds of the
ancient Assyrian Empire, he exemplifies its splendor
and importance in the description which he gives
of Nineveh and Babylon, the two principal seats of
its government. He next touches on the Persian
and Median Empires, in noticing Persepolis and
Ecbatana; and thence by directing the attention to
Hecatompylos, &c. makes a transition to the Parthian
Empire, at that time the rival and formidable antag-
ognist of the Roman power.——Whatever anachro-
nism therefore there may be in this place, it is
surely
BOOK III.  PARADISE REGAINED.

By great Arsaces led, who founded first
That empire,) under his dominion holds,
From the luxurious kings of Antioch won.
And just in time thou com'lt to have a view
Of his great power; for now the Parthian king

becoming his confederate, and assisting him to
recover the other provinces. But Milton had prob-
able here in his mind the descriptions given in
history of the luxury and profligacy of Antiochus
Epiphanes; whose abandoned conduct and dissipa-
tion was such, that instead of Epiphanes, or the
Illustrious, which name he had assumed, he was
generally known by that of Epimenes, or the Mad-
man. See Polyb. apud Athenaeum. L. v.

Milton, considering very probably that a geo-
graphic description of kingdoms, however varied
in the manner of expression and diversified with
little circumstances, must soon grow tedious, has
very judiciously thrown in this digressive picture
of an army mustering for an expedition, which he
has executed in a very masterly manner. The same
conduct he has observed in the subsequent descrip-
tion of the Roman empire, by introducing into the
scene pretors and proconsuls marching out to their
provinces with troops, lictors, rods, and other
ensigns of power, and ambassadors making their
entrance into that imperial city from all parts of
the world. There is great art and design in this
contrivance of our Author's, and the more as there
is no appearance of any, so naturally are the parts
connected.

Ctesiphon seems to have been the general place
of rendezvous of the Parthian army, wherever their
destination might be. Strabo says that the Parthian
kings, who had before made Seleucia their winter
residence, removed to Ctesiphon, because it was
larger, and more calculated for considerable mili-

Surely not introduced uselessly and unnecessarily, as

295. — great Arsaces—
Justin describes Arsaces "vir, sicut incertae
" originis, ita virtutis expers," L. xli. C. 4; and,
speaking of his death, he says; "Sic Arsaces,
" quassit simul constitutoque regno, non minus
" memorabilis Parthis, quam Persis Cyrus, Mac-
" donibus Alexander, Romanio Romulus, maturâ
" seneclute dedit. Cujus memorie hunc honorem
" Parthi tribuercunt, ut omnes exinde reges suos
" Arsaces nomine nunc percept." C. 5.

297. — the luxurious kings of Antioch—
No particular luxury seems laid by history to
the charge of Antiochus Theus, though it was the
profligate conduct of Agathocles, or Andragoras,
then Governor of Parthia under him, that incited
the resentment of Arsaces, and was the cause of
the revolt, and finally of the creation of the Parthian
Empire. See Prideaux. Part ii. Book 2. The
contest with Arsaces was afterwards carried on
by Seleucus, the son of Antiochus; against whom
also no imputation of any luxurious excesses seem
to be recorded. The next king of Syria who
made any attempts to recover Parthia was An-
tiochus the Great, so named for his valor, pru-
dence, beneficence, and other virtues, which he
maintained unimpeached till he was above fifty
years old; when he married a young woman, and
totally changing his character, passed his whole
time, as Livy describes him, L. 36, omisió omnium
verum curá, in convívitis et vinum sequentibus voluptás,
as deidex ex fatigatióni magis quam satietate
carum, in somno. Before this he had however ceded
Parthia and Hyrcania to Arsaces, son of the Arsaces
who first headed the revolt, on condition of his

298. And just in time thou com'st to have a view
Of his great power; &c.—

Twyer.
In Ctesiphon hath gather'd all his host
Against the Scythian, whose incursions wild
Have wasted Sogdiana; to her aid
He marches now in haste; see, though from far,
His thousands, in what martial equipage
They issue forth, steel bows and shafts their arms.

In the Charon, or ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥΝΤΕΣ of Lucian,
Mercury in a similar manner shews, and describes
to Charon, Cyrus marching on his expedition against
Cresus. Having explained who Cyrus is, and having
related his former conquests, he says, καὶ ΝΥΝ εξε-
πισκοπήσας ἘΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥΝΤΕΣ, ἦν Κυρὶς τὸν Κρεσοῦν ἀρχη-
γέτου. C. 9.—This Dialogue of Lucian is not
without its resemblance, in other respects, to this
part of our Author's poem. Mercury, to gratify
Charon in a short time with a full view of what
is passing in the world, tells him that he must
device a “specular mount” on purpose, τὸν ικανὸν
ΣΚΟΠΗΝ. This he does by piling Pelion on Ossa,
and Oeta and Parnassus on these. He thence shews
his friend an “outstretch'd prospect” of land and
water, γῆν πολλαύς, * * * * καὶ οράς, καὶ πεπεπημένας.
Charon afterwards desires to see Nineveh, Babylon,
and other famous cities of antiquity. The first of
these Mercury tells him has been so completely
destroyed, that no traces of it remain: the second
he shews him, and, it may be remarked, describes
it as παραπόταμος, and τον μεγαν περίβολον (σχεδον), which
is very similar to our Poet's

Huge cities and high-tower'd,—

I take this opportunity of observing that Milton
in the eleventh Book of his Paradise Lost,
where Michael describes, and afterwards shews to
Adam, Ver. 417, “the many shapes and ways of
“Death,” seems more immediately to have had
in his mind a part of this Dialogue; where Mercury
having noticed to his companion, “Conqueror
“Death” ((ErrorMessageειν ακρατος,) putting a sudden stop
to the ardent hopes and vain schemes of man, pro-
ceeds to point out and describe the satellites or
ministers of this great power, in the many and
various modes of death. He specifies first “diseases
“dire;”—Ἀγγέλοι δὲ αυτοῦ καὶ ὑπηρεται μὲνα πολλαί,
ὡς σφαῖρας πτικαί, καὶ πτερίδες, καὶ ἄλλα πεπεπημένα,
to which he humorously adds, suicide, robbers,
public executions, and tyrants, διέθετο, καὶ λαρνακαί, καὶ
καναίᾳ, καὶ δίκαιαι, καὶ τυφάιοι. C. 17.

305. —— steel bows and shafts their arms.]  

Catullus terms the Parthians sagittiferi;
Of equal dread in flight, or in pursuit;  
All horsemen, in which fight they most excel;  
See how in warlike muster they appear,  
In rhombs, and wedges, and half-moons, and wings.  
He look'd, and saw what numbers numberless  
The city gates out-pour'd, light armed troops,
In coats of mail and military pride;
In mail their horses clad, yet fleet and strong,
Prancing their riders bore, the flower and choice
Of many provinces from bound to bound;
From Arachosia, from Candaor east,

We may compare with our Author's description
in this place a passage of Claudian.

Hic ultima acies ornatu fulgida Martis
Explicit concusso. Pedes in parte sinistra
Consistunt; equites illinc poscentia cursum
Oras rettractantur pressis sedes lupatis.
Hinc alii saxum cristato vertice mutant,
Et tremulos humerus gaudent vibrale colores,
Quos operit formatque chalybs. Conjuncta per artem
Flexiles inducis animatur lamina membriis,
Horribiles visi. Credas simulacula moveri
Ferrea, cognatoque viros spirare metallo.

Par vestitus equis; ferrata fronte minantur,
Ferratoque levant secures vulneris armos.

In Rufins, ii. 351.

315. Of many provinces from bound to bound;—

He had before mentioned the principal cities of
the Parthians, and he now recounts several of their
provinces.

316. — Arachosia,—

This was one of the largest provinces of the
Parthian Empire, and, as Bp. Newton observes, is
described by Strabo extending to the river Indus,

In the Edition of 1680 it is written Gandar.

Pliny, describing this country, speaks of the Gandari,
L. vi. 16. where Father Harduin would read

Candari, and says, (as Bp. Newton observes,) that
they are different from the Gandari. Pomponius
Mela notices the same people, L. i. C. 2. where
the commentators are divided between the readings
of Candari or Gandari. Vossius, in a note on the
place, clearly shews they were a different people
from the Indian Gandari, and that they were the
Candari of Ptolemy, and the people meant by

Pliny,
And Margiana to the Hyrcanian cliffs
Of Caucasus, and dark Iberian dales;
From Atropatia and the neighbouring plains
Of Adiabene, Media, and the south
Of Susiana, to Balsara's haven.
He saw them in their forms of battle rang'd,
How quick they wheel'd, and flying behind them shot
Sharp sleet of arrowy showers against the face

Pliny, in the passage already referred to.—These provinces lay eastward. Candahar, or Kandahar, is the modern name of Arachosia,

Margiana and Hycania lay northward of Arachosia towards the Caspian Sea. Margiana is mentioned by Pliny, L. vi. 16.—The Hyrcanian "cliffs of Caucasus" and "the Iberian dales" are joined together by Strabo, who says, that the highest part of the Caucasus bordered on Albania, Iberia, and Colchis.—Strabo, BOOK xvi. p. 506.—The Iberian dales are termed dark, as the country abounded in forests. Tacitus describes the Iberians "saltuosos locos "incoletenses." ANNAL. vi. 34.

From Atropatia and the neighbouring plains
Of Adiabene, Media, and the south
Of Susiana, to Balsara's haven.

This description of the Parthian provinces moves nearly in a circle. It begins with Arachosia cast; then advances northward to Margiana; and from thence, turning westward, proceeds to Hyrcania, Iberia, and the Atropatian or northern division of Media. Here it turns again southward, and carries us to Adiabene, or the western part of Babylonia, which, as Bp. Newton observes, Strabo (L. xvi. p. 745.) describes as a plain country, &c. &c. &c.; then passing through part of Media, it concludes with Susiana, which extended southward to the Persian Gulph, called Balsara's haven, from the Port of Balsara, Bas- sorah, or Bussorah.

Mr. Richardson observes that this is not unlike Virgil's

To which we may add another similar passage,
ÆN. xii. 284.

And Nonnus, L. xxii.

Thus also Statius, THEBAID. viii. 407.

Aetian Rhodopen solidus niva verberat Arctos,
Nec frangor Asonae tantus, cum Jupiter omni
Aree tonat, tanta quattirur nec grandine Syrtis,
Cum Libyae Borcas Italos niger attulit imbres.
Exclurete dicem telis, styx ferrea colo
Nubila, nec jaculis arctus sufficit aer.

The "arrowy hail," or "arrowy shower" was a figure of speech not uncommon with the Roman prose writers as well as poets. Thus Ammianus Marcellinus, "Eitu grandinis undique con-

volantibus
Of their pursuers, and overcame by flight;
The field all iron cast a gleaming brown:
Nor wanted clouds of foot, nor on each horn
Cuirassiers all in steel for standing fight,
Chariots, or elephants indors’d with towers

Spenser has shower and hail of arrows; 
Faery Queen, B. v. C. iv. 38.
But in the middle way they were ymet
With a sharp showre of arrows, which them
said,
And better bad advice, ere they assay’d
Unknown peril of bold women’s pride.
Then all the rout upon them rudely lay’d,
And heaped strokes so fast on every side,
And arrows hail’d so thick, that they could not
abide.
326. The field all iron cast a gleaming brown:"
Mr. Thyer notices the particular beauty and
expressiveness of this line.—Bp. Newton observes
that it greatly exceeds Fairfax’s
Imbatteled in walls of iron brown;
Tasso. C. i. St. 64.
and even a very fine passage in Virgil, which I
rather conceive Milton to have had in his mind in
this place.

327. ———— clouds of foot—]
So we have in Homer, Il. iv. 374. Νιφοι πτερων;
and in Virgil, Æn. vii. 793. nimbus peditum.—
But, as Mr. Thyer observes with me, this verse is
not very consistent with what goes before, V. 307.
All horsemen, in which fight they most excell;
nor with what follows to the same purpose, V. 344.
Such, and so numerous, was their chivalry;

Newton.

By horsemen Milton meant only skilled in the
management of a horse, as every Parthian was;
and by no means that they never engaged except
on horseback.——We may collect from Tacitus,
Annais. vi. 24. that the Iberians who make a part
of this army were foot soldiers. Strabo also notices
the best soldiers of Iberia as coming from the
mountainous part of that country, while the inhabi-
tants of the plains were habituated to agriculture
and peaceful occupations, το μεν δο πεδιο των Ιβηρων
οι γεωργικωτατε και σημε ειναι ει ευκλη πολεοι
—— τον το 8’ ηρειν ων πεδιο και μαχηματα κατηχει.
L. xi. p. 500.—The inhabitants of a mountainous
country, it is obvious, were more likely to be foot
soldiers. Milton had probably this passage of Strabo
in his mind, when he specified “the dark Iberian
dales.”

328. Cuirassiers all in steel for standing fight,)]
Sallust, Fragment. L. iv. speaks of "Equites
"Cataphracti ferrea omni specie."—Similar
to the Cataphracts of the Romans were the κατα-
φρακτης of the Persians; whom the Author of the
Glossarium Nomium describes, ἄσσων, δεξαμενων, all in steel.
Livy mentions forces of this kind entitled Lor-
Catici, xxxv. 48. & xxxvii. 40.—Ammianus Mar-
cellinus speaks of Persian foot-soldiers, who were
"in speciem Mirmilloniae contesti." xxiii. 6.

329. ———— elephants indors’d with towers,]
Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of elephants in
the Persian army. L. 24.—Pliny mentions them
bearing towers with sixty soldiers on them, "tur-
" rifi cum sexagenis propugnatoribus." viii. 7.
Silius Italicus, speaking of elephants bearing
towers, terms them turritae molest, and adds

—— propugnacula dorso
Bellum migranti gestant, cen mobilis agger,
Nutat, et rectos atollit ad aestera muros.
ix. 239.
Of archers; nor of laboring pioneers
A multitude, with spades and axes arm'd
To lay hills plain, fell woods, or valleys fill,
Or where plain was raise hill, or overlay
With bridges rivers proud, as with a yoke;
Mules after these, camels and dromedaries,
And waggons, fraught with utensils of war.
Such forces met not, nor so wide a camp,

and Sacripante the king of Circassia, who comes
to the assistance of Gallaphrone, three hundred and
eighty-two thousand. It must be acknowledged,
I think, by the greatest admirers of Milton, that
the impression which romances had made upon his
imagination in his youth, has in this place led him
into a blameable excess. Not to mention the no-
rious fabulousness of the fact alluded to, which I
doubt some people will censure in a poem of so
grave a turn, the number of the troops of Agrican,
&c. is by far too much disproportioned to any
army, which the Parthian king by an historical
evidence could be supposed to bring into the field.

What Milton here alludes to is related in Boiardo's
Orlando Inamorato, L. i. Cant. 10. The number
of forces said to be there assembled is incredible,
and extravagant even beyond the common extra-
vagancy of romances. Agrican the Tartar king
brings into the field no less than two millions two
hundred thousand;

Veniitua centinha di migliara
Di cavalier hauea quel Re nel campo,
Cora non mai uditas——

and Milton, for never, since created man,
Met such imbodyed force.

And Lucan, having described at large the nations
which took part with Pompey, thus speaks of the
whole amount of the forces assembled under his
command.

Non, cum Menmoniiis deducens agmina regnis
Cyrus, et effusi numerato subte telis
Descendit Perscs, fraternique ulter amoris
Aquora cum tantis percussit classibus, unum
Tot reges habuere ducent; COSETZ NEC UNQUAM
Tam variae cultu gentes, tam dissona vulgi
Ovit.

Parasil. iii. 284.

When
When Agrican with all his northern powers
Besieg’d Albracca, (as romances tell,)
The city of Gallaphrone, from whence to win
The fairest of her sex Angelica,
His daughter, sought by many prowest knights,
Both Paynim, and the peers of Charlemain.
Such and so numerous was their chivalry:
At sight whereof the Fiend yet more presum’d,
And to our Saviour thus his words renew’d.

That thou may’st know I seek not to engage
Thy virtue, and not every way secure
On no slight grounds thy safety, hear, and mark
To what end I have brought thee hither, and shown
All this fair sight: thy kingdom, though foretold
By prophet or by Angel, unless thou
Endeavour, as thy father David did,

341. The fairest of her sex Angelica.

This is that Angelica who afterwards made her appearance in the same character in Ariosto’s Orlando Furioso, which was intended as a continuation of the story, which Boiardo had begun. As Milton fetches his simile from a romance, he adopts the terms used by these writers, viz. prowest and Paynim.

313. Both Paynim, and the peers of Charlemain.

Such and so numerous was their chivalry:

Milton, as Mr. Thyer observes, is still fond of the fables of Romance, and in referring to them retains its language. Thus in a simile in his Paradise Lost, i. 763, he describes

—a cover’d field, where champions bold
Wont ride in arm’d, and at the Soldan’s chair
Dely’d the best of Paynim chivalry,

And in the same Book, Ver. 585, he speaks of the Saracen knights

Thou
Thou never shalt obtain; prediction still
In all things, and all men, supposes means,
Without means us'd, what it predicts revokes.
But, say thou wert possess'd of David's throne,
By free consent of all, none opposite,
Samaritan or Jew; how could'st thou hope
Long to enjoy it, quiet and secure,
Between two such inclosing enemies,
Roman and Parthian? Therefore one of these
Thou must make sure thy own; the Parthian first
By my advice, as nearer, and of late
Found able by invasion to annoy
Thy country, and captive lead away her kings,
Antigonus and old Hyrcanus, bound,
Maugre the Roman. It shall be my task
To render thee the Parthian at dispose,
Choose which thou wilt, by conquest or by league:

Here seems to be a slip of memory in our Author. The Parthians indeed led Hyrcanus away captive to Seleucia, after his eyes were put out, and when he was past seventy years of age, so that he might well be called old Hyrcanus; but instead of leading away Antigonus captive, they constituted him king of the Jews, and he was afterwards deprived of his kingdom by the Romans. See Josephus Antiq. Lib. 14. Cap. 13. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 1. Cap. 13. But it should be considered that Milton himself was old and blind, and composing from memory he might fall into such a mistake, which may be pardoned among so many excellences.

Bp. Newton's observation on the mistake of our "old blind" poet, is here rather unfortunate; as he himself, with his eyes open, seems to have fallen into a considerable mistake in this note, by describing Hyrcanus as having his eyes put out, which does not appear to have been the case. His ears were cut off by his rival Antigonus, (See Joseph. Antiq. Jud. xiv. 13.) to render him incapable, when maimed in person, of filling the office of High Priest; but, (L. xv. C. 6. Sect. 14. where the various misfortunes that befell Hyrcanus are particularly recited,) nothing is said of his eyes being put out.

By
By him thou shalt regain, without him not,
That which alone can truly reinstall thee
In David's royal seat, his true successor,
Deliverance of thy brethren, those ten tribes,
Whose offspring in his territory yet serve,
In Habor, and among the Medes dispers'd:
Ten sons of Jacob, two of Joseph, lost
Thus long from Israel, serving, as of old
Their fathers in the land of Egypt serv'd,
This offer sets before thee to deliver.
These if from servitude thou shalt restore
To their inheritance, then, nor till then,
Thou on the throne of David in full glory,
From Egypt to Euphrates and beyond,
Shalt reign, and Rome or Caesar not need fear.

Otherwise he must have included in the ten sons of Jacob both Levi and Joseph. The Levites it is true did not form a distinct tribe, nor had any possessions allotted them; but, being carried into captivity with the other tribes, amongst whom they were scattered, Levi might be referred to among the lost sons of Jacob. It seems however quite incorrect to refer to Joseph, as the head of a tribe, when he was really merged in the tribes of his two sons Ephraim and Manasses.

That is the kingdom of Israel in its utmost extent; for thus the land was promised to Abraham, Gen. xv. 18. Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the river Euphrates: and the extent of Solomon's kingdom is thus described, 1 Kings, iv. 21. And Solomon reigned over all kingdoms from the river
To whom our Saviour answer'd thus unmov'd.
Much ostentation vain of fleshly arm
And fragil arms, much instrument of war,
Long in preparing, soon to nothing brought,
Before mine eyes thou hast set; and in my ear
Vented much policy, and projects deep
Of enemies, of aids, battles and leagues,
Plausible to the world, to me worth naught.
Means I must use, thou say'st, prediction else
Will unpredict, and fail me of the throne:
My time, I told thee, (and that time for thee
Were better farthest off;) is not yet come:
When that comes, think not thou to find me slack

(Euphrates) unto the land of the Philistines, and
unto the border of Egypt.

387. Much ostentation vain of fleshly arm.)
 "Fleshly arm" is scriptural. With him is an
arm of flesh, but with us is the Lord our God, to
help us, and to fight our battles. 2 Chron. xxxii. 8.
Thus saith the Lord, Cursed is the man that trusteth
in man, and maketh flesh his arm, and whose
heart departeth from the Lord. Jer. xvii. 5.

Spenser has,
What man is he that boasts of fleshly might?
_Fairy Queen_, B. I. C. 10. 1.

388. much instrument of war
Long in preparing—]

Totius bellii _instrumentum et apparatu—_
Cicero, _Academic_, ii. 1.

394. prediction else
Will unpredicgl—]

This refers to what the Tempter had said before,
Ver. 354, where he had fallaciously applied the
argument, that the requisite reliance on divine
providence does not by any means countenance a
supine negligence, and a dereliction of all personal
exertions. Mr. Thyer censures the manner of speak-
ing here, as too light and familiar for the dignity
of the speaker, but it strikes me as censurable not
so much for the lightness, as for the quaintness,
of the expression, and somewhat of that jingling
play upon words, of which our Author was certainly
too fond. To _unpredicl_ is something like to _un-
create_. See _Paradise Lost_, v. 895. & ix. 943.

Rowe, in his admirable version of Lucan, has,
it may be observed, used the verb to _undecree_; but
that in a manner so happily bold, as I conceive
goes nearer to vindicate the word;

Ultimus easse dies potuit tibi Roma malorum:
Exire e medii potuit Pharsalia fatis.

vi. 312.

Rome had not worn a tyrant's hated chain,
And Fate had _undeceeed_ Pharsalia's plain.

396. My time—is not yet come;]

My time is not yet come. John, vii. 6. _Newton_.

On
On my part aught endeavouring, or to need
Thy politic maxims, or that cumbersome
Luggage of war there shown me, argument
Of human weakness rather than of strength.
My brethren, as thou call'st them, those ten tribes
I must deliver, if I mean to reign
David's true heir, and his full sceptre sway
To just extent over all Israel's sons.
But whence to thee this zeal? Where was it then
For Israel, or for David, or his throne,
When thou stood'st up his tempter to the pride
Of numbering Israel, which cost the lives
Of threescore and ten thousand Israelites
By three days pestilence? Such was thy zeal
To Israel then; the same that now to me.
As for those captive tribes, themselves were they

403. that cumbersome
Luggage of war—

The Romans called their military baggage, and whatever related to it, impedimenta.

404. argument
Of human weakness rather than of strength.

It is a proof of human weakness, as it shews that man is obliged to depend upon something extrin-
sical to himself, whether he would attack his enemy or defend himself. It alludes to the common ob-
servation, that nature has furnished all creatures with weapons of defence, except man. See Ana-
creon's Ode on this thought, Flyer.

418. When thou stood'st up to tempter, &c.

Alluding to 1 Chron. xxii. 1. And Satan stood up against Israel, and provoked David to number Israel. Milton, we see, considers it not as the advice of any evil counsellor, as some understand the word Satan, but as the suggestion of the first author of evil: and he expresses it very properly by the pride of numbering Israel; for the best comments suppose the nature of David's offence to consist in pride and vanity, in making flesh his arm, and confiding in the number of his people. And for these three things were proposed to him by the prophet, three years famine, or three months to be destroyed before his enemies, or three days pestilence; of which he chose the latter. So the Lord sent pestilence upon Israel, and there fell of Israel seventy thousand men, ver. 14. Newton.

414. As for those captive tribes, &c.

The captivity of the ten tribes was a punishment owing to their own idolatry and wickedness. They fell off from God to worship calves, the golden calves.
Who wrought their own captivity, fell off
From God to worship calves, the deities
Of Egypt, Baal next and Ashtaroth,
And all the idolatries of Heathen round,
Besides their other worse than heathenish crimes;
Nor in the land of their captivity
Humbled themselves, or penitent besought
The God of their forefathers; but so dy'd
Impenitent, and left a race behind
Like to themselves, distinguishable scarce
From Gentiles, but by circumcision vain,
And God with idols in their worship join'd.
Should I of these the liberty regard,
Who, freed, as to their ancient patrimony,
calves which Jeroboam had set up in Bethel and in
Dan, and which the poet calls the deities of Egypt; for it is probable, (as some learned men have con-
jectured,) that Jeroboam, having conversed with the
Egyptians, set up these two calves in imitation of
the two which the Egyptians worshipped, the one
called Apis at Memphis the metropolis of the upper
Egypt, and the other called Mnevis at Hieropolis
the metropolis of the lower Egypt. Baal next and
Ashtaroth. Ahab built an altar and a temple for
Baal, 1 Kings, xvi. 32. and at the same time
probably was introduced the worship of Ashtaroth,
the Goddess of the Zidonians, 1 Kings, xi. 5. For
Jezebel, Ahab's wife, who prompted him to all
evil, was the daughter of Ethbaal king of the Zido-
nians, 1 Kings, xvi. 31. And by the prophets of the
groves (1 Kings, xviii. 19.) Mr. Selden under-
stands the prophets of Ashtaroth or Astarte; and
the groves under every green tree, 2 Kings, xvii. 10.
should be translated Ashtaroth under every green
tree. See Selden de Diis Syris Syntag. ii. cap. 2.
But for the wickedness and idolatry of the Israelites,
and their rejection thereupon, and still continuing
impenitent in their captivity, see 2 Kings, xvii.
and the prophets in several places. 

420 There is some difficulty and obscurity in this
passage; and several conjectures and emendations
have been offered to clear it, but none, I think,
entirely to satisfaction. Mr. Symson would read
Headlong would fall off, and &c. or Headlong would
fall, &c. But Mr. Calton seems to come nearer
the poet's meaning. Whom or what would they
follow, says he? There wants an accusative case;
and what must be understood to complete the sense
can never be accounted for by an ellipsis, that any
rules or use of language will justify. He therefore
suspects...
Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform'd, 430
Headlong would follow; and to their Gods perhaps
Of Bethel and of Dan? No; let them serve
Their enemies, who serve idols with God.
Yet he at length, (time to himself best known),
Remembering Abraham, by some wondrous call
May bring them back, repentant and sincere,
And at their passing cleave the Assyrian flood,

be particularly suggested by Sallust's description of
irrational animals, "pecora, quaer natura prona,
"atque ventri obedientia finxit"—If a cor-
rection of the text be thought necessary, I should
prefer,

Who, freed as to their ancient patrimony,
Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform'd,
Headlong would fall unto their Gods, perhaps
Of Bethel and of Dan

in recommendation of which it may be observed
that fall to idols is Miltonic; as it is said of Solomon,
PARADISE LOST, i. 444, that his heart
Beguil'd by fair idolatresses fell
To idols foul.

439. Unhumbled, unrepentant, unreform'd,]
Thus, PARADISE LOST, ii. 185;
Unrespite, unpitied, unrepriev'd.

And Shakespeare, HAMLET, Act I. Sc. 5.
Unhouse'l'd, unappointed, unancl'd,

436. And at their passing cleave the Assyrian flood, &c.]

There are several prophecies of the restoration of
Israel: but in saying that the Lord would cleave
the Assyrian flood, that is the river Euphrates, at
their return from Assyria, as he cleft the Red Sea
and the river Jordan at their coming from Egypt,
the poet seems particularly to allude to, Rev.
xxvi. 12. And the sixth Angel poured out his vial
upon the great river Euphrates; and the water
thereof was dried up, that the way of the kings of
the east might be prepared: and to Isa. xi. 15, 16.

And
While to their native land with joy they haste,  
As the Red Sea and Jordan once he cleft,  
When to the promises’ land their fathers pass’d;  
To his due time and providence I leave them.

So spake Israel’s true king, and to the Fiend  
Made answer meet, that made void all his wiles.  
So fares it, when with truth falsehood contends.  

And the Lord shall utterly destroy the tongue of the  
Egyptian sea, and with his mighty wind shall he  
shake his hand over the river, and shall smite it in  
the seven streams, and make men go over dry-shod;  
And there shall be an highway for the remnant  
of his people, which shall be left from Assyria, like as  
it was to Israel in the day that he came up out of  
the land of Egypt.

438. — the Red Sea and Jordan once he cleft.]  
Thus in our Author’s Version of Psalm cxxxvi.  
done at the age of fifteen;

The ruddy wave he cleft in twain,  
Of the Erythrean main.

And Psalm lxxiv. 15. Translation in the Bible.  
Thou didst cleave the fountain and the flood.”

441. — and to the fiend  
Made answer meet, that made void all his wiles.]  
We may compare the following passage of Vida,  
where Satan in his Speech to the Devils in Pandemonium, relates how he had been foiled in the  
Temptation of our blessed Lord.

Iste autem, quamvis mortalia membra caducus  
Induerit, tamen est nostris imperditus armis.  
Nempe ego sape addii, coramque interritus  
urges Tentaveri insidiis nequiquam.  
...  
Quas non in facies, quas non mutatus in ora  
Accessi incassum! Semper me repulsi ipse  
Non armis ullis fretus, non viribus usus;  
Sed, tantum veterum repetito carmine vatum,  
IRETA TENTAMENTA, DOLOS, ET VIM EXUIT  
OMNEM.

CHRISTIAD. I. 193.

* Among the various beauties, which adorn this truly Divine Poem, the most distinguishable and  
captivating feature of excellence is the character of Christ. This is so finely drawn, that we can scarcely  
forbear applying to it the language of Quintilian, respecting the Olympian Jupiter of the famous sculptor  
Phidias, — “ cujus pulchritudo adjecisse aliquid ctiam receptae religioni videatur, adeo MAJESTAS OPERIS  
DEUM AQUAVIT.” L. xii. C. 10. It is observed by Mr. Hayley, that, “as in the PARADISE LOST  
the Poet seems to emulate the sublimity of Moses and the Prophets, it appears to have been his wish in  
the PARADISE REGAINED to copy the sweetness and simplicity of the Evangelists.” Life of Milton,  
p. 125. — The great object of this second poem seems indeed to be the exemplification of true Evangelical  
Virtue, in the person and sentiments of our blessed Lord. From the beginning of this third Book to  
Ver. 363 of the next, practical Christianity, thus personified, is contrasted with the boasted pretensions of  
the Heathen world, in its zenith of power, splendor, civilization and knowledge; the several claims of  
which are fully stated, with much ornament of language and poetic decoration. — After an exordium of  
flattering commendation addressed to our Lord, the Tempter opens his progressive display of Heathen  
excellence with an Eulogy on Glory (Ver. 25.), which is so intrinsically beautiful, that it may be questioned  
whether any Roman orator or poet ever so eloquently and concisely defended the ambition of Heroism;  
the judgment of the Author may also be noticed (Ver. 31, &c.) in the selection of his heroes, two of  
whom,
whom, Alexander and Scipio, he had before introduced (B. ii. 196. 199.) as examples of continency and self-denial:— in short, the first speech of Satan opens the cause, for which he pleads, with all the art becoming his character.—In our Lord’s reply, the false glory of worldly fame (Ver. 47.) is stated with energetic brevity, and is opposed (Ver. 60.) by the true glory of obedience to the Divine commands. The usual modes of acquiring glory in the Heathen world, and the intolerable vanity and pride with which it was claimed and enjoyed, are next (Ver. 74.) most forcibly depicted; and are finely contrasted (Ver. 88.) with those means of acquiring honour and reputation, which are innocent and beneficial:

But, if there be in glory aught of good,
It may by means far different be obtain’d,
Without ambition, war, or violence;
By deeds of peace, by wisdom eminent,
By patience, temperance.

These lines are marked with that peculiar species of beauty, which distinguishes Virgil’s description of the amiable heroes of benevolence and peace, whom he places in Elysium, together with his blameless warriors, the virtuous defenders of their country;

Hic manus, ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi,
Quisque sacerdotes casti, dum vita manebat,
Quisque piu vates, et Phebo digna locuti,
Inventas aut qui vitam exculure per artes,
Quisque sui memores alios fecere merendo;
Omnibus his nivea cinguntur tempora vitâ.

Æn. vi. 660.

In the conclusion of the Speech (Ver. 96.) an heroical character of another kind is opposed to the warlike heroes of antiquity;—one who, though a Heathen, surpassed them all in true wisdom and true fortitude. Such indeed was the character of Socrates, such his reliance on Divine providence and his resignation thereto, that he seems to have imbued his sentiments from a source “above the famed Castalian “Spring;” and while his demeanour eminently displays the peaceable, patient, Christian-like virtues, his language often approaches, nearer than could be imagined, to that of the holy penmen.—“Ε Τ ονωθεν θεοφιλος,” says he, “ταυτα γινομαι.” Epicet. Διατριβ. l. i. C. 29.—“The artful sophistry of the Tempter’s further defence of glory (Ver. 109.), and our Lord’s majestically plain confutation of his arguments in the clear explanation given (Ver. 121.) of the true ground on which glory and honour are due to the great Creator of all things, and required by him—are both admirable.—The rest of the Dialogue is well supported; and it is wound up, with the best effect, in the concluding speech, where Satan (Ver. 204.) offers a vindicatory explanation of his conduct, in which the dignity of the Arch-angel, (for, though “ruined,” the Satan of Milton seldom “appears less than an Arch-angel,”) is happily combined with the insinuating art and “sleeked tongue” of this grand Deceiver. The first nineteen lines are peculiarly illustrative of this double character: the transition that follows (Ver. 223.) to the immediate Temptation then going on, and which paves the way for the ensuing change of scene, is managed with the happiest address.—The Poet now quite sets Dialogue for that “union of the narrative and dramatic “powers,” which Dr. Johnson, speaking of this poem, observes “must ever be more pleasing than “a dialogue without action.”—The description (Ver. 251.) of the “specular mount,” where our Lord is placed to view at once the whole Parthian empire, at the same time that it is truly poetical, is so accurately given, that we are enabled to ascertain the exact part of Mount Taurus, which the Poet had in his mind. The geographical scene (from Ver. 263 to 292.) is delineated with a precision that brings each place immediately before our eyes, and, as Ep. Newton remarks, far surpasses the prospect of the kingdoms.
The kingdoms of the world from "the mount of vision," in the Eleventh Book of the Paradise Lost. The military expedition of the Parthians (from Ver. 300. to 336.) is a picture in the boldest and most masterly style. It is so perfectly unique in its kind, that I know not where in Poetry, antient or modern, to go for anything materially resembling it. The fifteenth Book of Tasso's Jerusalem, &c. (where the two Christian Knights, who are sent in search of Rinaldo, see a great part of the habitable world, and are shewn a numerous camp of their enemies,) does not appear to have furnished a single idea to our Author, either in his geographical, or his military scene.——The speech of Satan, (Ver. 346.) professing the purpose why he shewed all this to Jesus, judiciously reverts to the immediate subject of the Temptation; and, by urging our Lord to avail himself of the Parthian power, that he might gain possession of David's throne, and free his countrymen from the Roman yoke, it applies to those patriotic feelings which he had expressed in the first Book of this Poem, where he declares that one of his earliest sentiments of virtue, more than human, was marked with a wish

To rescue Israel from the Roman yoke.

