UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS EDITION

OF

JOHN MILTON'S COMPLETE POETICAL WORKS

IN PHOTOGRAPHIC FACSIMILE
WITH CRITICAL APPARATUS

IN FOUR VOLUMES
VOLUME III
JOHN MILTON'S COMPLETE
POETICAL WORKS
Reproduced in Photographic Facsimile

A Critical Text Edition Compiled and Edited by
HARRIS FRANCIS FLETCHER

VOLUME III
THE SECOND EDITION OF PARADISE LOST

URBANA
THE UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS PRESS
1948
# CONTENTS

Preface and Acknowledgments .............................................. 1
List of Copies Used for Collation ...................................... 3

**PART I**

THE COMPOSITION, PRINTING, AND PUBLICATION
OF THE 1674 EDITION

I. Bibliographical and Historical Materials .......................... 7
II. Accounts of the 1674 Edition From the Early Biographers and Editors .......................... 24
III. The Paper and Its Watermarks ...................................... 29
IV. The Printing of the Text, Type, and Composition .................. 37
V. The Signatures .......................................................... 41
VI. The Physical Characteristics of the 1674 Edition .................. 45
VII. The Number of Copies Printed ......................................... 47
VIII. Comparison of the 1674 and 1667 Texts ........................... 50
IX. Summary and Conclusions ............................................. 58
X. The Portrait, Title Page, and Other Preliminary Leaves ............. 60

**PART II**

THE TEXT OF THE SECOND EDITION

Foreword to the Textual Notes .......................................... 75

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Page</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>77</td>
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THE SECOND EDITION OF Paradise Lost was published only a few months before Milton's death, and has remained a sort of stepchild of textual scholarship from that day to this. Its relations to the text of the 1667 edition have been only imperfectly understood, and little has ever been published about it since its first printing. P. [atrick] H. [ume] in 1695, Elijah Fenton in 1725, Bentley in 1732, Newton in 1749, Todd in 1801 and 1809, Masson about 1890, Beeching in 1900, Wright in 1903, Grierson in 1925, and Patterson in 1931 published editions of the poem that are all still valuable to the student of the 1674 text and its relations to that of 1667. Only Wright and Patterson provided systematic notes of the variants of the two texts. But the 1674 text is much more significant, as are the problems connected with it especially those involving its relationship to the 1667 text, than any of these editors seemed to realize. The basic text of Paradise Lost in so far as Milton succeeded in securing such a text, is that of 1674, restricted by the Manuscript of Book 1, and by the 1667 printed text of the entire poem. The Manuscript itself is also restricted as shown herein by the 1667 and 1674 printed texts, although these restrictions can only be seen and understood through the combined collation of the three; and in the same manner, the Manuscript somewhat restricts both the 1667 and the 1674 texts. Beyond Book 1, the text can only emerge from collation of the 1667 and 1674 texts, with close attention to both the general and the detailed effects of one on the other. It is to this complicated task that the third volume of this edition is devoted.

The smaller type of the 1674 as compared with that of 1667 makes of questionable value any attempt to do more than note recurrent broken type, as unled, 10 point type can vary too much because of inking, impression, looseness in the chase, the paper surface, and other causes. Copy 14 was used for most reproductions, supplemented at times from copies 2 and 11. Other special reproductions, as the notes usually indicate, are supplied from time to time as needed. The relative paucity of copies available for collation should be noted, only about a third as many as for the first edition text being located. Thus, other variants within the 1674 text may be found. Again the problem of printing the old ligatures in the notes arose, and it was still not possible, because of war conditions to secure type for all of them. Consequently, no attempt will be made now or later to use such ligatures in the letterpress of this facsimile edition.

Acknowledgment of favors received, courtesies extended, and services performed is due to all persons and institutions cited in the previous volumes. Again special mention must be made of the staunch support and encouragement unwaveringly and intelligently supplied by Dean Robert Daniel Carmichael of the Illinois Graduate School. And it is a genuine pleasure to acknowledge once more my great debt to Harrison Edward Cunningham, Director of the University Press, to Charles Everett Herman, Superintendent of the Print Shop, and to Leona Greenwood for her indefatigable aid in preparing copy. Marguerite Little also provided me with a great deal of invaluable assistance in the preparation of copy, and discovered the change on 1674 page 250 in Signature R. Grateful acknowledgment is also made to the Cambridge University Library for permission to reproduce the Elizabeth Milton receipts, and to the Bodleian Library for the Aubrey reproduction.

All references to any of Milton's prose works are to the Columbia edition and text.

The main purposes and principal aims of this volume are concerned not so much with the utter determination of exact minutaee of the text of Paradise Lost as Milton wanted that text to be, as they are with setting forth in one facsimile edition all manuscript and printed readings of the poem originating with Milton himself. It is unlikely that he could have made and caused to be recorded many changes in the 1674 printed text, as he died soon after its appearance, and
for this reason alone, probably very few of the variant or changed readings in the 1688 edition stemmed directly from the author. Recorded in one way or another in the notes of the present edition, there are many instances of readings that Milton no doubt would have changed instantly and effortlessly could he have seen them, either in 1667 or in 1674, but which, so far as we know, either were never marked for change, or if so marked, were never changed. No doubt some editors will feel as free to change these readings in the future as many have felt free to do so in the past. But I trust, perhaps fondly, that the present facsimile edition will make it impossible for future editors to ignore such textual cruxes, or, if they are editorially ignored, for the careful reader to be left without knowledge of them. The value and importance of these textual cruxes is complex, not simple. Grierson and the Columbia edition have already firmly established the value of Milton's punctuation both for the text and for the proper understanding of the poem. The difficulties which he so obviously encountered in trying to secure the punctuation that he wanted can only be appreciated by a close study of the textual notes in the second and third volumes of the present edition; and that he often failed almost dismally to secure exactly what he wanted is not only apparent from the facsimiles and their notes, but the careful editor is strictly warned by them against readily accepting any printed punctuation as being indubitably and precisely what Milton actually wanted. That is, the combined sensitivities of a Bridges and a Darbishire are required to deal adequately with many of the minutiae of both 1667 and 1674 texts, whether taken singly or together, and even then the results are only conjectural. As was pointed out repeatedly in the nineteenth century, Milton learned to write poetry in English by serving his poetic apprenticeship in the production of Neo-Latin verse. The results of that apprenticeship, as found in his English poems, can only be fully appreciated and understood by readers well aware of the nature of the Neo-Latin poetry of Western Europe, especially that produced in the late Renaissance period. Appreciation of Milton's English poetry as such is something else, and untold numbers of readers in the three centuries that have elapsed since it first began to appear have been enthralled by it, although frequently little enough aware of the basic metrical and poetic principles on which it was constructed. It is not necessary that a reader know Horace, Virgil, Catullus, Ovid, or Buchanan in order to be greatly moved by Milton's English poetry. But adequate understanding of what Milton was trying to do, though it can only be approximated, demands more knowledge of Neo-Latin verse of the late Renaissance and of the accepted approaches of that period to the Latin poetry of the Romans than many recent critics of Milton's English poetry have been able to supply.

One other factor of primary importance to students of the textual problems of Milton's English poems is the constant presence of the author's revisional processes. There is no doubt that, so long as he lived, Milton would have continued to revise the texts of his various poems, and this factor operated particularly on the text of *Paradise Lost*, being stopped practically with the printed text of 1674 by his death. Despite the sensitive and intelligent labors of Bridges and Miss Darbishire, in any given textual crux, certainty is impossible so far as determining exactly what Milton would have done with that crux had it been called to his attention. There is always the possibility that the particular crux under scrutiny actually was called to his attention, but that he did nothing about it. Now the round of our basic uncertainty is complete. We are, it seems to me, reduced to the fundamental necessity of making certain of what was finally printed. Beyond that point lies only conjecture.

The final text of *Paradise Lost* so far as the present edition is concerned consists of photographic facsimiles of the Manuscript of Book 1, of the printed text with all discerned variations of 1667, and of the printed text of 1674 with its variations, together with collations of the three. What emerges from this process constitutes the text of *Paradise Lost* as Milton succeeded in
transmitting it to us. The photographic facsimiles provide a much more reliable presentation of
the printed texts than has hitherto been available, and they can be presented in combination
with the pertinent manuscript material.

The present edition effects not so many great changes in the generally used texts of the
poem, some of which are pretty bad, as it provides much greater certainty throughout the text
of the poem of what the author, the compositio, and the reviser or revisers succeeded in
 getting printed.
All contracted book titles appearing in volume 3 will be found expanded in the Bibliography
in volume 2.

LIST OF COPIES USED FOR COLLATION

THERE IS NO PARTICULAR SIGNIFICANCE intended by the numbers accorded
different copies of the second edition except that the first thirty numbers have been re-
erved for Illinois copies and numbers above thirty for copies, or photographs, films, or
photostats of copies, elsewhere. This list is not intended as a complete census of existing copies.

ORIGINAL COPIES

There are twenty-two copies at Illinois, numbered from 1 through 22. Numbers 8 and 18 are
imperfect, number 18 having the U Signature supplied from a copy of the third edition, 1678.
All but numbers 5, 6, 8, 9, and 18 contain the portrait.

ORIGINAL OR PHOTOGRAPHIC COPIES EXAMINED
NOT BELONGING TO ILLINOIS

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PART I

THE COMPOSITION, PRINTING, AND PUBLICATION OF THE 1674 EDITION
I.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL MATERIALS

THE SECOND EDITION OF Paradise Lost was printed by Samuel Simmons, the owner of the copyright and printer of the first edition, and offered for sale in 1674. These facts we learn from the 1674 title page. Several other facts are known about the second edition; but the full and exact history of the printing and publication of this edition is shrouded in uncertainty, if not mystery. Thus, it was almost exactly seven years after the first edition appeared, and five years after it was sold out, before publication of a second edition was even begun, and reasons for this seeming delay can only be conjectured. There is now no way of knowing whether Simmons, the printer, or Milton, the author, was principally responsible for initiating the second edition. The format of this edition of the poem, despite the fact that in it the poem contains more lines than in the first edition, is smaller than the format of the first edition; but the reasons for the selection of the smaller format are completely unknown. The second edition was in general a better printed book than the first edition, but was still far from being as well printed as it very easily could have been. The third edition, that of 1678, was printed for reasons entirely unknown, and we have no records at all of any negotiations regarding it with the widow or anyone connected with her. We know almost nothing with certainty about the number of copies printed or sold of either the second or the third edition, except that the number of surviving copies can perhaps be used as a basis for an unstable estimate as was suggested in connection with the first edition, 1667. But all certainty concerning the actual number of copies printed is lacking.

Probably most of the uncertainty and mystery, if it is mystery, connected with the second edition can never be satisfactorily removed, for not even the facts themselves are clear in their relationships and implications. Editors of the poem generally have been extremely reticent in their brief accounts of the printing and publication of this edition, and the early biographers have little to say about it. The chief reason for this condition seems to have been that the edition was almost completely taken for granted, and little or no contemporary effort made to record its history, rather than that there was any deliberate intent of concealment or mystification. Attempts to provide an adequate account of the edition today, nearly three hundred years after its appearance, can scarcely be expected to clear away many of the accumulated uncertainties. But such attempts can be inclusive and provide something like all the available information. The least, and perhaps the most, that can be done about the matter is to assemble all the known facts in their proper chronological order, and to add to them the pertinent statements of the early biographers and other contemporaries concerning the publication of the second edition. And from this relatively small mass of factual material must be derived about all that can be ascertained today concerning this edition.

The earliest mention of a second edition of the poem is found in the contract of 27 April 1667, in the provision therein for the possibility of a second and even a third 'Impression,' see my volume 2:112-13, 'the said Samll Symons . . . shall also pay other five pounds . . . at the end of the second Impreßion . . . And five pounds more at the end of the third Impreßion . . .' These second and third 'Impreßions' could be published, at Simmons' discretion, after sale of thirteen hundred copies each of the first and second editions respectively, and Milton was to
have a full accounting of the sales at the ‘end’ of each such edition, or at any other time it was
called for by him. This arrangement for later editions was, however, scarcely specific, entirely
depending as it did upon sales of the book.