Our Lord's reply (Ver. 386.) is close and pointed, and serves further to unfold the character of our great pattern of every virtue.—The same objection still lies against the conclusion of this Book, as against that of the preceding one;——by coming immediately after a part so highly finished, as the view of the Parthian power in all the splendor of a military expedition, it has not the effect it would otherwise have. It is however a necessary conclusion, and one that materially carries on the business of the Poem. An essential test of its merit is, that, however we might wish it shortened, it would scarcely have been possible to compress the matter it contains.

End of the third Book.
THE FOURTH BOOK OF PARADISE
ARGUMENT OF BOOK IV.

Satan, persisting in the temptation of our Lord, shews him Imperial Rome in its greatest pomp and splendor, as a power which he probably would prefer before that of the Parthians; and tells him that he might with the greatest ease expel Tiberius, restore the Romans to their liberty, and make himself master not only of the Roman Empire, but by so doing of the whole world, and inclusively of the throne of David. Our Lord, in reply, expresses his contempt of grandeur and worldly power, notices the luxury, vanity, and profigacy of the Romans, declaring how little they merited to be restored to that liberty, which they had lost by their misconduct, and briefly refers to the greatness of his own future kingdom. Satan now desperate, to enhance the value of his proffered gifts, professes that the only terms, on which he will bestow them, are our Saviour’s falling down and worshipping him. Our Lord expresses a firm but temperate indignation at such a proposition, and rebukes the Tempter by the title of “Satan for ever damned.” Satan abashed attempts to justify himself: he then assumes a new ground of temptation, and, proposing to Jesus the intellectual gratifications of wisdom and knowledge, points out to him the celebrated seat of ancient learning, Athens, its schools, and other various resorts of learned teachers and their disciples; accompanying the view with a highly-finished panegyric on the Grecian musicians, poets, orators, and philosophers of the different sects. Jesus replies, by shewing the vanity and insufficiency of the boasted Heathen philosophy; and prefers to the music, poetry, eloquence, and didactic policy of the Greeks, those of the inspired Hebrew writers. Satan, irritated at the failure of all his attempts, upbraids the indiscretion of our Saviour in rejecting his offers; and, having, in ridicule of his expected kingdom, foretold the sufferings that our Lord was to undergo, carries him back into the wilderness, and leaves him there. Night comes on: Satan raises a tremendous storm, and attempts further to alarm Jesus with frightful dreams, and terrific threatening spectres; which however have no effect upon him. A calm, bright, beautiful morning succeeds to the horrors of the night. Satan again presents himself to our blessed Lord, and, from noticing the storm of the preceding night as pointed chiefly at him, takes occasion once more to insult him with an account of the sufferings which he was certainly to undergo. This only drives from our Lord a brief rebuke. Satan, now at the height of his desperation, confesses that he had frequently watched Jesus from his birth, purposely to discover if he was the true Messiah; and, collecting from what passed at the river Jordan that he most probably was so, he had from that time more assiduously followed him, in hopes of gaining some advantage over him, which would most effectually prove that he was not really that Divine Person destined to be his “fatal Enemy.” In this he acknowledges that he has hitherto completely failed; but still determines to make one more trial of him. Accordingly he conveys him to the Temple at Jerusalem, and, placing him on a pointed eminence, requires him to prove his Divinity either by standing there, or casting himself down with safety. Our Lord reproves the Tempter, and at the same time manifests his own Divinity by standing on this dangerous point. Satan, amazed and terrified, instantly falls; and repairs to his Infernal Compeers, to relate the bad success of his enterprise. Angels in the mean time convey our blessed Lord to a beautiful valley, and, while they minister to him a repast of celestial food, celebrate his victory in a triumphant hymn.
PARADISE REGAINED.

BOOK IV.

PERPLEX'D and troubled at his bad success
The Tempter stood, nor had what to reply,
Discover'd in his fraud, thrown from his hope
So oft, and the persuasive rhetoric

Of her attention gain'd, with serpent tongue
Organic, or impulse of vocal air,
His fraudulent temptation thus began.

His language is at first that of general, and
rather palpable, flattery, professing admiration of
her beauty and merit; but this is cloathed in terms
so irresistibly captivating, that we are not surprised
when we find that

Into the heart of Eve his words made way.

On her wondering to find him gifted with speech,
he proceeds to relate the manner of his acquiring
both reason and speech, and the general elevation
of his mental faculties, from eating a particular
fruit of the garden of Eden; and he winds up his
narration of this circumstance in a more artful and
highly-finished compliment to Eve, than any in his
first address to her.

Thenceforth to speculations high or deep
I turn'd my thoughts, and with capacious mind
Consider'd all things visible in Heaven,
Or earth, or middle, all things fair and good;
But all that fair and good in thy divine
Semblance, and in thy beauty's heavenly ray,
United I beheld; no fair to thine
Equivalent or second, which compell'd
That sleek'd his tongue, and won so much on Eve, 5
So little here, nay lost; but Eve was Eve,
This far his over-match, who, self-deceiv'd
And rash, before-hand had no better weigh'd
The strength he was to cope with, or his own:
But as a man, who had been matchless held
reasoning. Such indeed is the admirable art of the
Poet in this place, that we are ourselves seduced by
him, and are inclined to say, that if the Tempter
had failed, "Eve would not have been Eve." But
"Eve was Eve," and
his words replete with guile
Into her heart too easy entrance won.
I have been led to trespass on my reader's
patience, by recalling to his recollection this very
fine part of the Paradise Lost, from an idea that it
was, with Milton himself, a particularly favorite
part of his great poem. As such he seems here to
have had it in his mind, while in introducing the
Tempter in a less triumphant situation, he with
great propriety refers to his former success, and to
what he here terms
the Persuasive Rhetoric
That sleek'd his tongue, and won so much on Eve.
10. But as a man, &c.—]
It is the method of Homer to illustrate and
adorn the same subject with several similitudes.
Our Author here follows his example, and presents
us with a string of similes together. This fecundity
and variety of the two poets can never be suffi-
ciently admired; but Milton, I think, has the
advantage in this respect, that in Homer the
lowest comparison is sometimes the last, whereas
here they rise one upon another. The first has too
much sameness with the subject that it would illus-
trate, and gives us no new ideas. The second is
low, but it is the lowness of Homer, and at the
same time is very natural. The third is free from
the defects of the other two, and rises up to Milton's
usual dignity and majesty.
In cunning, over-reach’d where least he thought,
To salve his credit, and for very spite,
Still will be tempting him who foils him still,
And never cease, though to his shame the more;
Or as a swarm of flies in vintage time,

Mr. Thyer also observes that Milton, as if conscious of the defects of his two first comparisons, rises in the third to his usual sublimity.

20. But as a man, who had been matchless held, &c.—]

"A poetical simile," says Dr. Johnson, "is the discovery of likeness between two actions, in their general nature dissimilar, or of causes terminating by different operations in some real semblance of effect. But the mention of another like consequence from a like cause, or of a like performance by a like agency, is not a simile, but an exemplification." This passage of the Paradise Regained is indeed, strictly speaking, no simile; it is only an exemplification of Satan's "vain importunity," in the frequent conduct of persons in real life, who, priding themselves on their superior cunning, if they happen to employ it against any one capable of seeing through their designs, and defeating their arts, become so irritated, that they lose not only their boasted cunning, but even common prudence, and, with the rash violence of desperation, press and pursue the attack to their accumulated detriment and disgrace. — But the character of the man of cunning irritated by defeat, however well drawn, is here an image too general and indistinct, materially to illustrate, or in any way to decorate, this part of the poem. We may therefore perhaps suppose the description in this place to have been personal: it might refer to his old literary, political, enemy, Salmasius, as the "man who had been matchless "held," and who, after being "foiled" in the controversy by our Author’s Defensor Populi, endeavored "to save his credit" by a virulent reply, which he did not live to finish, but which was published by his son: or it might relate to his later antagonist Alexander More, or Morus,

15. Or as a swarm of flies in vintage time,
About the wine-press, where sweet must is pour'd,
Beat off, returns as oft with humming sound.

This comparison, Dr. Jortin observes, is very just; and in the manner of Homer.

Kai άι μήν Σαταν έν στόικο ιύκνιν,
'Ήτε, και εξεγομέναι μαλα περ ἕρως ανθρώποις,
Σεχναία δακτύλιοι, λαχτα η δι άνθρωποι.

So burns the vengeful hornet, (soul all o’er,) Repulse’d in vain, and thirsty still of gore; (Bold son of air and heat,) on angry wings, Untam’d, until’d, he turns, attacks, and stings.

Where Mr. Pope has turned the fly of Homer into a hornet, and has added two more lines to the comparison, "to keep up" as he says, "the dignity of his author."

Mr. Thyer notices likewise the simile of the Flies in the second Book of the Iliad, 469.

Ηύτε μην ο Άριστος ὁ θεῖος πουδα,
'Αάτα κατά τάθρον σοφάμων θωάκατον
'Εργκ παρασκευή, οπε τον θλόχος άνθρωποι.

— thick as insects play.

The wondering nation of a summer’s day,
That, drawn by milky streams, at evening hours, In gather’d swarms surround the rural bowers;

The language of this last simile is beautiful, but the image which it presents is of a kind that scarcely

embellishes,
About the wine-press where sweet must is pour'd,
Beat off, returns as oft with humming sound;
Or surging waves against a solid rock,
Though all to shivers dash'd, the assault renew;
(Vain battery!) and in froth or bubbles end;
So Satan, whom repulse upon repulse
Met ever, and to shameful silence brought,
Yet gives not o'er, though desperate of success,
And his vain importunity pursues.
He brought our Saviour to the western side
Of that high mountain, whence he might behold
Another plain, long but in breadth not wide,
Wash'd by the southern sea, and, on the north,
To equal length back'd with a ridge of hills
That screen'd the fruits of the earth and seats of men
From cold Septentrion blasts; thence in the midst

So have I seen a rock's heroic breast,
Against proud Neptune, that his ruin threats,
When all his waves he hath to battle press,
And with a thousand swelling billows beats
The stubborn stone, and foams and chaffs and frets
To heave him from his root, unmoved stand;
And more in heaps the barking surges land,
The more in pieces beat fly weeping to the strand.

And we may trace all these later poets to Virgil,
Æn. vii. 586.
Ille, velut pelagi rupes immota, resistit;
Ut pelagi rupes, magno veniente fragore,
Quae sese, multis circum latrantibus undis,
Mole tenet; scopuli nequequam et spumea circum
Saxa fremunt, laericere ilissa refunditur alga.

Thus Spenser, Faery Queen, B. ii. C. xii. 21.
Sudden they see, from midst of all the main,
The surging waters like a mountain rise,
And our Author in his Paradise Lost, vii. 213.
Up from the bottom turn'd by furious winds,
And surging waves —

27. Another plain, &c. —
The learned reader need not be informed that the
country here meant is Italy, which indeed is long
but not broad, and is washed by the Mediterranean
on the south, and screened by the Alps on the north,
and divided in the midst by the river Tiber.

Newton.
The ridge of hills here does not mean the Alps,
but the Apennines, which divide the south-west
part of Italy from the north-west; and in which the
river Tiber has its source. The plain, contained
between these Hills and the Mediterranean sea,
consists of the old Etruria, Latium, and Campania;
the two latter being divided from the former by
the course of the Tiber.

31. thence in the midst

Divided by a river, of whose banks
On each side an imperial city stood,]

—— Romam:

Apenninicus que proxima Tiberidis undis
Mole sub ingenti rerum fundamina ponit.
Ovid, Met. xv. 431.
Divided by a river, of whose banks
On each side an imperial city stood,
With towers and temples proudly elevate
On seven small hills, with palaces adorn'd,
Porches and theatres, baths, aqueducts,

34. With towers and temples proudly elevate
On seven small hills, with palaces adorn'd,
Porches and theatres, baths, aqueducts,
Statues and trophies, and triumphal arcs,
Gardens and groves, presented to his eyes.]

Thus Spenser, in his Ruins of Time, where
Verulam, comparing herself with Rome, describes
"the beauty of her buildings fair;"

High towers, fair temples, goodly theatres,
Strong walls, rich porches, princely palaces,
Large streets, brave houses, sacred sepulchres,
Sure gates, sweet gardens, stately galleries,
Wrought with fair pillars, and fine images.

35. On seven small hills—

Thus Virgil, Georgic ii. 535, speaking of Rome,

Septemque una sibi curro circumdata est arx.

Horace terms the tutelary Gods of Rome,

Dis, quibus septem placuit colles.

Carm. Sec. 7.

Propertius describes Rome, El. iii. 10.

Septem ubi, acha jugis,—

And Statius, 4 Sylv. i. 6.

Et septememino pataintior athera pulset
Rome iugis:

And Prudentius, Romani Martyris super-

Plicium, 414.

Ut iustae pater tenui est summus Deus,
Diviorem favore quem puer Majestus
Fundat arxem septicollis Romulus?

35. —— with palaces adorn'd,
Porches and theatres, baths, aqueducts,
Statues, and trophies, and triumphal arcs,
Gardens and groves—

The Author, having before mentioned temples
and towers, has in these lines comprehensively

summed up all the other marks of Roman magni-

ficence, that could be distinguished on such a
view as is here exhibited.

35. —— with palaces adorn'd,]

These were a subject of immense expence and
grandeur. Clodius, the antagonist of Milo, even
in the times of the republic, dwelt in a house that
cost near one hundred and twenty thousand pounds
of our money.—We may form some judgment of
the size and extent of the Roman palaces, from
what is said of them by the writers of the Augustan
age. Sallust mentions "domus et villas in ur-
biurn modum exedificatas," Bell. Cat.
Cilin. 12. And Ovid uses a similar expression,
speaking of the house which Augustus Caesar pulled
down, as setting a dangerous example of luxury,
when he built the Temple of Concord, and the
Livian Portico, in its room.

Disce tamen, veniens aetas, ubi Livia nunc est
Porticus, immense tecla fuisse domus.
Urbs opus domus una fuit; spatiumque tenebat,
Quo brevius muris oppida multa tenent.
Hec aequala solo est, nullo sub crimine regni,
Sed quia luxuriae visa nescie add.

Fast. vi. 639.

Seneca also speaks in the same manner of
the private houses in his time; "adfixit privata lani-
"tatam urbium magnarum Vincentia."
De Benefic. vii. 16. and Epist. xc. he notices
"domos instar urbium."

36. Porticos—

The Porticos also were an article of immense
magnificence at Rome. They were elevated struc-
tures of great extent; and were much resorted to
for shade in summer, and for dryness in winter.—
Martial speaks of the Claudian Portico:

Claudia diffusas ubi porticus explicat umbras,—

De Spectac. Ep. ii. 9.

and
Statues, and trophies, and triumphal arcs,
Gardens and groves, presented to his eyes,

and describes the famous Portico of Cn. Octavius,
in the Circus Flaminius,

Ovid notices the Pompeian, Octavian, and Livian Porticos.

These buildings were introduced by Scipio Nasica, on the termination of the Punic war; who built one in the Capitol. Besides those which were separate buildings by themselves, others were prefixed to temples, theatres, and baths.—The Portico, which Augustus erected before the Temple of Apollo in memory of the battle of Actium, is particularly described by Propertius, L. 2. El. xxxi.; and is also mentioned by Ovid, L. 3. Trist. i. 59. As Roman luxury rose to its height, private persons had their porticos. Juvenal speaks of the porticus, in qua Gestatur dominus, quoties pluit:—

Sat. vii. 178.

And Paterculus, having spoken of the public Porticos, adds; "publicam magnificentiam secuta "privata luxuria est," L. ii. C. 1.

36. —— theatres.—

The Theatres, in which we may include the Amphitheatres, Circi and Nannachiae, were conspicuous objects among the magnificent buildings of Rome. They were at first only temporary buildings, but were erected sometimes at an incredible expense. Pliny describes very particularly one built by M. Scaurus, the son-in-law of Sylla, which he terms "opus maximum omnium quæ unquam "fuere humanæ manu factæ." L. xxxvi. C. 15. This building he likewise mentions (L. xxxvi. C. 2.) to have been erected at this wonderful expense, scarcely for the amusement of one month.—

Pompey was the first person who built a fixed theatre; for which, according to Tacitus, he was censured, as introducing new customs tending to corrupt the manners of the people. (Annal. xiv. C. xx.) Permanent theatres of a great extent soon became frequent. Some remains of those built by Marcellus, and Staurius Taurus, are still to be seen; as well as that of Tiberius, who also, (Tacit. Annal. vi. 42.), repaired that of Pompey which had been destroyed by fire.—Nero afterwards (according to Pliny, L. xxxiii. C. 3.) covered this theatre with gold.

36. —— baths.—

The great extent of the Roman public-baths may be judged of by the ruins now remaining of those of Caracalla and Dioclesian. Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of baths at Rome "in modum pri- "viciiarum extruèta," (L. xvi. C. 10;) where, however, Valesius judiciously suggests the reading piscinarum rather than provinciarum.—Rutilius, in his Itinerarium, says;

Consument totos celas lavacra lacus.

Sat. vii. 178.

The baths even of private persons were very lofty buildings, and were ornamented in the most superb style. Juvenal, speaking of the expences of private persons in whatever gratified their own luxury, specifies particularly their baths and porticos.

Balnea sexcentis, et planis porticus,—

where, if sexcentis be understood of the secutorum, which the sense seems to require that it should, the expense of a private bath is estimated by the satyrick at near five thousand pounds of our money. Seneca particularly notices this absurd extravagance of his countrymen, in the Epistle, where, having described the bath of Scipio Africanus, "Balneolum angus-

\[\text{"tum, tenebrósum ex consuetudine antiqua," he}
\]

compares the manners of his own contemporaries with those of a former age.—"At nunc quis est, "qui sic lavari sustineat? Pauper sibi videtur et "sordidus, nisi parietes magnis et pretiosis orbibus

Bb 2

"refusserunt;
Above the height of mountains interpos’d;
(By what strange parallax, or optic skill

dedered to ornament it with statues. Among the most conspicuous of these, on a bird’s eye view of the city, were the colossal images of some of their emperors, standing on superb columns.—Ammianus Marcellinus, in his description of the triumphal entry of Constantius into Rome, notices the “clarios vertice, qui scansili suggestu consurgunt, pri-orum principum imitamenta portantes.” These may be supposed the statues which the poet here intends.

37. —— trophies.—
Rutilius notices the numberless trophies which decorated every part of the city of Rome;
Quod regnas minus est, quam quod regnare mereris;
Excedis felis grandia fata tuis.
Pereneere labor densus decora alta trahesis,
Ut si quis stellas pernumerare velit.

Itinerar. 91.

Milton had here perhaps in his mind the trophies now remaining in the front of the Capitol, thought to be the Cimbric trophies of Marius.

37. —— triumphal arcs,—
The arches erected in honor of eminent persons were in the early ages of Rome rude structures. That of Camillus was of plain stone. But those of Caesar, Drusus, Titus, Trajan, Constantine, and others, were of marble, and many of them ornamented with statues, trophies, and the most curious sculpture; particularly those of Titus and Constantine. Claudian refers to the arches adorned with trophies.

In Secund. Cons. Sfich. 65.

38. Gardens and groves,—
These were high articles of luxury among the Romans. Those of Lucullus are mentioned by Plutarch, as even in his time the most magnificent of any belonging to the emperor. Messalina, the adulterous
Of vision, multiply'd through air, or glass
Of telescope, were curious to inquire:
And now the Tempter thus his silence broke.
The city which thou seest no other deem
Than great and glorious Rome, queen of the earth,

adulterous consort of Claudius, caused Valerius Asiaticus to be put to death, that she might get possession of these gardens,—"hortos inhians quos " ille a Lucullo coemptos insigni magnificentia " excolebat." Tacit. Annal. xi. 1.—Julius Cæsar by will bequeathed his gardens near the river Tiber to the Roman people. Martial mentions groves of laurel, planes, and cypresses, as contributing much to the luxury and elegance of a mansion; and joins them with baths and porticos.

Daphnoes, platanoes, et aceras cyprisces,
Et non unius balnea solus habes;
Et tibi centenis stat porticus alta columnis,
Calcatusque tuo sub pede lucet onyx.

L. xii. Er. 50.

40. By what strange paradox, or optick skill
Of vision, multiplied through air, or glass
Of telescope—

The learned have been very idly busy in contriving the manner in which Satan shewed to our Saviour all the kingdoms of the world. Some suppose it was done by vision; others by Satan's creating phantasms or species of different kingdoms, and presenting them to our Saviour's sight, &c. &c. But what Milton here alludes to is a fanciful notion which I find imputed to our famous countryman Hugh Broughton. Cornelius a Lapide in summing up the various opinions upon this subject gives it in these words: Alii subtiliter imaginantur, quod Daemon per multa specula sibi invicem objecta species regnorum ex uno speculo in aliud et aliud continuo reflexerit, idque fecerit usque ad oculos Christi. In locum Matthæi. For want of a proper index I could not find the place in Broughton's works. But Wolfius, in his Curæ philologiæ in SS. Evangelia, fathers this whim upon him: Alii cum Hugone Broughtono ad instrumenta artis optice se recipiunt. Vid. Wolf. in Matt. iv. 8. Tygr.

The learned Bochart has a Dissertation on this subject; the following passage of which might here have been in Milton's recollection. "Ec usque " progradit hominin industria, ut in trumenter " quibusdam opticos, telescopis, microscopis, et " speculis, &c. remotissima quaque oculus subjiciat,

" minutissima quevis adducat in conspectum, ob- " jeotorum situm prorsus immutet, adeo ut poste- " riora anterius, inferius superiora cernaturn. Nul-

" latens profecto dubitandum quin longe major sit " Diaboli in objectis admovendis, amplificandis,

" suo siti emovendis, &c. vis ac solertia; cum " pro tubis opticis, aut specularibus bipedalibus, vel " tripedalibus, quibus semblus urit, ille presto " nubes habeat, quas ex arbitrio, tanquam aeris " præcep, fingit ac usurpat."

Bochart. Tom. i. p. 949.

42. —— were curious to enquire:—

This is something in the manner of a passage in Horace, L.iv, Ode 4, where speaking of the Vindelici, he says,

Mos unde deducus per omne
Tempus Amazoniæ securi
Dextras obarmet, quæ res nesculit;

on which passage the Delphin Commentator observes, Hoc viriulam sane continuit in quodam eo tempore unde his exuniti acris et perperam disputantes.—Milton may be supposed here to allude to the idly busy enquiries of the learned, acris et perperam disputantes concerning the optic skill of Satan, in displaying this distant scene before our blessed Lord.

45 —— great and glorious Rome, queen of the earth,
So far renown'd,—]
PARADISE REGAINED.  

BOOK IV.

So far renown'd, and with the spoils enrich'd
Of nations: there the Capitol thou seest,
Above the rest lifting his stately head
On the Tarpeian rock, her citadel
Impregnable; and there mount Palatine,

In the eleventh Book of the Paradise Lost, where Michael shews Adam the four divisions of the world, Rome in its plenitude of power is described as the great distinguishing feature of Europe.

Europe thence, and where Rome was to sway
The world:

Thus Propertius terms Rome,
Septem urbs alta jugis, quae toti presidet orbis,
L. iii. li. 10.

And Lucan, ii. 655.
Ipse caput mundi, bellorum maxima merces
Roma,

Martial likewise addresses her,
Terrarum Dea gentiumque Roma,
Cui par est nihil, et nihil secundum.

And in the sixth Book of the Æneid, where Anchises, shewing to Æneas in the shades the Roman heroes that were to descend from him, points out Romulus as the founder of Rome;
En hujus, mat, suspicis illa inclyta Roma
Imperium terris, animosque aquabit Olympo;

Rutilius, in his Itinerarium, where he describes himself quitting Rome, thus begins a most affectionate valedictory address to her;
Exadi, regina tua fulcerrima mundi,
Inter sideros Roma recepta polos.
L. i. 47.

With the spoils enrich'd
Of nations—

This refers to the immense sums carried to Rome, and deposited in the treasury by their generals; and to what was amassed by the fines which the Romans arbitrarily set upon other states and kingdoms, as the price of their friendship.—Lucan, where

he relates the plundering of the treasury by Julius Cæsar, particularly describes the spoils and treasures accumulated by these rulers of the world.

Thus Virgil, Æn. viii. 652.
In summo custos Tarpeia Manlius arcit
Subat pro templo, et Capitolia celia tenebat.

And Silius Italicus, iii. 623.
Aurea Tarpeia poneat Capitolia rupe.

Tacitus, speaking of the Capitol, terms it, "munitissimam Capitolii arcem, et ne magnis
Quidem exercitibus expugnabilem."

Hist. iii. 78.

There mount Palatine,
The imperial palace, compass huge, and high
The structure—

Servius supposes, that Virgil, in describing the palace of Latusin in the seventh Æneid, had a view to Augustus’s palace on the Palatine mount.

Hecum augustum, ingens, cunctum sublime columnis,
Urbe futi summa, Laurentis regia Picei;
The imperial palace, compass huge, and high
The structure, skill of noblest architects,
With gilded battlements conspicuous far,
Turrets, and terraces, and glittering spires:
Many a fair edifice besides, more like
Houses of God, (so well I have dispos’d
My aery microscope,) thou may’st behold,
Outside and inside both, pillars and roofs,

Horrendum sylvis et religione parentum.
Hinc sceptra accipere, et primos attollere fasces
Regibus omen erat; hoc illis curia templum,
Hæ sacris sedes epulis; hic ariete caso
Perpetuis soliti patres considere mensis.

Bianchini, in his Palazzo de Cesari, adopts
the same opinion, and further observes that at this
passage the Vatican Virgil has a portico of eight
pillars in front, of the Corinthian order and fluted.
This, he supposes, was designed to represent the
vestibule of Augustus’s palace, which he adds might
probably be standing when that manuscript was written.
Mr. Holdsworth says, it is probable that Augustus’s
palace was built just about the time when Virgil
was writing this part of his poem.—But the
imperial palace, or at least that part of it in which
Augustus really resided, was neither extensive nor
magnificent. Suetonius describes Augustus residing
"in aedibus modicis, et neque laxitate, neque cultu
"conspicuis; ut in quibus porticus breves essent
"Albanarum columnarum, et sine marmore tello
"aut insigni pavimento conclavia." Sueton. Vit.
August. 72.

In the following passage from Claudian we
may perhaps trace something like the groundwork
of this description of Rome.

Eæc Palatino crevit reverentia monti,
Exsultaque habitante Deo, potioraque Delphis
Supplicibus late populis oracula pandit;
Atque suas ad signa jubet revirescere laurus,
Non alium certe decuit rectioribus orbis
Exe larm, nulloque magis se colle potestas

Estimat, et summi sentit fastigia juris.
Attollens apicem subjectis regia rostri
Tot circum delutra videt, tantisque Deorum
Cingitur excubitis. Jovat infra tecta Torantis
Cenere Tarpeia pendentes rupe Gigantias,
Cellatasque fores, mediasque volantium signa
Nubibus, et dumnum stipanibus athera templis,
Æraque vestitis numerosa puppe columnis
Consita, subnixaque jugis immolitus adae,
Naturam cumulante manu; spolius micantes
Innumeros arcus. Acies superque igne metalli,
Et circumfuso te pidans obvinditur auro.

De VI. Cons. Honor. 32.

54. Turrets, and terraces.—]
Thus in the Spirit’s votive address of thanks to
Sabrina, at the conclusion of the Comus;
May thy lofty head be crown’d
With many a tower and terrace round!
where Mr. Warton observes that Milton, who then
lived at Horton near Colnebrook, was impressed
with this idea from his vicinity to Windsor Castle.
The descriptive and poetical ideas that our Poet
once caught he seldom relinquished: he seems here
to have blended the old English Castle with his
Roman view.

58. Outside and inside both.—]
So Menippus, in Lucian’s Icaro-Menippus, could
see clearly and distinctly, from the moon, cities and
men upon the earth, and what they were doing,
both without doors, and within, where they thought
themselves most secret.
Carv'd work, the hand of fam'd artificers,
In cedar, marble, ivory or gold.

Thus in Paradise Lost, Pandæmonium is described
Built like a temple, where pilasters round
Were set, and Doric pillars overlaid
With golden architrave; nor did there want
Corinice or frieze, with bossy sculpture graven;
The roof was hatted gold.

Thus also Silius Italicus, xiv. 653.
Artificium manus,
And Statius, i Sylv. iii. 47.
Vidi artes, veterumque manu.
Co. In cedar, marble, ivory, and gold.

The Romans were incredibly expensive in the columns and roofs, or ceilings of their houses. Pliny mentions three hundred and sixty columns of foreign marble erected by M. Scaurus for the scenery of a temporary theatre. L. xxxvi. C. 2. L. Crassus, the orator, had, as some copies of Pliny read, sixty columns of Hymettian marble, each twelve feet high, in his palace. L. xxxvi. C. 3. Columns were afterwards made of the lapis alabstritris, oronyx, which was brought from the mountains of Arabia. Pliny says he saw more than thirty of this sort in the supper apartments of Callistus a freedman of Claudius. L. xxxvi. C. 7. The walls of their houses were incrusted with marble. Plin. xxxvi. 6. The ceilings even of private houses were covered with gold, "laquearia que nunc et in privatis domibus " auro teguntur." Plin. xxxiii. 3. The beams were decorated in a similar manner. Statius, i Sylv. iii. 35, notices the auratas trabes in the villa of Manlius Vopiscus; and Propertius speaks of

--- camera auratas inter charm trabes.

That ivory was employed, we learn from Horace's
Nondub, neque aureum
Mea renedet in domo lacarum,
--- L. ii. Ode 18.

And from Statius, i Sylv. 3. 48.
Labor est auri memorare figuris,
Art ebur,

Ennius, in a fragment of his Andromache, thus speaks of the palace of Priam;
Vidi ego te, adaurante opae barbarica,
Teclis coelatis, laqueatis,
Auro, ebor, insulam regius.

As Homer had done of that of Menelaus at Sparta; which he describes "adorned with gold, "silver, ivory, and amber."

--- ωςις την Κηπτον
Χρυσοτης, ηακετρος τι και, αργυρος, νις
Ελεφαντος.

Odys. iv. 72.

For the united magnificence of "marble, ivory, "and gold," we may refer to Lucan's description of the palace of Cleopatra at Alexandria, which he terms

Nondum translatos Romana in saecula luxus;

intimating that at the time he wrote there was no occasion to go from Rome to Egypt in search of palaces thus splendidly decorated.
Thence to the gates cast round thine eye, and see
What conflux issuing forth, or entering in;
Prætors, proconsuls to their provinces,
Hasting, or on return, in robes of state,
Lictors and rods the ensigns of their power,
Legions and cohorts, turms of horse and wings:
Or embassies from regions far remote,
In various habits, on the Appian road,
Or on the Emilian; some from farthest south,

Ipsa locis templi, quod vix corruptione ætas
Extravit, instar erat; lacacetque tecla ferebant
Divitis, crassumque trubes abscondereat aurum.
Nec summis crastata domus, sedique nicheat
Marmoreus; stabatque sibi non sequi Achates,
Purpureusque lapis, totoque effusus in aula
Calcebat aurum: Hebenus Marcotiae vastos
Non operit postes, sed stat pro robore vili
Auxiliun, non forma domus. Ebur atria vestit,
Et suffixa manu foribus testudinis index
Terga sedent, crebro maculas distantia Smaragdo.

Pharsal. x. 111.

Cedar was used by the ancients in their buildings. Hence Virgil, speaking of the woods of Caucasus, Georg. ii. 442.

—— dant utile lignum
Navigis pinus, domibus CEDRUSQUE cupressosque.

Pliny says the beams of Diana’s temple at Ephesus were of cedar. L. xvi. C. 11.

63. Prætors, proconsuls to their provinces
Hasting, or on return, in robes of state, &c.—

The rapacity of the Roman provincial governors, and their eagerness to take possession of their prey, is here strongly marked by the word hasting. Their pride and vanity was not less than their rapacity, and was displayed not only in their triumphs, but in their magisterial state upon all occasions. The pride and state of the Roman magistrates is noticed by Sallust, who also refers to their infamously rapacious conduct;——“ incendunt per ora vestra
“magistri sacerdotia et consulatus, pars triumphos

“suos ostentantes: perinde quasi ea honoris, non

66. ——— turms of horse—

—— equinun turms.—

68. ——— on the Appian road,
Or the Emilian,—

The Appian road from Rome led towards the south of Italy, and the Emilian towards the north. The nations on the Appian road are included in ver. 69-76, those on the Emilian in ver. 77-79. Newton.

69. ——— some from farthest south,

Syene,—

Milton had in view what he read in Pliny and other authors, that Syene was the limit of the Roman Empire, and the remotest place to the south that belonged to it. Or it may be said that poets have not scrupled to give the epithets extremi, ultimi, to any people that lived a great way off; and that possibly Milton intended farthest south to be so applied both to Syene and to Meroe. Fortin.

69. ——— from farthest south,

Syene, and where the shadow both way falls, &c.—

He first mentions places in Africa; Syene, a city of Egypt on the confines of Ethiopia; Ditionis Aegypti esse incipit a fine Ethiopiae Syene; Plin. Lib. v. Sect. 9.; Meroe, an island and city of C c

Ethiopia,
Syene, and where the shadow both way falls,
Meroe, Nilotic isle; and, more to west,
The realm of Bocchus to the Black-moor sea;
From the Asian kings, and Parthian among these;
From India and the golden Chersonese,
And utmost Indian isle Taprobane,
Dusk faces with white silken turbants wreath’d;
From Gallia, Gades, and the British west;
Germans, and Scythians, and Sarmatians, north

Ethiopia in the river Nile, therefore called Nilotic isle, where the shadow both way falls; Rursus in Meroe, (insula hæc caputque gentis Ἐθιοπισ—
in amne Nilo habitatur,) bis anno absunni umbras; Plin. Lib. ii. Sect. 73; the realm of Bocchus, Mauritania. Then Asian nations; among these the golden Chersonese, Malacca the most southern promontory of the East Indies, (see Paradise Lost, xi. 392.) and utmost Indian isle Taprobane, wherefore Pliny says it is "extra orbem a natura re-" legata," Lib. vi. Sect. 22. Then the European nations as far as to the Tauric pool, that is the palus Meotis; "Lacus ipse Meotis, Tanain annem ex "Riphæis montibus desfulcentem accipiens, novis-" sinum inter Europam Asiæmque finem, &c." Plin. Lib. iv. Sect. 12. Newton.

The description here, seems governed by the cardinal points. It first looks southward, to Africa; then eastward, to Asia; then westward, to France, Spain, and the British Islands; then northward, to Germany, antient Scythia, and the most northern European nations.

71. Meroe, Nilotic isle:—]
Diodorus Siculus mentions Meroe as the largest of the islands formed by the course of the Nile.
Claudian terms it

MEROE CIRCUMFLOVA NILO.


71. Nilotic—]
Martial, speaking of Egypt, calls it


72. The realm of Bocchus—]
Thus Claudian;
Ars incensa Jube; rabies Marusia ferro
Cessit, et antiqua penetralia diruta Bocchi.
De in. Cons. Honor. 29.

And Ariosto, Orlando Furioso, L. xxxii;
Leva al fin gli occhi; e vede il Sol che’l tergo
Havvna mostrato a la citta di Bocchhi.

72. to the Black-moor sea:]
ubi MAURA semper

ÆSTUAT U N D A.

Hor. L. ii. Ode vi. 3.

73. and Parthian among these,]
The Tempter having failed to captivate our Lord with the view of the inmense forces of the Parthians and their military preparations and skill, now endeavours to impress upon him a sense of the great power of the Roman Empire. This is displayed in the embassies of distant and powerful nations, among whom we find the Parthians, who are thus made to bow the head to the Genius of Rome.

77. Gades,—]
Gades, the old Roman name for Cadiz, or Cales, a principal sea-port of Spain, without the strait of Gibraltar, is here put to signify the part of Spain most distant from Rome; which the Romans distinguished by the name of Hispania Ulterior.
Beyond Danubius to the Tauric pool.
All nations now to Rome obedience pay;
To Rome's great emperor, whose wide domain,
In ample territory, wealth, and power,
 Civility of manners, arts and arms,
And long renown, thou justly may'st prefer
Before the Parthian. These two thrones except,
The rest are barbarous, and scarce worth the sight,
Shar'd among petty kings too far remov'd;
These having shown thee, I have shown thee all

The Danybe was the southern boundary of antient Germany. From the mouth of the Danube to the Palus Mazoris, all along the shores of the Euxine Sea, lay the European Scythians, and beyond them northward, the Sauromatae, Sarmatae, or Sarmatians. All the intermixed nations seem at the time of the Christian Æra to have been so far swallowed up in these two, as to have ranked under the general head of Scythians or Sarmatians; which names antient historians have much confounded. These two nations extended themselves very far north. Cluverius says, that Sarmatia reached quite to the Northern Ocean; which was thence called Oceanus Sarmaticus. Juvenal joins the Sarmatians with this ocean;

Ultra Sauromatas fugere hinc libet, et glaciale
Oceanum,——

Milton may therefore be understood, in this description, as meaning to comprehend all the European nations from the banks of the Danube, and the shores of the Euxine, to the Northern Ocean.

\[84. \quad \text{thou justly may'st prefer}
\]

Before the Parthian.—]

The Tempter had before advised our Saviour to prefer the Parthian, iii. 363.

—— the Parthian first
By my advice:
but this shuffling and inconsistency is very natural
and agreeable to the father of lies, and by these
touches his character is set in a proper light.

\[88. \quad \text{I have shown thee all}
\]

The kingdoms of the world, and all their glory.

The Poet in the preceding Book had displayed at large the military power of the Parthian empire. In the beginning of this Book he shews and describes Imperial Rome, the "Queen of the Earth," in all her magnificence of splendor and pride of power; and introduces the rest of the world as subject to her, doing homage to her greatness, and suing to her with embassies. Thus admirably has he depicted "the kingdoms of the world, and all their

C c 2

"glory,"
The kingdoms of the world, and all their glory.
This emperor hath no son, and now is old,
Old and lascivious, and from Rome retir'd
To Capreae, an island small, but strong,
On the Campanian shore, with purpose there

"glory," in the great and principal empire of the
Heathen world: very judiciously also and with con-
siderable effect has he wound up his extended and
highly finished description, by recurring to the brief
account in scripture of the Devil shewing our Lord
all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them.
Mat. iv.

90. This emperor hath no son, &c.—]
The accuracy and historical correctness, with
which the character of Tiberius is here drawn, is
well worth noticing.—It is mentioned by Dion
Cassius, that when there ceased to be any immediate
successor fit to undertake the government, the con-
duct of the emperor, which had till that time been
eminent and exemplary, was so changed as to become
the very reverse of what it had before been. Tac.
dicit que on the continent, eis, eis, et to the nation to the
place of, a residence of, territory of, what territory of,
that territory of. Liv. It is also said of him by Tacitus, that
in the ninth year of his government, in which year
Drusus died, he began to assume that conduct for
which our Poet justly brands him as a "monster;"
—"cæpit suavire ipse, aut saevientibus vires pra-
"here." ANNA. iv. i.

60. This emperor hath no son, &c.—]
Old and lascivious, and from Rome retir'd
To Capreae.—]
The retreat of Tiberius to Capreae was in the
year of Rome 780, being the thirteenth of his
reign, and the sixty-eighth of his age. This was
the twenty-seventh year of the Christian Æra, so
that at the time our Poet is speaking of him, he
was more than seventy. That his vices encreased
with his age, or at least that he more openly indulged them, we learn from Tacitus, who in the
conclusion of his character says, "postremo in

"sclera simul ac dedecora prorupit, postquæ,
remoto pudore et metu, suo tantum ingenio
utebatur." ANNA. vi. 51.—And Suetonius,
describing some of his "horrid lusts," says,
"prörtere saner ad id genus libidinis, et natura,
et ætate." C. 44.

90. —— an island small but strong
On the Campanian shore.—]
Suetonius thus describes Capreae.—"Capreae
se contulit: praecipe deleictus insula, quod
uno parvoque littore adiretur, septa undique
præruptis immensoe altitudinis rupibus, et pro-
fundò maris." Vit. Tiber. C. 40.—And
Tacitus, "Capreas se in insulam addidit, trium
millium ferro ab extremis Surrentini promon-
torii disjunctam. Solitudinem ejus placuisse
maxime crediderim, quoniam importuosum circa
mare, et vix medicis navigiis paca subsidia;
neque adpulerit quisquam, nisi gnaro custode." ANNA. iv. 67.

93. —— with purpose there
His horrid lusts in private to enjoy,}
Suetonius, C. 42, describing Tiberius in the
island of Capreae, says;—"secreti licentiam
naïcis, quasi civitatis oculis remotus, cuncta
simul vitia, male diu dissimulata, tandem pro-
fudit." And in the following chapter he proceeds
to describe the arcane libidines of this monster.—
Tacitus also describes him when he had once quitted
Capreae to go to Rome, returning immediately to
his retreat, and his "horrid lusts."—Saxa rursum
et solitudinem maris repetit, pudore sceletum et
libidinum; quibus adeo indomitus exarserit, &c.—
ANNA. vi. 1. And he had before described him
on his first retiring to Capreae, "quanto intentus
"olim
His horrid lusts in private to enjoy;
Committing to a wicked favorite
All public cares, and yet of him suspicious;
Hated of all, and hating. With what ease,

"olim in publicas euras, tanto occultos in luxus,
et malum otium resolutus." iv. 67.

95. Committing to a wicked favorite
All public cares,—]

Tiberius's total neglect of all "public cares," after his retreat to Caprea, is particularly specified by Suetonius. "Regressus in insulam, Reipublicæ quidem euram usque adeo abjecit, ut postea non decarius equitum unquam supeírit; non tribunos militum praefectosque, non provinciarum praesides ullos mutaverit; Hispaniam et Syriam per aliquot annos sine consularibus legatis habuerit, &c." C. 41.—The character of his "wicked favorite," Sejanus, is thus drawn by Tacitus. "Corpus illi laborum tolerans, animus audax; sui obtegens, in alios criminato; juxta adulatio et superbia; palam compositus pudor, intus summa adipiscendi libido; eujusque causa, modo largitio et luxus, sepuit industria ac vigilientia, hand minus novius, quotiens parando regno finguntur." ANNAI. iv. 1.—The power and authority of Sejanus, under the unbounded favor and compliance of the emperor, is related by the same historian.— "inipere paulatim militares animos, adeundo, appellando; simul centuriones ac tribunos ipse deligere: neque senatorio ambitio abstinebat, clientes suos honoribus aut provinciis ornando, facili Tiberio atque ita prono ut socium laborum, non modo in sermonibus, sed apud patres et populum celebraret, colique per theatra et fora effigies ejus, interque principia legionum sitaer." C. 1.—His authority is described, after the retreat of Tiberius, to have been still increased: it is also intimated that his wickedness was less concealed. The historian, speaking of the consulship, adds, "ad quem non, nisi per Sejanum, aditus: neque Sejani voluntas, nisi scelere qua rebatur." ANNAI. iv. 68.—It may be ob-

served that a very different character of Sejanus is given by Velleius Paternulus, who terms him singularem principium onerum adjutorem. But it must be recollected that it was written, when Sejanus was in the height of his power. Tacitus particularly specifies, as a reason of his own undertaking to develope the history of this period, the false and flattering histories of Tiberius and his successors, which were written by persons immediately contemporary with them, and therefore afraid to speak the truth. "Tiberii Caïque, Claudii ac Neronis res, florentibus ipsis, ob metum falsæ compositæ sunt." ANNAI. i. 1.

96. and yet of him suspicious.]

Tacitus speaks of Tiberius as in a certain degree restraining and concealing the ferocity of his disposition, "dum Sejanum dilexit, timuitve." ANNAI. vi. 51.—Suetonius also notices his suspicions of Sejanus, where he charges the emperor himself with having put to death the two sons of Germanicus;—"quorum ipse alterum suspecto jam, alterum oppresso demum Sejano, interemit." 61.—The natural disposition of Tiberius to suspicion, immediately on his accession to the government, is strongly depicted in a passage of Tacitus, respecting the death of L. Arruntius;—"nulla vetus in Arruntium ira; sed divitem, promptum, artibus egregiis, et pari famâ publice, spectatbat." ANNAI. i. 13.—His hatred and suspicion of many person, at the time when he quitted Rome, are particularly mentioned by Seneca, where he speaks of the confidence which both Augustus and Tiberius placed in L. Piso. —"Huie et Divus Augustus dedit secreta mandata, cum illum praeponebat Thraexius, quam perdonuit; et Tiberius proficiscens in Campaniam, cum multa in urbe suspects relinqueret et invisib." EPIST. lxxxiii.

97. Hated of all, and hating;—]
Induced with regal virtues as thou art,
Appearing, and beginning noble deeds,
Might'st thou expel this monster from his throne,
Now made a stye, and, in his place ascending,
A victor people free from servile yoke!
And with my help thou may'st; to me the power
Is given, and by that right I give it thee.
Aim therefore at no less than all the world;
Aim at the highest: without the highest attain'd,
Will be for thee no sitting, or not long,
On David's throne, be prophecy'd what will.
To whom the Son of God unmov'd reply'd.
Nor doth this grandeur and majestic show
Of luxury, though call'd magnificence,
More than of arms before, allure mine eye,
Much less my mind; though thou should'st add to tell

Such was the general detestation in which Tiberius was held at last, that the Pardhan king, Artabanus, wrote letters to him enumerating the various abominable crimes of which he had been guilty, and advising him that by putting an end to himself, "maximo justissimoque civium odio quam primum satisfaceret." Sueton. Vit. Tiber. 66. And that his own resentments and suspicions of others, were equal to their detestation of him, may be collected from Suetonius, who says, "Quam vero inter haec non modo invisus ae detestabilis, sed praetrepidus quoque, atque obnoxius vixerit, multa indicia sunt." 63.

Thus Cicero, speaking of Catiline; "nulla jam pernicies a monstro illo atque prodigio mo-

"nibus ipsis intra maenia comparabitur." 2. In Catilin. i.

101. Now made a stye,—]
Cicero, in his Oration In Pisonem, S. 16, addresses Piso by the title of "Epuricr nostrer, "Ex hara producte,"—

Thus also, Comus, 76;
To roll with pleasure in a sensual style.

103. ——— to me the power
Is given, and by that right I give it thee.

All this power will I give thee, and the glory of them; for that is delivered unto me, and to whomsoever I will I give it. Luke, iv. 6.

Their
Their sumptuous gluttonies, and gorgeous feasts
On citron tables or Atlantic stone,
(For I have also heard, perhaps have read,
Their wines of Setia, Cales, and Falerne,

114. Their sumptuous gluttonies, and gorgeous feasts,]
The poet had here perhaps in his mind the account given by Suetonius, C. 13. of the sumptuous gluttonies of Vitellius, or the immense sums expended in this way by the famous Apicius; of whom Seneca says, "cujus exitum nosse, opera pretium est. Cum sesterium millies in culinam congesisset, cum tor congiaria principum, et ingens Capitolii vestigal singulis commissatis onibus exsorsisset; ade alenio oppressus, rationes suas tune primum inspexit. Superfuturum sibi sestertium centes," (upwards of eighty thousand pounds of our money,) "computavit; et velut in ultima fame victurus, si in sestertio centes vixisset, veneno vitam finivit." De Consolat. Ad Helv. C. 10. --- The gorgeousness of the Roman feasts is thus described by a poet of the Augustan age;

Trichinia templis
Concertant; teftique auro jam vescimur aurum.
Manlius, L. v. 507.

115. On citron tables or Atlantic stone,]
Tables made of citron wood were in such request among the Romans, that Pliny calls it mensaram insania. They were beautifully veneered and spotted. See his account of them, Lib. xiii. Sect. 29. I do not find that the Atlantic stone or marble was so celebrated: the Numidicus lapis and Numidicum marmor are often mentioned in Roman authors.

Newton.

Among Cicero's charges against Verres, we find the following; "Tu maximam et pulcher-riman mensam citram a Q. Lutatio Dio- doro, qui Q. Catuli beneficiis a L. Sullà civis Romanus factus est, omnibus scientiibus Lilybeï abtulisti." —This citron wood, which grew upon Mount Atlas in Mauritania, was held by the Romans equally valuable with gold, if not superior to it. Hence Martial, L. xiv. Ep. lxxix.

Accipe felices, Atlantica munera, sylvas
• Aurea qui dederit, dona minora dabit.

And Varro, De R. R. iii. 2. "Nuncubi hic "vides citrum, aut aurum."

Citron tables are mentioned by Lucan in his description of the gorgeous feast given by Cleopatra to Casar.

Dentibus hic niveis sectos Atlantide sylva
Imposuere orbes; quales ad Caesaris ora
Nec capto venere Jubal.

Pharsal. x. 144.

Milton, I should suppose, did not mean to celebrate any marble under the name of "Atlantic stone." Indeed it does not appear that the Romans ever used marble for tables. Atlantic must therefore have a reference to this citron wood, which is said to have grown nowhere but upon Mount Atlas. It might perhaps be called "Atlantic marble" or "stone," from its marble-like appearance; being curiously veined and spotted.

117. Their wines of Setia, Cales, and Falerne,]
These were three of the most famous Campanian wines among the Romans. Pliny, speaking of Campania, says, "Hinc felix illa Campania est. "Ab hoc sinu incipient vitiferi colles, et remu- lantia nobilis succo per omnes terras inclyto : "atque, (ut veteres dixerent, summu Liberi Patris "cum Cerere certamen. Hinc Setini et Caecub, "obtenduntur agri. His junguntur Falerni, "Caleni." —Hist. Nat. iii. 5.

The Falernian was commonly considered as their prime wine. Hence Virgil, Georg. ii. 96.

— nec cellis iodo contende Falernis.

And Tibullus, speaking of the Falernian district, terms it

Bacchi cura, Falernus ager.
L. i. Ep. 9.

And Varro, De R. R.—i. 2; — "Quod far "conferam Campano? Quod triticum Appulo? "Quod
Chios, and Crete, and how they quaff in gold, Crystal, and myrrhine cups, imboss’d with gems

"Quod vinum Falerno? Quod oleum Venetum, natrio?"

Setine wine, according to Pliny, was the favorite wine of Augustus. "Divus Augustus Setinum praetulit cunctis." xiv. 6.—Martial speaks of Setia, now Sestia, famous for its wine, and its situation on the brow of a hill;

Setinae Pompeius quae spectat Setia campos
Exiguè vetulos misit ad urbem Cados.

L. xiii. Ep. 112.

Nec quae paludes delicta Pompeius
Ex arce clivi spectat uva Setinae.

L. x. Ep. 74.

The same poet seems to put the Setine wine upon a footing with the Falernian;

Ebia Sestina sit sepe, et sepe Falerno.


Pliny calls the principal town of the ager Calenus, Cales and Cale, viii. 513.—xii. 525. Virgil and Horace write it Cales. The latter, in an Ode addressed to the former, speaks of the Calenian wine, as a wine of value;

Sed pressum Calibus ducere Liberum
Si gestis.


In another Ode, where he invites Maecenas to visit him, he speaks of it jointly with the Cæcumum, but seems to consider it as inferior to the Falernum, which he tells his patron that his cellars do not afford.

Cæcumum et praefato domitam Cales
Tu bibes avam. Mea nec Falerna
Temperant vites, neque Formiani
Pocula colles.

1 Ode, xx. 9.

And yet Pliny, having noticed the Cæcumum, as a most generous and celebrated wine, and proceeding to speak of the Falernian, says, "Secunda "nobilitas Falerno agro crat." Nat. Hist. xiv. 6.

—Horace, 1 Ode, xxxi. 9. speaks of the Calenian wine as a luxury of the highest kind.

Pliny, speaking of the wines imported into Italy, says, "in summâ gloria fuerunt Thasium Chia, "unique. Ex Chio quod Arvissum vocant." xiv. 7. And Virgil, Eccl. v. 71.

Vina notum fundam calathis Arvissia nectar.

Silius Italicus likewise terms it

—Ambrosius Arvisia pociis succis.

Strabo describes the country of Arvissium as producing the best of all the Greek wines. "H Arvissia chata orion apertur faciesa tur" Hellanisk. L. xiii.

Horace places the Chian among the rich wines in the miser’s cellar;

—possis intus Chie veterisque Falerni
Mille cadis,

2 Satir. iii. 115.

He likewise alludes to the high estimation in which this wine was held, L. 3. Ode xix. 5.

Quo Chiem pretio cadum
Mericum,

The wines of Crete are joined with those of Chios or Scio, by Tasso. Gierusalem. Lib. i. 78.

Genni sola de Greci à lui sol mixta,
E Scio piopasa gli viendemmi, è Creta.

The isles of Greece sent in provisions meet,
And store of wine from Scios came and Crete.

Fairfax.

Cretan wine is mentioned, together with the Chian and other celebrated wines of Greece, by Aelian; Var. Hist. xii. 31.—Solinus, in his description of Crete, C. 17, says, "larga vitis; "mira soli indulgentia."—Martial celebrates the pasum, made at Gnossus, a city of Crete;

Gnossia Minoe genuit vinifera Creta.


Juvenal speaks of it as a rich wine;

—Pinguæ antique de litore Crete
Pasum,

xiv. 270.

The vinum pasum was made of grapes that were nearly dried. See Pliny, xiv. 9. Colum. xii. 16.

—how they quaff in gold,

Crystal,
And studs of pearl; to me should'st tell, who thirst
And hunger still. Then embassies thou show'st
From nations far and nigh: what honour that,

Crystal and myrrhine cups imbos'd with gems
And studs of pearl,—]

Crystal and myrrhine cups are often joined together by ancient authors. “Murrhino et crystal-
“lina ex eadem terra effodimus, quibus pretium
“facercet ipsa fragilitas. Hoc argumentum opum,
“hac vera luxuriae gloria existimata est, habere
“quod posset statim totum perire.” Plin. Lib. xxxiii. Proem. We see that Pliny reckons myrr-
bine cups among fossils; Scaliger, Salmasius, and others, contend from this verse of Propertius, iv. 26.

Murrhaque in Farnish pocula cosct socia,
that they were like our porcelain: but if they were
so very fragil as they are represented to be, it
is not easy to conceive how they could be imbos'd
with gems and studs of pearl. I suppose our author
asserted it from the words immediately following
in Pliny: “Nec hoc fuit satis: tursa gemmarum
“potamus, et smaragdis teoximus calices: ac temu-
“rentic causa teniand Indiam juvat: et aurum jam
“accessio est.” Or perhaps the words, imbos'd with
gems, &c., refer only to gold first mentioned, which
is no unusual construction. They quaff in gold im-
bos'd with gems and studs of pearl. Newton.

Crystal and myrrhine cups are mentioned together by Juvenal;

Grandia tollantur crystallina, maxima furris
Myrrhina,

And by Statius, 3 Sylv. iv. 57.

— hic pocula magnio
Prima duci, myrrhasque gracis crystallaque
point.

Thus also Martial;

Opianium mortonis neflar
Crystallinique myrrhinique propinat.

For the great price given for these cups, see
Meursius De Luxu Romanorum, C. 8.
The myrrhine cups seem to have been considered
as gems, and are described as such by some of the
ancient writers. Thus Seneca, De Benefic. vii. 9.,
in a passage where he had just mentioned the luxury
of citron tables, and crystalline cups; “Video
“myrrhina poca: parum &c: licet luxuria
“magno furit, nisi, quod vomant, capabilus
“gemmis inter se propinarent.” — The large
vases shewn in different parts of Italy, as being
onyx, agate, &c. are by many people supposed of
this myrrhine kind. See Mr. Holdsworth, on Vir-
gil’s Ut gemma bibat, &c. Georg. ii. 506. — But
in his unfinished vocabulary, at the end of the last
edition of his work, he considers the myrrhine as
a sort of porcelain. — That the ancients “quaff’d
in gold emboss’d with gems, &c.” appears from
numberless passages of their writers. Thus Cicero;
“Exponit suas copias omnes, multum argentum,
“non paucu etiam poca ex auro, quae, ut
“mos est regius, et maxime in Syria, gemmis
“erant distincta clarissimis.” In Ver-
rem. iv. 27. — Virgil also thus describes a bowl
or goblet;

Hinc regina gravem gemmis auroque proposcit
Implievitque mero pateram,

Aen. i. 728.

Silius Italicus speaks of

Argento fulgentia poca, mina
Quae gemma quxsitus honos,

Aen. vi. 661.

And Juvenal says,

Nulla aconita bibuntur
Fidilibus; tum illa, cum poca sumes
Gemmatum, et late Selinum ardezit in auro.

Sat. x. 27.

It appears, from the same satyrist, that the Romans
were sometimes suspicious their guests might rob
these rich cups of some of their valuable orna-
ments;

Tibi non committit aurum:
Vel, si quando datur, custos affixus ibidem,
Qui numeret gemmas, angueque observet acutos.

Sat. v. 39

But
But tedious waste of time, to sit and hear
So many hollow compliments and lies,
Outlandish flatteries? Then proceed'st to talk
Of the emperor, how easily subdued,
How gloriously: I shall, thou say'st, expel
A brutish monster; what if I withal
Expel a Devil who first made him such?
Let his tormenter conscience find him out;
For him I was not sent; nor yet to free
That people, victor once, now vile and base;
Deservedly made vassal; who, once just,
Frugal, and mild, and temperate, conquer'd well,
But govern ill the nations under yoke.
Peeling their provinces, exhausted all

124. So many hollow compliments and lies,
Outlandish flatteries?—
Possibly not without an allusion to the congratulatory embassies on the Restoration.

125. Let his tormenter conscience find him out;
This expression might be suggested by the well-known answer of Tiberius, at a time when his conduct was consistent with it. Being urged by some provincial governors to require an increase of tribute from the subject provinces, he replied, that "a good shepherd would be content to "sheer his sheep without flaying them."—*boni pastoris esse tondere pecus, non decludere.* Sueton. Tiber. C. 32.—or, as reported by Dion Cassius, Ivi. *κυτσθεια, μη τα προβατα, ολλει αν ΑΠΟΕΤΡΕΘΟΑΙ, βουλμαι.* "I would sheer my sheep, but not to the "quick."

126. Peeling their provinces,—
The rapine, by which the provinces subject to the Romans were drained and exhausted, was most notorious. The exactions of Verres in Sicily were estimated...
By lust and rape; first ambitious grown
Of triumph, that insulting vanity,
estimated by Cicero at a sum exceeding three
hundred thousand pounds of our money. The op-
pression of the Asiatic provinces, by the Roman
proconsul and tax-gatherers, is particularly com-
plained of in a speech of Mithridates, in Justin,
where it is said, “Adeo illis odium Romanorum
“incussit rapiatas proconsulum, sectio
“publicanorum,” Justin, L. xxxviii. C. 7.—
Cicero, in his Oration De Provinciis Consul-
rebus, brings many severe accusations of this kind
against L. Piso and A. Gabinius, at that time
proconsul in Macedonia and Syria.—Against the
former of these, to the charge of rapi aure,
joined first vestigal sum hidinem particularly
Achaia turpitudinesque said, Epirus
fota ambums must Athene,
“in quid Piso evertisti cides
Omitto
thus
Oration,
Cicero,
estimated
RiBus,
explained
pression
BOOK
nisi
bidines
esse
provinciarum vastitates,
cisiones, dirceptionis, latrocinia, coderis, &c.”
C.iv.—And afterwards, joining them both to-
gether, he terms them, “has dupleces pestes so-
ciorum, mittium clades, publicanorum ruinas,
“provinciarum vastitates, impetii maculas.” C. vi.
—In the Oration likewise, In L. Pisonem, he
thus sums up the abominable conduct of Piso in
his consulship, principally towards the provinces:
“Achaia exhausta, Thessalia vexata, lacerata
“Athena, Dyrachium et Apollonia extinuit,
“Ambracia direpta, Parthini et Bullenses illusi,
“Epirus excisa, Locri, Phocii, Bazzii exsuci, Aca-
nania, Amphilochia, Perusiae Athamanumque
gens vendita, Macedonia condonata Barbaris,
“Aetolia amissa, Dolopes finitimique montani op-
pildis atque agris exstirpatis, civis Romani, qui
in suis locis negotiantur, te unum solum sumum de-
peculatores, vexatores, pradonem, hoste, ven-
nisse senserunt.” C. 40.—In this Oration also
the charges of lust and rape are again jointly
brought against Piso,—“evertisti miseras fun-
ditus civitates, quæ non solum bonis sunt ex-
hausta, sed etiam nefarias libidinum contumelias
turpitudinesque subierunt.” C. xxxv.—Some
parts of these two Orations, which abound in
charges of this double kind, were probably in
Milton’s recollection.—It must however be ob-
erved that libido is often used by Latin authors
to signify any violent passion, and particularly that
of gain and plunder. Thus Cicero, in his Oration
De Lege Agraria, C. xx. “O libidinem
“refrenandam!” where Turnebus observes, “li-
bidinem cum dicis, cupiditatem, aviditatem denique
intelligi.”
Our poet seems to have had this sense of libido
in his mind, in his Paradise Lost, iv. 194;
So since into his church lawd hirelings climb.
137. ——— ambitious grownt
Of triumph, that insulting vanity:—]
“Quid tandem habet iste currus? quid vincli
“ante currum duces? quid simulacra oppidorum?
“quid aurum? quid argentum? quid legati in
equis et tribuni? quod clarum militum? quid
tota illa pompa? inania sunt ista, mihi
crede, deletamenta pance puero, captare
plausus, vehi per urbem, consipiec valle, quibus
ex rebus nihil est quod solidum tenere; nihil
quod referre ad voluptatem corporis possis.”
Cicero, In L. Pison. C. 25,
Then cruel, by their sports to blood inur'd
Of fighting beasts, and men to beasts expos'd;
Luxurious by their wealth, and greedier still,
And from the daily scene effeminate.

What wise and valiant man would seek to free

The connection of luxury, cruelty, and effeminacy, has been often remarked in all ages. Athenæus notices the cruelty of the people of Miletus as connected with their luxury; and, speaking of some Scythian nations, he describes them advancing in cruelty, in proportion as they plunged themselves in luxury and effeminacy, καὶ περίπτωσιν τοῦ ΤΡΙΦΑΔΕΟ ἐπιστρατεύοντας εἰς τοὺς προδότας ὑβρίσκων, καὶ πεντεκάσχος οἱ ἄμβοτοι εἰς οἱ ἐπικεφαλής περιτριχόν τις πετοῦ. p. 525. Ed. Causab.—The Ionians are described by the same author as "devoid of philanthropy, cheerfulness, " and even natural affection, and shewing upon all " occasions a disposition of the most unfeeling " kind;" and at the same time he notices "their " habits of luxury and effeminacy," εἰς λιθίσι ἐπικεφαλῆς. p. 625.—Tacitus connects luxury and cruelty together in the character of Otho. Having spoken of Vitellius as "ventre et gula sibi ipsi " hostis," he adds, "Otho, LUXV, SÆVITIA, " audacia, república exitiosis dacceur." Hist. ii. 31.—The effeminacy of the Romans, as luxury advanced, became a subject of complaint and censure to all their moralists and historians. "Mira mar," says Columella, "gestus effeminati- "orum, quod a naturâ sexum viris denegatum "nulliebri matu mentiantur, decipiantque oculos "spectantium." L. i.—Nero assumed the dress and behaviour of a woman, and was actually several times married, with much ostentation of the nuptial rites, to several of his minions. Elagabalus imitated his example in this, and in other disgraceful instances. Milton probably alluded to some of these circumstances in the Roman history.
These, thus degenerate, by themselves inslav'd?  
Or could of inward slaves make outward free?  
Know therefore, when my season comes to sit  
On David's throne, it shall be like a tree  
Spreading and overshadowing all the earth;  
Or as a stone, that shall to pieces dash  
All monarchies besides throughout the world;  
And of my kingdom there shall be no end:  
Means there shall be to this; but what the means,  
Is not for thee to know, nor me to tell.

"reserve. Men are qualified to receive this blessing,  
"only in proportion as they are made to apprehend  
"their own rights, and are made to respect the  
"just pretensions of mankind; in proportion as  
"they are willing to sustain in their own persons  
"the burthen of government and of national de-  

fence, and to prefer the engagements of a liberal  
"mind to the enjoyments of sloth, and the delusive  
"hopes of a safety purchased by submission and  
"fear."—Ferguson on Civil Society, P. 6. S. 5.  

145. Or could of inward slaves make outward free?)  
This noble sentiment Milton explains more fully,  
and expresses more diffusively, in his Paradise  
Lost, xii. 90.  

— therefore since he permits  
Within himself unworthy pow'rs to reign  
Over free reason, God in judgment just  
Subjests him from without to violent lords; &c.  

So also again, in his xith Sonnet,  
Licence they mean, when they cry Liberty;  
For who loves that, must first be wise and  

good.

No one had ever more refined notions of true  
liberty than Milton, and I have often thought that  
there never was a greater proof of the weakness of  
human nature, than that he, with a head so clear,
To whom the Tempter impudent reply'd.
I see all offers made by me how slight
Thou valuest, because offer'd, and reject'st:
Nothing will please the difficult and nice,
Or nothing more than still to contradict:
On the other side know also thou, that I
On what I offer set as high esteem,
Nor what I part with mean to give for naught;
All these, which in a moment thou behold'st,
The kingdoms of the world, to thee I give,
(For, given to me, I give to whom I please,)
No trifle; yet with this reserve, not else,
On this condition, if thou wilt fall down,

165. On this condition, if thou wilt fall down,
And worship me, as thy superior lord.]

In my opinion, (and Mr. Thyer concurs with me in the observation,) there is nothing in the disposition and conduct of the whole poem so justly liable to censure, as the awkward and preposterous introduction of this incident in this place. The Tempter should have proposed the condition at the same time that he offered the gifts, as he doth in scripture; but after his gifts had been absolutely refused, to what purpose was it to propose the impious condition? Could he imagine that our Saviour would accept the kingdoms of the world upon the abominable terms of falling down and worshiping him, just after he had rejected them unclogged with any terms at all? Well might the author say that Satan impudent replied; but that doth not solve the objection.

I differ entirely from Bp. Newton and his very able coadjutor, respecting this part of the poem. The management of the poet seems so far from objectionable, that I conceive this passage to be a striking instance of his great judgment in arranging his work, as well as of his great skill in decorating it. — The conduct and demeanour of Satan had hitherto been artfully plausible, and such as seemed most likely to forward his designs. At the beginning of this Book, after repeated defeats, he is described desperate of success, and "flung from his hope;" but still he proceeds.
And worship me as thy superior lord,
(Easily done,) and hold them all of me;
For what can less so great a gift deserve?
Whom thus our Saviour answer'd with disdain.
I never lik'd thy talk, thy offers less;
Now both abhor, since thou hast dar'd to utter
The abominable terms, impious condition:
But I indure the time, till which expir'd
Thou hast permission on me. It is written,
The first of all commandments, Thou shalt worship
The Lord thy God, and only him shalt serve;
And dar'st thou to the Son of God propound
To worship thee accurs'd? now more accurs'd
For this attempt, bolder than that on Eve.

Upon his next attack failing, the paroxysm of his
desperation rises to such a height, that he is com-
pletely thrown off his guard, and at once betrays
himself and his purpose, by bringing forward, with
the most intemperate indiscretion, those abominable
terms, which, could it have been possible for his
temptations to have succeeded, we may imagine
were intended in the end to have been proposed
to our Lord. This then is the αναγνώσεως, or full
discovery who Satan really was; for it must be
observed, that though Jesus in the first Book
(Ver. 356.) had declared that he knew the
Tempter through his disguise, still the Temptation
proceeds in the same manner as if he had not
known him: at least our Lord's conduct is not
represented as influenced by any suspicion of an
insidious adversary.—As to proposing the condition
together with the gifts; this I conceive could not
be done without changing the whole plan of the
poem, as by pushing the question immediately to
a point, it must have precluded the gradually pro-
gressive temptations which the poet so finely brings
forward.—It might perhaps have been wished
that the circumstance of Satan's betraying himself
and his purpose, under the irritation of defeat and
desperation, had been kept back till the subsequent
temptation, in the highly-finished description of
Athens with all its pride of learning and philo-
osophy, had been tried, and had also failed. But
the apologetic speech of Satan (Ver. 196.), in
which he recovers himself from his intemperate
impetuousity, and repairs the indiscretion of his
present violent irritation, so far as to pave the way
for another temptation, is not only marked with
such singular art and address as is truly admirable,
but it likewise gives a material variety and relief
to this part of the poem; which I cannot wish to
have been in any respect different from what it is;
as I do not conceive that even Milton himself could
have improved it.
And more blasphemous; which expect to rue.
The kingdoms of the world to thee were given?
Permitted rather, and by thee usurp'd;
Other donation none thou canst produce.
If given, by whom but by the king of kings,
God over all supreme? If given to thee,
By thee how fairly is the giver now
Repaid! But gratitude in thee is lost
Long since. Wert thou so void of fear or shame,
As offer them to me, the son of God?
To me my own, on such abhorred pact,
That I fall down and worship thee as God?
Get thee behind me; plain thou now appear'st
That evil one, Satan for ever damn'd.
To whom the Fiend, with fear abash'd, reply'd.