Conditions that were eventually to bring the second edition into being were established al-
most exactly two years after the contract was signed. The first edition was sold out by 26 April
1669, the date on the extant receipt, witnessed by Edmund Tipton, signed for Milton perhaps by
Tipton, and acknowledging payment of the five pounds called for in the contract at such time
as the first edition was sold out, see my volume 2:210. As pointed out in connection with the
discussion of the publication and sale of the first edition, see my volume 2:107-8, for two or three
years before 1670 the printer-publisher Samuel Simmons was in trouble with the authorities
probably for publishing ‘sedicious’ (dissenting and even Quakerish) pamphlets. But Simmons
was at this same time printing other pamphlets and books and planning to print many more.
About 1650, Samuel’s uncle, Matthew Simmons, had begun printing in quarto parts, the ‘Ex-
positions’ on the book of Job written by Joseph Caryl, the first of these verse by verse and even
word by word expository treatments having appeared in 1643, printed by G. Miller. Caryl (1602-
1673) was the non-conformist preacher who had served as licenser for the Long Parliament,
‘conferr’d with’ by Milton in Colasterion, in 1645. The ‘Expositions,’ printed by the Simmons
family or by other printers, seem to have been published about as rapidly as the author could
finish his expositions of a few consecutive chapters at a time, see my volume 2:108. When Mat-
thew Simmons died in 1654, Caryl had by no means finished his work, and the ‘Expositions’ as
printing property passed to Mary Simmons, Matthew’s widow. As these ‘Expositions’ directly
affected Samuel Simmons and their publication may even have been largely instrumental in
determining the exact time at which the second edition of Paradise Lost was printed and pub-
lished, a more detailed account of their printing history is pertinent here. The recent publica-
tion (1945) by Donald Wing of the first volume of A Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in Eng-
land . . . 1641-1700, makes the full history of these ‘Expositions’ by Caryl more readily avail-
able than in the past. This is scarcely the place for a full history of the printing by all printers
of Caryl on Job; but the acquisition of Caryl’s Job by the Simmons family is important to Samuel
and hence to us. Wing number C765 (1650) seems to have been the earliest portion of the Caryl
‘Expositions’ printed by a Simmons, and the last of their quarto printings of three or four chap-
ters seems to have appeared in 1671, see Wing number C766, printed by ‘S. Simmons.’ Then in
the Term Catalogues volume 1:83, for Trinity Term ending 10 July of the same year, 1671, ap-
ppeared an advertisement announcing the availability of the Caryl ‘Expositions’ complete in
quarto:

There is lately Reprinted several Volumes of Mr. Caryl’s Exposition on Job; so that now the whole work is complete
in Twelve Volumes. Price, bound, 4l. Sold by George Sawbridge, Edward Thomas, Robert Clavell, Richard Chis-

According to Wing’s numbers, Samuel Simmons had reprinted some of the quarto volumes that
were out of print in order to make a complete set, and, if the above Advertisement can be com-
pletely trusted, the whole twelve volumes were in print in or about 1671 in quarto. The Univer-
sity of Illinois Library has part of such a synthetic set of these quarto editions, with two sepa-
rately printed sections bound together, the bindings being old, and one or two of the volumes
having ancient volume numbers drawn on their backbones by hand. It should be noted that
Wing’s listings of Caryl on Job are neither complete nor entirely accurate, as the material has
been so little collected and the quarto printings apparently so popular that it is doubtful if it
would be possible today to reconstruct completely either the entire work in quarto or all forms
of its issues.
Samuel Simmons’ next move with the Caryl material, perhaps about the time of Caryl’s death, was to announce his intention to reprint the entire set of ‘Expositions’ in folio, as indicated by the Advertisement of the autumn of 1673 cited in my volume 2:108. By 1673, Samuel had begun a series of moves connected with the publication of Caryl on Job that certainly from that time on governed his fortunes as a printer and publisher for the rest of his life, may eventually have bankrupted him, and which with equal certainty may have affected greatly the printing and publication of the second and probably the third edition of Paradise Lost. Not all of Samuel’s moves at that time, about 1670 and 1671, can be recovered, and their exact chronology cannot be precisely determined; but on 5 May 1673, Mary Simmons had sold to Samuel her entire interest in the Caryl book stock, see the Stationers’ Registers, 1640-1708, volume 2:459:

<table>
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<th>Master</th>
<th>Entered . . . by virtue of an assignement under the hand and scale</th>
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<tr>
<td>Sam. Symons</td>
<td>of MARY SYMONS, bercing date the thritth day of April 1673, and unto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>which assignement the hand of Master WARDEN MEARNE is subscribed,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>all her estate, right, tylte, claime, interest &amp; demand, of, in, and to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>severall coppies or bookekes, consisting of twelve parts or volumns, being</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>an Exposicion on the whole booke of JOB, composed by Joseph Carill.</td>
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</table>

Samuel was planning expansion of his printing business, and the Caryl stock was to be one of his major projects. Simmons’ name had seldom occurred in the pages of the relatively new Catalogue of Books, or Mercurius Librarius, begun in 1668 by John Starkey or by Robert Clavell, or by both, other printers, who were also booksellers, being much more greatly favored by Starkey and Clavell than was Simmons in this respect, see Arber, Term Catalogues, volume 1:59, ‘It claims to be “A Catalogue of Books printed and published at London”: but the Editors quietly suppressed the names or initials of nearly all the Letterpress Printers, who did not often sell the books that they produced.’ Perhaps Simmons wished to overcome this difficulty, for sometime in 1673, he printed for Robert Clavell, A Catalogue of all the Books Printed in England since the Dreadful Fire of London in 1666. To the End of Michaelmas Term, 1672. In the Michaelmas Term Catalogue, 1673, see Term Catalogues, volume 1:159-60, his plans for the Caryl material and stock are made clear, for therein appeared the advertisement of the projected folio volumes of the complete expositions on Job, to be sold by subscription by Simmons himself, see my volume 2:108-9.

This announcement committed Simmons to an enterprise that must immediately have taxed his printing and financial resources to the utmost, but which probably drained both rather slowly, as Mary Simmons’ printing property could still have been considerable, and she doubtless backed him with the Caryl folio as she had backed him before with other publications. Also it is evident from the known dates connected with the two publications, Caryl on Job and Paradise Lost 1674, beginning in 1673 and continuing into 1676, that their actual printings overlapped in point of time. Simmons apparently began the process of publishing the second edition of Paradise Lost before he offered the completed Caryl for sale, and probably after the time when he began to assemble and print that work.

Then, on 17 April 1674, there appeared in the Stationers’ Registers, the following entry, see Stationers’ Registers, 1640-1708, volume 2:479:

<table>
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<th>Entered . . . under the hands of ROGER L’ESTRANG ESQ! and Master</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hen. Herringman</td>
<td>WARDEN MEARNE, a booke or coppy entituled The Fall of Angells and man in innocence, An heroick opera Written to [sic] John Dryden, servant to his Matie.</td>
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Masson, see Life, volume 6:708 ff., more unsuccessfully than unconvincingly, made the entire episode of Dryden’s ‘tagging’ of the poem an exceedingly important factor in the actual publication of the second edition of Paradise Lost. But, because the facts are few though well known,
there is little more than Masson’s conjectures to unite the two events. Aubrey (see also Miss Darbshire, *Early Lives*, page 7) recorded the beginning of this episode as follows:

![Handwritten transcription](image)

**TRANSCRIPTION**

Jo: Dreyden Esq Poet Laureate, who very much admires him: & went to him to have leave to in Rhyme putt his Paradife-loft into a Drama: M Milton received him civilly, & told him he would give him leave to tagge his verses.

— Bodleian Manuscript Aubrey 8, f.63v.

For some unknown reason, the publication of Dryden’s ‘opera’ was not forthcoming. The earliest known edition of the work in printed form is dated 1677 with the title, *The State of Innocence, and Fall of Man*, Wing D2372. See W. J. Lawrence in *London Times Literary Supplement*, August 6, 1931, page 606, ‘Dryden’s Abortive Opera’ for some interesting speculations on the delay in publication and G. W. Whiting, *ibid.*, January 14, 1932, page 28. But support for Masson’s most telling speculations regarding the connections between the manuscript copies of Dryden’s play and the second edition of *Paradise Lost* are to be found in those lines of Andrew Marvell’s commendatory versesprefacing that edition of the poem, in which he is at pains to mention

\[\ldots\] that some less skilful hand
\[\ldots\] Might hence presume the whole Creations day
To change in Scenes, and show it in a Play.

That is, Masson assumed, see *op. cit.*, page 710, no doubt correctly, that Marvell had seen Dryden’s ‘tagged’ version before the verses prefixed to the second edition of *Paradise Lost* were written, and his reaction to that version is recorded in those lines quoted above. There is no particular mystery about the form in which Marvell could have been acquainted with Dryden’s play, as in the ‘Authors Apology for Heroique Poetry; and Poetique Licence.’ which Dryden prefixed to the 1677 edition of the play, he explained why ‘I publish an OPERA which was never acted.’ He further stated that in addition to being ‘desirous to lay at the feet of so Beautiful and Excellent a Princess, [Mary of Modena, Duchess of York] a Work which I confess was unworthy her,’ he was also induc’d to it in my own defence: many hundred Copies of it being dispers’d, abroad without my knowledge or consent: so that every one gathering new faults, it became at length a Libel against me; and I saw, with some disdain, more nonsence than either I, or as bad a Poet, could have cram’d into it, at a Months warning, in which time ‘twas wholly written, and not since Revis’d.
The entire first page of Dryden's 'Apology' is presented here in photographic facsimile, although the last four lines refer to the immediately preceding encomium by Nathaniel Lee 'To Mr. Dryden, on his Poem of Paradise.' The reproduction is of the Illinois copy of Wing's number D2372.

THE FIRST PAGE OF THE PREFACE OF DRYDEN'S
STATE OF INNOCENCE, LONDON, 1677

The Authors Apology for Heroique Poetry;
and Poetique Licence.

O satisfy the Curiosity of those who will give themselves the trouble of reading the ensuing POEM, I think my self oblig'd to render them a Reason, why I publish an OPERA which was never acted. In the first place I shall not be ashamed to own, that my chiefest Motive, was the Ambition which I acknowledg'd in the Epistle. I was desirous to lay at the feet of so Beautiful and Excellent a Prince, a Work which I confess was unworthy her, but which I hope she will have the goodness to forgive. I was also induc'd to it in my own defence: many hundred Copies of it being dispers'd abroad without my knowledge or consent; so that every one gathering new faults, it became at length a Libel against me; and I saw, with some disdain, more nonsense than either I, or as bad a Poet, could have cram'd into it, at a Months warning, in which time 'twas wholly Written, and not since Revis'd. After this, I cannot without injury to the deceas'd Author of Paradise Lost, but acknowledge that this POEM has receiv'd its entire Foundation, part of the Design, and many of the Ornaments, from him. What I have borrow'd, will be so easily discern'd from my mean Productions, that I shall not need to point the Reader to the places: And, truly, I should be sorry, for my own sake, that any one should take the pains to compare them together: The Original being undoubtedly, one of the greatest, most noble, and most sublime POEMS, which either this Age or Nation has produc'd. And though I could not refuse the partiality of my Friend, who is pleas'd to commend me in his Verses, I hope they will rather be esteem'd the effect of his love to me, than of his deliberate and sober judgment. His Genius is able to make beautiful
Lawrence, op. cit., pointed out that the marriage between James Duke of York and Mary of Modena was 'solemnized by proxy' on September 30, 1673, 'but the bride did not arrive in England until late in November.' He further stated that there is no record of the play's performance. But Marvell could easily have seen one of the 'many hundred [manuscript] Copies' which Dryden mentioned as being in circulation, at least five of which survive, one at Harvard, two at Huntington, one in the British Museum, and one in the Bodleian. There may be others.

When was the opera actually written? Lawrence conjectured, op. cit., that about the middle of September, 1673, Dryden was commissioned to write a musical entertainment for the impending marriage festivities and finished the work 'within a month.' But there is an even earlier possibility. Peterborough set out for Modena in July, 1673, as ambassador extraordinary, with instructions to ask for the hand of Mary Beatrice in marriage with James. That is, the decision to arrange James' marriage with Mary of Modena was made perhaps in June of that year. Arrangements for the wedding festivities may have been brewing from that time on, and Dryden's play may have been written at any time between June, 1673, and possibly one month before the entry in the Stationers' Registers, or say March, 1674. Lawrence was probably correct in his insistence, from his study of the stage directions of the printed copy and also those in the manuscripts, that Dryden intended the play for stage performance. But the reasons so far advanced for the delay and subsequent complete neglect of the performance have been misunderstood. It is most likely that the delay and subsequent abandonment of the performance, together with almost all other festivities normally connected with such a wedding arose from the unpopularity of the marriage. Charles II delayed the execution of the article in the marriage treaty which provided to Mary a public chapel (Roman Catholic), a private chapel being fitted up instead. Actually, Charles seems not to have publicly acknowledged the marriage at all until September, 1674. See Sir John Reresby, Memoirs, edited by James J. Cartwright, London, 1875, page 92.

September, 1674. His highness the Duke of York declared his marriage with Mary, daughter to the Duke of Modena, who had arrived here not long before with the duchess her mother. The nation was much troubled at it, she being a strict Papist, and the match having been arranged by the French King.