Be not so sore offended, Son of God,
Though sons of God both Angels are and Men,
If I, to try-whether in higher sort
Than these thou bear'st that title, have propos'd
What both from Men and Angels I receive,
Tetrarchs of fire, air, flood, and on the earth,

185. the king of kings, 
   God over all supreme?—
   who is the blessed and only potentate, the 
   king of kings, and lord of lords. 1 Tim. 
   vi. 15.
   who is over all, God blessed for ever. 
   Romans, ix. 5.

188. But gratitude in thee is lost 
    Long since.—] Milton had made Satan declare "long" before,
    all good to me is lost;
    Evil be thou my good! ——
   Paradise Lost, iv. 169.
199. have propos'd 
    What both from Men and Angels I receive, &c.]
   The terms of worship and vassalage. See Ver. 166.
   supra. 
201. Tetrarchs of fire, air, flood, and on the earth]
Nations beside from all the quarter'd winds,
God of this world invok'd, and world beneath:
Who then thou art, whose coming is foretold
To me most fatal, me it most concerns;
The trial hath indamag'd thee no way,
Rather more honor left and more esteem;
Me naught advantag'd, missing what I aim'd.
Therefore let pass, as they are transitory,
The kingdoms of this world; I shall no more
Advise thee; gain them as thou canst, or not.

The arch-fiend here means to prove the extent
of his dominion, and his pretensions to the name
and power of a God, from the homage paid him
by Demons of every supposed order and descrip-
tion:

those Demons that are found,
In fire, air, flood, or under ground,

Penseroso. 93.

It is, says Mr. Warton, one of the visions of
Thomas Aquinas, that God permitted some of the
fallen angels, less guilty than the rest, in their
descent or precipitation from heaven, to remain in
the air, fire, water, and earth, till the day of Judg-
ment. Drayton, speaking of evil spirits, has the
same doctrine;

Some earthly mixtures take, as others which aspire,
Them subtler shapes resume, of water, air, and fire;
Being those immortals long before the heaven, that fell,
Whose deprivation thence determined their hell.

The Spirits in Tasso, which the Necromancer
summons to take possession of the enchanted forest,
are invoked as fallen angels, who controul the dif-
ferent elements which they inhabit;

Udite, udite o voi che da le stelle
Precipitar gia i folgari tonanti;
Si voi che le tempesti e le procelle
Movete, habitator de l'aria erranti, &c.—

Gibr. Lib. C. xiii. 7.

Hear, hear, you Spirits all that whilom fell,
Cast down from Heaven with dint of roaring thunder;
Hear you, amid the empty air that dwell,
And storms and showers pour on these kingdoms under;

Fairfax.

And in the first part of Shakespeare's Hen. VI.
Joan la Pucelle summons her Spirits, or Demons,
and addresses them by the titles of

familiar Spirits, that are call'd
Out of the powerful regions under earth;

and of

speedy helpers, that are substitutes
Under the lordly monarch of the north,
i.e. under Satan himself.—See Mr. Warton's long,
but very curious, note, already referred to, on the
Penseroso.

203. God of this world invok'd—

Milton pursues the same notion which he had
adopted in his Paradise Lost, of the Gods of the
Gentiles being the fallen Angels, and he is sup-
ported in it by the authority of the primitive
fathers, who are very unanimous in accusing the
heathens of worshipping devils for deities. Thyer.

The devil, in scripture, is termed the God of this
world. 2 Cor. iv. 4.
And thou thyself seem'st otherwise inclin'd
Than to a worldly crown; addicted more
To contemplation and profound dispute,
As by that early action may be judg'd,
When, slipping from thy mother's eye, thou went'st
Alone into the temple, there wast found
Among the gravest Rabbies, disputant
On points and questions fitting Moses' chair,
Teaching, not taught. The childhood shews the man,
As morning shews the day: be famous then
By wisdom; as thy empire must extend,
So let extend thy mind o'er all the world
In knowledge, all things in it comprehend.
All knowledge is not couch'd in Moses' law,

Moses' chair was the chair in which the doctors
sitting expounded the law either publicly to the people, or privately to their disciples. The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses chair, ἐπὶ τοὺς Μωσαίους καθήκοντος, Mat. xxxiii. 2. Newton.

The childhood shews the man,
As morning shews the day:
Thus Ben Jonson, in his verses to Susan Countess of Montgomery;
Were they that nam'd you prophets? Did they say,
Evn in the dew of grace, what you would be?

Alluding to St. Matthew, xvi. 3:—And in the
morning, it will be foul weather to-day; for the sky is red.

Wc are now come to the last temptation properly
so called; and it is worth the reader's while to ob-
serve how well Satan has pursued the scheme which
he had proposed in council, ii. 225.

Therefore with manlier objects we must try
His constancy; with such as have more shew
Of worth, of honor, glory, and popular praise.

The gradation also in the several allurements pro-
posed is very fine; and I believe one may justly say,
that there never was a more exalted system of mo-
rality comprized in so short a compass. Never were
the arguments for vice dressed up in more delusive
colours, nor were they ever answered with more
solidity of thought, or acuteness of reasoning.

Thyer.
The
The Pentateuch, or what the Prophets wrote;
The Gentiles also know, and write, and teach
To admiration, led by nature's light,
And with the Gentiles much thou must converse,
Ruling them by persuasion, as thou mean'st;
Without their learning, how wilt thou with them,
Or they with thee, hold conversation meet?
How wilt thou reason with them, how refute
Their idolisms, traditions, paradoxes?
Error by his own arms is best evinc'd.
Look once more, ere we leave this specular mount,

 Eccles. Dioec. speculatrix in undas
Defecerat,

Specula sublimia ab alta
Non Romana minus servat, quam Punica castra.
Sil. Ital. vii. 521.

Ecclesius Dioecletianus speculatrix in undas Sublimia
Westward, much nearer by southwest, behold;
Where on the Aegaeon shore a city stands,
Built nobly, pure the air, and light the soil;

Paradise Regained.

237. Westward, much nearer by southwest.—]
This might be understood W. by S. that is, one point from west towards southwest; which is nearly the actual position of Athens, with respect to Mount Niphates.—Or it may only mean, that our Lord had no occasion to change his situation on the western side of the mountain (See Ver. 25, of this Book); but only, as the latitude of Athens was four degrees southward of that of Rome, that he must now direct his view so much more toward the southwest, than when he was looking at Rome, which lay nearly due west, or in a small degree northwest, of Mount Niphates.

238. Where on the Aegaeon shore a city stands,]
The following description of Athens, and its learning, is extremely grand and beautiful. Milton's Muse, as was before observed, is too much cramped down by the argumentative cast of his subject, but emerges upon every favorable occasion, and, like the sun from under a cloud, bursts out into the same bright vein of poetry, which shines out more frequently, though not more strongly, in the Paradise Lost.

I cannot persuade myself that our author, when he selected this subject, and formed his plan, considered himself as any ways cramped down by it. I have no doubt that he looked forward with pleasure to the opportunities, which he foresaw it would afford him, of introducing this and other admirable descriptions; and that he was particularly aware of the great effect which the argumentative cast of part of his poem would give to that which is purely descriptive.

239. Built nobly,—]
Homer, speaking of Athens, calls it a well-built city;

'O, .mongodb' "Athenis 1iecfi eivtiqXoiv tpiUinwv.

240. —— pure the air, and light the soil;]
Attica being a mountainous country, the soil was light, and the air sharp and pure; and therefore said to be productive of sharp wits.—των όρον εν αυτη κατιδλωσα, ἐτι φρονεματε, σχιξας αυτιν. Plato in Timaeo. p. 24. Vol. 3. Ed. Serr.

—‘Attinis tenece coelum, ex quo acutiores etiam "putantur Attici."’—Cicero, De Fato, 4.

From the holy streams renown'd.

For its holy streams renown'd.

251. 

The effect of the waters upon the air, he adds, is poetically represented in the same chorus;

Kalivad τ' επι Κηφειαν μινι
Ται Κηπιν κηριαποί αρ-
σαμαν χρας καταπιται
Μετριαι ανεριν

"Επιφιγιαν ale

From Cepheus' amber tide,
At the Cyprian queen's command,
As sing the Muses, are supplied,
To refresh the thirsty land,
Fragrant gales of temperate air.

The strophe of that chorus, from the antistrophe of which the passage just cited by Mr. Calton is given, may also be adduced to show the proverbial pureness and clearness of the air of Attica. The chorus addresses the Athenians;
Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts
And eloquence, native to famous wits

Demosthenes somewhere calls Athens the eye of Greece, ophthalmos; Ἐλαδὸς; but I cannot at present recollect the place. In Justin it is called one of the two eyes of Greece, Sparta being the other, (L. v. C. 8.); and Catullus (xxxii. i.) terms Sirmio the eye of islands;

Peninsularum Sirmio, insularumque

But the metaphor is more properly applied to Athens than any other place, as it was the great seat of learning.

I cannot discover the passage in Demosthenes referred to by Bp. Newton. Thyssius, in a note on Justin, (L. ii. C. 6. Ed. Variorum,) and on a passage of Valerius Maximus, (Ed. Varior. L. i. C. 6. Exempl. Extern. 1.), notices that Athens is mentioned by Demosthenes under this description, the eye of Greece: but no reference is made to the particular passage.—Cicero, in his Oration Pro Lege Manilia, C. v. calls Corinth “totius Græcia lumen,” upon which Hotoman observes, “alludens opinor ad Leptinum dicatum, qui Corinthum alterum Græciae oculum, Athenas alterum appellavit.”—Aristotle, speaking of metaphors, (Rhetoric. L. iii. C. x. S. 3.) cites the passage here alluded to, from a speech of Leptines, in which he conjures the Athenians “that they would not suffer Greece to become “stipillus, deprived of one of her eyes, by the “extinction of Sparta.” It was not therefore Corinth, but Sparta, to which the orator alluded, as being, next to Athens, the ornament of Greece.

The speech must have been spoken on the debate, whether Athens should assist Sparta, when in danger of being over-powered by the Theban league.

The Greek poets frequently used ophthalmos, in a metaphorical sense, for the lustre of superior excellence. The Sun is called, by Aristophanes, the eye of Heaven, ΑΘΕΡΟΣ ΟΜΜΑ, Nuf. 284. And in a fragment of Sappho, in Achilles Tatius, (De Leucip. et Clitoph. L. ii.) that poetess describes the rose as the eye, or paragon, of flowers;—Γείς εις κοσμοι, φίλων υγιαιμα, ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΣ ΑΝΘΕΩΝ.—Findar in his second Olympic Ode, which celebrates the victory of Theron, king of Agrigentum, in the chariot race, speaking of Theron’s ancestors who underwent many difficulties before they could build that city, and settle themselves in it, terms them the eye of Sicily, Σκινεία; ophthalmos.

Καμοίτες οί σκλα Σκινίας,
Τίμων τάχειο οἰκείμενο
Πιττομά, ΣΚΕΛΕΙΑΣ Τ’ ΕΣΑΝ
ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΣ.

A race, long exercit’d in woes,
ERE, smiling o’er her kindred flood,
The mansion of their wish’d respose,
Their sacred city stood;
And through amaz’d Sicilia shone,
The lustre of their fair renown.

Thus also Cicero, In Catilin. iii. C. x.;—
“Superavit postea Cimna cum Mario. Tum vero,
clarissimus viris interfectori, LUMINA CIVITATIS
EXTINCTA SUNT.”—And Velleius Paterculus,
speaking of the defeat of Pompey by Julius Caesar at the battle of Pharsalia, mentions “tantum utriusque exercitus profusum sanguinis, et consilia inter
Or hospitable, in her sweet recess,
City or suburban, studious walks and shades.

"se duo reipublicae capita, effossumque alterum
Romani imperii lumen."

Ben Jonson, in one of his poems, terms Edinburgh
The heart of Scotland, Britain's other eye.

Giles Fletcher, in the dedication of his poems
to Dr. Neville, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge,
having, in the metaphorical style of his time, (which prevailed in prose as much as in verse),
called Europe "the Queen of the World," and
England "the very face and beauty of Europe,"
adds; "And what are the two eyes of this
land, but the two Universities? — — —
And truly I should forget myself, if I should not
call Cambridge the right eye.

242. — mother of arts
And eloquence,—]

Justin, (L. v. C. 9.1) terms Athens "Patria
"communis eloquentiae."—And (L. ii.
C. 6.) he says, "Literæ certe et facundia
"veluti templum Athenas habent."—
Cicero abounds in panegyrics upon this celebrated
seat of learning and eloquence. He describes it
"illas omnium doctrinarum inventrices
"Athenas, in quibus summa dicendi vis et
"inventa est, et perfecta."—De Orator.
L. i. 13. Ed. Prunt.—And in his Brutus,
Seft. 39. he characterises it "ea urbs, in qua et
"nata, et alta, sit eloquentia."—And, Ibid.
Seft. 26, he says, "As Testis est Gracia, quæ cum
"eloquentiae studio sit incensa, jamdique excellat
"in eâ, præstetque catenis, tamen omnes artes ve-
tusiores habet et multo ante non inventas solum,
"sed etiam perfectas, quam hac est a Graecis ela-
"borata dicendi vis atque copia. In quam cum in-
tusor maxime mihi occurrit, Attice, et lucent
"quasi Athenœ tua; quæ in urbe primum
"orator se extulit."—And again, Seft. 49.
speaking of eloquence; "Hoc studium non erat
"commune Gracia, sed proprium Athenas-
"cum." To which may be added a more general
testimony of the same great orator in favour of

Athens, as the Mother of the Arts, and the dis-
tinguishing ornament of Greece. "Adsum Athens,
ienses, unde humanitas, doctrina, religio, fruges,
"jura, leges ortæ, atque in omnes terras distribuite
"putavitur: de quorum urbis possessione, propter
"pulchritudinem etiam inter Deos certamen suisse
"proditum est: * * * * auturitate autem
"tanta est, ut jam fœcundum prope ac debilitatum
"Gracie nomen hujus urbis laude nitatur," Orat.
Pro L. Flacc. 26.——Isocrates also, in his
Panegyric, describes Athens as first "inventing
"those arts which are most necessary to the com-
"fort of life, and afterwards thereon imagining
"those which conduces to the refined pleasures."—
kai me ðe kai tov tækvmov tis ðe προς τινα ἀναγκαία τι
βίν χρήσιμα, και τις προς ύπόνοι μακραχιμακάς, τις
μεν ἑφετα, τις δε δοκιμασας.

242. — hospitable.—]

Diodorus describes the Athenians as "hospi-
"table to wits" of other countries, by admitting
all persons whatever to benefit by the instruction
of the learned teachers in their city; —"την πατρίδα
καινο παιδιστριον παραχωμες πασιν ανβροτα. L. xiii.
C. 27.—The Athenians were remarkable for their
general hospitality towards strangers, to whom their
city was always open, and for whose reception and
accommodation they had particular officers, under
the title of προβιά. The Lacedemonians were at
the same time noted for their εὐνομία, or driving
all strangers away from their city.—The conduct of
the Athenians, as differing in this respect from that
of the Lacedemonians, is particularly noticed by
Pericles, in the speech which he is recorded by
Thucydides to have delivered in commemoration
of his countrymen, who had fallen in battle. The
orator there takes occasion to display the superiority
of the Athenians to the other states then combined
against them in the Peloponnesian war.—"τη
τε γαρ πόλει καινο παραχωμε, και óκ εντο εὐνομίας
απείρων την ραβδωτις τη διαμετρις, Thuc-
cyd.; Hist. ii. C. 39."—"We open our city to
"all
See there the olive grove of Academe,
Plato’s retirement, where the Attic bird

"all persons whatever, and never exclude strangers
either from its places of instruction or enter-
tainment."

244. See there the olive grove &c.—]
A later Bard has well sketched this Athenian
scene;

Guide my feet
Through fair Lyceum’s walk, the olive shades
Of Academus, and the sacred vale
Haunted by steps divine, whose once, beneath
That ever-living plane’s ample boughs,
Ilyssus, by Socratic sounds detain’d,
On his neglected urn attentive lay.

Aksiside, Pleasures of Imagination, i. 715.

The Academy is always described as a woody,
shady place. Diogenes Laertius calls it πραξινός
Academia; and Horace speaks of the Sylvas
Academi, 2 Epist. ii. 45. But Milton distinguishes
it by the particular name of the olive grove of Acade-
deme, because the olive was particularly cultivated
about Athens, being sacred to Minerva the goddess
of the city: he has besides the express authority of
Aristophanes, Nub. 1001.

This whole description of the Academy is in-
finitely charming. Bp. Newton has justly observed
that “Plato’s Academy was never more beautifully
' described.” “Cicero,” he adds, “who has
' laid the scene of one of his dialogues (De Fin.
‘ L. v.) there, and who had been himself on the
' spot, has not painted it in more lively colours.”

Plutarch, in his treatise De exilio, refers to the
three celebrated gymnasia of Athens here noticed
by the poet,—the Academy, the Lyceum, and the
Stoa, or Portico.—Επι της σεφός ιλίδι, και τας
σεφος Αθηνας σχολας και διατριβας, αναπτυχμα τας
ιν Δυναμιν, τας κα Ακαδημιας, τιν Στοιου.——And the
same author, in his Life of Sylla, speaking of the
Academy, (the trees of which he says Sylla cut
down,) describes it to have been more abounding
with trees than any part of the suburbs of Athens,—
ΔΕΝΑΡΟΠΟΡΩΤΑΘΝ ΠΡΑΞΙΝΟΝ.—Milton, in
the conclusion of his Seventh Elegy, transfers
the title of umbrata Academia to his own university,
Cambridge. Cicero, De Divinat. L. i. C. 13.,
speaks of those eminent persons,

Οία ος μεχρι της σεφός διετάων,
Inque Academia umbrifera, notumque Lyceo
Faderunt claras facundis peetoris artes.

It may not be improper here to subjoin some
account, not only of the Academy, but also of the
other public gardens that were the resort of the
learned at Athens. Nor can I better do this than
by the following extract from a very able and pleas-
ing work, to which I have already referred in these
notes.

We know that the philosophers at Athens de-
lighted in the pleasures of a garden, particularly
Epicurus, who made choice of it for his school
of philosophy. This, as well as the garden of
Plato, were situated in the neighbourhood of
the Academy, and were probably but small.

We do not meet with any accounts con-
cerning the manner, or taste, in which these were
arranged,—The scene of Plato’s dialogue on
Beauty is indeed laid in a pleasant spot upon the
banks of the Ilyssus, and under the shade of the
plane-tree; the description of which situation,
however short in Plato, seems to have been
greatly admired, and to have become so trite, as
to be commonly imitated in the prefaces to
philosophical dialogues.—With respect to
the taste and sithe in which the public gardens at
Athens were laid out, our accounts are rather
more particular, though far from distinct. We
are told by Plutarch, that Cimon planted the
Academic Grove, which was before a rude, un-
cultivated spot, and conveyed streams of water to
it, probably for ornament as well as use, and laid

it
Trills her thick-warbled notes the summer long;  
There flowery hill Hymettus, with the sound

it out in shady walks. The trees were partly
olive; and partly of other kinds, as the platane,
and the elm. Those in the Lyceum were prob-
ably plane-trees; at least such were planted
there, as appears from a passage in Theophratus,
quoted by Varro, which refers to the height and
size the trees grew to in that situation. Both
these were destroyed by Sylla, at the siege of
Athens, in the war with Midridates, in order to
supply warlike engines; and these woods are ex-
pressly said by Plutarch to have been selected on
account of their extraordinary size. The destruc-
tion however was but partial, as it is spoken of
as a woody place by Horace, and afterwards
by Pausanias, whose description of it shall
next consider.

The approach to the Academic Grove was
adorned with the temples of gods and tombs of
heroes. Of the former were those of Diana and
Bacchus; among the latter those of Thrasybulus
and Pericles, together with many other illustrious
characters, particularly Conon, Timotheus, and
Chabrias. Many of these tombs were adorned
with statues, columns, and military trophies.

At the entrance was an altar dedicated to Love,
with an inscription, importing that it was the
first raised to that deity by any inhabitant of
Athens.—Within the limits of the Grove stood
the altar of Prometheus, a place celebrated for
the festival or ceremony performed at it. Besides
these were the altars of the Muses and Mercury;
and, farther inwards, those of Hercules and
Minerva. Near these was seen a celebrated
olive-tree, reported to have been the second ever
produced in that country. Near the Academy
stood the monument of Plato; and not far from
these a tower ascribed to Lycon, the celebrated
misanthropic character. Near this stood the
hill, rendered illustrious by Sophocles, as being
the scene of his tragedy of Ædipus Cotenus;
whereon were placed the altars of Neptune and
Minerva, ornamented with equestrian figures of

these deities, together with the tombs of the
heroes of the remotest antiquity, as Piritous,
"Theseus, Ædipus, and Adrastus,"—Falconer's
Historical View of the Taste for Gardening and
Laying-out Grounds among the Nations of Antiquity,
p. 50.

245. Plato's retirement.—]

"Επανδιόμενος ἔτει Αθηναῖς, διητήσας ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ, το
κρατῆσαι ταῖς φωτισμοῖς τοιούτοις, ἀλλὰ ἐπετίθετο ὑπὲρ
σωφροσύνης Ἀκαδήμης, καθαίρειν ἐν Ἀιναυτοῦς
φονίν.

"Εν ὁσοιοι δὲ ἐρμηνεύει Ἀκαδήμης ἂν,

— καὶ ἐπάθος ἐν τῇ Ἀκαδήμῃ, ὕπα τοῖς πλαστοῖς
χρεών ὁμοίως μετὰ τοῦ πολιτικοῦ
στοιχείον ἤ καί ὅπως ἀνέργειον. "Being returned to Athens
from his journey to Egypt, he settled himself in
the Academy, a gymnasion or place of exercise
in the suburbs of that city, best with woods,
taking name from Academus, one of the heroes,
as Eupolis,
In sacred Academus shady walks.

and he was buried in the Academy, where he
continued most of his time teaching philosophy,
whence the sect which sprung from him was
"called Academic," Diogenes Laertius, Life of
Plato.

Milton, in his Poem De Idea Platonica, terms
Plato the deus of the Academic grove;
At tu reremus ruinas Academi decus, &c.

And Pope, in his first chorus for the Brutus,
thus addresses the groes of Academe.
Ye shades, where sacred truth is sought,
Grove, where immortal sages taught,
Where heavenly visions Plato fird, &c.—

245. —— where the Attic bird
Trills her thick-warbled notes &c.—]

Philomela, who according to the fables, was
changed into a nightingale, was the daughter of
Pandion king of Athens. Hence the nightingale
is called Attibus in Latin, quasi Attica avis; thus
Martial, L. i. Ep. 54.

Sic
Of bees’ industrious murmur oft invites
To studious musing; there Ilissus rolls

Sappho, in a verse preserved by the Scholiast on
Sophocles, Electr. 148., terms this bird

Μῖος Δ᾽ Αρέας ἔμφροφος αὐδαί.
Sweet Philomel, the messenger of spring.

Pliny says, that the song of the nightingale con-
tinues in its greatest perfection only fifteen days,
from which time it gradually declines. “After-
wards, as summer advances,” he adds, “it loses
all its variety and modulation.”

Μόνη αὖν αὐτοῖν in totum alia vox fit, nec modulata, nec varius.

L. x. 29.—It seems therefore extraordinary that
our Author should here describe this bird of spring,
singing “the summer long.”—We might indeed
suppose that this protracted song of the nightingale,
was an intended compliment to the classic spot,
“Plato’s retirement,” as the Thracians affirmed
that the nightingales near the tomb of Orpheus
sung with uncommon melody, and in a strain far
superior to what they did in any other place.

Λαγος τοι Ορφανος αἰ των ανδρου εχθροι νοσοις ἐπὶ τὰ γαίρ
τῷ Ὀρφείῳ, ταυτας ἱδίω καὶ μείζον τῇ φώνῃ. Pausan.
L. ix. C. 30. But on referring to the various
passages in the Paradise Lost, where Milton has
introduced this bird, it does not appear that he
considered it as singing only in the spring. The
song of the nightingale is in fact one of his favourite
circumstances of description, when he is painting
a summer’s night.

247. There flowery hill Hymettus with the sound
Of bees’ industrious murmur oft invites
To studious musing—]

Valerius Flaccus calls it Florea jaga Hymett, 
Argonaut, V. 344.; and the honey was so much
esteemed and celebrated by the ancients, that it was
reckoned the best of the Attic honey, as the Attic
honey was said to be the best in the world. The
poets often speak of the murmur of the bees as in-
viting to sleep, Virg. Ecl. i. 56.

Sæpe levi somnum suadebit inire suaviter:
but Milton gives a more elegant turn to it, and says
that it invites to studious musing, which was more

F f proper
His whispering stream: within the walls, then view
The schools of ancient sages; his, who bred

proper indeed for his purpose, as he is here describing the Attic learning.

Pausanias describes Hymettus as producing those herbs, which are particularly acceptable to bees. *Attica. C. 32.*

Ovid gives this mountain the epithet of ever-flowery,

*Vertice de summo semper florentis Hymetti,*

Mi. vii. 701.

Silius Italicus notices the flowers and bees of Hymettus,

*Aut ubi Cecropius, formidine nubis aquae,*

*Sparae super flores examina solit Hymettos.*

L. ii. 217.

Mr. Calton and Mr. Thyer have observed with me, that Plato hath laid the scene of his Phaedrus on the banks, and at the spring, of this pleasant river.—*χαρίαυτα γων και καθα αν διαφρης τα βαλανια*

"Nonne hinc aquae purae ac pellucidae

"jocundo murmure confluent?" Ed. Serr. Vol. iii. p. 220. The philosophical retreat at the spring-head is beautifully described by Plato, in the next page, where Socrates and Phaedrus are represented sitting on a green bank, shaded with a spreading platane, of which Cicero hath said very prettily, that it seemeth not to have grown so much by the water which is described, as by Plato's eloquence;

"qua mihi videtur non tam ipsa aqua, qua describatur, quam Platonis oratione visse." De Orat. i. 7.

Newton.

Pausanias (*Attica. C. 19.*) notices the Ilissus as the principal river of Attica. He supposes it to have been sacred to the Muses; as there stood an altar to the *Hissian Muse* on its banks. Dionysius calls it a divine stream;

**— *Attica ubi;* —**

*Τυ ηα ΘΕΣΠΕΙΟΥΙΥ πιπια, ποιο ιακεσιν, —*

*Pereges. 413.*

where Eustathius ascribes the epithet of divine, and the general celebrity of the stream, to its flowing by a city so eminently distinguished as Athens.

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His whispering stream:—]

Thus Lycidas, 136;

Ye valleys low where the mild whispers use

Of shades, and wanton winds, and gushing brooks,—

And Virgil, *Culex, 118;*

*Et jam compellante vaga pasto capelle*

*Habensurantissim repetebant ad vada lymphas;—*

251. *—— who bred

Great Alexander to subdue the world;*

Milton, in his *Elegy* to his former preceptor, Thomas Young, then Minister of the Church of the English Merchants at Hamburg, speaks of his affection for his old master as superior to that of Alcibiades to Socrates, or of Alexander for Aristotle.

*Charit iri ille mihi, quam tu, doctissime Graiium,*

*Cliniadi, proneos qui Telamonis erat, *

*Quamque Stagyrites generosus magnus alumnus,*

*Quem peperit Libyco Chiosis alma Jovi.*

Et. iv. 23.

We are told by Cicero that Aristotle, having observed how Isocrates had risen to celebrity on the sole ground of florid declamation, (*innum verminis elegantiam,* ) was thereby induced to add to his own stock of solid knowledge, the external grace of oratorical embellishments; which recommended him so much to Philip of Macedon, that he fixed upon him to be preceptor to his son Alexander, whom he wished to be taught at once conduct and eloquence,

—*et agendi precepta, et loquendi.* De Orator, iii. 41. Ed. Prous.—The letter which Philip wrote to Aristotle upon the birth of his son, is preserved by Aulus Gellius. *L. ix. C. 3.* *Ipsi miui genetica vicer.*

*αδρικ γενεικη γενεικη γενεική, μετανειτε τον θεον;* *κα τον κακον τον ανθρωπον μετανειτε;* *κα τον χρησιμον, κα τον ευρωπου κα τον θεον και τον πειθηρινον;* —*Know that I have a son just born. For this I am truly grateful to the gods;* not merely that I have a son, but that he is born,
Great Alexander to subdue the world,
Lyceum there, and painted Stoa next:

"in your time: as I flatter myself, when he shall
have been brought up and educated by you, he
will prove a credit to us, and to his own important
situation."

253. Lyceum there.—]

The Lyceum was the school of Aristotle, who had
been tutor to Alexander the Great, and was the
founder of the sect of the Peripatetics, so-called,
 serta τις περίπατος, from his walking, and teaching philosophy.
But there is some reason to question
whether the Lyceum was within the walls, as Milton
asserts. For Snidas says expressly, that it was a place
in the suburbs, built by Pericles for the exercising
of soldiers: and I find the scholiast upon Aristophanes in the Irené, speaks of going into
the Lyceum, and going out of it again, and returning
back into the city: 
καὶ πιπιν εἰς τὰ Λυκείων καὶ οὔτως εἰς τὸν Πόλιν.

The establishment of the Lyceum has been
attributed both to Pisistratus and Pericles. Meursius
(Ath. Att. L. ii. C. 3.) supposes that it
might have been begun by the former, and completed
by the latter. Plutarch ascribes it to Pericles,
who, he says, made plantations, and built a Pæstera
there. (See Life of Pericles.) The same writer
(Sympos. viii. Quast. 4.) says that it was
dedicated to Apollo, as the God of healing, and that
with propriety, because health alone can furnish the
strength requisite for all corporeal exercises and exer-
cisions. The name Lyceum has been variously
accounted for. Some writers trace it to an old
gymnasium, or temple, originally built there by
Lyceus, the son of Pandion. Others, without re-
curring to Lyceus, suppose it to have been dedicated
to Apollo, under his title of Λυκόκτονος, or the wolf-slaying
god; of which epithet, in this sense, various
origins are given. But another, and that a more
obvious, sense of the word Λυκόκτονος, has not long
since been suggested by a gentleman of considerable
critical acumen, and the greatest literary acquire-
ments. By deriving it from the old Greek word
λύκοσ, or λυκή, λυκός, and εὐκτος εὔκτος, the slayer
of wolves becomes the extender of light, a term highly
appropriate to the Deity, who, in the heathen mytholo-
gy, represented the sun.—Macrob. (Saturn. i. 17.) accounts in a nearly similar manner for
the title of Λυκίς, or Lyceus, by which Apollo was
known: and supposes that the epithet λυκόκτονος,
which is given him by Homer (I. iv. 101.), did
not signify born in Lyceia, but λυκής γενέσας, or the
producer of light. The name Lyceum, we may
then conceive, was derived from, and the place
dedicated to, that great fountain of light and heat
which illuminates and invigorates the world and its
inhabitants: and in these public walls and schools,
under the supposed influence and protection of this
great power, the minds and bodies of the young
Athenians were with much propriety according to
the system of the times, cultivated and exercised.

That the Lyceum stood without the walls, ap-
ppears from the beginning of Plato’s Lysis, where
it is positively described as being ωνωθεὶα τοιαυτη

Theophr. μιθ. εξ ἀκαδημίαις ἐνδο λυκείων τοιούτων τινῶν
υπ’ αὐτοῦ τοιούτων. Strabo also speaks of some
fountains of clear and excellent water without the
gates near the Lyceum, εἰς τὸ διογενείς καλι-
ματικὸν πέλαγος, πλατεία τοιωτοῦ. (See Diogenes Laertius,
in the lives of Aristotle and Zeno. Newton.

Stoa was the school of Zeno, whose disciples from
the place had the name of Stoics; and this Stoa, or
portico, being adorned with variety of paintings,
was called in Greek Πύθαιος, or πυθαιος, and here by
Milton the painted Stoa. See Diogenes Laertius,
in the lives of Aristotle and Zeno. Newton.

There were abundance of porticos, or piazzas,
at Athens; of which this was the most noted.
The paintings of the Stoa were by different masters;
of whom the principal was Polygnotus, who
contributed his assistance, (as we are particularly told
by Plutarch in his life of Cimon,) without any
pecuniary recompence, purely from his regard for

F. F. 2
There shalt thou hear and learn the secret power
Of harmony, in tones and numbers hit
By voice or hand; and various-measur'd verse,
Æolian charms and Dorian lyric odes,
And his, who gave them breath, but higher sung,
the city, and a wish to do it honour. The other artists were Mycon, and Pamæus, brother to the celebrated sculptor Phidias. The subjects of the paintings were the most renowned of the Athenian victories, such as those of Marathon and Salamis; and other honorable circumstances of their military history. In the Athenæ Antæ of Meursius, (L. i. C. 5,) we find the following ancient inscription, which Theodosius Zygomanus had copied from one of the walls of the Stoa, when the writing was so ancient and decayed that it was barely legible; and which is preserved in his Epistle De Periculis Urbis Constantinopolitanæ.

255. — harmony, in tones and numbers hit
By voice or hand; —
And yet such music worthiest were to blaze
The peerless height of her immortal praise,
Whose luster leads us, and for her most fit,
If my inferior hand or voice could hit
Inimitable sounds,

Arcades, 74.

And in the first Book of this Poem, Ver. 171.

Sung with the voice,

256. — and various-measur'd verse.

Possibly Milton had here in his mind a passage of Ovid, where that poet characterizes Horace as variet in numbers, or abounding in a variety of metres;

257. —Æolian charms; —

Æolia carmina, verses such as those of Alceus and Sappho, who were both of Mitylene in Lesbos, an island belonging to the Æolians.

258. — and his who gave them breath, &c.; —

Our Author agrees with those writers, who speak of Homer as the father of all kinds of poetry. Such wise men as Dionysius the Halicarnassæan, and Plutarch, have attempted to show that poetry in all its forms, tragedy, comely, ode, and epitaph, are included in his works.

Thus
Thus in the *Lycidas*, 85;

The strain I heard was of a higher mood:

Homer is here characterised as not only the first, but also the greatest, of poets. Mr. Pope terms him, "a prince, as well as a father, of poetry."

259. *Blind Melesigenes, thence Homer call'd.*

Our Author here follows Herodotus, in his life of Homer, where it is said that he was born near the river Meles, and that from thence his mother named him at first *Melesigenes,* Μίλεσιγένης, απο τα την ηπείρον λιμνης. — and that afterwards when he was blind and settled at Cuma, he was called *Homer,* quasi ὁ μυρων, from the term by which the Cumæans distinguished blind persons; — μυρων δε κα τοπορα Ὄμηρος επικρατησε την Μιλησίγενης, απο της συμβασες. et της Κυμαιον τους τυφλοις ὃμικροι λιγουσι. *Newton.*


Alluding (as Bp. Newton observes,) to a Greek Epigram, in the *Anthologia,* where Phæbus is the speaker;

Heus ὁ μυρων, επικρατησε δς της Ὄμηρος.

Which Mr. Fenton has thus happily enlarged.

‘Round Phæbus when the nine harmonious maids
Of old assembled in the Thespian shades,
"What themes," they cried, "what high, immortal air,
Beds these harps to sound, and thee to hear?"

Reply'd the God, "your loftiest notes employ,
To sing young Pelcus, and the fall of Troy.
The wonderous song with rapture they rehearse,
Then ask who wrought that miracle of verse.
How answer'd with a frown: "I now reveal
A truth, that Envy bids me not conceal.
Retiring frequent to this laureate vale,
I warbled to the lyre that favorite tale,
Which unobserved a wandering Greek and blind,
Heard me repeat, and treasured in his mind;
And, fix'd with thirst of more than mortal praise,
From me, the God of wit, usurp'd the bays."

I have omitted the application to the English Iliad, in the eight concluding lines; not merely as being beside my purpose, but as I conceive Mr. Fenton to have been more fortunate in his enlargement of the Greek Epigrammatist's thought, than in his application of it to Mr. Pope.

261. — *the lofty grave tragedians.*

AESCHYLUS is thus characterised by Quinctilian:
"Tragedias primum in lucem Aeschylos protulit,
"Sublimis et gravis, et grandiloquus, &c."

L. x. C. 1.— Where also the same author, comparing Sophocles and Euripides, says, "gravis, et cothurnus et sonus Sophoclis videtur esse sublimior." — Tragedy was termed lofty by the ancients from its style, but at the same time not without a reference to the elevated buskin which the actors wore. Thus Claudian, describing tragedy as distinguished from comedy;

— *alte gradus major cothurno;*

De Mall. Theod. Cons. 314.

And Ovid, *Amor. L. ii. El. 18.* speaking of himself as having written tragedy, but being seduced from so grave an employment by the charms of his mistress, adds,

Deque cothurnato vate triumphat amor.

Again, *Trist. L. ii. El. i. 553,* he refers to his Medea in similar terms; giving the epithet *gravis* to the *Cothurnus,* or high tragic buskin.

Et dedimus tragicis scriptum regale cothurnos:
Quaeque gravis desit verba cothurnus habet.

Horace, in his Ode to C. Asinins Pollio, whose eminence in tragic poetry is also referred to by Virgil in his eighth Eclogue, speaks of the *severity,* or *gravity,* of the Tragic Muse, and elevates her on the Cecropian, or Athenian, buskin.

Paulum severa Musa TRAGICAE
Desit Theatri; max. ubi publica
Res ordinaria, grande munus
Cecropio repetes cothurno,—

Milton,
In Chorus or Iambic, teachers best
Of moral prudence, with delight receiv'd

Milton, in his brief discourse on tragedy, prefixed to his Samson Agonistes, says, "Tragedy, "as it was antiently composed, hath ever been held "the gravest, most noble, and wiser of all "other poems, &c."

And Ovid had said,

"Omne genus scripti gravitate Tragedia vincit;"

Trist. ii. ii. El. i. 381.

262. — Chorus or Iambic,—]

The two constituent parts of the ancient tragedy were the dialogue, written chiefly in the Iambic measure, and the chorus, which consisted of various measures.—The character here given by our author of the ancient tragedy, is very just and noble; and the English reader cannot form a better idea of it in its highest beauty and perfection, than by reading our author's Samson Agonistes.

The chorus was the regular place for the moral sentences in the Greek tragedy; although they are frequently introduced by Euripides into the Iambic, or dialogue part.

262. — teachers best
Of moral prudence, with delight receiv'd
In brief sententious precepts,—]

This description particularly applies to Euripides, who, next to Homer, was Milton's favourite Greek author. —Euripides is described by Quintilian, "sententias bensus, et in iis, quae a sapientibus "tradita sunt, penes ipsis par." L. x. C. 1. And Aulus Gellius, (L. xi. C. 4.) citing some verses from the Hecuba of Euripides, terms them "verbis sententiae, brevitate insignes illustresque." —Aristotle, where he treat of sentences (Rhetoric. L. ii. C. 22.), takes almost all his examples from Euripides.

The abundance of moral precepts introduced by the Greek tragic poets in their pieces, and the delight with which they were received, are thus admirably accounted for by an eminent and excellent writer. In the virtuous simplicity of less polished times, this spirit of moralizing is very prevalent;

the good sense of such people always delightful to shew itself in sententious or proverbial sayings, or observations. Their character, like that of the Clown in Shakespeare, is to be very swift and sententious. (As you like it, Act V. Sc. 1.) This is obvious to common experience, and was long since observed by the philosophers, as oracula merita gramautum esse, &c. (Arist. Rhet. L. ii. C. 21.) an observation which of itself accounts for the practice of the elder poets in Greece, as in all other nations. A custom, thus introduced, is not easily laid aside, especially when the oracular cast of these sentences, so fitted to strike, and the moral views of writers themselves, (which was more particularly true of the old dramatists,) concurred to favour the taste. But there was added to this, more especially in the age of Sophocles and Euripides, a general prevailing fondness for moral wisdom, which seems to have made the fashionable study of men of all ranks in those days; when schools of philosophy were resort to for recreation as well as instruction, and a knowledge in morals was the supreme accomplishment in vogue. The fruit of these philosophical conferences would naturally shew itself in certain brief sententious conclusions, which would neither contradict the fashion, nor, it seems, offend against the ease and gaiety of conversation in those times. Schools and pedantry, morals and austerity, were not so essentially connected in their combinations of ideas, as they have been since; and a sensible moral truth might have fallen from any mouth, without disgracing it. Nay, which is very remarkable, the very scholastics, as they were called, or drinking catches of the Greeks, were seasoned with this moral turn; the sallies of pleasantry, which escaped them in their freest hours, being tempered, for the most part, by some strokes of this national sobriety. "During the course of their entertainment," says Athenæus, (L. xv. C. 14,) "they loved to hear, from some wise and prudent person, an agreeable song:
In brief sententious precepts, while they treat
Of fate, and chance, and change in human life,
High actions, and high passions best describing:
Thence to the famous orators repair,

song: and those songs were held by them most
agreeable, which contained exhortations to virtue,
"or other instructions relative to their conduct in
"life." — Bp. Hurd’s note on Horace’s Art of
Poetry, Ver. 219.

264. Of fate, and chance, and change in human life:
The arguments most frequently selected by the
Greek tragic writers, (and indeed by their epic
poets also,) were the accomplishment of some
oracle, or some supposed decree of fate.

Διος ο’ ετελέστη βόδης. I. i. 5.

But the incidents or intermediate circumstances
which led to the destined event, according to their
system, depended on fortune, or change. Fate and
change then furnished the subject and incidents of
their dramas; while the catastrophe produced the
peripetia, or change of fortune.—The history of
Oedipus, one of their principal dramatic subjects,
was here perhaps in our Author’s mind. The fate
of Oedipus was foretold before his birth; the won-
derful incidents, that, in spite of every guarded
precaution, led to the accomplishment of it, depended
apparently on change; the peripetia, or change of
fortune, produced by the discovery of the oracle
being so completely fulfilled, is truly affecting.—
Change in human life might here perhaps not merely
refer to the pathetic catastrophes of the Greek
tragedy, as it sometimes formed the entire argu-
ment of their pieces; of which the Oedipus Col-
neus is an instance.

266. High actions, and high passions, best describing:
High actions refer to fate and change, the argu-
ments and incidents of tragedy; high passions to
the peripetia, or change of fortune, which included
the macab, or affecting part. High actions are the
κακον πράξει of Aristotle, who, speaking of the
tragic poets as distinguished from the writers of
comedy, says, ια μου σηματικός ΤΑΣ ΚΑΛΑΣ ημερότητον
ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ.

Milton, whose predilection for dramatic poetry
has been already noticed, (Note on Book i. 169.),
introduces the principal subjects of ancient tragedy
in his Penesos, Ver. 97:

Sometimes let gorgeous tragedy
In sceptre’d hall come sweeping by,
Pres-tling Thrices or Pelops’ line,
Or the tale of Troy divine,
Or what, though rare, of later age,
Ennobled hath the buskin’d stage.

And again in his first Elegy;
Seu maret Pelopeia domus, seu nobilis Ili,
Aut hirt incestos aula Creontis avos.

Mr. Warton, in his note on the 31st verse of
this Elegy, censures our Author, whom he considers
as describing a London theatre, for introducing
characters of the Latin and Greek drama.—But
I rather suppose that his theatre, in this place, was
his own closet; where, when fatigued with other
studies, he relaxed with his favourite dramatic
poets.—The “sinuos pompa theatris,” and after-
wards, “Et doler, et specto” were merely the cre-
ations and ideal decorations of his own vivid imagi-
nation, with the work of some favourite dramatic
poet before him.—He had before said,

Et totum raptam me, mea vita, libri.

And he immediately adds to the supposed descrip-
tion of a theatre, and its exhibitions,

Sed neque sub telo semper, nec in urbe, latemus;
where sub telo and latemus seem to imply that all
this passed in his father’s private house.

267. Thence to the famous orators repair, &c.—]

How happily does Milton’s versification in this,
and the following lines, concerning the Socratic
philosophy, express what he is describing! In the

first
Those ancient, whose resistless eloquence
Wielded at will that fierce democracy,
Shook the arsenal, and fulmin'd over Greece
To Macedon and Artaxerxes' throne:
To sage philosophy next lend thine ear,
From Heaven descended to the low-roof'd house

first we feel, as it were, the nervous rapid eloquence
of Demosthenes, and the latter have all the gentleness and softness of the humble modest character of Socrates.

Milton was of the same opinion as Cicero, who preferred Pericles, Hyperides, Æschines, Demosthenes, and the orators of their times, to Demetrius Phalereus, and those of the subsequent ages. See Cicero, De claris oratoribus. And, in the judgment of Quintilian, Demetrius Phalereus was the first who weakened eloquence, and the last almost of the Athenians who can be called an orator: "is "primus inclinasse eloquentiam dicitur—ultimus "est fere ex Atticis qui dici possit orator." De Institut, Orat. x. 1.

Alluding, as Bp. Newton and Dr. Jortin have both observed, to a celebrated passage in the Acharnenses of Aristophanes, where the old comic poet, with much malignity towards Athens and Pericles, thus accounts for the origin of the Peloponnesian war.

Some youths of Athens in a drunken frolic
Going to Megara bore off from thence
The whore Simaeth. The Magian youths,
To make reprisals, seiz'd and carried off
Two wantons of the fam'd Aspasia's train.
Hence, on account of three vile prostitutes,
This fatal war among the Greeks broke forth;
Hence Pericles enraged, like Jove himself,
Ev'n with the thunder's roar, the light'ning's blaze,
Burst forth to vengeance, and convuls'd all Greece.

For the various authors who have referred, or alluded, to this description of the resistless eloquence of Pericle, see Kuster's note on the passage, in his edition of Aristophanes; where however he has overlooked Quintilian, L. ii. C. 16. & L. xii. C. 10.—Cicero, (Epist. ad Attic. xvi. 1. and Orator. Sext. 234. Ed. Proust,) speaks of the "fulmina Demosthenis." The younger Pliny thus describes the eloquence of his friend Pompeius Saturninus; "Adsum aptae, crebraque sententiae, "gravis et decora constructio, sonantia verba et "antiqua. Omnia hae mire placent. Cum impetu "quodam et fulmine praevahuntur!"—And, in the xith Æneid, Virgil makes Turnus, in his speech to Drances, say

Proinde tona eloquio; solitum tibi——

As Pericles and others fulmin'd over Greece to
Artaxerxes' throne against the Persian king, so
Demosthenes was the orator particularly, who ful
min'd over Greece to Macedon against king Philip,
in his Orations, therefore denominated Philippics.

From Heaven descended to the low-roof'd house
Of Socrates;—]
Of Socrates; see there his tenement, 
Whom well inspir'd the oracle pronounc'd 
Wisest of men; from whose mouth issued forth 

Mr. Calton thinks the author alludes to Juvenal, 
Sat. xi. 27. 

\[ \text{e cælo descendit gravi pænit.} \]

as this famous Delphic precept was the foundation 
of Socrates's philosophy, and so much used by him, 
that it hath passed with some for his own. Or, as 
Mr. Warburton and Mr. Thyer conceive, the author 
here probably alludes to what Cicero says of 
Socrates, " Socrates autem primus philosophiam de- 
" vocavit e cælo, et in urbibus collacavit, et in 
But he has given a very different sense to the words 
either by design or mistake, as Mr. Warburton ob- 
serves. It is properly called the lowroof'd house; 
for I believe, said Socrates, that if I could meet 
with a good purchaser, I might easily get for my 
goods, and house and all, five pounds. \[ \text{Ego nec omo} \] 
\[ \text{(ipf} \ o \ \text{Swarate;)} \] 
i aciada omnem in mvidia, \[ \text{e} \] 
\[ \text{viri on} \] 
\[ \text{ta oik} \] 
\[ \text{w} \] 
\[ \text{ta ota paxa oia} \] 
\[ \text{a} \] 
\[ \text{tcia} \] 
\[ \text{mu} \] 
\[ \text{Xenophon Oeconomic.} \] 

Five minæ, or Attic pounds, were better than sixteen pounds of our 
money, a minæ, according to Barnard, being three 
pounds eight shillings and nine pence. 

In the Clouds of Aristophanes, (Ver. 92.) where 
Strepisades points out the habituation of Socrates 
to his son, he uses the diminutive \[ \text{s} \] 
\[ \text{ind} \] 
\[ \text{adica} \] 
\[ \text{small} \] 
\[ \text{house;} \] 
or tenement.

\[ \text{275. Whom well inspir'd the oracle pronounc'd} \]
\[ \text{Wisest of men—} \]

The verse, delivered down to us upon this oc- 
casion, is this; 

\[ \text{Andrius apatata Syc&aacute;tos soxutatases.} \]

Of all men Socrates is the wisest. 

\[ \text{Newton.} \]

\[ \text{276.} \] 

\[ \text{from whose mouth issu'd forth} \]

\[ \text{Mellifluous streams, that water'd all the schools} \]
\[ \text{Of Academica &c. &c.—} \]

Thus Quintilian calls Socrates \[ \text{fons philosophorum.} \]
L. i. C. 10. As the ancients looked upon Homer 
to be the father of poetry, so they esteemed Socrates 
the father of moral philosophy. Thus Cicero, 
(A Academ. L. i. C. 41.) " Socrates mihi videtur, 
" id quod constat inter omnes, primus a rebus oc- 
" cultis et ab ipsa natura involutis, in quibus omnes 
" ante eum philosophi occupati fuerunt, avovasivate 
" philosophiam, et ad vitam communes adduxisse; 
" &c." and, speaking of the Academica and Peri- 
patetic schools, he says,—" idem fons erat utris- 
"que."— The different sects of philosophers 
were indeed so many different families, which all 
acknowledged Socrates for their common parent. 
Cicero, speaking of him, (Tusc. Disp. L. v. C. 41.) 
says—" cujus multiplex ratio disputandi, rerum 
"que varietas, et ingenii magnitudo, Platonis me- 
"moriam et literis consequenter, pluruma genera efficit 
"dissentientium philosophorum."— And, (De 
Orator. L. iii. C. 16.) —" Nam cum esset plures 
"orti fere a Socrate, quod ex illius varieti, et di- 
"versis, et in omnem partem diffusis disputatio-
"nibus alius aliiu apprehenderat; proeminentia sunt 
"quasi familia dissuentium inter se, et multum 
"disjuncta et disparsa, cum tamen omnes se phi- 
"losophi Socraticos et dici vellent, et esse arbitra-
"rentur." 

The ancients in general, and Cicero in particular, 
considered Socrates as the \[ \text{faunutus-bead,} \] 
or inventor of moral philosophy."—Thus, (Brutus, Secl. 31. 
Ed. Proust.) " Its opposit sese Socrates; qui sub-
"titulate quadam disputandi reellere eorum insti-
tuta solebat verbis. Hujus ex uberrimis ser-
"monibus existiterunt doctissimi viri: 
"primunque tum philosophia, non illa de natura, 
"qua fuerat antiqui, sed in hac, in qua de bonis 
"rebus et malis, deque hominum vitæ et motibus 
"disputatur, inventa dicitur."—And, (De 
Orator. i. 42.) " Urgerent praeterea philoso-
"phorum greces, jam ab illo fonte et capite 
"Socrate, nihil te de bonis rebus in vitæ, nihil de 
"malis; nihil de animi permotionibus, nihil de 

G g 

" hominum
Mellifluous streams, that water’d all the schools
Of Academics old and new, with those
Surnam’d Peripatetics, and the sect
Epicurean, and the Stoic severe;
These here revolve, or, as thou lik’st, at home,
Till time mature thee to a kingdom’s weight;
These rules will render thee a king complete
Within thyself, much more with empire join’d.

"hominum moribus, nihil de ratione vitae didi-
cisse.”—He also terms Socrates, (De Nat. Deor. i. 34.) “Parentem philosophiae.”—
Paterculus, (L. i. C. 6.) speaks of “Philosophorum
"ingenia Socratico or defluentia.”—
And Minucius Felix, (Oration. C. 15.) having de-
scribed Socrates as “sapientia principem,” adds
"Hoc fonte defluxit Aresilae, et multo post
"Cameadis et Academicorum plurimorum in sum-
"mis quaestionibus tuta dubitatio;”—Milton, in
the conclusion of his viith Elegy, uses the Socratic
stream to signify philosophy in general;

Donec Socraticos umbrosa Academia rivos
Præruit,—

But our author, in speaking here of the mellifluous
streams of philosophy that issued from the mouth of
Socrates, and watered all the various schools, or sects,
of philosophers, had in his mind a passage of Aelian,
(Var. Hist. L. xiii. C. 22.) where it is said that
"Galaton the painter drew Homer as a fountain,
"and the other poets drawing water from his
"mouth.”—Galaton dī e ζυγαμετα καθαυ τω μον
"Oμοιω αυτω ρωτήα, τω δι έβαλε πινατα τα εφαρμο-
"σμα κεφαλίς. Whence also Manilius, speaking of
Homer;

Barjusque ex ore profuso
Omnis posteritas Latins in carmina duxit,
Annemque in tenues ausa est deducere rivos
Unius secunda bonus.
L. ii. 8.

And Ovid, 3. Amor. ix. 25;
Arciae Maroniem, a quo, cecum fonte perenni,
Vatum Pieriis ora sagittans aquis.

278. Of Academics old and new.—] The Academic sect of philosophers, like the
Greek comedy, had its three epochs, old, middle, and
new. Plato was the head of the old Academy,
Aresilas of the middle, and Carneades of the new.

279. Peripatetics.—] The Peripatetics were so called, from the περι-
πατες, or walk of the Lyceum, where Aristotle
and his successors taught; in the same manner as
the Stoics had their name from the Στοιχεῖα, or
Portico, where they attended the instructions of their master,
Zeno. “The common opinion” says Dr. Gillies,
“that the Peripatetics were so called, en τοι περι-
πατες ex deambulatione, as adopted by Cicero
and others, is refuted by the authors cited by
Brucker, Vol. i. p. 787.”

280. Stoic severe.—] Seneca says that the sect of Stoics were com-
monly censured “tanquam nimis dura.” De Cle-
ment. ii. 5.—And Cicero, (Pro Murena, C. 35.)
“At enim agit mecum austere et Stoic Cato.”

283. These rules—] There is no mention before of rules; but of
poets, orators, and philosophers. We should read
therefore,

Their rules will render thee a king complete, &c.

283. a king complete
Within thyself.—]

This refers to what our Saviour had said before,
Book ii. 446, respecting the true dignity, or kings-
ship, of self-command;
To whom our Saviour sagely thus reply'd.

Think not but that I know these things, or think
I know them not; not therefore am I short
Of knowing what I ought: 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.
The first and wisest of them all profess'd

Yet he, who reigns within himself, and rules
Passions, desires, and fears, is more a king.

This answer of our Saviour is as much to be admired for solid reasoning, and the many sublime truths contained in it, as the preceding speech of Satan is for that fine vein of poetry which runs through it: and one may observe in general, that Milton has quite throughout this work thrown the ornaments of poetry on the side of error, whether it was that he thought great truths best expressed in a grave, unaffected style, or intended to suggest this fine moral to the reader, that simple naked truth will always be an over-match for falsehood, though recommended by the gayest rhetoric, and adorned with the most bewitching colours. Thus.

It had been supposed from Milton's acquaintance with Ellwood, and with Mrs. Thomson, (to the memory of whom, under the title of his Christian Friend, he has inscribed a Sonnet,) that he was a Quaker. Mr. Warton observes that this passage of the Paradise Regained seems to favor the notion of Milton's Quakerism. But this passage is rather scriptural than sectarian; and seems to be built on what is said by St. James, C. i. V. 17. Every good and every perfect gift is from above, and cometh
down from the Father of Lights; which refers to what the apostle had said in the 5th verse of the same chapter; If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, &c.

Socrates; of whom Cicero, "Hic in omnibus fere sermonibus, qui ab iis, qui illum audierunt, perscripti varie, copiose sunt, ina disputat, ut nihil adferret ipse, refellat alios: nihil se scire dicat, nisi id ipsum: eoque prostrare ceteris, quod illi quae nesciant scire se putent; ipse, se nihil scire, id unum sciat." Cicero Academic. i. 4.

Diogenes Laertius mentions that Socrates was frequently used to say of himself "that the only thing he knew, was that he knew nothing." — eidoi μην μηδεν, πλοι αυτον τυπυν ολην. Vit. Socrat. And Plato, in his Apology of Socrates, where he makes him compare himself with some great pretender to wisdom, introduces him thus reasoning,—οιτοι μην ειστη τι ειδωι, ουκ ειδωι, την δε, ώσπερ δε οληκ ολη, ουδε εισωμάτωι, εικε γας τοντι γε ομαιρετης τινι αυτην τοντι σωφτηρος ους, οτι αμει ανοικ, αδε εισωματωι ειδωι. — "This man thinks he knows something, which in fact he does not know; but "I, while I really know nothing, do not admit the "supposition of my knowing any thing. I seem "therefore to be somewhat the wiser of the two

G 2
To know this only, that he nothing knew;  
The next to fabling fell, and smooth conceits;  
A third sort doubted all things, though plain sense;  
Others in virtue plac'd felicity.

" on this account, that what I really do not know,  
" I do not pretend to know." Ed. Serran. Vol. I.  
p. 21.

295. The next to fabling fell, and smooth conceits;
Milton, in his Latin Poem, De Ideâ Platonica, terms Plato  
 ——— ipse fabulator maximus. 38.

This passage shows our Poet inclined to censure the fictions of the philosopher; which were also noticed in early times. Diogenes Laertius cites a verse of Timon, to this purpose,  
'Ως αναλάει Πλάτων πανηγυρισμα βαυματο πεδας.  
What wonderous fictions learned Plato fram'd!——

Athenæus says of Plato's laws, "that they were fitted not for any people that really existed, but for such only as he had figured in his own imagination."

Mr. Calton cites a passage from Perker's Free and Impartial Censure of the Platonic Philosophy, Oxford, 1667, where it is observed that "Plato " and his followers communicated their notions " by emblems, fables, symbols, parables, heaps of " metaphors, and all sorts of mystical representations, " " These," it is afterwards added, " though they are pretty poetical fancies, are infinitely unfit to express philosophical notions and " discoveries of the nature of things."

Smooth conceits are the Italian conceiti; by which term an Italian writer would, I apprehend, characterise any far-fetched or fine-spun allegories.

296. A third sort doubted all things, though plain sense;]
These were the Sceptics or Pyrrhonians, the disciples of Pyrrho, who asserted nothing to be either honest or dishonest, just or unjust; that men do all things by law and custom; and that in every thing this is not preferable to that. This was called the Sceptic philosophy from its continual inspection, and never finding; and Pyrrhonian from Pyrrho. (See Stanley's Life of Pyrrho, who takes this account from Diogenes Laertius.)  
Newton.

That the Pyrrhonists carried their scepticism to the height described by Milton appears from the following passage, among others, in the life of Pyrrho, by Diogenes Laertius; —— 'Ανδρον γίνομαι: φιλοσοφαν, ο δι λογος διαφωνει, έν δε καταληπτικη φαντασία ύπο ένω κριτηναι, και έν τοιοισ τριπλασι  
αγωγον εις το κριτηναι, και δια τουτο η αδοξια.—

"The senses are liable to be deceived, reasoning " has its ambiguities, the reality even of the ob- " jects which we see is questioned by the judgment,  
" and the judgment has no positive rule of decidi-
" ing: hence we never arrive at certainty, nor " consequently at truth." —— Among other highly  
" refined sceptical declarations of the Pyrrhonists, 
we also find the following; —— ένι περι καλει αισθα-

νασι. ει δε φωνη εχει καυτικη, επιχειμα. "We " perceive that fire burns, but we do not venture " to assert that its nature is to burn." —— And, in

another place; —— to μην οτι έν πληρε, έν τιθεμα, "το δι έν τη φαντασι, έγκελον":—"I cannot lay it down " for certain that such a thing is really sweet; " although I confess that to the taste it appears so."

297. Others in virtue plac'd felicity, 
But virtue joint'd with riches and long life;]
These were the old Academicians, and the Peripatetics the scholars of Aristotle. " Honeste autem " vivere, fruentem rebus iis, quas primas homini " natura concilit, et vetus Academia censuit, et " Aristoteles: ejusque amici nune proxime vi- " dentur accedere." Cicero Academic. ii. 42.  
" Ergo nata est sententia veterum Academicorum " et Peripateticorum, ut finem bonorum dicerent, " secundum naturam vivere, id est, virtute ad- " hibita, fruui primis a natura datis." Dr Fih.  
i. 11.  
Newton.

Thus
**BOOK IV. PARADISE REGAINED.**

But virtue join'd with riches and long life;
In corporal pleasure he, and careless ease;
The Stoic last in philosophic pride,

Thus Cicero, in another passage, De Finiæus, &c.; "Multi enim et magni philosophi haec ul-" tima bonorum juncta fecerunt, ut Aristoteles, "qui virtutis usum cum vita perfecta prosperitate "conjunxit." ii. 6.

299. In corporal pleasure he, and careless ease;]

The HE is here contemnously emphatical. Thus Demosthenes, in the opening of his first Philippic, referring to Philip, whom he had not mentioned by name,—και την ιν υβερει ὁ τότετ, ἤ το ταράττομεν. And, in the Paradise Lost, Satan, in his first speech, when, on the burning lake, he "breaks the horrid silence," speaks of the Deity, in a manner not dissimilar, by the title of

HE with his thunder;—

I. 93.

Bp. Newton illustrates the sentiments here attributed to Epicurus by a passage from Cicero, who says of him; "Confirmat illud vel maxime, quod "ipsa natura, ut air ille, asciscat, et reprobet, "id est voluptatem et dolorem; ad hae, et quæ "sequamur, et quæ fugiamus, referunt omnia." De "Fin. i. 7.—But Epicurus may speak for himself, In his Epistle to Menaceus, preserved by Diogenes "Laertius, he points out as the only essential and "truly interesting objects of a wise man's attention, "το τε συμματος υψοσεως, και της τις ψυχης αντοξειας; "health of body, and an undisturbed state of mind." "In this," continues he, "consists the perfection "or sum of a happy life; and accordingly our "great endeavor is that nothing may give us pain-"ful sensations, or disturb our ease and tranquility. "When once we have secured this material point, "there is an end to all agitation of the mind; "there being no object nor pursuit that really calls "for the attention of living creatures, except the "completion of their mental and corporal happy-"ness."—τούτω το μακαρισμός εξει τελοσ του-"γαρ χραι απατη τελετημον ως μοιη ακρωμοι, μοιη

**300. The Stoic Last Ec. —**

But this philosopher himself was at times more explicit respecting the το τε συμματος αγαθον, which he positively places in "τας δια χρησις ηθος, τας "δι' αφροδισιας, τας δι' άγνοιας ας, και τας δια μετατη "και ουλη ηθης κινητων." The passage from his Περι-"τελεως, is preserved by Diogenes Laertius, L. x., and by Athenæus, L. viii.; and the sense is ex-"hibited by Cicero, Tusc. Disput. L. x. C. 20;) —ego tamen meministro, quod videatur e summum "bonum; non enim verbo solum posuit voluptatem," sed etiam explanavit quid dicere; "Saporem, "inquit, et corporum complexum, et ludos, "atque cantus, et formas eas, quibus occulti "jucunde movendantur."
By him call’d virtue; and his virtuous man, Wise, perfect in himself, and all possessing Equal to God, oft shames not to prefer,

the Deity, as fixed principles, were worthy of a more particular examination; and required to have their speciousness and insufficiency in other respects more particularly marked and laid open. Add to this the esteem in which the Stoics were held not only among the philosophers of antiquity, but among some of the earlier writers on Christianity. Cicero, though no Stoic, says of them, “Licet in seclumur istos (Stoicos), metuo ne soli philosophi sint.” Tusc. Disput. iv. 24. Clemens Alexandrinus in many parts of his works professes himself a Stoic. St. Jerome, in his Commentary on Isaiah, acknowledges that the Stoics in most points of doctrine agree with the Christians, “Stoici cum nostro dogmata in plerisque concordant.” C. 10. To bring forward, therefore, and to censure in this place the exceptionable doctrines of this sect, was highly becoming the character under which our blessed Lord is here represented and described. The defects and insufficiencies of their scheme, as Mr. Thyer observes, could not possibly be set in a stronger light than they are here by our author.

301. By him call’d virtue.—] The philosophy of the Stoics consisted, as they described it, in living according to nature; and this they called virtue. Thus Diogenes Laertius, in his Life of Zeno:—ις τοιαύτη ο χαίρσις τοιαι τον τελείον, ζωὴν ζήσαι τον ουκ έν κατ’ ἀρετήν ζησαι. 

302. Wise, perfect in himself, and all possessing

Thus Cicero, De Finibus, iii. 7, where Cato is introduced summing up the principles of the Stoic philosophy;—cùm ergo hoc sit extremum, (quod θεος Græci dicit,) congruentes naturæ convenienterque vivere, necessario sequitur omnis sapienter semper feliciter, absolute, forte tunc vivere, nulla re impediiri, nulla prohiberi, nulla egere.”

303. Equal to God.—] Bp. Newton here reads

Equals to God, &c.—] and conceives the sense to be so much improved, that the omission of the letter s must have been an error of the press. I retain the reading in Milton’s own edition, as the sense appears sufficiently clear with it, neither do I see any material improvement resulting from the correction.

It seems to me also probable that all possessing Equal to God,

was suggested by a passage of Seneca, who is likewise describing the virtuous man of the Stoics,—Deorum ritu cuncta possident.” Epist. xiiii.

The passage cited in the preceding note from Cicero, (De Finibus,) shews how much power and dignity, how many positive attributes of divinity, the Stoics ascribed to their wise or virtuous man.—Seneca speaks more fully, Epist. lxxxvii; “Quarum quae res sapientem efficit? Quæ Deum.” And again, Epist. lix.—“Sapiens ille est plenus gaudii, hilaris et placidus, inconcussus, cum dis ex pari vivit.”—See also Epist. lxxiii.
As fearing God nor man, contemning all Wealth, pleasure, pain or torment, death and life, Which when he lists, he leaves, or boasts he can, For all his tedious talk is but vain boast,
Or subtle shifts conviction to evade.
Alas! what can they teach, and not mislead,
Ignorant of themselves, of God much more,
And how the world began, and how man fell
Degraded by himself, on grace depending?
Much of the soul they talk, but all awry,
And in themselves seek virtue, and to themselves
All glory arrogate, to God give none;
Rather accuse him under usual names,

"Vain boasts relate to the Stoical paradoxes; and
subtle shifts to their dialectic, which this sect so
much cultivated, that they were known equally by
the name of Dialecticians and Stoics." Warburton.

310. — subtle shifts conviction to evade.]
"Stoicorum autem non ignoras quam sit su-
"tile, vel spinosum potius, disserendi genus." Cicero, De Fin. iii. 1.

311. Ignorant of themselves, of God much more,
And how the world began, and how man fell
Degraded by himself, on grace depending?]

Having drawn most accurately the character of the Stoic philosopher, and exposed the insufficiency of his pretensions to superior virtue as built on superior knowledge, the poet here plainly refers to the holy scriptures, as the only true source of information respecting the Nature of God, the Creation, the Fall of Man, &c. They who have never benefited by divine revelation, he intimates, must bewilder themselves in such researches, and cannot but fall into the greatest absurdities, as was the case of the Stoics and other philosophers.

313. Much of the soul they talk, but all awry.]
See what Bp. Warburton has said of the absurd notions of the ancient philosophers, concerning the nature of the soul, in his Divine Legation, Book iii. Sect. 4.

314. And in themselves seek virtue, and to themselves
All glory arrogate, to God give none.]

Cicero speaks the sentiments of ancient philo-
sophy upon this point, in the following words: —
"propter virtutem enim jure laudamus, et in
"virtute recte gloriamur: quod non con-
tinget, si id domum a Deo, non a nobis habe-
"remus. At vero aut honoribus auti, aut re fa-
miliari, aut si aliud quimpan nacili sumus for-
tuiti boni, aut depulimus mali, cùm Diis gratias
agimus, tum nihil nostrae laudi assumptum ar-
bitemur. Nam quis, quod bonus vir esset,
"gratias Diis egit unquam? At quod dives, quod
"honoratus, quod incolum.—Ad rem autem ut
redate, judicium hoc omnium mortalium
"est, fortunam a Deo petendum, a se ipsi
"sumendum esse sapiens"" De Nat. Deor.
iii. 36. Warburton.

316. Rather accuse him under usual names,
Fortune and Fate,—]
Thus in the speech which Jupiter addresses to the assembly of the gods in the beginning of the Odyssey.

Ω πατέρα, εἰς θέλη μηδέν απίστωτοι.
Εξ ἡμῶν γὰρ φάσι καὶ ἀμέτρεται, ὡς ἐν γυναικὶ
Σάμον απαθάλαξον υπερ μορφῆς αὐτῆς ἱχθυῖν.

i. 38. Peverse
Book IV. Paradise Regained.

Fortune and Fate, as one regardless quite
Of mortal things. Who therefore seeks in these
True wisdom, finds her not; or, by delusion,
Far worse, her false resemblance only meets,
An empty cloud. However many books,

Perverse mankind, whose wills created free
Charge all their woes on absolute decree;
All to the domining gods their guilt translate,
And follies are miscall'd the crimes of fate.

316. ———— under usual names,
Fortune and Fate.—]

Several of the ancient philosophers, but especially
the Stoics, thus characterised the Deity. —" Sic
" hunc naturam vocas, FATUM, FORTUNAM; om-
" nia ejusdem Dei nomina sunt, varie utentis sua
" potestate." De Beneficiis. iv. 8. —" Vis
" illum FATUM vocare? non errabis." Nat.