And not until 1675 was the allowance of £5,000 a year granted her. Among the London public at large, Mary shared her husband's unpopularity, and the marriage itself was never popular.

It is all but certain, therefore, that Dryden wrote his play sometime before April, 1674, but certainly not earlier than July, 1673. Masson's contention that Marvell had seen a manuscript copy of it before writing his commendatory verses prefixed to the second edition of Paradise Lost seems reasonable, and Lee, in his commendatory verses addressed to Dryden seems to be attempting to offset what Marvell had written. Certainly, Dryden's 'Apology' was written for the publication of the play in 1676/1677. The approximate date of first publication of the play seems settled by the entry, Term Catalogues, volume 1:266, Hilary Term, 12 February 1676/1677, under POETRY AND PLAYS:

The State of Innocence and Fall of Man. An Opera written in Heroic Verse; and dedicated to her Royal Highness the Dutchess. By John Dryden, Servant to his Majesty. In Quarto. Price, stich, 1s. Sold by H. Herringman at the Anchor in the New Exchange.

Masson argued that the second edition of Paradise Lost was actually brought out by Simmons at the time it appeared because he feared that he might lose money by the sale of Dryden's printed play unless he put the poem on the market at once. This seems a plausible enough reason, but it can only be assumed, not proved. The effect of the circulation of the Dryden manuscript may have had, as Masson assumed, an even greater effect on Milton than on Simmons, in so far as bringing to a head the whole matter of a second edition of the poem. But it should not be deduced from such conjectures that either the proposal to publish a second edition, or the various revisions
necessary in preparation for such an edition, came into being as a result of Dryden's 'tagging.' The revisions found in the second edition of the poem as published would have required a longer time to prepare, especially for a completely blind author, than the period between the entry of Dryden's play in April and the actual appearance of Paradise Lost in June of the same year, 1674. It is doubtful if Paradise Lost could have been put through the press in the fifty to seventy-five days between those dates, and the revision would have required even more time. On the other hand, if Dryden's 'tagging' was begun perhaps some time before April, 1674, his act of securing permission to 'tag,' may well have been the immediate occasion for Simmons, or Simmons and Milton, to hasten to bring to publication a second edition that both he and the author had been rather aimlessly preparing, perhaps since April of 1669 after the first edition had sold out, but which had been repeatedly postponed to make way for the publication of the Caryl material. Thus, if the second edition had been started by the printer in the late winter of 1673/1674, and worked at continuously, it could easily have been ready for sale by June, 1674. Therefore the several sets of facts, those connected with Simmons' plans and printing of Caryl on Job, those connected with Dryden's play in manuscript, and those connected with the second edition of Milton's poem, have too many elements in common to be accounted for entirely by coincidence.

The next fixed point in our knowledge of the publication of the second edition of Paradise Lost comes from the Term Catalogues, volume 1:181 with the entry, in Trinity Term, 6 July 1674, licensed by Roger L'Esrange, 'Paradise Lost. A Poem, in Twelve Books; Revised and Augmented by the Author, John Milton. Price 3s.' That is, sometime between May 26, the end of Easter Term, 1674, and July 6, 1674, or almost certainly in late June, 1674, the second edition of Paradise Lost was published, and the appearance of the book as a reprint was noted in the Term Catalogues. There is an entry in the Term Catalogues that seems to indicate that the second edition of Paradise Lost may actually have appeared before July 1, as in the Term Catalogues, volume 1:172, for Easter Term, ending May 26, 1674, occurs the following notice under the heading of LIBRI LATINI: 'Joannis Miltoni Angli Epistolamarum Familiarum liber unus. Quibus accesserunt Ejusdem jam olim in Collegio Adolescentis prolationes quaedam oratoriae. In Octavo. Printed for B. Aylmer at the Three Pidgeons in Cornhill.' This notice is for the actual appearance of the book; but the entry for its right of copy appeared in Stationers' Registers, 1640-1708, volume 2:481 under date of 1 July, 1674:

Master Brabazon Aylmer. Entred . . . under the hands of Master Roger L'Estrang and Master Warden Mearne a book or copy intituled Joannis Miltonii Angli Epistolamarum Familiarum Liber unus quibus accesserunt euisdem jam olim in Collegio adolescentis prolationes quaedam oratoriae. . . . . . . . vj a

Thus, the two books, each published by a different bookseller, appeared at about the same time. And Simmons may have been led to insist that Clavell list his publication, though tardily, having listed the Epistolarum by the same author in the previous term. From this time on, Milton himself, dying as he did early in November, 1674, has no connection with various other facts bearing on the subsequent publication and sale of Paradise Lost.

The next fact of consequence here is the appearance of the first advertisement for the great folio edition of Caryl's Expositions on Job, see Term Catalogues, volume 1:230, in Hilary Term, 10 February 1676:

An Exposition, with Practical Observations, on the Book of Job. Vol. I. By Joseph Caryl, sometime Preacher to the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn; and more lately of St. Magnus', near London Bridge. Printed and published by Sam. Simmons, next door to the Golden Lyon in Aldersgate street.

This was the first volume of the ill-fated folio edition of Caryl on Job, although the notice in the Term Catalogues gives no hint of the size of the book.
Then, in Hilary Term, 1677, listed under POETRY AND PLAYS, appeared the notice of the publication of Dryden's State of Innocence, see Term Catalogues, volume 1:266, quoted page 12 of this volume. In Michaelmas Term of the same year, under date of 26 November 1677, appeared the notice, already referred to and quoted in my volume 2:108-9, of the completion by Simmons of the complete Expositions on Job of Joseph Caryl, and the second of the two folio volumes bears the date of MDCLXXVII.

In 1678 appeared the third edition of Paradise Lost, with the title page which, though reset, differs only from that of the second edition in the line The Third Edition, and in the date at the end of the letterpress. There is no mention of this edition in the Term Catalogues, and aside from the date, 1678, on the title page, no precise time of publication of it can be ascertained.

The next known fact in the history of the publication of Paradise Lost is found in the item, taken from Stationers' Registers of 1683, and quoted in my volume 2:110, whereby we learn that on 27 October 1680, Simmons had released his rights in Paradise Lost to Brabazon Aylmer by assignment.

Later in the same year and after he had sold his entire interest in Paradise Lost, Simmons secured a receipt from Elizabeth Minshull Milton, the widow, paying her eight pounds for all her rights and claims in Paradise Lost, a reproduction of which receipt appears opposite.

For reasons unknown, but speculated on in my volume 2:111, Simmons later secured another form of release obviously a set form drawn up by a professional scribe from Elizabeth Milton, dated 29 April 1681, and this form is reproduced on page 17. Both this release and the receipt signed by Elizabeth Milton are in the Cambridge University Library, and are reproduced herein by their kind permission.

The political developments at the end of the reign of Charles II that were to lead to the formation of the Whig party, and more especially the activities of the Exclusioners about 1679, see sub 'Whig' 3, in Oxford English Dictionary, reflected themselves in the altered attitude towards Milton's works noticeable thereafter. In the Easter Term of 1681, see the Term Catalogues, Easter Term, [May] 1681, volume 1:443, occurs the notice of the publication of a brief suppressed portion from The History of Britain, 1670, 'Mr. John Milton's Character of the Long Parliament and Assembly of Divines, 1641; omitted in his other Works, and never before printed. Quarto. Price 2d.'

The very next term of the same year, 1681, saw the announcement of the second edition, but which was dated 1680 on the title page, of Paradise Regained and Samson Agonistes, see the Term Catalogues, Trinity Term, [June] 1681, volume 1:453, listed under 'REPRINTED.' 'Paradise Regain'd. A Poem, in four Books: to which is added, Samson Agonistes. The Author, John Milton. Printed for J. Starkey at the Miter in Fleet street. In Octavo. Price, bound, 1s. 6d.' The first edition of these poems had been licensed July 2, 1670, and registered September 10 of the same year, see volume 4 of this facsimile edition for reproduction of license leaf, and Stationers' Registers, 1640-1708, volume 2:415 for registration. Slowly the publishers and booksellers were beginning to yield to the demand for Milton's poetry, though the author was still a politically obnoxious name to the King's party.

In 1682 there appeared an edition of an English translation of Milton's 'Republican Letters' that seems to be little known to bibliographers. The copy before me at the University of Illinois Library carries the title page reproduced on page 18. There is no clue in the two-page address to the 'Curteous (sic) Reader' to the identity of the translator or publisher. The translation is quite different from that printed in 1694, and probably the main value of the publication today is as an indication of the growing interest in Milton's works, and the greater safety in publishing them.
RECEIPT OF 21 DECEMBER 1680

I do hereby acknowledge to have received of Samuel Symonds Citizen and staconer of London, the sum of Eight pounds: which is in full payment for all my right, title, or Interest, which I have, or ever had in the Copy of a Poem Intitled Paradise Lost in Twelve Bookes in 8vo. By John Milton Gent; my late husband. Witness my hand this 21st day of December 1680.

Witness
William Yapp
Ann Yapp

Elizabeth Milton
THE FINAL QUITCLAIM RELEASE OF 1681

Know all men by these presents that I Elizabeth Milton of London widdow, late wife of John Milton of London Gent: deceased have remised released and for ever quitt claimed And by these presents doe remise release and for ever quitt clayme unto Samuell Symonds of London Printer his Heires Executors and Administrators All and all manner of Accōn and Accōns Cause and Causes of Accōn Suites Bills Bonds writings obligatorie Debts Dues Duties Accounts Suīne and Suīses of money Judgments Execucous Extents Quarrells either in Law or Eqiuty Controversies and demands And all and every other matter cause and thing whatsoever which against the said Samuell Symonds I ever had And which I my heires Executors or Administrators shall or may have clayme pseite challenge or demand for or by reason or meanes of any matter cause or thing whatsoever from the beginning of the World unto the day of the date of these presents In witnes whereof I have hervunto sett my hand and Seale the twenty ninth day of April in the thirty third Yeare of the Reigne of our Soveraigne Lord Charles a[?nd?] by the grace of God of England Scotland France and Ireland King Defender of the faith & c Annoq Dom 1682

Sealed and delivered
in the presents of
Jo/ Leigh    Elizabeth Milton    [Seal]
Wm Wilkins
The print received from Cambridge University had been cut into two parts, hence the black line between lines 13 and 14.  
20 a Was this the first letter in [nd] or a mere scribal flourish?
Miltons Republican Letters

Or

A Collection of such as were
written by Comand
of the

Late Commonwealth

Of

England;

from the Year 1648. to the Year 1659.

Originally writ by the learned

John Milton,

Secretary to those times, and now translated into English, by a Wel-wisher of Englands honour.

Printed in the Year 1682.
The same year, 1682, saw the publication of another of Milton’s previously unpublished works, which would scarcely have been attempted had not there existed a growing safety in attention to him and his works. The notice of its publication follows, see the Term Catalogues, Hilary Term, [February] 1682, volume 1:472:

A brief History of Moscovia; and of other less known Countries lying Eastward of Russia, as far as Cathay. Gathered from the Writings of several Eye Witnesses. In Octavo. By John Milton, before he lost his Sight. Printed for B. Aylmer at the Three Pidgeons in Cornhill.

We learn something of the change in attitude towards Milton from both these notices. In the second, there is no explanation of his identity, it being obviously assumed that he was well known by reputation; and the statement concerning his loss of sight assumed baldly that everybody knew that he had become blind, and probably under what general circumstances. The manuscript for this History of Moscovia has long since disappeared, consequently there is no way for us to learn today how much of Aylmer’s notice was supplied from information which Milton had given him directly.

There were several events which took place in 1683 that have some bearing on the fortunes of Milton’s publications, especially Paradise Lost. The first of these events has already been noted, see my volume 2, page 110, and consisted of the entry dated 24 July 1683 in the Stationers’ Registers of the transaction whereby Samuel Simmons transferred all his rights in Paradise Lost to Brabazon Aylmer, the actual sale, according to the transfer entry, having taken place 27 October 1680.

Variously hinted at by others, so far as can be determined, Thomas Newton’s statement is the earliest authority extant today for what happened thereafter to the right of copy for the poem. His statement, found in his edition of Paradise Lost, 1749, contains the following statement, see his volume 1, page xxxviii:

The third edition was published in 1678; and it appears that Milton had left his remaining right in the copy to his widow, and she agreed with Simmons the printer to accept eight pounds in full of all demands, and her receipt for the money is dated December 21, 1680. But a little before this Simmons had covenanted to assign the whole right of copy to Brabazon Aylmer the bookseller for twenty five pounds; and Aylmer afterwards sold it to old Jacob Tonson at two different times, one half on the 17th of August 1683, and the other half on the 24th of March 1690, with a considerable advance of the price; and except one fourth of it which has been assign’d to several persons, his family have enjoyed the right of copy ever since.