Quest. ii. 45.
Thus also Seneca the tragic poet;
FATIS agimus; cedite FATIS.
Non sollicita possunt curae
Mutare rati stamina fusi, &c.
Cedip. 980.
The Stoic poet, Lucan, frequently terms the
Deity, Fate or Fortune.

Vir furus, et Romam cupienti perdere Fatorem Sufficientem.

Pharsal. i. 87.

318. ———— Who therefore seeks in these
True wisdom, finds her not; or, by delusion,
Far worse, her false resemblance only meets,
An empty cloud.—]

In the Paradise Lost, some of the fallen angels,
who are represented as bewildered in the errors of
ancient philosophy,

reason'd high
Of providence, fore-knowledge, will, and fate,
Fix'd fate, free-will, fore-knowledge absolute,
And found no end, in wandering mazes lost.

This is term'd
Vain wisdom all, and false philosophy;
and serving only to

——— excite
Fallacious hope——]

321. An empty cloud.—]
A metaphor taken from the fable of Ixion, who
embraced an empty cloud for a Juno. Newton.

We meet with an expression somewhat similar,
in a beautiful speech of Adam, in the Eighth
Book of Paradise Lost. Our first parent had
shewed a curiosity and disposition to reason and
enquire concerning celestial motions. The Angel
replies to him without materially explaining what
he enquires after; and in the conclusion of his
speech tells him,

——— Heaven is for thee too high
To know what passes there; be lowly wise! &c.—

Adam, thus corrected, thanks the Angel for his
advice, and adds

apt the mind or fancy is to rove,
Uncheck'd, and of her roving is no end;
Till warn'd, or by experience taught, she learns,
That not to know at large of things remote
From use, obscure and subtle, but to know
That which before us lies in daily life,
Is the prime wisdom; what is more, is FAME,
Or emptiness, &c.——]

331. ———— many books,
Wise men have said, are wearisome.—]

Alluding to Eccles. xii. 12. Of making many
books there is no end, and much study is a weariness
of the flesh. Newton.

The same sentiment may be traced to classi-
cal authority, "Alien enim," says the younger
H h

Pliny,
Wise men have said, are wearisome; who reads Incessantly, and to his reading brings not A spirit and judgment equal or superior, (And what he brings what needs he elsewhere seek?) Uncertain and unsettled still remains, Deep vers'd in books, and shallow in himself, Crude or intoxicate, collecting toys And trifles for choice matters, worth a sponge; As children gathering pebbles on the shore.

Pliny, "Multum legendum esse, non multa." L. viii. Epist. 9.—It is indeed a Stoical precept, and as such Milton might refer to it in the words, wise men have said.—Ter de Multiis et fabor spis. Antonin. Medit. L. xi. 3—"Do not indulge "yourself in a thirst after books."—"Illud autem vide ne ista lectio multorum auctorum, "et omnis generis voluminum, habeat alicquid "vagum et instabile.* * * * * * "Distrabit animum librorum multitudo." Senec. Epist. ii. "Quo mihi innumerabiles libros "et bibliothecas, quorum dominus vix tota vita "sua indices perlegit? Onerat discentem "turba, non intruit; multoque satius est pacium "te auctoribus tradere, quam errare per multos." Senec. De Tranquillitat. Animi. C. 9.

322. Who reads Incessantly, &c.—]

The same just sentiment, Mr. Thyer observes, may be seen in Paradise Lost, vii. 126.

323. Knowledge is as food, and needs no less her temperance over appetite—

Oppresses else with surfeit, and soon turns Wisdom to folly, as nourishment to wind.

324. Deep vers'd in books, and shallow in himself.

Milton would, I conceive, thus have characterised his old antagonist, Salmassius.

325. shallos in themselves.

We have exactly the opposite phrase in the Second Book of this Poem. It is there said that our blessed Lord,

tracing the desert wild,

Sole, but with holiest meditations fed,

Into himself descended,

326. worth a sponge.

Suetonius has the expression spongias, where, speaking of the liberality with which Augustus Caesar bestowed his gifts on festival occasions among the people, he also notices that he sometimes used to amuse himself by throwing amongst them things of no value. "Festos et sollemnes dies "profusissime, nonnunquam joculariter tantum, "celebrabant. Saturnalibus, et si quando alias li- "buisset, modo munera dividebat, vestem, et "aurum, et argentum;—interdum nihil prater "cilia, et spongias, et rutabula, &c."—Vit. August. C. 75.

327. As children gathering pebbles on the shore.

Cicero, (De Oratore. ii. 22. Ed. Proust,) makes Crassus relate that Lælius and Scipio, when they had escaped into the country, were accustomed to amuse themselves with the pastimes of their childhood; where the circumstance of their "gathering "pebbles on the shore," is particularly specified among the puerile relaxations of these great men. "Non
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 strow'd
With hymns, our psalms with artful terms inscrib'd,
Our Hebrew songs and harps, in Babylon
That pleas'd so well our victors' ear, declare
That rather Greece from us these arts deriv'd;
Ill imitated, while they loudest sing
The vices of their Deities, and their own,
In fable, hymn, or song, so personating
Their Gods ridiculous, and themselves past shame.
Remove their swelling epithets, thick laid

"Non audes dicere de talibus viris, sed tamen ita"
"sola narrare Scævola, conchas cos et umbilicos"
"ad Caietam et ad Laurentum legere consueisse,"
"et ad omnem animi remissionem ludumque de-"
"scendere."

335. —— our psalms with artful terms inscrib'd.] He means the inscriptions often prefixed to the beginning of several psalms, such as To the chief musician upon Nebiloth, To the chief musician on Neginoth upon Shemineth, Shiggaion of David, Mich-tem of David, &c. to denote the various kinds of psalms or instruments.

336. Our Hebrew songs and harps, in Babylon
That pleas'd so well our victors' ear,—]
This is said upon the authority of Psal. cxxxvii.
1, 8c. By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Sion. We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof. For there they that carried us away captive, required of us a song; and they that wasted us, required of us mirth, saying, Sing us one of the songs of Sion.

338. That rather Greece from us these arts deriv'd.] This was the system in vogue at that time. It was established and supported with vast erudition by Bochart, and carried to an extravagant and even ridiculous length, by Huetius and Gale.

Warburton.

Clemens Alexandrinus ascribes the invention of hymns and songs to the Jews; and says that the Greeks stole theirs from them. (Stromat. L. i. p. 308. Ed. Colon. 1688.) He also charges the Grecian philosophers with stealing many of their doctrines from the Jewish prophets. (L. i. p. 312.)

341. ——— personating] This is in the Latin sense of persono, to celebrate loudly, to publish or proclaim.

343. ——— swelling epithets, thick laid] Swelling epithets thick laid is particularly applicable to the Orphic hymns. Indeed gods and heroes were scarcely ever mentioned by the Greek poets without some swelling, i. e. compound, epithet. Jupiter is Ἐνφιλογενής, or Αἰγιος, the Cloud-
As varnish on a harlot's cheek, the rest,
Thin sown with aught of profit or delight,
Will far be found unworthy to compare
With Sion's songs, to all true tastes excelling,
Where God is prais'd aright, and God-like men,
The Holiest of Holics, and his Saints,
(Such are from God inspir'd, not such from thee,) 350

compeller, or the Ἐγίς-bearer; Apollo, Κρητῶν, or Αἰγαρχῆς, the far-darter, or the God of the silver bow; Neptune, Πανσέρος, encroachings, the circle
of the earth, and the shaker of the earth; Mars, Αἴρεψις, Βραδανίς, Τφικτάσις, the slayer of
men, and the over-turner of cities. Juno was Δια-
μανία, or the white-arm'd; Minerva, Παιγικῖα, or the blue-ey'd; Agamemnon was Εὐφορία, or
the wisely-reigning; Hector, Κυκέος, master of
the variegated helmet; Achilles, τόδας ως, and
πᾶδες, the swift of foot, &c.

343. ——— thick laid.

As varnish on the harlot's cheek,—]

The Duke of Buckingham, very possibly, had
this passage of Milton in his mind, when he wrote
the following lines of his Essay ON POETRY;

Figures of speech, which poets think to fine,
(Ari's needless varnish to make nature shine,)
Are all but pain upon a beauteous face,
And in descriptions only claim a place.

as Milton, most probably, had the following lines of
Shakespeare:

The harlot’s cheek, beautied with flastering
art,
Is not more ugly to the thing that helps it,
Than is my deed to my most painted word.

hamlet, act iii. sc. 1.

345. Thin sown with aught of profit or delight.

In allusion to Horace's

aut prodesse voluit, aut delictare poete;

Art. poet. 333.

Plato also has observed, (De repub. x. p. 607.
Ed. Serran.) that the only justification of poetry is

when it unites the power of pleasing with civil and
moral instruction. εἰ ὁ μονον ἥττιν αἰσθά καὶ αφιέρω
πρὸς τὰς πολιτικάς καὶ τοῦ βίου τίς αὐθεντήσω ἐγώ.

346. Will far be found unworthy to compare
With Sion's songs,—]

He was of this opinion not only in the decline
of life, but likewise in his earlier days, as appears
from the preface to his second Book of the Reason
of Church Government,—" Or if occasion shall
"lead to imitate those magnific odes and hymns
"wherein Pindarus and Callimachus are in most
"things worthy, some others in their frame ju-
dicious, in their matter most an end faulty. But
"those frequent songs throughout the law and
"prophets beyond all these, not in their divine
"argument alone, but in the very critical art of
"composition, may be easily made appear, over all
"the kinds of lyric poetry, to be incomparable."

Newton.

348. Where God is prais'd aright, and God-like men,]

The only poetry which Plato recommends to be
admitted into a state, are "hymns to the gods," "
and encomiums on virtuous actions." Εἰδορα
ἐν τις ἄρτι ποιητείς εἴπας καὶ εὐχακίας ταῖς αγάλθο-
ποιήσας παραδίκτεοι τις παῖς. De repub. l. x.

350. Such are from God inspir'd, not such from thee,
Unless where moral virtue is express'd
By light of nature, not in all quite lost.]
Unless where moral virtue is express'd
By light of nature, not in all quite lost.
Their orators thou then extoll'st, as those
The top of eloquence; statists indeed,
And lovers of their country, as may seem;
But herein to our prophets far beneath,
As men divinely taught, and better teaching
The solid rules of civil government,
In their majestic unaffected stile,
Than all the oratory of Greece and Rome.
In them is plainest taught, and easiest learnt,
What makes a nation happy, and keeps it so,

them to mean, "Poets from thee inspired are not
"such as these, unless where moral virtue is ex-
"pressed &c." But this is very far from satisfactory.—Indeed the obscurity, if not caused, is in-
creased by departing from the punctuation of the
first edition, which had a semicolon after not such
from thee. Unless certainly has no reference to the
immediately preceding line; which I have there-
fore put in a parenthesis, supposing the exception
to refer to Ver. 346.

Will far be found unworthy to compare
With Sion's songs, &c.
Unless where moral virtue is express'd
By light of nature, not in all quite lost.
I will venture however to suggest a new arrange-
ment of the passage;

Thin sown with aught of profit or delight,
(Unless where moral virtue is express'd
By light of nature not in all quite lost,)
Will far be found unworthy to compare
With Sion's songs to all true tastes excelling,
Where God is prais'd alike and God-like men,
The Holiest of Holies, and his Saints:
Such are from God inspir'd, not such from thee.

354: —— statists—
Or statists. A word in more frequent use
formerly, as in Shakespeare, Cymbeline, Act II.
Sc. 5.

— I do believe,
(Statist though I am none, nor like to be)
and Hamlet, Act V, Sc. 3.
I once did hold it, as our statists do, &c.

Newton.

Milton uses statists for statesmen, in his Areopagita.— "When as private persons are hereby
animated to think ye better pleased with public
advice, than other statists have been before
delighted with public flattery." Prose Works,

362. — makes a nation happy, and keeps it so,]
Horace, L. i. Epist. vi. 2.

— facere sed servare benum.

Richardson.

With a reference also to Proverbs, xiv. 34.
Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach
to any people.
What ruins kingdoms, and lays cities flat;
These only with our law best form a king.
So spake the Son of God; but Satan, now
Quite at a loss, (for all his darts were spent,) Thus to our Saviour with stern brow reply'd.

Since neither wealth nor honor, arms nor arts,
Kingdom nor empire pleases thee, nor aught
By me propos'd in life contemplative
Or active, tended on by glory or fame,
What dost thou in this world? The wilderness
For thee is fittest place; I found thee there,
And thither will return thee; yet remember
What I foretel thee, soon thou shalt have cause
To wish thou never hadst rejected, thus
Nicely or cautiously, my offer'd aid,
Which would have set thee in short time with ease
On David's throne, or throne of all the world,
Now at full age, fulness of time, thy season,

And Æschylus, speaking of "the tongue that " launches forth much improper language,

And in the same manner Euripides, Hecub. 603.

Thus Ver. 157, of this Book,
Nothing will please the difficult and nice.

Galat. iv. 4. When the fulness of the time was come, God sent forth his Son.

When
When prophecies of thee are best fulfill'd.
Now contrary, if I read aught in Heaven,
Or Heaven write aught of fate, by what the stars
Voluminous, or single characters,
In their conjunction met, give me to spell,
Sorrow and labors, opposition, hate
Attend thee, scorns, reproaches, injuries,
Violence and stripes, and lastly cruel death;
A kingdom they portend thee, but what kingdom,
Real or allegoric, I discern not;
Nor when; eternal sure, as without end,

He then proceeds to describe that of the truly Just Man, who is actuated by no other principle but Justice or Virtue, and shews that his life will be a continued state of affliction and suffering. He professes indeed that he is not delivering his own real sentiments, but the sentiments and usual mode of reasoning of the professed partizans of Philo, or an interested and unprincipled conduct. But the calamitous life of the Just Man is, in a great part, so literally descriptive of that of our Blessed Lord upon earth, that it may be well exhibited here in Plato's own words. "Ο δίκαιος μαρτυρεί, ἐριθωσίως, ἔπειτα, ἐιδοκίνηται, — — — τιτων παρα και τὸν ἀστρονομολογούσαι δε. De Republic. L. ii. p. 361. Ed. Serran. "The just "man shall be scourged, shall be put to the tort,"ure, shall be bound, — — — at "length having suffered every species of barbarous "treatment, he shall be crucified." Serranus thus translates αἰσχυρίσεται by in crucem tolletur; and Heyschius explains αἰσχυρίσεως by αἰσχυρίς, and αἰσχυρίσεως by αἰσχυρίς. Without beginning,—)

"The poet," says Bp. Newton, "did not think "it enough to discredit judicial astrology by making
Without beginning, for no date prefix'd
Directs me in the starry rubric set.

So saying he took, (for still he knew his power
Not yet expir'd,) and to the wilderness
Brought back the Son of God, and left him there,
Feigning to disappear. Darkness now rose,
As day-light sunk, and brought in lowering night
Her shadowy offspring; unsubstantial both,
Privation mere of light and absent day.

"it patronised by the Devil; to shew at the same" time the absurdity of it, he makes the Devil also "blunder in the expression of pretending a kingdom "which was without beginning. This," he adds,
"destroys all he would insinuate." But the poet
certainly never meant to make the Tempter a blunderer. The fact is, the language is here intended to be highly sarcastic on the eternity of Christ's kingdom, respecting which the Tempter says he believes it will have one of the properties of eternity, "that of never beginning. This is that species of insulting wit, which the Devils, in the sixth Book of the Paradise Lost, indulge themselves in on the first effects of the artillery they had invented; where Mr. Thyer, as cited by Bp. Newton, observes that Milton is not to be blamed for introducing it, "when we consider the character of "the speakers, and that such kind of insulting "wit is most peculiar to proud, contemptuous "spirits."

This is a good deal in the manner of Cowley; who thus begins his Ode entitled Life and Fame:

O life, thou nothing's younger brother!
So like that one might take one for the other!
What's somebody, or nobody!
In all the cobwebs of the schoolmen's trade,

We no such nice distinctions see,
As 'tis to be, or not to be!
Dream of a shadow! &c.

400. Privation mere of light, and absent day]

Aristotle, (De Anima, L. ii.) defines darkness to be "the privation of light."—φως ἐν ἐσομην διάφασιν ἐπικρατεῖ, ἐδεί 

δι' τας παντις τος έκκονς, εἰς 

δι' το σκοτος ΣΤΕΡΘΗΣΕΙ της τοιαύτης ἑξενι ἐν δια-

φασιν. — And again (De Sens. et Sens.)—ἐπει τι τυχών ἐν 

διάφασιν, ΠΕΝ ΠΑΡΟΤΤΕΙΑ ΦΩΣ, Ἡ 

ΔΕ 

ΣΤΕΡΘΗΣΕΙ ΕΣΤΙ ΣΚΟΤΟΣ. But "our poet's phil-

osophy," as Bp. Warburton observes, "is here "ill placed. It dashes out the image he had just "been painting." Euripides, in a chorus of his Orestes, personifying Night, calls upon her to arise from Erebus, or the shades below,

ΠΟΤΙΣ, ΠΟΙΔΑ ΨΩΞ

* * * * *

ΕΡΕΘΙΝΕΙ ΝΗ,

where, it may be observed, the scholiast rectifies the philosophy of the poet, by explaining night or darkness as really "unsubstantial," and merely produced by the absence of light, or day.—Κατεχαρισμα τα 

κάθε ος εικ τα ὑπό ἑνημαφασι, σκοτος ἐπηκοῦ της γυνας, ὑπερ ἐν τω των καταφων αναζων δοξ, ουκ ως ει δι 

τος κατω και ανεπίστατο, ἀλλὰ της ἀποστίας τοις 

ΦΩΤΟΣ ΤΟΤΟΤΟ ἩΦΙΣΤΑΤΑΙ.

Our
Our Saviour meek and with untroubled mind
After his aery jaunt, though hurried sore,
Hungry and cold, betook him to his rest,
Wherever, under some concourse of shades,
Whose branching arms thick intertwin’d might shield
From dews and damps of night his shelter’d head;
But shelter’d slept in vain, for at his head
The Tempter watch’d, and soon with ugly dreams
Disturb’d his sleep. And either tropic now

Squat like a toad, close at the ear of Eve,
Assaying by his devilish art to reach
The organs of her fancy, and with them forge
Illusions as he list, phantasm and dreams;
Or if, inspiring venom, he might taint
The animal spirits that from pure blood arise
Like gentle breaths from rivers pure, thence raise
At least distemper’d, discontented thoughts,
Vain hopes, vain aims, inordinate desires,
Blown up with high conceits ingenering pride.

Here it may be observed the Tempter tries only
"to disturb our Lord with ugly dreams," and not
to excite in him, as he did in Eve,
"Vain hopes, vain aims, inordinate desires."

It thundered from both tropics, that is perhaps
from the right and from the left. The Ancients
had very different opinions concerning the right
and the left side of the world. Plutarch says, that
Aristotle, Plato, and Pythagoras were of opinion,
that the east is the right side, and the west the left;
but that Empedocles held that the right side is
towards the summer tropic, and the left towards the
winter tropic.
From many a horrid rift, abortive pour'd
Sendole ciò permesse, in un momento
L'aria in nubi ristrinse, e mosse il vento.
Da gli occhi de' mortali un negro velo
Rapisce il giorno, e' l Sole, e par ch' avvampi,
Negro via piu' c'horror d' inferno, il cielo,
Così fa mezzina infra baleni e lampi:
Fremono i tuoni, e pioggia accolta in gelo
Si versa, e i paschi abbatte, e inonda i campi:
Schianta i rami il gran turbo, e par che croli
Non pur le querzie, ma le roccie, e i colli.

Canto vii. St. 114

...had not the Devils, who saw the sure decay
Of their false kingdom by this bloody war,
At once made heaven and earth with darkness blind,
And stirr'd up tempests, storms, and blustering wind.

Heaven's glorious lamp wrapp'd in an ugly veil
Of shadows dark was hid from mortal eye,
And hell's grim blackness the bright skies assail;
On every side the fiery lightnings fly;
The thunders roar; the streaming rain and hail
Pour down, and make that sea which erst was dry:
The tempests rend the oaks, and cedars brake,
And make not trees, but rocks and mountains quake.

Fairfax.

410. the clouds,
From many a horrid rift, abortive pour'd
Fierce rain with lightning mix't, &c.—]
Fierce rain with lightning mix'd, water with fire
In ruin reconcil'd: nor slept the winds
Within their stony caves, but rush'd abroad

Thus Virgil, Georg. i. 324.

And, Æn. i. 129.

Thus also Silius Italicus, i. 251.

Virgil describes the winds as placed by Jupiter
in certain deep dark caves of the earth, under the
controul of their god, Æolus.

Lucan also speaks of the "stony prison" of the
winds;

And Lucretius, L. vi.

Ruin and ruin are used by the Roman poets in
this sense.
From the four hinges of the world, and fell
On the vex'd wilderness, whose tallest pines,
Though rooted deep as high, and sturdiest oaks
Bow'd their stiff necks, loaden with stormy blasts,
Or torn up sheer. Ill wast thou shrouded then,
O patient Son of God, yet only stood'st
Unshaken: nor yet stay'd the terror there;

—while the winds
Blow moist and keen, shattering the graceful locks
Of these far-spreading trees, which bid us seek
Some better shroud,
Spenser frequently uses shroud for shelter;
But trembling fear still to and fro did fly,
And found no place where safe he shrou'd him might.

420. —— yet only stead'st

Milton seems to have raised this scene out of what he found in Eusebius de Dem. Evan. (Lib. ix. Vol. II. p. 434. Ed. Col.) The learned father observes, that Christ was tempted forty days, and the same number of nights.—καὶ ἐπιστῆσαν ἡμέραις πετρολαντικὰς καὶ ταῖς τοπαυξίαις ίοίνυ ενπειραγμον. And to these night temptations he applies what is said in the Psalm xci. 5. and 6. Οὐ πανδημονιόν αὐτοῖς, Θαυμάστε οὐτοῖς. Thou shalt not be afraid for any terror by night, — ἂν δὲν λαμπρὰς ταῖς διανομήμους, nor for the danger that walketh in darkness. The first is thus paraphrased in the Targum, (though with a meaning very different from Eusebius's) “Non timebis à timore Daemonum qui ambulant in nocte.” The fiends surround our Redeemer with their threats and terrors; but they have no effect.

421. Infernal ghosts and hellish furies round

Environ'd thee, some howld, some yell'd, &c.—]

This too is from Eusebius, ibid. p. 435. Epist. vi. τον ψευδόμον διεκκινεῖ εἰς νεφελον ψυχαν ουτος.—

“quoniam dum tentabatur, malignae potestates

"illum"
Infernal ghosts and hellish furies round
Environ'd thee, some howl'd, some yell'd, some shriek'd,
Some bent at thee their fiery darts, while thou
Satst unappall'd in calm and sinless peace.
Thus pass'd the night so foul, till morning fair

"illum circumstabant." And their repulse, it seems,
is also predicted in the 7th verse of the xixst Psalm:
A thousand shall fall beside thee, and ten thousand
at thy right hand, but it shall not come nigh thee.

Calton.

Bp. Warburton and Dr. Jortin both observe that
this description is taken from the legend, or the
pictures, of the Temptation of St. Anthony.
Tasso has a description somewhat similar, where
Armida, having lost Rinaldo, and returning to
destroy her palace, assembles her attendant spirits
in a storm;

Guenta a gli alberghi suoi chiamò trecento
Con lingua borrenda deità d' Averno.
S'empie il ciel d' atre nubi, e in un momento
Impallidisce il gran pianeta eterno,
E sofla, e scote i gigli alpestri il vento.
Ecco già sotto i piè mugghiari l' inferno.
Quanto gira il palagio, udresti irati
Sibili, e urli, e fremiti, e latrai.
Canto, xvi. St. 67.

When home she came, she called, in outery shrill,
A thousand devils, in Limbo deep that wun;
Black clouds the skies with horrid darkness fill;
And pale for dread became the eclipsed sun;
The whirlwind bluster'd big on ev'ry hill,
And Hell to roar beneath her feet begun;
You might have heard how, through the palace wide,
Some spirits bowl'd, some bark'd, some hiss'd, some cried.

We may also compare a passage in Shakespeare,
which concludes Clarence's relation of his horrid
dream in the Tower just before he is murdered;

With that, methought, a LEGION OF SOUL FRIENDS
Environ'd me, and howled in mine ears
Such hideous cries, that with the very noise
I trembling wak'd; and for a season after
Could not believe but that I was in Hell:
Such terrible impression made my dream.

K. Richard III. Act I. Sc. 5.

424. ———— their fiery darts,—]
——— the fiery darts of the wicked. Ephes. vi. 16.

425. Satst unappall'd in calm and sinless peace.]
The contrast, which this line gives to the preceding
description of the horrors of the storm, has a
singularly fine effect.

426. ———— till morning fair
Come forth with pilgrim steps in amice gray.]
In the Comus evening is described, in a similarly
beautiful manner, as distinguished by the
monastic habit and religious character;
——— the gray-hooded even,
LIKE A SAD VOTARIST IN PALMER'S WEED,—

And not dissimilar is the justly-admired description
of evening coming on, in the FOURTH Book of the
PARADISE LOST;

Now came still evening on, and TWILIGHT GRAY
Had in her sober livery all things clad,
on which passage Mr. Thyer, remarking the frequent
and particular notice which Milton has taken of the
TWILIGHT GRAY, whenever he has occasion to
speak of the evening, observes that "the weakness
of the poet's eyes, to which this kind of light
must be vastly pleasant, might be the reason that
he so often introduces the mention of it."——
The same may be said of his descriptions of the
early morning, the soften'd light of day-break.
Thus, (PARADISE LOST, vii. 374,) having de-
scribed "the glorious regent of day" beginning
his JACUND course, he adds
——— the GRAY
Dawn, and the Pleiades, before him danced
SHEDDING SWEET INFLUENCE,
Came forth, with pilgrim steps, in amice gray;
Who with her radiant finger still'd the roar

Thus also, Lyceidas, 187;
While the still morn went out with sandals gray.
And Allegro, 44;
Till the dappled dawn doth rise;
where dappled means gray. Dappled gray is a
spotted gray; thus Shakespeare, Much ado
about nothing, Act V. Sc. 3.

——— the gentle day
Dapples the drowsy cast with spots of gray.
Shakespeare is fond of the gray morning.
The gray-e'y'd morn smiles on the frowning night.
Romeo and Juliet, II. 3.
I'll say you gray is not the morning's eye,
Ibid. III. 5.

Chaucer, in his Knight's Tale, Ver. 1493, describes
The merry lark, messengere of the day,
Salewing in her song the morning gray.

427. ——— with pilgrim steps—
With the slow solemn pace of a pilgrim on a
journey of devotion.
Newton,

427. ——— amice gray,

Amice gray is gray cloathing. Amice, a signi-
ficant word, is derived from the Latin amiceo, to
clothe; and is used by Spenser, Faery Queen,
Book I. C. iv. St. 18.
Array'd in habit black, and amice thin,
Like to an holy monk the service to begin.
Newton.

Amice gray, Mr. Warton says, is the grains amici-
tus of the Roman Ritual.—Milton, he also ob-
erves, in a controversy about church-habits, uses
the word amice. "We have heard of Aaron, and
his linen amice &c," Pr. W. i. 100.
The Roman poets give night a table of dusky
amice. Thus Silius Italicus, xv. 285;

—— notatro circumdata corpus amice.
And Ibid. xii. 612;

—— terras caeco nox condit amictu.
Thus also, Statius, Theiad, iii. 415;

Nox sublit, curasque hominum, motusque ferrum
Composuit, nigroque polos involvit amictu.

Virgil gives the Naiad Jururna a glaucus amici-
tus, a sort of "gray amice," or robe of a light
gray, or sea-green, colour;

Jam tum effata caput glauco contexit amictu.
The gray-robe of this goddess of the brook might
be the gray mist that frequently exhaled from the
stream; or the gray willows that hung over it, and
fringed its banks. The Roman poets, by giving
the epithet glaucus to the olive tree, ascertain that
colour to have been nearly a gray.

Aurora in Homer, (I. viii. 1.) has a saffron
robe, or amice, and is termed

Hos, KPOXOETIOS,

In Hamlet, (Act I. Sc. 1.)
—— the morn, in russet mantle clad,
Walks o'er the dew of yon high eastern hill.

And in the Penseroso, Ver. 44., morn at its
first appearance is civil-suited, i. e. dressed like
a sober citizen in gray, or at least in some colour
not of a glaring kind.

428. Who with her radiant finger still'd the roar
Of thunder, chas'd the clouds, and loid the winds, &c.

This is an imitation of a passage in the first
Aeneid of Virgil, where Neptune is represented
with his Trident laying the storm which Eolus
had raised. ver. 142.

Sic ait, et dicto citius tumida æquora placat,
Collectasque fugat nubes, solemque reducit.

There is the greater beauty in the English poet,
as the scene he is describing under this charming
figure is perfectly consistent with the course of
nature; nothing being more common than to see a
stormy night succeeded by a pleasant, serene morn-
ing.

Thyrs.

That Milton had here in his mind the Podact-
RrAs, the rosy-finger'd Aurora of Homer
and Hesiod, must be supposed; but while rosy-
finger'd is the proper epithet of the dawn, which
immediately
Of thunder, chas'd the clouds, and laid the winds,
And grisly spectres, which the Fiend had rais'd

immediately precedes the rising of the sun, the
early morning, when the sun is absolutely risen, is
justly described with radiant, instead of ray fingers.
In availing himself of the heathen poet's mode of
characterising the dawn, I conceive, our Author
had an eye to the finger of God. Exodus, viii 19.
Luke, xi. 20. It is observable that to still the roar
of the storm is also a scriptural phrase. Psalm
Ixxv. 7.—Ixxxix. 9. It is needless to suggest to
the reader of taste how much more the beauty and
imagery of this passage strikes us, when we consider
it with a view to these scriptural allusions. Aurora,
or the dawn, rising with ray fingers, with a tint of
red in the extreme parts of her person that first
emerge, is a pleasing image; but morning with her
radiant finger stilling the storm of the preceding night
is a truly sublime one.

430. And grisly spectres which the Fiend had rais'd,]

This is the old superstition of evil spirits dis-
appearing at break of day; which Milton is cen-
sured by Bp. Warburton for introducing in this
place.—He has also alluded to it in his Ode on
the Nativity;

So when the sun in bed,
Curtain'd with cloudy red,
Pillows his chin upon an orient wave,
The frowning shadows pale,
Troop to the infernal jail,
Each fetter'd ghost slips to his several grave,
And the yellow-skirted Fays
Fly after the night steeds, leaving their moon-lov'd
maze.

We meet with it also in the following passage
of Prudentius;

Ferunt vagantes daemonas,
Lector tenebris noctium,
Gallo canente exteritos
Sparsim timere, et cedere
Invisa nam vicinitas
Lucis, salutis, numinis,
Rupto tenebrarum sita,
Noctis fugat satellites,

CATHEMERIN. Hymn i.

This popular superstition, respecting the evan-
escence of spirits at the crowing of the cock, Shake-
spere, as Mr. Warton observes, has finely avail-
himself of in his Hamlet, where the Ghost va-
nishes at this circumstance.

It faded on the crowing of the cock.
Some say that ever 'gainst that season comes,
Wherein our Saviour's birth is celebrated,
The bird of dawning singeth all night long:
And then, say they, no spirit dares walk abroad;
The nights are wholesome, then no planets strike,
No fairy takes, no witch has power to charm;
So hallow'd and so gracious is the time.

The supposed effect of day-break, in this respect,
is also described very poetically by the same great
master in his Midsummer Night's Dream,
Aft III. Scene the last;

And yonder shines Aurora's harbinger;
At whose approach ghosts wandering here and there
Troop home to churchyards: damned spirits all,
That in crossways and floods have burial,
Already to their wormy beds are gone.

Thus also Cowley, in his Hymn to Light,
Stanz. 10;

Night and her ugly subjects thou dost fright, &c.—

And Stanz. 17;

The ghosts, and monster spirits, that did presume
A body's privilege to assume,
Vanish again invisibly.—

But perhaps no poet has more happily availled
himself of this old superstition, or has introduced
it more poetically than the late Mr. Gray, in his
Progress of Poetry, where the relief, which the
Muse affords to the real and imaginary ills of life,
is compared to the day dispelling the gloom and
terrors of the night.

Night, and all her sickly dews,
Her spectres wan, and birds of bodig cry,
He gives to range the dreary sky:
Till down the eastern cliffs afar
Hyperion's march they spy, and glittering shafts of war.

STANZA ii. 1.
To tempt the Son of God with terrors dire,
And now the sun with more effectual beams
Had cheer'd the face of earth, and dry'd the wet
From drooping plant, or dropping tree; the birds,
Who all things now behold more fresh and green
After a night of storm so ruinous,
Clear'd up their choicest notes in bush and spray
To grateulate the sweet return of morn.
Nor yet, amidst this joy and brightest morn,

Cowley, in his Hymn to Light, has the following beautiful stanza:

When, goddess, thou lift'st up thy waken'd head,
Out of the morning's purple bed,
Thy choir of birds about thee play,
And all the joyful world salutes the rising day.

Tasso has the description of a sea-storm instantly changed to a perfect calm, by means of the magical bark in which the two knights sail in search of Rinaldo:

The wonderous boat scant touch'd the troubled main,
But all the sea still, hush'd, and quiet was;
Vapish'd the clouds, ceased the wind and rain,
The threaten'd storm did over-blow and pass;
A gently-breathing air made even and plain,
The azure face of Heaven's transparent glass;
And Heaven itself smil'd from the skies above,
With a calm clearness on the earth, his love.

Was
Was absent, after all his mischief done,
The prince of darkness; glad would also seem
Of this fair change, and to our Saviour came;
Yet with no new device, (they all were spent,) Rather by this his last affront resolv'd,
Desperate of better course, to vent his rage
And mad despite to be so oft repell'd.
Him walking on a sunny hill he found,
Back'd on the north and west by a thick wood;
Out of the wood he starts in wonted shape, And in a careless mood thus to him said.

Fair morning yet betides thee, Son of God,
After a dismal night: I heard the wrack,
As earth and sky would mingle; but myself
Was distant; and these flaws, though mortals fear them
As dangerous to the pillar'd frame of Heaven,

449. ———— in wonted shape,—]
That is, in his own proper shape, and not under any disguise, as at each of the former times when he appeared to our blessed Lord. He comes now hopeless of success, without device or disguise, and, as the poet expressly says, Desperate of better course, to vent his rage And mad despite to be so oft repell'd.

453. As earth and sky would mingle—]
Virgil, Æn. i. 137;
Jam colum terramque meo sine numine, venti, Miserere, et tantas audetis tollere moles?

454. ———— these flaws,—]
Flaw is a sea term for a sudden storm, or gust of wind.
In the Paradise Lost, among the changes produced in the natural world are violent storms, which are described

— arm'd with ice,
And snow and hail, and stormy GUST AND FLAW;

where Bp. Newton cites two verses from Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis;
Like a red morn that ever yet betoken'd
Gust, and foul flaws to herdsmen and to herds.

455. As dangerous to the pillar'd frame of Heaven,]
So also, Corus, 597;—
if this fail,
The pillar'd FIRMAMENT is rottenness.
In both, no doubt, alluding to Job, xxvi. 11. The pillars of heaven tremble, and are astonish'd at his reproof.

Kk
Or to the earth's dark basis underneath,
Are to the main as inconsiderable
And harmless, if not wholesome, as a sneeze
To man's less universe, and soon are gone;
Yet, as being oft times noxious where they light
On man, beast, plant, wasteful and turbulent,
Like turbulencies in the affairs of men,
Over whose heads they roar, and seem to point,
They oft fore-signify and threaten ill:
This tempest at this desert most was bent;
Of men at thee, for only thou here dwell'st.
Did I not tell thee, if thou didst reject
The perfect season offer'd with my aid
To win thy destin'd seat, but wilt prolong
All to the push of fate, pursue thy way
Of gaining David's throne, no man knows when,
For both the when and how is no where told?
Thou shalt be what thou art ordain'd, no doubt;
For Angels have proclaim'd it, but concealing
The time and means. Each act is rightliest done,
Not when it must, but when it may be best:
If thou observe not this, be sure to find.

460

465

470

475

--- Thy kingdom, though forstold
By Prophet, or by Angel, unless thou
Endeavour, as thy father David did,
Thou never shalt obtain; prediction still,
In all things, and all men, supposes means;
Without means us'd, what it predicts revokes.
What I foretold thee, many a hard assay
Of dangers, and adversities, and pains,
Ere thou of Israel's sceptre get fast hold;
Whereof this ominous night, that clos'd thee round,
So many terrors, voices, prodigies,
May warn thee, as a sure fore-going sign.

So talk'd he, while the Son of God went on
And stay'd not, but in brief him answer'd thus.

Me worse than wet thou find'st not; other harm
Those terrors, which thou speak'st of, did me none;
I never fear'd they could, though noising loud
And threatening nigh: what they can do, as signs
Betokening, or ill boding, I contemn
As false portents, not sent from God, but thee;
Who, knowing I shall reign past thy preventing,
Obtrud'st thy offer'd aid, that I, accepting,
At least might seem to hold all power of thee,
Ambitious Spirit; and wouldst be thought my God;
And storm'st refus'd, thinking to terrify
Me to thy will: desist, (thou art discern'd,
And toil'st in vain,) nor me in vain molest.

478. What I foretold thee, &c. —]
Ver. 374. of this Book;

— yet remember
What I foretell thee; * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
If I read aught in Heaven,
Or Heaven write aught of fate, by what the stars
Voluminous, or single characters,
In their conjunction met, give me to spell,
To whom the Fiend, now swoln with rage, reply'd.
Then hear, O Son of David, Virgin-born,
For Son of God to me is yet in doubt;
Of the Messiah I had heard foretold
By all the Prophets; of thy birth at length,
Announce'd by Gabriel, with the first I knew,
And of the angelic song in Bethlehem field,
On thy birth-night that sung thee Saviour born.
From that time seldom have I ceas'd to eye
Thy infancy, thy childhood, and thy youth,
Thy manhood last, though yet in private bred;
Till at the ford of Jordan, whither all
Flock to the Baptist, I, among the rest,
(Though not to be baptiz'd,) by voice from Heaven

500. Then hear, O Son of David, Virgin-born,
For Son of God to me is yet in doubt.

That Satan should seriously address our Lord
as "Virgin-born," because he entertained doubts
whether he was in any respect the Son of God, is
palpably inconsequent. "To be born of a virgin,"
Mr. Calton observes from Bp. Pearson, in a sub-
sequent note, "is not so far above the production
of all mankind as to place our Lord in that
singular eminence, which must be attributed to
the only-begotten Son of God." But it must be
recollected, that the subject of this poem is a trial
ad probandum whether the person declared to be
the Son of God was really the Messiah: to ac-
knowledge therefore that he was beyond all dispute
born of a virgin, and had thereby fulfilled so material
a prophecy respecting the Messiah, would be to
admit in some degree the point in question. And
however "Virgin-born" might not be supposed to
ascertain in any degree the claim to the Messiah-
ship, still it could never be used in an address to
our Lord meant to lower him to "mere man,"
"Son of David," single and by itself, was an
expression that Satan might be expected to use,
when, characterising our Lord as a mere human
being, he professed to disbelieve that he was the
Son of God, born in a miraculous manner of a
pure virgin, as it was foretold the Messiah should
be.—"Virgin-born" then must be considered as
intended to be highly sarcastic. It is an epithet
of the most pointed derision; resembling the Hail
King of the Jews, and they smote him with their
bands. It is that species of blasphemous insult,
which might be expected from the Arch-Fiend,
who at the opening of the speech is described
"swoln with rage."

502. Of the Messiah I had heard foretold]
All the editions read have heard. Had seems
absolutely requisite.
Heard thee pronounc'd the Son of God belov'd.
Thenceforth I thought thee worth my nearer view
And narrower scrutiny, that I might learn
In what degree or meaning thou art call'd
The Son of God; which bears no single sense.
The Son of God I also am, or was;
And if I was, I am; relation stands;
All men are Sons of God; yet thee I thought
In some respect far higher so declar'd:
Therefore I watch'd thy footsteps from that hour,
And follow'd thee still on to this waste wild;
Where, by all best conjectures, I collect
Thou art to be my fatal enemy:
Good reason then, if I before-hand seek
To understand my adversary, who
And what he is; his wisdom, power, intent;
By parl or composition, truce or league,
To win him, or win from him what I can:
And opportunity I here have had
To try thee, sift thee, and confess have found thee
Proof against all temptation, as a rock
Of adamant, and, as a centre, firm;

---

533. [this waste wild;]
And Eden rais'd in the WASTE WILDERNESS.

529. By parl.—]
Thus in Paradise Lost, vi. 296.
They ended parl.

And Shakespeare, Hamlet, Act I. Sc. 1.

---

So frown'd he once when, in an angry parl,
He smote the sledged Polacks on the ice.—

533. Proof against all temptation, as a rock of adamant,—

---

Adamantine proof, Sams. Agonist. 134.
To the utmost of mere man both wise and good,
Not more; for honors, riches, kingdoms, glory
Have been before contemn'd, and may again.
Therefore, to know what more thou art than man,
Worth naming Son of God by voice from Heaven,
Another method I must now begin.

So saying he caught him up, and, without wing
Of hippocrïf, bore through the air sublime,
Over the wilderness and o'er the plain,
Till underneath them fair Jerusalem,
The holy city, lifted high her towers,

538. ——— what more thou art than man,
Worth naming Son of God by voice from Heaven,]

See Bp. Pearson on the Creed, p. 106. "We
must find yet a more peculiar ground of our
Saviour's filiation, totally distinct from any which
belongs unto the rest of the sons of God, that he
may be clearly and fully acknowledged the only
begotten Son. For although to be horn of a
virgin be in itself miraculous, yet is it not so far
above the production of all mankind, as to place
him in that singular eminence, which must be
attributed to the only-begotten. We read of
Adam the Son of God as well as Seth the Son of
Adam: (Luke, iii. 38.) and surely the framing
Christ out of a woman cannot so far transcend
the making Adam out of the earth, as to cause
so great a distance, as we must believe, between
the first and second Adam,"

541. ——— without wing

Of hippocrïf,—]

Here Milton designed a reflection upon the
Italian poets, and particularly upon Ariosto. An
hippogrïf is an imaginary creature, part like an
horse, and part like a gryphon. See Orlando
Furioso, Cant. iv.;

Only the beast he rode was not of art,
But gotten of a griffeth and a mare,
And like a griffeth had the former part,
As wings and head, and claws that hideous are,
And passing strength and force, and vent'rous heart,
But all the rest may with a horse compare.
Such beasts as these the hills of Rythre yield,
Though in these parts they have been seen but seed.

Harrington. St. 13.

Ariosto frequently makes use of this creature to
convey his heroes from place to place. Newton.

Aschylus in his Prometheus, Ver. 282, makes
Oceanus travel on a winged steed.

545. The holy city,—]

Jerusalem is frequently so called in the Old Testa-
ment. It is also called the holy city by St. Mat-
thew, who wrote his gospel for the use of the
Jewish converts; but by him only of the four
Evangelists. Then the Devil taketh him up into
the holy city, and setteth him on a pinnacle of
the temple, &c. Mat. iv. 5. See also, Mat. xxvii. 53.

Dr. Townson having observed, that "St. Mat-
thew alone, of all the Evangelists, ascribes those
titles of sanctity to Jerusalem, by which it had
been distinguished by the prophets and sacred
historians, and was known among the neighbour-
"ing
And higher yet the glorious temple rear'd
Her pile, far off appearing like a mount
Of alabaster, topt with golden spires:
There, on the highest pinnacle, he set
The Son of God; and added thus in scorn.

"ing nations," thus accounts for this difference
between him and the other Evangelists, on the
supposition that St. Matthew was, as he has gene-
really been supposed to be, the earliest writer of the
four,—" After some years the word of God, being
received by multitudes in various parts of the
world, did as it were sanctify other cities; while
Jerusalem, by rancorous opposition to the truth,
and sanguinary persecution of it, more and more
decayed in the esteem of the believers. They
acknowledged the title and character which they
claimed by ancient prescription, when St. Mat-
thew wrote; but between the publication of his
gospel and the next, they were taught to transfer
the idea of the holy city to a worthier object."

Townson's Discourses, Disc. iv. S. 3.

545:  _______ [lifted high her towers,]
The towers of Jerusalem are frequently men-
tioned in scripture; it is said that—Uzziah built
towers in Jerusalem at the corner-gate, and at the
valley-gate, and at the turning of the wall. 2. Chron.
xxvi. 9.—And, when Hezekiah fortified Jerusalem
against Sennacherib, he strengthened himself, and built
up all the wall that was broken, and raised it up
to the towers. 2. Chron. xxxii. 5.—The nu-
merous towers of the city of God are also referred
to by the Psalmist; Walk about Zion, and go round
about her, and tell the towers thereof.

547:  _______ [far off appearing like a mount
Of Alabaster,—]
Of alabaster, pit'd up to the clouds
Conspicuous far; —
Paradise Lost, iv. 543.

549:  _______ [There, on the highest pinnacle, he set
The Son of God;—]
He has chosen to follow the order observed by
St. Luke, in placing this Temptation last, because
if he had, with St. Matthew, introduced it in the
middle, it would have broke that fine thread of
moral reasoning, which is observed in the course
of the other Temptations.

Thyer.

In the gospel account of the Temptation, no dis-
cover is made of the incarnation; and this grand
mystery is as little known to the Tempter at the
end, as at the beginning. But now, according to
Milton's scheme, the poem was to be closed with
a full discovery of it. There are three circum-
stances therefore, in which the poet, to serve his
plan, hath varied from the accounts in the gospels.
1. The critics have not been able to ascertain what
the πρόκυπτης or pinnacle (as we translate it) was, on
which Christ was set by the Demon: but whatever
it was, the Evangelists make no difficulty of his
standing there. This the poet (following the
common use of the word pinnacle in our own lan-
guage) supposeth to be something like those on
the battlements of our churches, a pointed spire, on
which Christ could not stand without a miracle.
2. In the poem, the Tempter bids Christ give proof
of his pretensions by standing on the pinnacle, or
by casting himself down. In the gospels, the last
only is or could be suggested. 3. In the gospel
account the prohibition Thou shalt not tempt the
Lord thy God is alleged only as a reason why
Christ (whose divinity is concealed there) must
not throw himself down from the top of the temple,
because this would have been tempting God. But in
the poem it is applied to the Demon, and his at-
tempt upon Christ; who is thereby declared to be
the Lord his God.

Calton.

By Pearce suppos's what is in the gospel called
πρόκυπτης, and commonly translated pinnacle, to have
been
There stand, if thou wilt stand; to stand upright
Will ask thee skill; I to thy Father's house
Have brought thee, and highest plac'd; highest is best:
Now shew thy progeny; if not to stand,
Cast thyself down; safely, if Son of God,
For it is written, "He will give command
Concerning thee to his Angels, in their hands
They shall up lift thee, lest at any time
Thou chance to dash thy foot against a stone."

To whom thus Jesus: Also it is written,
"Tempt not the Lord thy God." He said, and stood:
been rather a wing of the temple, a flat part of the
roof of one of its courts; probably on that side
where the Royal Portico was, and where the valley
on the outside was the deepest. Josephus, (Antiquit. xv. 11. 5,) says, "whereas the valley
was so deep that a man could scarcely see the
bottom of it, Herod built a Portico of so vast
a height, that if a man looked from the roof of
it, his head would grow giddy, and his sight not
be able to reach from that height to the bottom
of the valley."—Eusebius, (Hist. Ecclesiast. ii. 23.) cites the account given by Hegesippus of the death of James the Apostle, in which it is said that the Scribes and Pharisees brought him in to temptation to sin, up to this elevated point of the temple, and cast him down from thence.

554. Now shew thy progeny:—

The immediate term progeny is probably from
Virgil's Pollio;
Jam nolu progenies coele demittitur also.

or from a subsequent verse,
Clara Dei sodales, magnum Jovis incrementum.
The general tenor of the thought is from St. Mat. xxvii. 39. 40. And they that passed by him reviled
him wagging their heads, and saying, Thou that
destroyest the temple and buildest it in three days,
save thyself. If thou be the Son of God,
come down from the cross.

556. For it is written, "He will give command
Concerning thee to his Angels, in their hands
They shall lift thee, lest at any time
Thou chance to dash thy foot against a stone."

This scripture, as referred to both by St. Matthew and St. Luke in their account of the Temptation, is in Psalm cxi. 11. 12. For he shall give his Angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways; they shall bear thee up in their hands, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone.

560. —— also it is written,
"Tempt not the Lord thy God."—

Ye shall not tempt the Lord your God. Deuteron. vi. 16.

561. "Tempt not the Lord thy God." He said, and stood:

Here is what we may call after Aristotle the animadversions, or the discovery. Christ declares himself to be the God and Lord of the Tempter; and to prove it, stands upon the pinnacle. This was evidently the poet's meaning. 1. The miracle shews it to be so; which is otherwise impertinently introduced, and against the rule.

Nec
BOOK IV. PARA\DISE REGAINED.

But Satan, smitten with amazement, fell.
As when earth’s son Antæus, (to compare Small things with greatest,) in Irassa strove

Nec Deus intueri, nisi dignus vindice nodus
Inciderit.

It proves nothing but what the Tempter knew, and allowed before. 2. There is a connection between Christ’s saying and standing, which demonstrates that he stood, in proof of something he had said. Now the prohibition, Tempt not the Lord thy God, as alleged in the gospels from the Old Testament, was in no want of such an attestation: but a miracle was wanting to justify the application of it to the Tempter’s attack upon Christ; it was for this end therefore that he stood. Calton.

I cannot entirely approve this learned gentleman’s exposition. I am for understanding the words, Also it is written, Tempt not the Lord thy God, in the same sense in which they were spoken in the gospels; because I would not make the poem to differ from the gospel account, farther than necessity compels, or more than the poet himself has made it. The Tempter sets our Saviour on a pinnacle of the temple, and there requires of him a proof of his divinity, either by standing, or by casting himself down, as he might safely do, if he was the Son of God, according to the quotation from the Psalmist. To this our Saviour answers, as he answers in the gospels, It is written again, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God, tacitly inferring that his casting himself down would be tempting of God. He said, i. e. he gave this reason for not casting himself down, and stood. His standing properly makes the discovery, and is the principal proof of his progeny that the Tempter required: Now shew thy progeny. His standing convinces Satan. His standing is considered as the display of his divinity, and the immediate cause of Satan’s fall; and the grand contrast is formed between the standing of the one, and the fall of the other.

— He said, and stood:
But Satan, smitten with amazement, fell.

and afterwards, Ver. 571.

Fell whence he stood to see his victor fall.

Newton.

561. ———— He said, and stood:]

This is in the manner of Homer;

This is the manner of Homer;

Il. vii. 354.

He spoke and sat,—

Pope.

563. — earth’s son Antæus,—]

This simile in the person of the poet is amazingly fine.

Warburton.

Antæus was supposed to be the son of Neptune, and Tellus.

Thus Statius, Thebaïd. vi. 893.

—— Hercules pressum sic fama laceratis
Terrigenam subante Libyn——

And Silius Italicus, iii. 40.

Nec levior vincit Libycæ Telluris Alumnus
Mater super,—

563. ———— (to compare Small things with greatest, ——]

This is the third time Milton has imitated Virgil’s

—— sic parvis componere magna solebam.

Ecl. i. 82.

See Paradise Lost, ii. 921. x. 306.

Some such mode of qualifying common similies is necessary to a poet writing on divine subject. 564. ——— in Irassa ——

Irassa is a place in Libya, mentioned by Herodotus, iv. 158. 35 ει την Χαλικαντα χατα, and from him by Stephanus Byzant, who says, Χατας τοι Λεύκτες, ες δε μεταγγορευνυσαι διδ Λευκν, ως Πνημοται — where Beckelius notes, "Hujus urbis " quaque meminit Pindarum." Pyth. ix. sed duplci σ scribatur:

L 1

"Oio,
With Jove's Alcides, and, oft foil'd, still rose,
Receiving from his mother earth new strength,
Fresh from his fall, and fiercer grapple join’d,
Throttled at length in the air, expir’d and fell;
So, after many a foil, the Tempter proud,
Renewing fresh assaults, amidst his pride,
Fell whence he stood to see his victor fall:
And as that Theban monster, that propos’d
Her riddle, and him who solv’d it not devour’d,
That once found out and solv’d, for grief and spite
Cast herself headlong from the Isemian steep;
So, struck with dread and anguish, fell the Fiend,
And to his crew, that sat consulting, brought,

570. And as that Theban monster, &c.—]
The Sphinx, who, on her riddle being solved by Ο Ο O E d i p u s, threw herself into the sea. Statius, Theb. i. 66.

— Si Sphingos inique
Callidus ambages, te præmonstrante, resolvi.

Newton.

The same poet refers also to the falling of the Sphinx from the Isemian steep, when her riddle was solved by Ο E d i p u s;
— dum Cadmusarat? dum victa cadit Sphynx?
Thebaid. xi. 490.

The Sphinx is termed by Euripides, (Phoeniss. 813.) ὁμιλης τιμάς, the “ MONSTER of the mountain!” She was supposed to have posted herself on the mountain Phiclus, at no great distance from Thebes. Apollodor. L. iii. C. v. 8. She is termed by Lycophron, Σφινξ τιμάς, (Ver. 1465,) where Heyne suggests the reading οὺκεντος τιμάς, the monster of the mountain Phiclus.

572. —— that Theban monster that propos’d
Her riddle, and him who solv’d it not devour’d,
That once found out and solv’d, for grief and spite
Cast herself headlong from the Isemian steep;

Milton seems here to have had Apollodorus’s account of the Sphinx in his mind; at least there is a great coincidence of expression in the mythologist and the poet.—Apollobodor says the Sphinx proposed her riddle to the Thebans, ΠΡΟΤΕΙΝΕΙ τοις Θεβάνοις, and that, every time they failed of finding it out, she seized one of them, and devoured him, ἐναὶ δὲ ΜΗ ΕΤΡΙΣΚΩΝ, αἰσχος εἰναὶ ΚΑΤΑΒΙΒΡΑΣΚΕ, that Ο Ο O E d i p u s, upon hearing it, solved it, Ἐκθέτω δὲ αὐτὸς ΕΑΥΣΕΝ,—whereupon she cast herself headlong from the Cadmea, or citadel of Thebes, ΕΑΥΣΕΝ ἐπητείν αὐτὸ τέχναν αὐτῶν;— which last words the learned Heyne thinks are an interpolation, a malā manū insertum, as the mountain Phiclus towards Onchestos, (Pausan. ix. 26.), was allowedly the haunt of the Sphinx. At the same time he observes that she was supposed at times to approach the walls of the Cadmea in search of prey. (Euripid. Phoeniss. 815. 816.)—As Phiclus was a mountain in the Theban territory, either that, or the Cadmea, might be termed the Isemian steep, from the river Isemus, which ran by Thebes; ἢ γὰρ Ασαπός, καὶ ὁ Ἐσθηνός ἤ ἔκεντος τιμας την πεδινα μενη την περι των Ῥησων. Strabo. ix. p. 408.
—Isemus is thus frequently used by the Latin poets for Thebans.

(Joyless
(Joyless triumphs of his hop’d success,) 
Ruin, and desperation, and dismay,  
Who durst so proudly tempt the Son of God. 

So Satan fell; and strait a fiery globe  
Of Angels on full sail of wing flew nigh,  
Who on their plumy vans receive’d him soft

581. So Satan fell; and strait &c.—]  
Thus in G. Fletcher’s Christ’s Triumph on 
Earth, where Presumption is personified, and 
represented as in vain tempting our blessed Lord;  
But, when she saw her speech prevailed naught, 
Herself she tumbled headlong to the floor;  
But him the Angels on their feathers caught,  
And to an airy mountain nimbly bore.  

Stanz. xxxviii.

581. —— and strait a fiery globe  
Of Angels on full sail of wing flew nigh,  
Who on their plumy vans &c.—]  
There is a peculiar softness and delicacy in this 
description, and neither circumstances nor words 
could be better selected to give the reader an idea of 
the easy and gentle descent of our Saviour, and 
to take from the imagination that horror and un-
estasiness which it is naturally filled with in con-
templating the dangerous and uneasy situation he 
was left in.  

So Psyche was carried down from the rock by 
zephyrs, and laid lightly on a green and flowery 
bank, and there entertained with invisible music.  
See Apuleius, Lib. iv.  

Richardson.

Mr. Richardson might have added that Psyche 
was also entertained with a banquet ministered by 
Spirits. The passages from Apuleius, (at the end 
of the Fourth Book of the Metamorphoses, 
and the beginning of the Fifth,) are well worth 
citing.  

"Psychem autem paventem ac trepidam, et in 
ipso scopuli vertice deslentem, mitis aura molliter 
spirantis Zephyri, vibratis hinc inde laciniosis et 
reflato sinu sensim levatam, suo tranquillo spiritu 
vehens paulatim per devexa rupis excelsæ, vallis

"subdite florentis cespitis gremio leniter delapsam
reclinat."

—"Et illico vini nectarei eduliorumque variorum
fercula copiosa, nullo serviente, sed tantum spiritu
quodam impulsa, subministrantur. Nec quem-
quam tamen illa videre poterat, sed verba tantum
audiebat excidentia et solas voces famulas ha-
bebatur. Post opimas dapes quidam intro cessit, et
cantavit invisus; et alius citharam pulsat, quæ
non videbatur, nec ipse. Tune modulata mul-
titudinis conferta vox aures ejus affertur; ut
quamvis hominem nemo pateret, chorum tamen
eesse pateret."

583 Who on their plumy vans receive’d him soft
From his uneasy station, and upbore,
As on a floating couch, through the blithe air;)

This description reminds me of an Assumption 
of the Virgin, by Guido, in St. Ambrosio’s Church 
at Genoa; only the motion of the whole groupe 
there is ascending.—If it is not from any famous 
painting, it is certainly a subject for one.

583 Who on their plumy vans receive’d him soft]

The grammatical inaccuracy here, I am afraid, 
cannot be palliated. Him, according to the common 
construction of language, certainly must refer to 
Satan, the person last mentioned. The intended 
sense of the passage cannot indeed be misunder-
stood; but we grieve to find any inaccuracy in a 
part of the poem so eminently beautiful.

583 ——— vans—]

Thus, Paradise Lost, ii. 927; speaking of 
Satan;

"his sail-broad vams
He spreads for flight,"

And
From his uneasy station, and upbore,
As on a floating couch, through the blithe air;
Then, in a flowery valley, set him down
On a green bank, and set before him spread
A table of celestial food, divine
Ambrosial fruits, fetch'd from the tree of life,
And, from the fount of life, ambrosial drink,
That soon refresh'd him wearied, and repair'd
What hunger, if aught hunger, had impair'd,
Or thirst; and, as he fed, angelic quires

And Tasso;

Indi spiega al gran volo i vani aurei;
Gierusale, Liberat. Canto ix. St. 60.

585. through the blithe air;}

Blithe air is similar to buxom air, Paradise Lost, ii. 842. V. 270.—But I conceive it to have a further meaning, cheerful, or pleased with its burden; and it strikes me as an intended contrast to a passage in the Paradise Lost, describing the flight of Satan, at the time he first rises from the burning lake; when the dusky air is loaded with his weight.

Then with expanded wings he steers his flight
Aloft, incumbent on the dusky air,
That felt unusual weight,—

86. Then, in a flowery valley, set him down
On a green bank, and set before him spread
A table of celestial food, divine
Ambrosial fruits, fetch'd from the tree of life,
And from the fount of life ambrosial drink;

We may compare the description of the Feast of the Angels, Paradise Lost, v. 636;}

On flowers repos'd, and with fresh flowers crown'd,
They eat, they drink, and, in communion sweet,
Quaff immortality and joy,—

Their camp also extends

By living streams among the trees of life.

587. and set before him spread
A table of celestial food, divine
Ambrosial fruits, fetch'd from the tree of life,
And from the fount of life ambrosial drink,
That soon refresh'd him wearied, and repair'd
What hunger, if aught hunger, had impair'd,
Or thirst; and, as he fed, angelic quires
Sung heavenly anthems of his victory
Over Temptation and the Tempter proud.

Here is much resemblance to a stanza of Giles Fletcher:

But to their Lord now musing in his thought
A heavenly volley of light Angels flew,
And from his father him a banquet brought
Through the fine element, for well they knew
After his lenten fast he hungry grew;
And, as he fed, the holy quires combine
To sing a hymn of the celestial triune.

Christ's Triumph on Earth, Stanz. 61.

598. angelic quires
Sung heavenly anthems of his victory Ec.—]

As Milton in his Paradise Lost had represented the Angels singing triumph upon the Messiah's victory over the rebel Angels; so here again with the same propriety they are described celebrating his success against temptation, and to be sure he could not have possibly concluded his work
Sung heavenly anthems of his victory  
Over Temptation and the Tempter proud.

**True image of the Father; whether thron'd**  
In the bosom of bliss, and light of light  
Conceiving, or, remote from Heaven, inshrin'd  
In fleshly tabernacle, and human form,

work with greater dignity and solemnity, or more agreeably to the rules of poetic decorum.  
_Thyer._  
596. *True image of the Father* &c.—]  
_Cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Graii._

All the poems that ever were written must yield,  
even *Paradise Lost* must yield, to the *Regained*  
in the grandeur of its close. Christ stands triumphant on the pointed eminence. The Demon falls with amazement and terror, on this full proof of his being that very Son of God, whose thunder forced him out of Heaven. The blessed Angels receive new knowledge. They behold a sublime truth established, which was a secret to them at the beginning of the Temptation; and the great discovery gives a proper opening to their hymn on the victory of Christ, and the defeat of the Tempter.  
_Calton._  
"True image of the Father" is from Hebrews,  
i. 8.—*Who being the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person,* &c.—Thus also, *Paradise Lost*, iii. 384.

Begotten Son! *Divina similitudo!*—

596. ——— *whether thron'd*  
_In the bosom of bliss,*—]  
_Thus,* *Paradise Lost*, iii. 238., the Son of God says to the Father;  
_— I, for his sake, will leave  
Thy bosom,* and this glory next to thee;  
And the Father, in reply, Ver. 305.;  
_Because thou hast, though _thron'd in highest bliss_  
Equal to God, and equally enjoying  
God-like fruition, quitted all to save  
A world from utter loss,—

The Son of God, after having descended to earth to pass sentence on fallen man, is likewise similarly described returning to his Father in Heaven, and

Into a _blissful bosom reajium'd_  
In glory as of old;——

*Paradise Lost*, x. 385.

597. ——— *light of light*  
*Conceiving,—]*

From the Nicene Creed.

598. ——— *inshrin'd*  
_In fleshly tabernacle, and human form,*—

St. John, in his Gospel, (C. i. 14.) says, _Kai e_  

iojov; σαρκί επιτοπ ΚΑΙ ΕΧΗΝΩΣΕΝ εις ημάς,*—which,  
_literally translated, is the word was made flesh,* and  
_tabernacled among us._  
St. Paul, (2 Cor, C. v. Ver. 1.) terms the body of the "human form" _our earthly house of this tabernacle._  
_καὶ εἶπεν ημῖν οίκον τοῦ σκινθούς._—_Thus also our Author, in his unfinished Ode, the passion;  
_He o'eran Priest, stooping his regal head,*  
That dropp'd with odorous oil down his fair eyes,*  
Poor fleshly tabernacle entered,——

And in his Latin Poem, *On the Death of Felton,*  
_Bishop of Ely,* he speaks of

_Aginasque molc carnea recogitatis,*

Seneca has the expression, "Deum in humano  
_corpore hospitantem," *Epist.* xxxi. But it is only a strong way of expressing the same sentiment, as in *Epist.* lxxiii., and in other parts of his writings; "Nulla sine Deo mens bona."

Wandering
Wandering the wilderness; whatever place, Habit, or state, or motion, still expressing The Son of God, with God-like force indued Against the attempter of thy Father's throne, And thief of Paradise! Him long of old Thou didst debel, and down from Heaven cast With all his army; now thou hast aveng'd Supplanted Adam, and, by vanquishing Temptation, hast regain'd lost Paradise, And frustrated the conquest fraudulent. He never more henceforth will dare set foot In Paradise to tempt; his snares are broke: For, though that seat of earthly bliss be fail'd, A fairer Paradise is founded now For Adam and his chosen sons, whom thou,

600. —— whatever place,
Habit, or state, or motion.—]

Probably not without allusion to Horace, Ep. I. xvii. 23.;

604. And thief of Paradise;—]
Thus, Paradise Lost, iv. 192, where Satan first enters Paradise;
So clomb this FIRST GRAND THIEF into God's fold;

605. Thou didst debel,—]
Virgil, Æn. vi. 853.;
— DESELLARE superbos.
And Ibid, v. 730.;
— gens dura atque aspera cultu
DESELLANA tibi Latio cit;

607. Supplanted—]
This is in the sense of supplantatus in Latin; overcome in wrestling, or having his heels tripped up.—Thus Seneca, Epist. xiii. "qui sup-
— PLANTATUS adversarium toto tulit corpore,"

611. —— his snares are broke:]—
Our soul is escaped as a bird out of the snare of the fowler; the snare is broken, and we are delivered. Psalm, cxxiv. 7.

613. A fairer Paradise is founded now For Adam and his chosen sons,—
— then wilt thou not be loath
To leave this Paradise, but shalt possess A PARADISE WITHIN THEE HAPPIER FAR;—

A Saviour,
A Saviour, art come down to re-install,
Where they shall dwell secure, when time shall be,
Of Tempter and Temptation without fear.
But thou, infernal Serpent, shalt not long
Rule in the clouds; like an autumnal star,
Or lightning, thou shalt fall from Heaven, trod down
Under his feet: for proof, ere this thou feel'st
Thy wound, (yet not thy last and deadliest wound,)
By this repulse receiv'd, and hold'st in Hell
No triumph: in all her gates Abaddon rues
Thy bold attempt. Hereafter learn with awe
To dread the Son of God: he, all unarm'd,
the marginal reading for bruise is tread. From
whence in the Paradise Lost, x. 190
Whom he shall tread at last under our feet.
614. — in all her gates—]
The gates of hell shall not prevail against it; Mat. xvi. 18.
624. —— Abaddon—]
The name of the Angel of the bottomless pit,
Rev. ix. 11; here applied to the bottomless pit itself.
Newton.
625. Thy bold attempt.—]
Thus in this Book, Ver. 180.;
now more accurs'd
For this attempt, bolder than that on Eve,
And more blasphemous,
626. —— all unarm'd;]
In Vida's Christiad, i. 192., Satan describes
himself having been completely foiled and defeated
by our Saviour thus all unarm'd;
semper me repulit ipse,
Non arma sullis fratem, non viribus usus;
BOOK IV.  PARADISE REGAINED.

Shall chace thee, with the terror of his voice,
From thy demoniac holds, possession foul,
Thee and thy legions; yelling they shall fly,
And beg to hide them in a herd of swine,
Lest he command them down into the deep,
Bound, and to torment sent before their time.
Hail Son of the most high, heir of both worlds,
Queller of Satan! On thy glorious work
Now enter; and begin to save mankind.

But all unarmed seems here to be an intended contrast to that very fine description in PARADISE LOST, of the Messiah completely armed, ascending "the chariot of paternal Deity," to accomplish the victory over the rebel Angels, and to drive them out of Heaven;

He, in celestial panoply all arm'd
Of radiant Urim, work divinely wrought,
Ascended; at his right hand Victory
Sat eagle-wing'd; beside him hung his bow,
And quiver with three bolted thunder stord,
And from about him fierce effusion roll'd
Of smoke, and bickering flames, and sparkles dire.

vi. 760.

The same sort of contrast we may also observe in the preceding brief relation of the refreshment, Ver. 587., ministered by Angels to our blessed Lord, and the very copious and embellished description of the luxurious banquet offered to him by the Tempter, in the SECOND Book of this poem.

638. From thy demoniac holds, possession foul,]

The daemoniac, or demoniac of the gospel, are constantly rendered in our version possessed with a devil.—And, Revelat. xviii. 2. Babylon is described the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit.

639. Thee and thy legions;—]

My name is legion; for we are many. Mark, v. 9.—& Luke, viii. 30.

639. —— yelling they shall fly,

And beg to hide them in a herd of swine,
Lest he command them down into the deep,
Bound, and to torment sent before their time.]

—— there met him two possessed with devils, coming out of the tomb, exceeding fierce, so that no man might pass by that way. —And behold they cried out, saying, What have we to do with thee, Jesus, thou Son of God? Art thou come hither to torment us before the time? —And there was a good way off from them an herd of many swine feeding. —So the devils besought him, saying, If thou cast us out, suffer us to go away into the herd of swine. —And he said unto them, go. And when they were come out, they went into the herd of swine. Mat. viii. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32.

631. Lest he command them down into the deep.

Bound,—]

And I saw an Angel come down from Heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit, and a great chain in his hand. —And he was cast into the sea, that old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan, and bound him a thousand years, and cast him into the bottomless pit. Rev. xx. 1. 2. 3.

634. Queller of Satan! &c.—]

—— who shall quell
The adversary serpent, and bring back
Through the world's wilderness long wander'd man
Safe to eternal Paradise of rest.

PARADISE LOST, xii. 311.
Thus they the Son of God, our Saviour meek, 
Sung victor, and, from heavenly feast refresh'd, 
Brought on his way with joy; he, unobserv'd, 
Home to his mother's house private return'd *.