All original records of these transactions between Aylmer and Tonson have apparently disappeared, and Newton’s is today the earliest full account of them.

Another transaction, similar to that involving Aylmer and Tonson, was recorded only a few days after the first date supplied by Newton. On August 21, 1683, Mrs. Sarah Martin, ‘relict and executrix of the last will and testament of John Martin’ sold to Robert Scott her rights in a long list of books and ‘coppies’ see Stationers’ Registers, 1640-1708, volume 3:181-190. In this list are to be found two works, one by Milton, and the other by Salmasius. The Milton ‘coppies’ was, see op. cit., page 184, ‘Milton’s History of Britaine’, a work that had already attained some commercial value for its printer and publishers, and from the time of the transfer was to retain that value through at least one more edition before 1700. The other, listed on the next page, was ‘Salmasij response ad Miltonum’ which, from a publisher’s or bookseller’s standpoint, probably never had much commercial value, and, so far as is known, was never reprinted as a generally commercial venture. The chief interest in this entry today, aside from its factual value, is its indication that any book by Milton, or even connected with him, had some value in the book market, a condition that owed much to the growing political unrest.

The next event of note and connected with the publication and sale of Paradise Lost was the appearance in 1688 of the great folio edition, published by subscription, and printed by Miles Flesher. There can be little doubt that the actual date of appearance of this edition was largely
determined by the swift march of events connected with the abdication, if it can be called an abdication, of James II. James finally escaped with Berwick to France between the twenty-second and twenty-fifth of December, 1688, William III having landed at Brixham, south of Torbay, on November 5, arriving at St. James' on December 18 of the same year. The abdication, perhaps entirely by accident and perhaps most indirectly, immediately reflected itself in the change in attitude of the booksellers and printers towards Milton's works. Awnsham Churchill made the following entry, see Stationers' Registers, 1640-1708, volume 3:345, only a little more than a month after James had fled:

30 Jan 1688

Awn. Churchill. Entred . . . booke or copy under the hand of Master Wardn

Clavell entituled Tracts of John Million [sic Arber] of Divorce, Colasterion, Tetra-

chordon, Areopagitica, Notes on Griffith sermon, True Religion, Heresey

&c, Observations on Jieisk peace, pro populo Anglicano, et Salmatij Lat &

Eng: defensio secundo lat Engl.; pro se contra Moram lat: Engl: epistola

familiares lat & Eng on Rawleigh’ Cabinet counsell' Johannis Phillipps

Ang’ responsio. Lat & Engl, Lre Cromwelianne, Lat & Engl, of Rimerius

herelius, of civill power. Lycensed by Ro: Middly. . . . vii

[The penultimate title is probably a garbling of Considerations touching the

likeliest means to remove hirelings]

Someone saw an opportunity to make some money out of Milton's prose works, many of which had never before been registered, and Churchill lost no time in registering his right of copy for the works included in the list. But the date of registration is too near the date of the abdication of James II to be accounted for entirely by coincidence, and one other known fact adds its bit of evidence of connection. That is the date of the handsome, subscription folio dated 1688, and which I am inclined to believe in the absence of any exact knowledge of its precise date of appearance, probably appeared in the winter of 1688/1689. This is hardly the proper place to discuss in great detail the folio editions of Paradise Lost, appearing from 1688 through 1695; but at least a few facts are needed with any mention of the 1688 edition, for neither it nor the other folios that followed it have ever been completely and adequately described.

The folio edition with title pages dated 1688 exists with three slightly different title pages, and printed on two different paper stocks. Apparently, except for the title pages, none of the type was reset; but the large paper stock, with watermarks in two places on the large sheets before folding, one the name 1 CONARD enclosed in a loop and the other a bunch of grapes a little over an inch long, in the twelve copies at Illinois occurs always with the Bently, and the Tonson title pages. The smaller paper stock, with one watermark consisting of three initials and the other a foolscap, occurs only with the Bently-Tonson title page. There are at least these three different title pages for this edition and a reproduction of each appears herein. All twelve copies at Illinois, regardless of title page or paper stock, are mispaced 151 through 196 for the true page numbers 251 through 296 but are correct from page 297 to the end of the book. Most copies examined are made up with a portrait facing the title page. A leaf with The VERSE, on the recto follows the title page. Next comes the first of the twelve 'sculptures' facing the first page of the text, when present, and the other 'sculptures,' occur between books. One copy at Illinois contains the statement in pencil that these 'sculptures' were originally designed by Sir John Baptist Modena. This may or may not be John Gaspars Baptist, a portraitist and tapestry painter, who died, according to the Dictionary of National Biography, in 1691. The 343 numbered pages of text, with misnumbering as noted, are followed by three leaves containing 'The Names of the Nobility and Gentry' who subscribed for the edition. The chief value of these remarks concerning the folio edition here is to point out that the attention accorded it grew directly out of the relatively huge extent to which the editions of 1667, 1674, and 1678 had circulated. And if we can believe contemporary or near contemporary evidence, the 1667 edition was by all odds the best known of the three.
Paradise Lost.

A POEM

In Twelve Books.

The AUTHOR

JOHN MILTON.


LONDON,

Printed by Miles Flesher, for Richard Bently,
at the Post-Office in Russell-street.
M DC LXXXVIII.

The 1688 Number 1 Title Page. All 1688 copies examined with this title page were printed on large paper.
Paradise Lost.

A

POEM

In Twelve Books.

The AUTHOR

JOHN MILTON.


LONDON,

Printed by Miles Flesher, for Jacob Tonson, at the Judge's-Head in Chancery-lane near Fleet-street.

M DC LXXXVIII.

The 1688 Number 2 Title Page. The paper stock of copies with the second title page is identical throughout with that used in copies with the number 1 title page, and the text of the title page is identical with number 1 through LONDON.
Paradise Lost.
A
POEM
In Twelve Books.

The AUTHOR
JOHN MILTON.


LONDON,
Printed by Miles Flesher, for Richard Bentley, at the
Post-Office in Russell-street; and Jacob Tonson at the
Judge's-Head in Chancery-lane near Fleet-street.
M DC LXXXVIII.

The 1688 Number 3 Title Page. The single horizontal rules are spaced differently. The letterpress is apparently identical through LONDON, (line 8) except for some compression vertically amounting to about three eights of an inch to allow for four lines instead of three below. The paper stock in copies with this title page is smaller and has different watermarks than the paper in copies with the other two title pages.
II.

ACCOUNTS OF THE 1674 EDITION FROM THE EARLY BIOGRAPHERS AND EDITORS

There are at least fifteen definite and separate accounts of Milton by that many different writers who knew him, or knew his family, or knew people who knew Milton, but there is little enough to be learned from their scanty mentions of the second edition of Paradise Lost. However, by assembling all these accounts there are a few facts added to our knowledge of this edition.

Perhaps the earliest account of Milton, except his own autobiographical sketches in his works and letters, particularly in The Reason of Church Government, 1641/1642, An Apology against a Pamphlet, 1642, and Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio Secunda, 1654, is that compiled by John Aubrey, and sent to Anthony Wood in 1681. This account, as is well known, was in the form of notes or ‘minutes’ as Wood called them. Aubrey was relatively accurate; but it is extremely difficult to determine exactly whether or not he actually knew Milton personally. Wood was under no such uncertainty, maintaining without reservation that ‘my friend’ had met and talked with John Milton, and had kept in close touch with the widow and Edward Phillips after Milton’s death. At any rate, Aubrey has nothing to say about the second edition of Paradise Lost, and little enough mention of the poem in any form. He states that ‘After he was blind he wrote these following Bookes viz. Paradise lost . . .’ see Miss Darbishire, Early Lives, page 3. Later in the ‘minutes’ ibid., page 5, he states:

mdm M' Theodore Haak R.S.S. hath translated halfe his Paradise lost into High Dutch in such blank verse, w't is very well liked of by Germanus Fabricius Professor at Heidelberg, who sent to M' Haak a letter upon this Transation—Incredible est quantum nos omnes effecerit gravitas styli, & copia lectissimorum verborum et . . . v. the letter.

In the ‘Catalog^ Librorum,’ ibid., page 9, Aubrey lists 5 and 6 as ‘Paradise lost 4to. in hand cheif of Edward Phillips follows] Edw. Philips his . . . Amanuensis.’ Two or three other mentions of the poem by Aubrey deal with its composition only.

The Anonymous Life of Milton, a manuscript copy of which exists today among Wood’s papers in the Bodleian, but whose exact time of composition is unknown, was probably written before 1681. Aubrey seems to mention it, and Wood probably had it before him as he wrote. The Anonymous Life contains only one reference to the poem to the effect that after blindness ‘. . . hee began . . . the composing of Paradise Lost . . .’ see Miss Darbishire, Early Lives, page 29, where the Anonymous Life is most readily accessible.

Anthony Wood published the first volume of his Athenae Oxonienses at London in 1691, and among the Fasti for ‘An. Dom. 1635. 11 Car. 1,’ under the ‘Incorporations,’ columns 880-884, is found his account of the life and works of John Milton. He barely mentions the poem, however, restricting himself to listing it among the works as number ‘(23) Paradise Lost: A Poem in 10 books. Lond. 1669. qu. pr. in fol. with cuts, an. 1688.’ See Miss Darbishire, Early Lives, page 46, and Athenae Oxonienses, London, 1691, volume 1, columns 880-884.

The earliest specific mention of the second edition of Paradise Lost by a biographer was that by Edward Phillips in his account of Milton’s life prefixed to the edition of the English translation of the State Letters published as Letters of State, written by Mr. John Milton, . . . To which is added, An Account of his Life, London, 1694. Phillips in no way acknowledged the authorship of this life, but Thomas Birch identified its author in his own account of Milton’s life, acknowl-
edged and prefixed to *A Complete Collection of the . . . Historical, Political, and Miscellaneous Works of John Milton*, 1738. 'The Life and Writings' with 'Appendix' occupy pages i-xcvii. On page i, in a footnote, Birch states, after referring in the text to the 1694 account, 'This Life was written by his Nephew Mr. Edward Phillips, as appears from a Note in the Copy, which I make use of, which was given by him to a Friend of his.' On pages xxxviii-xxxix of the *Letters of State*, 1694, see also Miss Darbishire, *Early Lives*, page 75, Phillips states:

the first Edition of *Paradise Lost* was printed in Quarto by one *Simons* a Printer in Aldergate-Street, the other [the second edition] in a large Octavo, by *Starky* near Temple-Bar, amended, enlarged, and differently disposed as to the Number of Books, by his own Hand, that is by his own appointment; the last fet forth many years since his death in a large Folio with Cuts added by *Jacob Tonfon*.

As is frequently the case elsewhere in his account of his uncle's life and activities, Phillips is confused about the second edition, as the printer he names is the publisher of *Paradise Regained*, 1671, not the printer of *Paradise Lost*, 1674. But otherwise his statement can be substantiated.

The next published account of Milton was by Pierre Bayle, *Dictionaire Historique et Critique*, 2 vols. Rotterdam, 1697. In volume 2 on page 590 occurs the only mention of Milton's poetry in the text of the article, 'Il fe mëloït (G) de poëtie, & plusieurs de les poëmes, tant en Latin qu'en Anglois, ont vu le jour, foit pendant fa vie, foit après fa mort.' The note (G) is a long one, and contains the following statement:

> Au reste Milton a fait deux poëmes en vers non rimes; l'un fur la tentation d'Eve; l'autre fur la tentation de Jésus-Christ. Le premier est intitulé le *Paradis perdu*; le second a pour titre le *Paradis regains*. Le premier passe pour l'un des plus beaux Ouvrages de poëtie que l'on ait vu en Anglois. Le fameux Poëte Dryden en a tiré une piece de théatre, qui fut extrêmement applaudie.

The next printed account of Milton, in order of its appearance, was in the publication in 1698 by I.[ohn] T.[oland], *A Complete Collection of the . . . [Prose] Works of John Milton*, 'Both English and Latin. In Three Volumes. To which is Prefix'd the Life of the Author. Amsterdam [almost certainly printed in London], M. DC. XC. VIII.' Pages 6 through 47 of volume 1 are given over to the life, and are signed on page 47 'Sept. 3. 1698. I. T.' On page 40, Toland states:

> The first Edition of *Paradise Lost* was published in the year 1666, [Toland makes much of having known Phillips, and his mistake about the date when *Paradise Lost* was first published is the same mistake made by Phillips in his life] in ten Books; but afterwards, amended and enlarged by himself, it was disposed according to his Direction into twelve Books, as it is read at present.

That Toland knew the second edition is indicated by the fact that on pages 42-3 he quotes with great approval from the Latin verses prefixed to that edition. Toland issued his Life of Milton separately the following year, 1699.


Beginning in 1702, the Bayle *Dictionnaire* appeared in subsequent editions in 1702, 1715, 1720, 1730, 1734, 1738, 1740, 1741, and 1750-1756, and the article on Milton was amplified from Toland, but with no new material concerning the second edition of *Paradise Lost*. There were two or three English editions in English of the work, the first apparently in 1710, and two beginning in 1734; but none of these contained more about Milton than Bayle's original article augmented from Toland.
The next mention of the second edition of *Paradise Lost* is to be found in the famous critique of the poem that Joseph Addison published serially in the *Spectator*. In the issue for May 3, 1712, number CCCLXIX, Addison stated:

The number of Books in *Paradise Lost* is equal to those of the *Aeneid*. Our Author in his First Edition had divided his Poem into ten Books, but afterwards broke the Seventh and the Eleventh each of them into two different Books, by the help of some small Additions. This second Division was made with great Judgment, as any one may see who will be at the pains of examining it. It was not done for the sake of such a Chimical Beauty as that of resembling *Virgil* in this particular, but for the more just and regular Disposition of this great Work.

Then in 1725 appeared a small edition of *Paradise Lost*, with title page reading as follows: *PARADISE LOST. A Poem, in Twelve Books. The Author JOHN MILTON. The Twelfth Edition. To which is prefixed An Account of his Life. . . . London: Printed for Jacob Tonson in the Strand. M DCC XXV.* The Life occupies pages [v] through xxviii with three unnumbered pages of "Postscript." In this edition, both are unsigned; but in the "Thirteenth Edition" 1727, on page xxv the same "Life" is signed "ELIJAH FENTON." The 1725 "Postscript" contains little else than a statement owing much to Addison about the second edition of the poem.

However, though in the First Edition it [the poem] was disposed into Ten Books only, *Milton* thought proper in the Second to make a new division of it into Twelve: not, I suppose, with respect to the *Aeneis* (for He was, in both [fenes of the phrase, above Imitation) but more probably, because the length of the Seventh and Tenth required a Pause in the Narration, He divided them, each into Two: on which distribution, to the beginning of those Books which are now the Eighth and Twelfth, He added the following Verse, which were necessary to make a Connection. [Quotes Book 8:1-4] The latter half of the verse was taken from this in the first Edition.

To whom thus *Adam* gratefully reply’d.

[Quotes Book 12:1-5] At the same time the Author made some few additions in other places of the Poem, which are here inserted for the satisfaction of the curious. [Quotes Book 5:637-640, and 11:485-488, and 551-552]

The next mention of the second edition to appear in print was in Richard Bentley’s *contumacious edition of Paradise Lost*, 1732. This famous edition of the poem, which almost at once became infamous, was prepared by the greatest classical textual scholar the English speaking world ever produced. But his edition of *Paradise Lost* was unfortunate to say the least. In his "Preface" he shows full awareness of some differences between the first and second editions of the poem, and makes one striking statement about its reputation before the second edition appeared. On the fifth of the unnumbered pages of the "Preface" Bentley stated, "The Firft [Edition] came out in 1667, and a Second in 1674; in which all the Faults of the Former are continued, with the Addition of some New ones." A little later on the same page he states, ‘. . . the Editor durft inert his Forgeries, even in the second Edition, when the Poem and its Author had lowly grown to a vaft Reputation;’ It is this second statement that is striking, for Bentley either assumed or had proof that the first edition of the poem was chiefly responsible for the growth of its popularity, and that subsequent editions only afforded opportunity to new readers for acquaintance with a poem whose reputation was already established.


This curious book contains the following statement about the second edition on page cxvii:

. . . in 74 (the Year in which the Author Dy’d) he put out Another, the 2d Edition, with Some few Alterations, Additions Chiefly; and Now the Poem was divided into Twelve Books, which at Firft was in Ten. the VIIth and Xth Books are each Divided into Two. This is the Only Authentic Edition of the Paradise Lost as Thus Perfected; and ‘tis very scarce.

So far as I know, this is the first indication that the second edition was a small one, if that is what Richardson meant by stating that ‘tis very scarce.’ On page cxxv, Richardson the Elder
stated his opinion of the authenticity of the text of the second edition over the first, 'As little did his Book Suffer by This Misfortune [his blindness] in regard to the Correctness of the Impression, how much Soever the Contrary may at First Sight seem Probable. The Work is Complete, and Pure.'

In 1738 appeared two folio volumes containing Milton's prose works, under the title A Complete Collection of the Historical, Political, and Miscellaneous Works of John Milton. Volume I contains a lengthy account of Milton's life and works, written by Thomas Birch, and on page xlvi Birch mentions the second edition of Paradise Lost, 'In 1674 Milton publish'd in 8vo a second Edition under this title . . . In this Edition he made some few Alterations, chiefly Additions; and now the Poem, which at first consisted of ten Books, was divided into twelve; [quotes most of Fenton's Postscript.]' There is little else in Birch regarding the two editions of the poem.

Two years later, in 1740, the following work appeared: New Memoirs of the Life and Poetical Works of Mr. John Milton . . . By Francis Peck, M. A . . . Printed M, DCC, XL.' This work, as curious and chaotic in some ways as that by Richardson, on whose remarks Peck based much of his book, contains the earliest account in print of specific copies of the second edition of the poem. On page 209 occurs this statement:

4. Paradise Lost, a poem in XII. Books. The author John Milton. The second edition, revised, & augmented by the same author. London, printed by S. Simmons next door to the golden Lion in Aldersgate-street, 1674. 8vo. Pages 333.—This edition I had the use of from Trinity-College library, by the favor of the Reverend Mr. Allen, junior Burlar there.

This is reckoned the second genuine edition of the Paradise Lost, & is very scarce.4 [cites Richardson.]

This edition is printed very accurately, that (a few pointings excepted) Mr. Richardson thinks5 [gives page references to Richardson] there are but three words misprinted in the whole; viz. VII. 321 smeling, for swelling. VII. 541 [451] soule, for soule. And IX. 1019. me, for we.

Yet I will venture to note a few more; viz. II. 483. her, for thir. II. 702. stroke, for stroke. II. 1039. brok'd, for broken. III. 592. medal, for metal. III. 597. to, for or. III 716. this, for the. IV. 136. guttsugge, for guttsugge. IV. 226. mould, for mownd. IV. 751. offspring, for offspring. IV. 956. acknowledg'd, for acknowledged. VII. 63. conspicuous, for conspicuous. IX. 1092. from, for far. 1093. far, for from. X. 997. miserie, for miserie. XI. 798. loose, for life. XII. 534. well, for will.

Peck rambles on and provides many a tantalizing bit of alleged fact, absolutely unverifiable today; but the above list of Errata culled from the second edition of the poem constitute the earliest printed textual variants of their kind.

The last account of the history of the poem that could have drawn in any way upon persons who knew anyone connected with Milton directly was written by Thomas Newton, and appeared as a preface to his 1749 edition of Paradise Lost. On page xxxviii of his account of Milton's life and writings, Newton stated, drawing on Addison and Fenton (the long 'f' is ignored):

The second edition was printed in a small octavo, and was corrected by the author himself, and the number of books was augmented from ten to twelve, with the addition of some few verses: and this alteration was made with great judgment, not for the sake of such a fanciful beauty as resembling the number of books in the Æneid, but for the more regular disposition of the poem, because the seventh and tenth books were before too long, and are more fitly divided each into two. The third edition was published in 1678; and it appears that Milton had left his remaining right in the copy to his widow, and she agreed with Simmons the printer to accept eight pounds in full of all demands, and her receipt for the money is dated December 21. 1680. But a little before this Simmons had covenanted to assign the whole right of copy to Brabazon Aylmer the bookseller for twenty five pounds; and Aylmer afterwards sold it to old Jacob Tonson at two different times, one half on the 17th of August 1683, and the other half on the 24th of March 1693, with a considerable advance of the price; and except one fourth of it which has been assign'd to several persons, his family have enjoyed the right of copy ever since.

This statement is the sole authority remaining to us of the sale of the right of copy to Tonson, although J. T. [Tonson] in the undated letter following Bentley's edition (1732), substantiates Newton in general. See Miss Darbishire, The Manuscript of Milton's Paradise Lost, Book I (1931) page xii, . . . Symonds sold ye Copy &c to Aylm're of whom I bought it, . . .'
In retrospect, therefore, the growing interest exhibited after 1679 in Milton's other works probably rested largely on his reputation gained as author of *Paradise Lost*. The folio edition of 1688, an elaborate and expensive undertaking, affords us strong indications of the relatively huge circulation under adverse circumstances of the first, second, and third editions of the poem, together with the high repute in which it had come to be held. Bentley (1732) assumed that both the poem’s large circulation and the reputation which it then enjoyed were both principally founded on the widespread use of the first edition. Richardson (1734) indirectly supported this statement by maintaining that the second edition was ‘very scarce.’ The increase in value of the copyright of the poem, evidenced by its sale three times in ten years, in 1680, 1683, and 1690, is also testimony to the growing attention being paid to the poem by the reading public and booksellers.

Neither Milton, because of his blindness and the consequently slow processes of emendation necessitated thereby, nor Simmons, because of the slow early sale of the first edition or because of his straitened financial circumstances certainly connected with, if not arising entirely from, his difficulties in printing and selling the great Caryl on *Job* folios, seemed to be in a hurry to issue a second edition of *Paradise Lost*. There is no way by which we can be absolutely certain of what caused the delay, if it was delay, in the publication of the second edition. The third edition waited about four years, or nearly as long as the second had waited, and the fourth edition, the great folio of 1688, appeared a full decade after the third edition. Samuel Johnson, see *Lives of the . . . English Poets*, edited by G. B. Hill, 3 volumes, Oxford, 1905, volume 1:144, was probably nearer the truth of the matter than most subsequent speculators in his statement that: *Paradise Lost* forced its way without assistance; its admirers did not dare publish their opinion; and the opportunities now given of attracting notice by advertisements were then very few. . . .

But the reputation and price of the copy still advanced, till the Revolution put an end to the secrecy of love, and *Paradise Lost* broke into open view with sufficient security of kind reception.

Certainly political changes in England had a great deal to do with the growth of the poem’s reputation; but the basis for that growth was the attention accorded the poem in its early editions, particularly the first.
III.

THE PAPER AND ITS WATERMARKS

The paper stock on which the second edition of *Paradise Lost* was printed was different from the paper stock on which the first edition was printed. In the first edition, see my volume 21:137, the sheets used were about eleven inches by fourteen or fifteen inches, before folding or trimming for the bound book. The 1667 book was printed four pages to a form or eight pages to the sheet; the chain lines of the paper in the first edition running parallel to the lines of type. In the second edition, the paper stock measured a little less than fourteen inches by eighteen inches before folding or trimming, and the chain lines of the paper run at right angles to the lines of type, and the printing was 16 pages to the sheet. Thus, slightly less than half the number of sheets were needed to print the second as compared with the first edition; but as the sheets of the second were larger, the amount of paper by weight, or by surface area, would have been only about one fourth less.

Because far fewer changes in the text were actually made during the printing of the second edition than were made in the printing processes of the first edition, the watermarks found in the second edition paper assume a much less important role in connection with the text than those of the paper in the first edition. The chief value of close examination of the watermarks in the 1674 paper is first to determine the presence or absence of reprinted sheets, and, actually even more important, to determine the authenticity of the leaves of any given 1674 copy. No reprinted sheets or forms were found, and consequently, in this work, the first mentioned value of study of the watermarks is entirely negative. That is, the watermarks as encountered in the twenty-two copies at hand merely authenticated a single printing of the text, with minor changes effected during that printing process. As for the second value mentioned, examination of the watermarks in the copies at hand made it clear that the sheets of any actual copy can be authenticated. One or two copies examined for watermarks were found to have a leaf or leaves supplied from other copies, one such, copy 18, having Signature U supplied from the third edition, 1678. The main positive value of the 1674 watermarks, therefore, is to assure the validity of the sheets found in any actual copy. As papers used in England in the second half of the seventeenth century are very little known, the watermarks found in the paper of the copies at hand are examined here, with reproductions of the watermarks accompanying the descriptions of them.

As was the case with the first edition, the second edition of *Paradise Lost* was printed on about the same stock for two thirds or three fourths of its contents, then on similar, but not identical papers of the same general dimensions and structure. These other paper stocks were employed because only enough paper had been brought from the warehouse at any one time to be used as the forms to print it could be prepared. Also as the printing progressed, with both first and second editions, not quite enough paper had been set aside in the warehouse or earmarked for the edition, and before either was completely finished, more paper was needed, which, by the time such a condition was reached, meant that a paper stock other than that originally selected had to be used to complete the printing. Such a circumstance would have been much less serious than it would be today, as differences in the paper's color could scarcely arise.