This very unadorned account of our Lord's return from his present victory recalls, in this respect, to our minds that sublime passage in the Paradise Lost, where the Messiah returns triumphant from the expulsion of the Rebel Angels:

Sole victor from the expulsion of his foes 
Messiah his triumphal chariot turn'd:
To meet him all his Saints, who silent stood.
Eye-witnesses of his almighty acts,
With jubilee advance'd; and, as they went
Shaded with branching palm, each order bright
Sung triumph, and him sung victorious King,
Son, Heir, and Lord; to him dominion given,
Worthiest to reign: he celebrated rode
Triumphant through mid Heaven, into the courts
And temple of his mighty Father crown'd
On high: who into glory him receiv'd,
Where now he sits at the right hand of bliss.

Paradise Lost, vi. 880.

* It has been observed of almost all the great epic poems, that they fall off, and become languid, in the conclusion. The six last books of the Ænèid, and the twelve last of the Odyssey, are inferior to the preceding parts of those poems. In the Paradise Lost the two last books fall short of the majesty and sublimity of the rest: and so, observes Bp. Newton, do the two last books of the Iliad. "With "the fall of our first parents," says Dr. Blair, "Milton's genius seems to decline:" and, though he admits the Angel's shewing Adam the fate of his posterity to be happily imagined, "the execution," he adds, is "languid." Mr. Addison, in pointing out the particular beauties of the two last books of the Paradise Lost, observes that, though these were not looked upon as the most shining books of the poem, they ought not to be considered as unequal parts of it.---Perhaps the two concluding books of the Paradise Lost might be defended by other arguments, and justified in a more effectual manner, than has been done by Mr. Addison; but it is certainly fortunate when the subject and plan of an epic poem are such, that in the conclusion it may rise in dignity and sublimity, so as to excite to the very last the attention and admiration of the reader.---This last book of the Paradise Regained is one of the finest conclusions of a poem, that can be produced. The Book of Job, which I have before supposed to have been our Author's model, materially resembles it in this respect, and is perhaps the only instance that can be put in competition with it.---It has been remarked that there is not a single simile in the first Iliad: neither do we meet with one in the three first Books of the Paradise Regained. In the beginning of this fourth Book the poet introduces an Homeric cluster of similes; which seems to mark an intention of bestowing more poetical decoration on the conclusion of the poem, than on the preceding parts of it.---They who talk of our Author's genius being in the
the decline when he wrote his second poem, and who therefore turn from it, as from a dry prosaic composition, are, I will venture to say, no judges of poetry. With a fancy, such as Milton's, it must have been more difficult to forbear poetic decorations, than to furnish them; and a glaring profusion of ornament would, I conceive, have more decidedly betrayed the \textit{poeta senescentis} than a want of it. The first book of the \textit{Paradise Lost} abounds in similies, and is, in other respects, as elevated and sublime as any in the whole poem. But here the poet's plan was totally different. Though it may be said of the \textit{Paradise Regained}, as Longinus has said of the \textit{Odyssey}, that it is the \textit{epilogue} of the preceding poem, still the design and conduct of it is as different, as that of the \textit{Georgics} from the \textit{Aeneid}. The \textit{Paradise Regained} has something of the \textit{didactic} character; it teaches not merely by the general moral, and by the character and conduct of its hero, but has also many positive precepts everywhere interspersed. It is written for the most part in a style admirably condensed, and with a studied reserve of ornament: it is nevertheless illuminated with beauties of the most captivating kind. Its leading feature throughout is that "excellence of composition," which, as Lord Monboddo justly observes, so eminently distinguished the writings of the Ancients; and in which, of all modern authors, Milton most resembles them.

At the commencement of this book the argument of the poem is considerably advanced. Satan appears (Ver. 1.) hopeless of success, but still persisting in his enterprise. The desperate folly, and vain pertinacity of this conduct are perfectly well exemplified and illustrated (Ver. 10. to Ver. 25.) by three opposite similies, each successively rising in beauty above the other. The business of the Temptation being thus resumed, the Tempter takes our Lord to the western side of the mountain (Ver. 25.) and shews to him Italy; the situation of which the poet marks with singular accuracy, and, having traced the Tiber from its source in the Apennines to Rome, he briefly enumerates (Ver. 34.) the most conspicuous objects that may be supposed at first to strike the eye on a distant view of this celebrated city. Satan now (Ver. 44.) becomes the speaker, and, in an admirably descriptive speech, points out more particularly the magnificent public and private buildings of ancient Rome, descanting on the splendor and power of its state, which he particularly exemplifies in the superb pomp with which (Ver. 63.) their provincial magistrates proceed to their respective governments; and (Ver. 67.) in the numerous ambassadors that arrive from every quarter of the habitable globe, to solicit the protection of Rome and the emperor. These are two pictures of the most highly-finished kind: the numerous figures are in motion before us; we absolutely see

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Prætors, proconsuls, to their provinces}
  \item Hasting, or on return, in robes of state,
  \item Licitors and rods the ensigns of their power,
  \item Legions and cohorts, turms of horse and wings;
\end{itemize}

And

\begin{itemize}
  \item --- embassies from regions far remote,
  \item In various habits, on the Appian road,
  \item Or on the Emilian; some from farthest south,
  \item Syene, and where the shadow both way falls,
  \item Meroë, Nilotic isle; and, more to west,
  \item The realm of Bocchus to the Blackmoor sea;
  \item From the Asian kings, and Parthian among these;
  \item From India and the golden Chersonese,
  \item And utmost Indian isle Taprobane,
  \item Dusk faces with white silken turbants wreath'd; &c.
\end{itemize}

Having
Having observed (Ver. 81.) that such a power as this of Rome must reasonably be preferred to that of the Parthians, which he had displayed in the preceding book, and (Ver. 85.) that there were no other powers worth our Lord's attention, the Tempter now begins to apply all this to his purpose: by a strongly drawn description (Ver. 90. to Ver. 97.) of the vicious and detestable character of Tiberius, he shews how easy it would be to expel him, to take possession of his throne, and to free the Roman people from that slavery in which they were then held. This he proffers (Ver. 103. to Ver. 109.) to accomplish for our Lord, whom he incites to accept the offer not only from a principle of ambition, but as the best means of securing to himself his promised inheritance, the throne of David. Our Lord in reply (Ver. 110.) scarcely notices the arguments which Satan had been urging to him; and only takes occasion, from the description which had been given of the splendor and magnificence of Rome, to arraign the superlatively extravagant luxury of the Romans, (possibly not without a glance at the manners of our Court at that time,) and (Ver. 132.) briefly to sum up those vices and misdeeds then rapidly advancing to their height, which soon brought on the decline, and in the end effectuated the fall of the Roman power.—The next object, which our Author had in view in his proposed display of heathen excellence, was a scene of a different, but no less intoxicating kind; Athens, in all its pride of literature and philosophy. But he seems to have been well aware that an immediate transition, from the view of Rome to that of Athens, must have diminished the effect of each. The intermediate space he has finely occupied. Our Lord, unmoved by the splendid scene displayed to captivate him, and having only been led by it to notice the vices and corruptions of the heathen world, in the conclusion of his speech (Ver. 146.) marks the vanity of all earthly power, by referring to his own future kingdom, as that which by supernatural means should destroy

All monarchies besides throughout the world.

The Fiend hereupon urged by the violence of his desperation to an indiscretion, which he had not before shewed, endeavours (Ver. 253.) to enhance the value of his offers by declaring that the only terms, on which he would bestow them, were those of our Lord's falling down and worshipping him. To this our Saviour (Ver. 171.) answers in a speech of marked abhorrence blended with contempt. This draws from Satan (Ver. 196.) a reply of as much art, and as finely written, as any in the poem; in which he endeavours, by an artful justification of himself, to repair the indiscretion of his blasphemous proposal, and to soften the effect of it on our blessed Lord, so far at least as to be enabled to resume the process of his enterprise. The transition (Ver. 212.) to his new ground of temptation is peculiarly happy: having given up all prospect of working upon our Lord by the incitements of ambition, he now compliments him on his predilection for wisdom, and his early display of superior knowledge, and recommends it to him, for the purpose of accomplishing his professed design of reforming and converting mankind, to cultivate the literature and philosophy for which the most polished part of the heathen world, and Greece in particular, was so eminent. This leads to his View of Athens, (Ver. 234.) which is given, with singular effect, after the preceding dialogue, where the blasphemous rage of the Tempter, and the art with which he endeavours to recover it serve, by the variety of the subject and the interesting nature of the circumstance, materially to relieve the preceding and ensuing descriptions. The Tempter, resuming his usual plausibility of language, now becomes (Ver. 244.) the Hierophant of the scene, which he describes as he shews it, with so much accuracy, that we discern every object distinctly before us. The general view of Athens, with its most celebrated buildings and places of learned resort, (Ver. 244.) is beautiful and original; and the description of its musicians, poets, orators and philosophers (Ver. 254. to 281.) is given with the hand of a master, and with all the fond affection of an enthusiast in Greek literature. Our Lord's reply (Ver. 286.) is no less admirable; particularly where he displays (Ver. 293. to 321.) the fallacy of the heathen philosophy, and points out the errors of its most admired sects, with the greatest acuteness of argument, and at the same time in a noble strain of poetry. His contrasting the poetry and policy of the Hebrews (Ver. 331. to 363.) with
with those of the Greeks, on the ground of what had been advanced by some learned men in this respect, is highly consistent with the argument of this poem; and is so far from originating in that fanaticism, with which some of his ablest commentators have chosen to brand our Author, that it serves duly to counterbalance his preceding elogia on heathen literature. The next speech of the Tempter (Ver. 368.) is one of those master-pieces of plain composition, for which Milton is so eminent: the sufferings of our blessed Lord are therein foretold with an energetic brevity, that, on such subjects, has an effect superior to the most flowery and decorated language. The dialogue here ceases for a short time. The poet, in his own person, now describes (Ver. 394. &c.) our Lord's being conveyed by Satan back to the wilderness, the storm which the Tempter there raises, the tremendous night which our Lord passes, and the beautiful morning by which it is succeeded:—how exquisitely sublime and beautiful is all this!—Yet this is the Poem, from which the ardent admirers of Milton's other works turn, as from a cold, uninteresting composition, the produce of his dotage,—of a palsied hand, no longer able to hold the pencil of poetry!! ——The dialogue which ensues, (Ver. 451. to 540.) is worthy of this book, and carries on the subject in the best manner to its concluding Temptation. The last speech of Satan (Ver. 500.) is particularly deserving our notice. The Fiend, now "swollen with rage" at the repeated failure of his attacks, breaks out into a language of gross insult, professing to doubt whether our Lord, whom he had before frequently addressed as the Son of God, is in any way entitled to that appellation. From this wantonly blasphemous obloquy he still recovers himself, and offers, with his usual art, a qualification of what he had last said, and a justification of his persisting in further attempts on the Divine Person, by whom he had been so constantly foiled. These are the masterly discriminating touches, with which the poet has admirably drawn the character of the Tempter: the general colouring is that of plausible hypocrisy, through which, when elicited by the sudden irritation of defeat, his diabolical malignity frequently flashes out, and displays itself with singular effect.—We now come to the catastrophe of the poem.—The Tempter (Ver. 541.) conveys our blessed Lord to the temple at Jerusalem; where the description of the holy city and of the temple is pleasingly drawn. Satan has now little to say; he brings the question to a decisive point, in which any persuasion of rhetorical language on his part can be of no avail; he therefore speaks in his own undisguised person and character, and his language accordingly (Ver. 551.) is that of scornful insult. The result of the trial is given (Ver. 561.) with the utmost brevity; and its consequences are admirably painted. The despair and fall of Satan, with its successive illustrations (Ver. 562. to Ver. 580.), have all theboldness of Salvator Rosa; while the Angels (Ver. 581.) supporting our Lord,

As on a floating couch through the blithe air,

is a sweetly pleasing and highly finished picture from the pencil of Guido. The refreshment ministered to our Lord by the Angels (Ver. 587.) is an intended and striking contrast to the luxurious banquet with which he had been tempted in the preceding part of the poem. The Angelic Hymn (Ver. 596.), which concludes the Book, is at once poetical and scriptural: we may justly apply to it, and to this whole poem, an observation respecting our Author, from the pen of one, whose penetrating genius, fine taste, and early acquaintance with the more ancient treasures of English poetry, eminently qualified him, had he lived, duly to have discharged that task, which has fallen into very inadequate hands. "To mix the waters of Jordan and Helicon in the "same cup," says Mr. Headley, "was reserved for the hand of "Milton; and for him, and him only, to find the bays of Mount Olivet equally verdant with those of Parnassus." Biographical Sketches, prefixed to Headley's Select Beauties of Ancient English Poetry. Art. F. Quarles.

That I have thus, in the conclusion of each Book, presumed, in a retrospective view, to point out the various beauties, with which, according to my apprehension, they severally abound, may require some apology to the reader; especially as it may be objected, that to point out particular passages as beautiful, without
without ascertaining the distinct species and proportion of their beauty, is doing very little in the province of criticism. This objection has been particularly made to Mr. Addison's critique on the Paradise Lost, in the Spectator. But, however those papers may have no great pretensions, strictly speaking, to be termed critical, still it is allowed that they were highly acceptable to the public, and that they contributed, more than any thing else, to make the Paradise Lost universally known and read. — If this Edition of the Paradise Regained should have in any degree a similar effect, I shall be most amply gratified; as I cannot but conceive that, if this Poem were more generally known, and more attentively read, it could not fail of being more generally admired, so as to find that place, among the works of its great Author, which it now seldom obtains. — To advance it from the obscurity, in which it has been shrouded, to that unprejudiced attention, which I persuade myself it so well merits from the Public, is my earnest, and indeed my sole wish. I neither pretend to fame, nor assume merit in having attempted that, which I sincerely wish had been undertaken by some abler hand; and must content myself with having indicated what I conceive to be most valuable ore, leaving to persons of superior abilities and acquirements, and of more health and application, the task of critically assaying it.
CORRECTIONS AND SUPPLEMENTAL NOTES.
CORRECTIONS AND SUPPLEMENTAL NOTES.

BOOK I.

P. 1. Ver. 1. I, who ere while the happy garden sung
By one man's disobedience lost, now sing
Recovered Paradise to all mankind
By one man's firm obedience. —

We may here compare part of a stanza of Giles Fletcher;

A man was first the author of our fall,
And the old serpent with a new device
Hath found a way himself for to beguile;
So he, that all men tangled in his web,
Is now by one man caught, beguiled with his own guile.

CHRIST'S TRIUMPH OVER DEATH, STANZ. XV.

P. 4. Ver. 12. ———— else mute.]

Mute is used in a similar manner in the PARADISE LOST;

In Athens, or free Rome, while eloquence
Flourish'd, since mute. ————


Thus the same speaker, on a similar subject, in
Crashaw's fine unfinished poem, from the Sospetto d'Herode of Marino;

What force cannot effect, fraud shall devise.

STANZ. XXXI.

P. 21. Ver. 171. Add to the passages in this note, cited by Mr. Calton from Milton's other poems;

When such music sweet
Their hearts and ears did greet,
As never was by mortal finger strook,
Divinely warbled voice
Answering the stringed noise,
As all their souls in blissful rapture took:

HYMN ON THE NATIVITY, STANZ. IX.

P. 30. Ver. 357. ———— the vested priest.]

purique in veste sacerdos.

Virg. Aen. xii. 169.

Came vested all in white ———

Milton's Sonnet, ON HIS DECEASED WIFE, Ver. 8.

P. 34. Add to the note respecting Rp. Newton's observations on the versification of our author;

The late Dr. Foster in his very learned publication on accent &c. is likewise too fond of measuring English verse by classic rules: but I conceive he has been particularly unfortunate in the examples which he has added in support of his system; at least in those he has taken from Milton. Lord Monboddo very justly condemns him, (Orig. and Progress of Language, Part II. Book ii. C. 5.,) as carrying the matter too far. Dr. Blair appears to have sufficiently laid down, in a very short compass, the principles of English rhythm: indeed to those, who would push their researches any further, I feel inclined to say, with Lady Macbeth to her husband,

Consider it not so deeply!

"Our English heroic verse is of what may be called an Iambic structure; that is, composed of a succession nearly alternate of syllables, not short and long, but unaccented and accented. With regard to the place of these accents, however, some liberty is admitted, for the sake of variety. Very often, though not always, the line begins with an unaccented syllable; and sometimes, in the course of it, two unaccented syllables follow each other. But, in general, there are either four or five accented syllables in each line. The number of syllables is ten, unless where an Alexandrine verse is occasionally admitted. In verses not Alexandrine, instances occur where the line appears to have more than the limited number. But in such instances it will be found, that some of the liquid syllables are so slurred in pronouncing, as to bring the verse, with respect to its effect upon the ear, within the usual bounds." Blair's Lectures, Vol. III. Left. 38.

P. 35. Add to the note on Ver. 310;

Giles Fletcher, in his CHRIST'S TRIUMPH ON EARTH, has given a similar but more diffuse description of the effect of our Lord's presence on the wild beasts in the wilderness.

Whom to devour the beasts did make pretence;
But him their salvage thirst did nought appall;
Though weapons none he bad for his defence;
What arms for innocence but innocence?
For when they saw their Lord's bright cognizance
Shine in his face, soon did they disavance,
And some unto him kneel, and some about him dance.
Down fell the lordly lion's angry mood,
And he himself fell down in conges low;
Bidding him welcome to his wasteful wood.
Sometimes he kiss'd the grass where he did go,
And, as to wash his feet he well did know,
With fawning tongue he lick'd away the dust;
And every one would nearest to him thrust;
And every one, with new, forgot his former lust.

Unmindful of himself, to mind his Lord,
The lamb stood gazing by the tiger's side,
As though between them they had made accord,
And on the lion's back the goat did ride,
Forgetful of the roughness of the hide.
If he stood still, their eyes upon him bated;
If walk'd, they all in order on him waited;
And, when he slept, they as his watch themselves concealed.

Giles Fletcher, (who was the younger brother of Phinias Fletcher, author of the Purple Island, and cousin of John Fletcher the dramatic poet,) published his Christ's Victory and Triumph in 1610. It is in four parts, the first of which he entitles Christ's Victory in Heaven, and the three others, Christ's Triumph on Earth—Christ's Triumph over Death—and Christ's Triumph after Death. The subject of the second Part, is our Lord's Temptation; but it is not often that we can trace our author to any part of it. The whole poem has great merit, considering the age in which it was written.

P. 36. Add to note on Ver. 312.

Worm is also used for serpent, or snake, by Cranshaw, in his Sospetto d'Herode
So said her richest snake, which to her waist
For a bequesting bracelet she had ty'd,
(A special worm it was as ever kiss'd)
The foamy lips of Cerberus, she apply'd
To the king's heart,

Stanz. lix.

P. 37. Note on Ver. 319. Add to the passages already cited from Shakespeare, the following speech of Achilles to Hector, in the Fourth Act of Troilus and Cressida;
Now Hector I have fed mine eyes on thee,
I have with exact view perus'd thee, Hector, &c.—

It may be observed that the verb lego is used in the same sense of accurately to observe by Latin authors. Thus Virgil, Æn. vi. 754;
Et tumulum capitis, unde omnes longo ordine posist
Adversos leges, et venientium disce viculus.

P. 43. Add to note on Ver. 377. Satan, (Paradise Lost, i. 97,) describes himself
— chang'd in outward lustre,

P. 45. Ver. 407. compas'd of lies,

In the Paradise Lost, (B. iv. 949,) Satan is called
— A liar trac'd,

P. 46. Ver. 423. — or pleasure to do ill excites

Satan, in the Paradise Lost, in his first conference with his infernal "compeer", says
— of this be sure,

To do aught good never will be our task;
But ever to do ill our sole delight;

P. 53. Ver. 497. He added not, and Satan bowing low
His gray disimulation.—

This said he turn'd; and Satan bowing low,
As to superior spirits is wont in Heaven,

Paradise Lost, iii. 736.

BOOK II.

P. 69. Add to note on Ver. 65. ;

And thus our author in his Address to his Native Language, in the Vacation Exercise;
Yet I had rather, if I were to choose,
Thy service in some graver subject use;
Such as may make thee search thy coffers round,
Before thou clothe my fancy in fit sound.

P. 78. Ver. 162. Hearts after them tangled in amorous nets.

Thus Drummond, in his Iviith Sonnet, addressed to a bracelet of his Mistress's hair;
Hair, fatal present, which first caus'd my woes,
When loose ye hang like Danae's golden rain,
Sweet nets which sweetly do all hearts enchain.

It should be observed that the line, already cited in the note from Milton's first Elegy, referred also to beautiful hair;

— tremulosque
CORRECTIONS AND SUPPLEMENTAL NOTES.

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... tremulosque capillos,
Aurea que fallax retinuit amorem.

P. 79. Ver. 167. At will the most indolent bestow.]
Thus Euripides in a Chorus of the Hippolitus,
addressed to Venus;

\[ \Sigma \tau \rho \kappa \alpha \theta \iota \nu \iota \iota \iota \upsigma \alpha \kappa \theta \rho \alpha \mu \iota \nu \\kappa \upsigma \tau \iota \iota \iota \text{---} \text{\textsuperscript{1282}}. \]

'Tis thine, O Venus, to controul
Of Gods and men the stubbon soul.

Note on Ver. 169; for Aistrate read Aristare.

P. 83. Ver. 176. --- attractive grace.]
I pleas'd, and with attractive graces won;
Paradise Lost, ii. 762.

For sofness she and sweet attractive grace,
Ibid. iv. 298.

Ver. 178. --- lusty crew.]
Milton seems to have given lusty in the sense of
libidinosus.

P. 81. Note, on Ver. 188, last line but one; for
admirably relieve &c. read—at once relieve &c.

P. 85. Add to the second note on Ver. 216;
Bentley might have cited Shakespeare as well as
Spenser;

Upon his brow shame is a sham'd to sit,
For 'tis a throne where honour may be crown'd
Sole monarch of the universal earth.
Romeo and Juliet, Act III. Sc. 1.

Add to note on Ver. 222;
But Milton had here in his mind Ovid, De Art. Amand. l. i. Ver. 627;

Laudatas oientat avis Junoniam pennas;
Si: Tacitus spectes, illa recondit opes.

Ovid has somewhere likewise,
--- Laudatas pavone superbior.

P. 90. Note on Ver. 267; dele the inverted commas before procerque.

P. 91. In Bp. Newton's note on Ver. 279, instead of
Sc. 7. read Sc. 5; ---and add to the note;
Browne, in his Britannia's Pastorals, had termed the lark the herald of day;
The mounting lark, Duy's herald, got on wing;
Bidding each bird choose out his bough and sing.
B. i. S. 3.

2d column of notes. The last note should have
been marked Ver. 280; and the text at the head
of it should have begun,

--- to desire
The morn's approach &c.

To the passages, there cited from Chaucer and
Spenser, may also be added a beautiful description
of "the lark high-towering and greeting the morn
"with his song," from another of our early poets;
The cheerful lark, mounting from early bed,
With sweet salutes awakes the drowsy light;
The earth she left, and up to heaven is fled;
There chants her Maker's praises out of sight.
Fletcher's Purple Island, Cant. ix. Stanz. 2.

And again, Stanz. 3;
Hear how the larks give welcome to the day,
Tempering their sweetest notes unto thy lay;
Up then, thou loved swain; why dost thou longer stay?

P. 92. In the passage cited from Dryden, in the
conclusion of the note which begins in p. 91., for
morning-lark, read mounting-lark.

P. 101. Add to the note on Ver. 344. ;
Browne in his Britannia's Pastorals, (Book ii. Song 31) speaks of
--- cullis mix'd with amber grease,
as a highly luxurious dish.

P. 104. In note on Ver. 354. after "with a sort
"of sliding motion." insert,
Smooth-sliding without step,
Paradise Lost, viii. 302.

P. 111. Ver. 385. --- Angels ministrant
Array'd in glory,—]
And all about the courtly stable
Bright-harness'd and angels sit in order servicable.
Hymn on the Nativity, last Stanz.
And Comus, 453.
CORRECTIONS AND SUPPLEMENTAL NOTES.

So dear to heaven is saintly chastity,
That, when a soul is found sincerely so,
A thousand liveried angels lackey her.

P. 114. Add to note on Ver. 420.;
This mode of acquiring and losing popularity is well described by Lucan;

praecipe intentus agebat
Quaque modo vanos populii concitaret amores,
Gratus et irarum causas, et summa favoris
Annora momenta trahi.

iii. 555.

Ver. 476. Therefore, if at great things thou wouldst arrive,
Get riches first, get wealth, and treasure hoard.

Thus Euripides, PHAEISS. 453;-

Tat eirn avriropou te pavisata,
Aniropou te fraxing eii eihpovis iXo.

Of human honours riches are the source,
And rule with power supreme the tribes of men.

Wodull.

P. 116. Ver. 447. ——————— so poor
Who could do mighty things,——

Virgil thus describes Fabricius,

PARVOQUE POTENTEM
Fabricium,

A.N. vi. 844.

P. 119. Ver. 452. When on his shoulder each man's burden lies;

Alian, (VAR. Hist. ii. 201,) records an observation of Antigonus to his son;—Ovei ouvou, v pati,

την βασιλείαν μην ενδοχόν ειναι ενδοχόν;—"Know'st thou, my son, that to be a king is to be a

"splendid slave?"

See also Euripides, Ion. 633.

P. 120. Add to Bp. Newton's note on Ver. 466;
Thus also Seneca, the tragic poet;

Mediocris sane honoris sibi ducat, se tam
Absurdis, tam stolidis nebulonibus dice,

Plicere."—P. 357. Ed. 4to. Lond. 1753.

Cicero had said in his Oration, In Pisonem, C. 29,—"quæ quidem laudatio hominis turbat
pissimi mihi ipsi pacem curat turpis;"

Add to the note on Ver. 57;-

Martial has the immediate expression;

sed tu sub principe duro,

Temporibusque malis, ausus es esse bonus.


P. 138. Ver. 91. ——— by wisdom eminent,

By patience, temperance,——

Sallust, in his Oration ad Caium Cæsarem, speaking of the true means of glory, places it "in

"laboris, patientiâ, bonis praecipitâ, et factis fortibus

"exercitando."

Add to note on Ver. 96;-

Xenophon in his Apology, speaking of the death of Socrates, says "Such was the wisdom and such

"the magnanimity of this man, that I ever must
"remember, and remembering, ever regret and re-

"spect him; and if in future times any who are

"friends to virtue and the virtuous shall boast ac-

"quaintance with a better or more useful member

"of society, than was Socrates; I hesitate not to

"pronounce
"pronounce them the first and most blest of mor-
tally,"—

P. 142. At the end of note on Ver. 138; for Ran-
Dulphus de Glanvillus read Radulphus de Glanvillia.

P. 153. Add to the note on Ver. 261;
Virgil has

And Ovid,

but I do not know where to point out the exact
epithet turritae as joined with urbes.

P. 159. Ver. 298. And just in time thou com'st to have a view
Of his great powers; for now the Parthian
king &c.—]

Thus in the Phænissæ of Euripides, where Anti-
gone has ascended the tower to behold the Grecian
army, her conductor says to her,

just in time
You mount the turret; the Pelasgian host
Is now in motion—

P. 162. Add to the first note on Ver. 311;
or rather, Æn. xii. 121;

Proceedit legio Ausonidum, pilatumque PLENI
AGMINIQUE FUNDUNT PORTIS; hinc Troius omnis,
Tyrrhenusque ruit varius exercitus armis:
Haud secus instructi ferro, quam si aspera Martis
Pugna vocat.

P. 163. Add to the citations from Pindar and
Nennus in note on Ver. 324;
We may also compare Homer, Il. xii. 156;
P. 169. Note on Ver. 394. line 17; instead of
got nearer to vindicate, read goes near to vindicate, &c.

BOOK IV.

P. 184. Add to note on Ver. 15; 
Mona is used in the same sense in Greek.—Anti-
phanes, a writer of the Middle Comedy, in his
Prographs, makes a parasite describe himself among
other circumstances, as "a fly that, though unin-
vited, will not fail to thrust himself in to an
"entertainment."

Note on Ver. 17; for μελίσσαι read μελίσσαι.

P. 185. Add to note on Ver. 18; 
As we may Virgil himself to Homer, Il. xv. 618;
καὶ τι πάρη

Παλαια μεγαλα, πλούσις ἄνδρας ἐνωσ.
Πιτί μεῖναι εἰρήνην οἰκοικονομία μαλακα.
Κρατάς τι τριφιάτα, τα τι προσεφυγότας αὐτὰ.

So some tall rock o'erhangs the hoary main,
By winds assailed, by billows beat in vain,
Unmov'd it hears above the tempests blow,
And sees the watery mountains break below.

P. 191. Note on Ver. 50; in the passage cited
from Claudian, for delatra read delabra.

P. 193. Add to note on Ver. 60; see Homer,
Ili. xxiv. 191. 192.

Αὐτὸς ὁ Σαλαμών πατὴρ τοῦ καταπολεμήθη
ΚΕΔΡΙΝΟΝ ὄψατο

Then pass'd the monarch to his bridal room,
Where cedar-beams the lofty roofs perfume.

P. 194. Ver. 76. Dark faces with white silken turbans wreath'd.
I have been told that a truly respectable prelate,
whose taste and literary acquirements are of the
first eminence, has noticed this verse as one of the
most picturesque lines that he had ever met with in
poetry: almost every word conveys a distinct idea,
and generally one of great effect.

Prudentius has a passage not dissimilar;

Tempora pinnatis redimitis nigra sagittis.

Hamarthigen. 499.

P. 196. Note on Ver. 93; for to describe the
arcana libidines, read to notice the &c.

P. 199. Note on Ver. 17; read Carchibi.

P. 200. Ver. 118. how they quaff in gold.)
Ο let them in their cold quaff dropsies down!

P. 203. Note on Ver. 136; To the passages cited
in this note, marking the shameful conduct of the
Roman governors in their provinces, may be added
one from a speech of C. Gracchus, (Aulus Gellius,
L. xvi. C. 12.) where, speaking of his return from
Sardinia, he says, "When I went from Rome
"I carried my bags full of money; I brought
"them from the province empty. While others,
"who have carried out casks filled with wine,
"have brought them home filled with gold."

We may also refer to the description given by the
Locrians, (Livy, L. xxix. 173.) of Pleminius the
Roman legate, when they accused him of oppression
to the senate; "In hoc legato vestro nec hominis
"quicquam est, patres conscripti, praeter figuram
"et speciem; neque Romani civis pater habitum
vestitumque et somnium lingue Latine. Pestis et
bellum immanis, quales fretum, quondam, quo
ab Sicilia dividimus ad perniciem navigantium
circummedisse, fabrica ferunt."

P. 204. Note on Ver. 139. To the passage from Columella, marking the efficiency of the Romans in his time, may be added one from Seneca;——
"Torment ecce ingens desidiosa juventutis. Can-
tardi saltandique nunc obscena studia effemi-
natos tenent." Proem Controvers.

P. 213. Ver. 240. Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts
And eloquence, native to famous wits &c.

Roger Ascham, (English Works, published at
London, 1771. p. 235,) speaking of the great
authors produced by the city of Athens in philo-
sophy, eloquence, history, and poetry, adds, "in
"comparison of whom, let Italian, Latin itself,
"Spanish, French, Dutch and English bring forth
"their learning and recite their authors, Cicero
"alone excepted, and one or two more in Latin,
"they be all patched up clouts and rags, in compar-
"ison of fair-woven broad cloths; and truly,
"if there be any good in them, it is either learned,
"borrowed, or stolen, from those worthy wits
"of Athens."

P. 217. Add to the second note on Ver. 246.

Shakespeare, in his fifty-first Sonnet, describes
the nightingale ceasing to sing, as the summer ad-
vances;

As Philem in summer’s front doth sing,
And stops his pipe in growth of riper days,
Not that the summer is less pleasant now,
Than when her mournful hymns did hush the night.

The last verse of which passage, it may be ob-
served, has a beautiful resemblance to Milton’s
Penseroso, Ver. 56;

Less Philem will deign a song
In her sweetest, saddest, plight,
Smoothing the rugged brow of night.

P. 224. Add to the second note on Ver. 268.

Longinus, (C. xxxii.) speaking of the superior
power of Demosthenes in oratory to the public
speakers of any age, expresses himself in a similar
figure of speech;——

P. 229. Ver. 299. In corporal pleasure he, and careless ease.

Lucian speaking of the same philosopher has a
passage strikingly similar;——
"Anc.

P. 234. Add to note on Ver. 329.

But Milton most probably alluded to the sponge
as used by the ancients for the purpose of blotting
out any thing they had written, and did not choose
to preserve.——Thus we read in Suetonius’s Life of
Augustus, when that emperor had attempted a tra-
gedey on the subject of Ajax, and, finding it not
likely to succeed, had laid it aside, some of his
friends enquiring what was become of Ajax, he
answered, "Ajaxem suum in spongiam in-


Green night
Her shadowy offspring.

Night was sometimes the parent, and darkness
the offspring. See Cicero, De Natura Deorum,
where we meet with Erebus among the progeny
of Night and Erebus.——But Milton’s Theageny is
conformable to Hyginus, who makes Calige, or
Darkness, the Mother of Night, Day, Erebus, and
Ether.——See the first chapter of Hyginus, De
Fabulis.

P. 246. Note on Ver. 426. In the passage cited
from Chaucer in the conclusion of this note, for
Morrow Gray; read Morrow Gray.

Morrow gray was a common expression with
our early poets for the break of day;

The Morrow gray no sooner had begun
To spread his light even peeping in our eyes,
Than he is up, and to his worke grunne, &c.

Sackville, Indict. Stage. 40.

Ver. 427. in twice gray,
Who with her radiant finger &c.

Browne describes the first appearance of morning
in a manner not dissimilar, and with a beautiful
effect;
CORRECTIONS AND SUPPLEMENTAL NOTES.

In Shakespeare's Pericles, Prince of Tyre, Pericles in a storm at sea, says,

Courage enough; I do not fear the flaw;
It hath done to me the worst.——

And Hamlet, Act V. Sc. 1;
Should patch a wall to expel the winter's flaw,—

Add to note on Ver. 455;
Ætna is termed by Pindar, 1st. Pyth. Ode.

which Mr. West translates

The pillar prop of heaven,—

P. 259. Ver. 587. ——— severer grapple join'd.]
The grappling vigour and rough face of war.
Shakespeare, K. John, Act III. Sc. 1.

P. 262. Add to note on Ver. 598. ;
Σχήνος, tabernacle, is frequently used by profane as well as scriptural writers, to signify the mortal body. Thus Longinus, Sef. xxxii. ——— αἰδρυτικὸν ΣΧΗΝΟΣ, the human tabernacle. And Plato term the body, Γαῖας ΣΧΗΝΟΣ, the earthly tabernacle; and, as cited by Æschines the Socratic, having said that "we are a soul, an immortal being shut up in " a mortal case, adds το δὲ ΣΧΗΝΟΣ της προς καὶ της πειραματος ἐν τοις, but this tabernacle nature hath fitted to the evil.—See Parkhurst's Lexicon, Vox Σχήνος—also σχήνον, and σχήμα.

FINIS.