As in the first edition, a number of different watermarks are encountered in the second. There are not as many watermarks found in the second as in the first edition; but there are other paper stocks used than those on which the printing of the text was begun, although the only difference that can be noted in these papers today is through the watermarks.
The value of the study of the watermarks in 1674 is largely confined to authenticating the leaves found in any given copy. The authentication is gradually determined in the usual manner of using watermarks. That is, the process is begun by starting with any particular copy. Each signature in turn is scanned for a watermark. When one is found, which is usual, it is recorded together with the copy number and the signature in which it was found. This process continues straight through the copy being examined. The marks discovered are now listed in the order of their occurrence in the first copy examined. Then a second copy is scanned for watermarks, and again each mark and the signature in which it occurs is recorded. Most of the marks in the second copy of 1674 will agree with the marks found in the first copy examined, but probably not all. These different marks, if any, are added to the first list, and the process continued with the third copy. In this fashion, all available actual copies of 1674 were scanned for watermarks, and a record made of all the marks encountered and of exactly where they were encountered. This list of marks now constitutes an authentic but incomplete list of watermarks found in 1674. Those actually discovered are authentic because found in real copies; the list is incomplete because other copies might be examined any one of which might contain a watermark hitherto unrecorded. In case that such a mark was of the proper period of papermaking, and the printed material on the signature showed no signs of being printed at any other time than 1674, the hitherto unrecorded mark might be tentatively accepted; but in no case was a watermark fully accepted as authentically 1674 until a second occurrence was discovered. Thus, the watermarks in the twenty-two actual copies examined seem to constitute a sufficient roster of 1674 watermarks to use in dealing with any particular copy of the edition.

The conditions of printing, although almost precisely the same mechanically as for the first edition, evidently differed in outcome for the second edition, as the number of different states of any of the gatherings, recto or verso, is much smaller. No copy examined contained any reprint material. Hence the watermarks are only indirectly of value to the textual editor. The following material presents those watermarks that were found in the twenty-two copies at hand only, but may not contain all papers that were actually used in the edition.
THE WATERMARKS FOUND IN THE COPIES EXAMINED

As the text was printed first, beginning with the Argument of Book 1 and continuing to the end of Book 12, the paper in the text will be discussed first. Usually, that is in most copies examined and hence probably in most copies printed, the first watermark will be encountered in Signature B in the position in which all the watermarks are found in 1674. That is, the watermark occurs in about the middle of one half or the other of the sheet both vertically and horizontally, or in the bound edges of two or four leaves, sometimes widely separated by the folding. Many watermarks observed were partly absorbed by the binding. Some of the 1674 watermarks have their horizontal axes parallel to the chain lines, and others have those axes at right angles to the chain lines. A number of unbound copies have been employed in this study to examine, identify, and photograph the watermarks.

**Number 1-A**

This watermark occurs probably more often than any other observed, and is numbered 1 because it occurs in twelve out of nineteen B Signatures examined that contain a watermark, thus tending to be most frequently the first watermark to appear. It consists of the three block initials A PH the whole design measuring about two and one half inches horizontally from the extremity of the A to the extremity of the H and the letters stand about seven eighths of an inch high. Almost always one side of the A or of the H has been trimmed, as the mark occurs at the top of a page and reads in a line parallel with the chain lines in the paper, or at right angles to the lines of type. Sometimes it is partly caught in the fold of the leaves; but it is the easiest watermark to detect of all those observed. The letters are square, block capitals, in double outline. There are two slightly different forms of this watermark. In the above form, arbitrarily numbered 1-A, the lower left extremity of the A is distorted, though the other two letters are sound. There is no significance to the lower right blank in the reproduction; the page having separated, it was therefore deliberately omitted.

**Number 1-B**

In this form of the first watermark, the A is sound, but the loop of the P is smaller and perhaps slightly distorted, and the H is distorted at its lower left.
The second most frequently encountered mark in the copies examined is similar to number 1, but much smaller, being made up of the same three letters A PH lying in the same relative position. The over-all dimensions of these letters are about one and five eighths inches by five eighths of an inch. The letters were made of a single continuous wire and look more like script than like the block letters of number 1. They are doubtless another watermark of the same papermaker. Being smaller than number 1, this mark is much more difficult to identify in a particular copy, as the letters may lie in the fold of the paper, or be so dismembered by the trimming of the page tops as to be almost unrecognizable. But once their general shape and characteristics are recognized, the mark is fairly easy to identify.

This mark is difficult to identify in a tightly bound copy. It consists of a stylized fleur-de-lis above the two initials FG although the G looks like C in many occurrences, or is undeterminable. But one or two observed occurrences of the letter make the G certain. The mark never occurs unmutilated, the fleur-de-lis being almost invariably decapitated by the trimming. In one or two instances, however, the mark was high enough up on the page to preserve the top of the middle leaf of the lily on the other cut part of the sheet. The initials read parallel to the lines of type, and frequently one or the other is buried in the fold of the binding. The most striking characteristic of its occurrence is that it never occurs before Signature R and in almost every copy examined, this watermark occurred in that signature if any watermark was discernible. It is also a difficult mark to reproduce, as it is very faint in all its observed occurrences.
This is the largest of the watermarks observed; but it is very difficult to identify in a bound copy of the book precisely because it is so large that various parts of it always appear in four different and non-consecutive leaves. It tends to occur in the position shown in the reproduction, or even more nearly centered at the junction of the fold of the binding and the trim of the page top. When found, it always has its long axis at right angles to the lines of type. As may be noted, it is a very elaborate mark, and perhaps there are two or three initials within the bottom part of the shield proper. The mark measures about four inches by three and three eighths inches. Once its severed parts have been recognized, the scanner for watermarks will have less trouble than before he recognizes its elements. But until those elements are thoroughly familiar, it is a most disconcerting mark to encounter in its various pieces on page after page of those signatures in which it occurs. This mark, like number 3, has a peculiarity of location, all its observed occurrences being in the S Signature, but far from all S Signatures examined contain it. Only eleven copies of the twenty-two examined contain this watermark in their S Signatures, and the mark appears only in that signature in those copies and not at all in the other copies examined. In other words, this mark, when it occurs, is known to me only in certain copies that always contain it in the S Signature. Of course it may occur elsewhere in the book in copies unknown to me.
Number 5

This mark is numbered and described next solely because when it occurs it too occurs only in the S Signature. In copies 1, 10, 14, and 17 only, and in the S Signature only appears a mark that I am unable to photograph because I found it only in these four tightly bound copies. It is a shield, about as large as number 4, and in addition has dangling from it the slim 4 whose vertical element runs on down about an inch to connect with the interlaced letters WR as in Churchill number 317 and similar marks, as below. The watermark in these four copies is similar to Churchill number 317 reproduced in modified form here, but smaller, the dangling, interlaced initials being about the size of Churchill number 428, or even a little smaller. 1674 measured about four and five eighths inches in vertical over-all height by two inches across the widest part, and Churchill number 317 measures five and one half inches by two and one half inches across the widest part. 1674 has the unbanded horn as in Churchill numbers 318-323.

Churchill Number 428

The 4 and the interlaced initials WR are about the size of Churchill number 428 reproduced above.
Number 6
This watermark is another confined in appearance to the S Signature, and known to me only in copies 13 and 21. The reproduction, from copy 13, is marred by the miserable condition of that copy. The mark consists of a crowned shield, smaller than number 4, measuring about two and three eighths inches by two and one fourth inches. The shield contains the three initials PMD below which is the small scrolled element, the easiest identification element of this particular watermark.

Number 7
This watermark tends to occur in any signature after S but in Y the final signature in the book perhaps more than in any other. It is a very faint, relatively small mark measuring only three fourths of an inch by nine sixteenths of an inch. It is made up of the initials IC so constructed that in many of its occurrences, the C looks as if it was a continuation of the top and bottom elements of the I and the horizontal axis of the letters is parallel to the chain lines, and thus at right angles to the lines of type. It always occurs at the top of a leaf, near the binding fold, and can be difficult to identify, because of its small size.
This is the watermark of the preliminary leaves, or the half sheet before the text sheets, the page following the title page bearing the Signature A2 and the other leaves including the title page bearing no signature mark. It was the only watermark found in these preliminary leaves, if a watermark occurred, about as many copies showing no watermarks in these leaves as showed this watermark. As the gathering was a half sheet, such a distribution of watermarks should be expected. The number 8 watermark certainly occurs in the portrait leaf in copies 2 and 15, and perhaps the mark in the portrait leaves of copies 10 and 14 respectively is a portion of this mark, although it may be from still another and otherwise unknown watermark. The number 8 watermark is a peculiarly elaborate design that seems always to be upside down. It measures about three and one half inches by two and one half inches, and on the long axis the elaborate design is connected by a small square cross to the looped name IDURAND and it is the position of this name that makes the design above it look upside down. This is the same name shown in Churchill number 349, although the other parts are quite different.
IV.

THE PRINTING OF THE TEXT, TYPE, AND COMPOSITION

The text of the poem was printed on sheets of paper measuring from about seventeen to almost eighteen inches by thirteen and one half to fourteen inches, on each side of which sheets, eight pages, properly imposed, were printed perhaps in two pulls to the side, or if Simmons' press was large enough, in a single pull. See McKerrow's Introduction to Bibliography, pages 61-63, and Moxon's Mechanick Exercises, volume 2:323. Thus each form of type contained eight pages of text, probably about four forms, two rectos and two versos as printed, existing at the same time, but only two or at most three forms being completely intact at any given moment. The signatures began with B and ran through the alphabet to and including Y not using the letters J, V, or W making twenty-one full sheets, which folded to make eight leaves or sixteen pages for each sheet, with the last three pages blank, after page 333, or what would have been pages 334, 335, and 336 had they been numbered. The final blank leaf is very rare, but is found in a few copies. In copy 16 still conjugate with leaf Y is a good example of this rare blank leaf. The type runs at right angles to the chain lines of the paper.

There is no reason to suppose that the printing of the text began at any other point in the textual material than at the beginning of Book I. on page 1. The page sets the pattern for the openings of the various Books throughout the volume. These pages on which the various Books of the poem actually begin are numbered but contain no running heads. Each such page opens directly with the title of the poem, thus repeated twelve times, beneath which occur the word BOOK and the proper roman numeral, with a rule above and below. Under the second rule is the proper ARGUMENT, for the Book concerned. These Arguments are thus distributed throughout the poem rather than collected at the front of it as in the first edition. The first edition Arguments for Books 7 and 10 have been broken properly to provide Arguments for the two additional books formed by dividing them. On page 2, the text of Book 1 starts bravely enough with a block initial O but this is the only occurrence of an ornamented initial throughout the edition. The other Books open with a large, unornamented capital letter a little taller than three lines of the type, and poorly fitted to the lines. The First Book ends on page 26 in a style that persists until the end of Book 12. At the end of the text on page 26, between two rules, is the formula The End of the First Book. The same style, with proper changes in the number of the Book, is used until page 172, where the formula for the end of Book 6 is printed without rules above or below. This style occurs again at the end of Book 7 on page 192 with rule above only. In each of these cases, however, the type used for the legend is the same size as had been used with the rules. But on page 212, the legend for the end of Book 8 is crowded at the bottom of the page and is in smaller type. The legends closing the next three Books, 9, 10, and 11 return to the earlier pattern. But Book 12 has no legend of its own, THE END. in much larger type than in the earlier legends obviously marking not only the end of the Book but also the end of the poem. The running heads, except on those pages containing the opening material for any Book, where no running head appears, are regularly made up of the arabic page number, the title of the poem set in a bold face Fraktur-like type, and the Book number in roman type.

The entire text is well printed, and the compositor performed his task well throughout. Most of the expressions voiced in the past in favor of the first edition being a better printed book than the second edition were based, not on the actual quality of the composition and printing of
either, but on the preference for the larger type and fewer lines to the page of the first edition which make it easier to read. But so far as composition and printing are concerned, there is little real argument possible concerning the relative merits of the printing of the two editions, the second edition being by far the superior of the two. All the 1668 Errata have been corrected except that of Book 2:414 where Milton may have changed his mind.

Just as a great deal can be learned about the printing of the book from a study of the type in the first edition, so also the printing of the second edition can be pretty well reconstructed from close study of the type. The type is long primer (British) or 10 point (United States) Garamond, and is too small to afford many certain opportunities for observing recurrences of broken or mutilated type, such as could be done with the first edition. In the first eleven books, the pages were regularly set with thirty-four lines each, and set solid. The pages are unruled, but, on the whole, better balanced than in the first edition. Except for the paragraph indentations for about the width of three letters, the left-hand ends of the lines form a straight line vertically as in the first edition; and on the whole the absence of the vertical rule in the second edition makes for a cleaner looking left-hand margin. The large capitals with which each book, except the first, begins are in no way distinctive.

However, though too small perhaps for purposes of identification, some few peculiarities of the type, or of the use of it, may be noted. In general, in type as small as this, it is impossible to be certain about mutilations, as almost any accident to the type could happen that might not represent in any way a peculiarity of the particular type font employed. Thus, dirt, ink, cloth, paper, or some other substance might adhere to the face of the type or to the paper as it was being printed, and the printed result might look as if the type had been mutilated. Also, in type this small, with general conditions for type-making much improved by 1674 over those obtaining in 1667 or soon after the Great Fire, especially for recasting worn or broken type, mutilated type was discarded and recast as rapidly as discovered. Instances of this improvement seem to abound in the second edition of Paradise Lost. Thus, in the early stages of composing the book, the compositor lacked enough W's to set all the words that required this capital letter. He began as early as page 22, in the C Signature, to substitute VV for it and continued this practice through three or four signatures, the substitution, however, being heaviest in Signatures C D and E after which, except on page 94 in the G Signature, and on pages 99, 109, and 110 of the H Signature, the use of VV for W as well as the use of the wrong font W as on pages 29, 30, 63, 64, 87, 93, 94, and 108, almost ceases, and the compositor from that point on usually had enough of the right font capital W's to avoid the use thereafter of substitutes for them.

In the same fashion, there appears, rather late in the book, on page 223, in Signature P and occurring once each in the next three signatures, on pages 239, 255, 269, and on page 303 in the U Signature, a broken P in the word Paradise of the running head. Then the broken letter was replaced, for it does not appear in Signatures X and Y or in the last thirty pages of the book. In the same way, the letter L in the word Loft of the running head occurs in three different broken conditions, one being found on pages 248, 276, 308, and 324; another on pages 252, 288, 317, and 333; and the third on pages 249, 268, 298, and 330. Another instance of the same general kind is found in the broken period used after the roman numeral of the running head on pages 89, 107, 121, 171, and 185. In these pages, it seems certain that the same period, broken and unnoticed for a time, was used until noticed. Then it was changed beginning with the O Signature, and never appears again. However, and for the most part, the broken and otherwise irregular letters throughout the text are entirely too accidental to select categorically for any reason, as their size makes it impossible to determine certainly that they were broken or deformed.

It was remarked of the 1667 edition printing that very few ligatures of the letters f and k were used, see my volume 2:159 under discussion of s. In the 1674 edition, no ligatures at all of
these two letters were observed anywhere in the text, the compositor apparently always using s and k as in Book 5:186, 189, 342, 667, and elsewhere, as was frequently, but not always the case in the first edition. The absence of swash italic capitals is also marked, both in the text of the poem and in the prose Arguments, only an infrequent Æ as in Book 5:274, Egyptian being noted.

Because of one foul case use of a space on 1674 page 162, Book 6:575, fell’d,) and the same foul case space usage without parenthesis on 1674 page 71, Book 3:349, reverent’ the 1674 compositor’s manner of setting parentheses is perhaps worth noting. On the fifty or sixty pages on which parentheses occur in 1674, space was always set after ( and before ) except in a single observed case, namely that on 1674 page 193, Book 8:3, (hear; which was set without space between ( and h.

Milton, or the compositor, or both, intended to italicize every proper name, and, the compositor never being quite certain of capitalized words in his copy, this intention produced some queer forms. Some of these almost certainly arose from another characteristic of the compositor, which was that of slavishly following his copy too closely. This is noticeable for long stretches of the poem, and accounts for many a reading that less slavish following of copy might have changed.

The printing proceeded about as for the first edition, as it was done in the same shop and with essentially the same materials. The composition proceeded at about half the rate by signatures as for the first edition, there being twice as many pages to the signature, or sheet. The elapsed time for setting and printing the book would have been about the same as for the first edition. Thus, if the book was begun in late March, the work would have been finished in late June or early in July.

There probably were never more than four complete forms of the text in existence at any given time, indeed, it is likely that one of these was in process of being torn down before another complete form was finished. The type was distributed about every thirty-two pages.

Scrutiny of the type by the textual editor must proceed practically letter by letter, at least to begin with, almost as if the material was manuscript. The process of collating printed materials, however, soon begins to differ from that involving manuscript material, for the recurrence of type forms is usually much more precise and certain than that of handwritten characters. This, to be sure, is a delicate point, for Milton and the scribes and amanuenses involved in any of his manuscript material exhibit personal idiosyncrasies of letter formations that are peculiar to the individual who made them. But the handwriting of almost every human being, past or present, exhibits much wider variation in many letter forms than any type font of modern times permits. Thus, almost every extant manuscript connected with Milton exhibits more than one form for each of several letters, his own holograph manuscripts containing several varieties such as the well-known Greek and Italian ‘e’ to mention only one specific case. But in type, variations in letter forms as found in Milton’s printed poems depend almost entirely upon the condition of the type fonts from which the printed poems were set. Wrong font, foul case, broken or unbroken type, and compositional faults constitute the vast majority of such variations; but only by the close examination of practically every discernible printed aberration can there be provided an adequate basis for understanding what happened to the text in the hands of the printer. Thus, attention has been called in the notes to many pieces of faint or broken type which seems to be and often becomes supererogatory. However, when dealing with the different states of printing of one or both forms of a particular signature, in both first and second editions of Paradise Lost, frequently these apparently inconsequential matters can assume great importance, as in 1674 Book 1:171 for the position of the apostrophe in the word Heav’n: It seems nonsensical at first glance to call attention to so trivial a matter as this; but closer study indicates clearly that, combined with other variations almost as trivial in the same form, two
slightly different printed states of this form emerge. Only by continuous and minute examination of such minor points can exact and definite knowledge of the printed text be acquired, and such exact and definite knowledge is absolutely necessary in order to say much of anything about the printed text that is worth saying. The ways of a printer with his copy are almost past finding out, as are the ways of an author with his caprices and changes. But once marks have been made on paper, whether by handwriting or by type, the task of the textual editor is at least clear, if utterly laborious and frequently nonsensical to the casual observer, and even sometimes to the editor himself; but he can never be quite certain of the exact point at which the meaningfulness of his labors ceases and absurdity begins. Only ex post facto is he allowed even to form a judgment of either, which requires an excess of inclusiveness rather than the reverse, and often a very minor factor can reverse that judgment. Sometimes a seemingly important variation, or apparent variation, in a printed text on closer examination of all discernible conditions surrounding and pertaining to it becomes utterly trivial and even absurd. In the same fashion, as slight a point as the moving of an apostrophe not much more than a thirty-second of an inch may throw unexpected light on eight pages of print. But such determinations cannot arise from neglecting printing aberrations of any kind that can be noted.

The value and applicability of the results of close collation of many copies of the various editions of Milton’s poetry have different degrees of importance. In the early poetry, the different printing states of the first printings of Comus and Lycidas are actually of little textual consequence. In the Poems of 1645 and of 1673 printing variations are few but perplexing, which fact I have demonstrated to be true by actual collation, not by inference. In both first and second editions of Paradise Lost, on the other hand, only a complete awareness of all printing aberrations together with a full treatment of them can provide an adequate basis for understanding any of them. Printing processes and what happened to the text therein become the preponderant single factor in the determination of the text of the poem. Attention must be paid to almost every phase of the printing itself in these two editions, as it can be studied and understood through the surviving copies of them. And there is no way to determine what collation is valuable and what is valueless until it has been completed in all its details. I prefer to be primarily descriptive rather than merely opinionated about Milton’s texts.
V.

THE SIGNATURES

FROM THE COLLATIONS of the fifty-one copies at hand of the second edition of the poem, two different printing states of the text in four different signatures have been found. Two other signatures exist in two different printing states of certain page numbers only. It should at once be stated that there may be other states of the text in other signatures, at present unknown to me, because of the relative paucity of copies available for collation. That is, only a little more than a fourth and a little less than a third as many copies of the second edition as of the first could be collated, and as two of the different states discovered were relatively rare in occurrence, a larger number of copies to collate might have discovered more states in other signatures.

The states discovered in the 1674 edition are of less textual importance in some ways than were many of the states found in the first edition of the poem. This condition would naturally arise, for many corrections had appeared as states in the 1667 printing; other corrections, beginning with the list of a baker’s dozen Errata printed in 1668, and continuing through the new divisions of, and additions to, the poem, were printed in 1674. Many of these corrections and additions were originated by Milton directly or through one of his representatives, and the 1674 compositor had the benefit of all these changes before him, from the 1667 Errata to actual revisions and additions, as he set the 1674 text. In other words, the 1674 edition had the opportunity of benefiting from all the corrections made in the first edition. Again, the 1674 edition was set either by a different compositor or by the same compositor working seven years later than when he had set the 1667 text. The first of these possibilities is much more likely to have been the case than the second; but in either case, some differences in spelling and a few different punctuations would have resulted, and these may be observed as differences between the two texts. Indeed, with these two large sections of differences between first and second editions thus accounted for, there is relatively little opportunity left for any great number of other kinds of differences between the two texts, or for changes within the 1674 text, and even less opportunity for such internal changes, when they occur, to assume any great significance in comparison with the importance of the same type of changes within the 1667 text. The internal changes in the 1674 text, significant in themselves in a limited fashion, make it immediately apparent that except for very minor matters, most of the important internal changes were effected in the 1667 printing. Certainly one great derivative value of the internal changes found in the 1674 edition that is of almost as much importance as the changes themselves is the notice these internal changes serve on the textual editor that he must beware of them, and hence must be on his guard against all hard and fast generalizations about the final text of Paradise Lost. All but one of the signatures of the 1674 edition in which different states were found contain those portions of the text of the poem for which we have apparently the most support, namely in Book 1, for which we possess the text of the Manuscript, and the printed text of 1667, some of it in two different printing states. The 1674 states of portions of Book 1 sometimes depart from the text of the Manuscript, from the printed 1667 text, and even from the original corrected state of 1674. Sometimes the second 1674 state is a return to the Manuscript reading and the 1667 text, as on page 3, Book 1:17 Thou originally printed Thou, in 1674, and then changed back to Thou to agree, intentionally or unintentionally, with the Manuscript and 1667, as again with the their/thir change on page 17, Book 1:499. Then on page 4, Book 1:71, 1674 state 1 followed 1667 and printed their although successfully changing 1667 their to thir in the next line, 72,
but missing the correction of the same word in line 71. However, someone noticed the 1674 first state of line 71, and, relatively late in the 1674 printing, it was changed to the unstressed form. These changes then made 1674 differ from 1667 and agree with the Manuscript. But again, on 1674 page 21, Book 1:637, too closely following 1667, the compositor first set me, and printed 1674 state 1 of this page, which was later changed to mee, although both Manuscript and 1667 read ‘me.’ In general, the second state of 1674, unless as is sometimes the case the change is a mere press change, represents Milton’s preference; but his blindness prevented him from securing many other changes in the same or other signatures that he probably would have made if he could have seen them.

The 1674 states that have been discovered are limited to the four signatures, B C D and R but states of other signatures may exist. Those discovered are set forth here in detail for reader reference to them than the notes can afford.

The three signatures, B C and D containing different states of the text of the poem, one of them, B altered in both recto and verso as bound or in both the inner and outer forms, seem almost to terminate the process of correction of the sheets as they were being printed. These three signatures cover six forms and 48 pages. As the book was certainly set by the compositor page by page, these 48 pages constitute roughly one seventh of the entire book, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the compositor by the time he had finished with these six forms had begun to pay closer and more careful attention to copy, or felt pretty strongly that he was doing so. Thus, he or Simmons may have shut off further corrections because either or both felt them unwarranted, and probably undesired. Something like this seems to have taken place, or I simply have seen too few copies to find more than one, Signature R containing a slight change in the text of one of the Arguments, that shows any internal changes beyond Signature D. Perhaps changes in other signatures exist; but they are at present unknown to me.

**SIGNATURE B**

Not only were several changes observed in this signature, but changes were found in both the recto and the verso of the sheet, or in both forms, and in the verso, copy 22, there seems to exist at least one minor change made later than state 2 or more probably derived from it, for it is doubtful if any change in type was actually made at that point. The recto changes are in three states, on four pages, and consist of changing their twice, page 4, Book 1:71, and page 16, line 478, to thir in both cases, and some minor changes in punctuation, discarding a comma in one place, and raising an apostrophe in two other places. The verso changes are uniformly changes in punctuation, copy 22 only probably being a condition of state 2 page 3, Book 1:45, in which thEtheral with no trace of an apostrophe represents the way in which the originally weak apostrophe of all other copies examined finally failed to print at all. The recto changes are printed in three different states, for copies 9, 11, 13, 20, and 39 have printed state 2 on pages 4, 9, and 12, but state 1 on page 16.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recto</th>
<th>State 1 (Copy 1 and 32 others)</th>
<th>State 2 (Copies 9, 11, 13, 20, and 39)</th>
<th>State 3 (Copy 12 and 12 others)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[B2v] (Page 4) Book 1:71</td>
<td>their</td>
<td>thir</td>
<td>thir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[B5r] (Page 9) Book 1:238</td>
<td>Mate, [Worn comma]</td>
<td>Mate,</td>
<td>Mate,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[B8v] (Page 16) Book 1:478</td>
<td>their</td>
<td>their</td>
<td>thir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**THE SIGNATURES**

**SIGNATURE B (CONTINUED)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verso</th>
<th>State 1 (Copies 5, 35, 54, 57)</th>
<th>State 2 (All other copies examined)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B2[r] (Page 3)</td>
<td>Thou,</td>
<td>Thou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book 1:17</td>
<td>Heav’n:</td>
<td>Heav’n:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B4[r] (Page 7)</td>
<td>Th’associates</td>
<td>Th’associates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book 1:171</td>
<td>Hell? (Space work-up)</td>
<td>Hell? (No space work-up)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[B5v] (Page 10)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book 1:265</td>
<td>270</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This variable is not a true state because no type was changed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B2[r] (Page 3)</th>
<th>[State 2] (Copy 22 only) th Ethereal [No trace of apostrophe]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Book 1:45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SIGNATURE C**

Changes in type were observed in this signature on the recto only of the sheet, or in only one of the two forms. One change was from their to the unstressed form thir and the other was a change from the unstressed form me to mee, the stressed form. Probably at the time the recto form was unlocked to make this change, the i was broken on page 21, as it regularly appears in state 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recto</th>
<th>State 1 (Copies 12, 17, 40, 44, 49, 56, 58)</th>
<th>State 2 (All other copies examined)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C[r] (Page 17)</td>
<td>their</td>
<td>thir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book 1:499</td>
<td>me,</td>
<td>mee,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C3[r] (Page 21)</td>
<td>[State 1] (Copies 12, 17, 40, 44, 49, 56, 58) in [i unbroken]</td>
<td>[State 2] (All other copies examined) in [i broken]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book 1:637</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This variable is not a true state because no type was changed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C3[r] (Page 21)</th>
<th>[State 2] (Copy 22 only)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Book 1:638</td>
<td>th Ethereal [No trace of apostrophe]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SIGNATURE D**

The recto of this sheet in three copies examined, 5, 48, and 54, contained a relatively large number of type changes, at least eighteen such changes being noted, all of a minor nature, and only one, on page 41 [D5v], Book 2:450 changing an unstressed Me to the stressed form Mee being of much textual consequence. The other changes noted were changes in spelling, substitution of a capital for a lower case letter, or, most frequent, replacement of broken type. The condition of the recto of this signature in copies 5, 48, and 54 seems almost to be that of a proof state; then these state 1 sheets already run off before the changes were made, came to be used in such copies as needed completion. They probably represent an early printing state, but late bindings. Page 36 contains ten words, see lines 280, 281, 296, 298, 299, 301, 302, 303, 304, in which state 2 has apparently replaced certain weak type. See notes for these replacements, none of which changed the readings. State 2 of page 33 exists in two slightly different forms, in one of which, known only through copies 15 and 40, the ends of the long lines of type fail to print.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recto</th>
<th>State 1 (Copies 5, 48, 54)</th>
<th>State 2 (All other copies examined)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D[r] (Page 33)</td>
<td>race</td>
<td>Race</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book 2:194</td>
<td>art,</td>
<td>Art,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D[2v] (Page 36)</td>
<td>Majestic</td>
<td>Majestic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book 2:272</td>
<td>Catchword</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Signature D (Continued)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>State 1 (Copies 5, 48, 54)</strong></td>
<td><strong>State 2 (All other copies examined)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Recto</strong></td>
<td><strong>Verso</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D3[r] (Page 37)</td>
<td>State 1 of Page Number</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book 2:305</td>
<td>(34 copies)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[D5r] (Page 41)</td>
<td>101</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book 2:442</td>
<td>State 2 of Page Number</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>450</td>
<td>(17 copies)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[D7r] (Page 45)</td>
<td>103</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book 2:610</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[D8r] (Page 48)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book 2:695</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>707</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SIGNATURE H**

There were no changes discovered in the text of the poem in this signature, but one change was discovered that rectified an erroneous page number on H4[r] first printed as 101 then changed to 103 properly.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Verso</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H4[r] (Page 103)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book 4:Page Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SIGNATURE M**

There were no changes discovered in the text of the poem in this signature, but two changes were discovered that rectified erroneous page numbers on page [M7r] first printed as 171 then changed to 173 properly, and with page [M8r] first printed as 174 then changed to 176 properly.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Recto</strong></th>
<th><strong>Verso</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[M7r] (Page 173)</td>
<td>State 1 of Page Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book 7:Page Number</td>
<td>(Most copies examined)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[M8r] (Page 176)</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book 7:Page Number</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>176</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SIGNATURE R**

Only one change was discovered in this signature, that being on page 250, [R5v], in line 16 of the Argument. of Book 10. The word met was apparently first printed, then changed to meet as in 1667. Only copies 17 and 32 of all those 1674 copies examined printed met all others reading meet as in 1667. It is possible that meet was printed first, and that one of the letters was dropped out due to an accident, and the remaining copies printed read met here as in those two cited.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Verso</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[R5v] (Page 250)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book 10:Argument, line 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SUMMARY**

There are type changes in six of the twenty-one signatures, and in seven of the forty-two forms, one signature, B containing type changes in both recto and verso forms, and two signatures, H and M containing changes in page numbers only. Three other signatures, C D and R contain changes in one form only. Thus, no type changes were discovered in fifteen of the twenty-one signatures or in thirty-five of the forty-two text forms. The changes discovered were only minor, but, except for the minor changes in page numbers in Signatures H and M and the typographical change in Signature R the textual changes discovered seem to have originated with the author or one of his representatives.
VI.

THE PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS
OF THE 1674 EDITION

LYING BEFORE ME as I write this, are twenty-two copies of the second edition of Paradise Lost, 1674, in various conditions of preservation. Four of them are copies bound with an edition, first or second, of Paradise Regained and Samson Agonistes, number 10, all edges gilded, being bound with the second edition, 1680, of those two poems, and numbers 11, 14, and 16 with the first edition, 1671. Copy 10 in its still handsome gold tooled red morocco binding bears a signature and the date '1699' on one of the front end papers and was certainly bound before or by that date. Copy 14, also bears a signature on one of its front end papers, with the date '98' and the handwriting certainly belonging to 1698, not 1798. This copy is bound in calf, and the binding is very old. Largely because it has been skillfully rebacked, I am inclined to believe that the blind tooled calf binding may be from slightly before 1700, and that it antedates the signature, which it contains. Copy 11, with backstrip almost gone, has its covers intact. They are calf, and very old. Copy 16, like copy 10, is bound in old red morocco with gold tooling. It contains one or two old names, but no manuscript dates. The binding appears to be as old as that of copy 10. Copy 4, with the sides perhaps retaining some of its very old calf binding, is probably the nearest of any of the copies before me to the appearance of the book as it was originally offered for sale. This copy has been crudely rebacked, but the paper measures roughly six and three eighths inches by four and one fourth inches. Copy 2, with what is almost certainly a nineteenth century leather binding, is the tallest copy before me, the paper measuring about six and three fourths inches by four and one fourth inches. Copies 7 and 19, bound in very old calf repaired, mended, with the grain practically indiscernible, are, in appearance, very much like what must have been originally marketed. Of course, Simmons probably sold no copies at three shillings bound in calf, and actually all bindings before me being calf, morocco, or eighteenth or nineteenth century three quarters leather, represent bindings later than the original marketings. But four or five of the copies before me, especially those in bindings so old that they look dark brown or even black, no doubt closely resemble the original appearance of the book when first offered for sale.

The book was an octavo, measuring as much as seven inches by four and one half inches over the binding, and the height probably averaging from six and one half inches to six and three fourths inches. The contents should consist of 333 type pages plus a conjugate blank leaf at the back, and preceded by four printed leaves with the portrait wrapped around them and the stub showing before the B leaf. Any blank leaves before the portrait were never conjugate with any leaves on which there was printing.

There are twenty-one signatures of text proper, each signature containing eight leaves or sixteen pages, the final three pages, unnumbered, being blank, and thus there should be a conjugate blank leaf at the end of the book, the last leaf of the Y Signature. The signatures are lettered beginning with B and running through the alphabet once, to and including Y omitting the letters J, V, and W. The horizontal axis of the type is at right angles to the chain lines of the paper. The preliminary material consists of four leaves, the recto of the first of which is the title page with verso blank, followed by A2 on which begin the Latin lines signed on the verso of this leaf with the initials S.B. M.D. The next leaf with no signature letter contains the beginning of the English lines, signed on the verso of this leaf A.M. and the fourth leaf con-
tains the short prose account of *the/VERSE*. printed in italic type and ending on the verso of this leaf. The portrait, which precedes and faces the title page was separately printed on a plate press, then wrapped around the four preliminary leaves, and the stub of the blank conjugate leaf in a sound copy shows between the verso of the fourth preliminary leaf and the first page of the B Signature.

Apparently, except throughout Book 12, the full, normal page, such as page 99, carried thirty-four lines of text, with the catchword set below the bottom line of text on a line with the signature letter if the latter is present. Throughout Book 12, the full page contains only thirty-three lines of type, probably in order to force a better balance of print on page 333, the final printed page of the book. The texts of three Books, 2, 6, and 12, open at the tops of pages 28, 146, and 314 respectively. Page 28 contains thirty-two lines of text and thirty-three lines of print, the first line dropping an extra line of space below the running head, with line 3 a runover, and the catchword below the bottom line of text. Page 146 contains thirty-three lines of text and thirty-four lines of print, also dropping the first line an extra line of space below the running head, with line 2 a runover, but with the catchword set on the bottom line, not below it. Page 314 contains only thirty-one lines of text and thirty-two lines of print, the first line dropping an extra line of space below the running head, with line 2 a runover, and the catchword below the bottom line of text. Other unusual pages are 112, 128, 136, 280, and 300, each with thirty-three lines of text and the catchwords two line spaces below the bottom lines of text; and 142 and 143, each with only thirty-two lines of text and the catchwords two line spaces below the bottom lines of text. Pages 68 and 254 each contain 35 lines of text and their catchwords are printed on, not below, the bottom lines of text.

In the K Signature, apparently the discovery was made during the type-setting process that if the normal number of lines, thirty-four, were printed to the page, the final page of the signature, page 144, would either be blank or it would be necessary to begin Book 6 on it. This is the only place in the entire layout of the book in which such a decision as this had to be made, all other such breaks in the poem occurring well within signatures, or, conveniently in one case, Book 8, page 193, beginning after the end of one signature on the first page of the next. But in K the composer began shortening his pages by moving one line from the bottom of page 136 to the top of the next page, continuing through the pages in order as he set them. Then he found that he still would have nothing from Book 5 for page 144, and took two lines each from pages 142 and 143. The result of all this was page 144, containing only four lines of text, but their presence there allowed the next sheet to begin with the next Book.
VII.

THE NUMBER OF COPIES PRINTED

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OW MANY COPIES of the second edition were printed in 1674? No definite answer can be given to this question; but the matter is not beyond conjecture, and there are some facts that concern, if they fail to clarify it. The same upper limit, twelve hundred fifty to fifteen hundred copies, would have operated then as for the first edition. This limit, apparently begun in the sixteenth century, is rather specific in an entry in the Stationers’ Registers, 1554–1640, volume 2:883,

11th Decembris [1587, 29 Elizabethæ] . . .

As concerning Double impressions or impressions of greate numbers. viz. xxvi [2500] of a forme: yt is agreed that they shalbe reformed and none suche vsed to the hinderance of the said Jornemen/

Excepte the Grammer and Accidence/ whereof iiiij impressions may be done of xxvi [2500] vppon a forme in anie one yeare. And if there be aboue iiiij impressions printed in anie one yeare, the reste shalbe but xij Dimidium [1250] vppon a forme. . . .

The same restrictions were adopted as ‘Orders,’ according to Arber, in the spring of 1588, see Stationers’ Registers, 1554–1640, volume 2:43,

A Copie of certen orders concerning printing.

1 ffyrst that no formes of letters be kept standinge to the preiudice of Woorkemen at any tyme

2 Secondly that no booke to be printed excede the number of 1250 or 1500 at one ympression except any book whatsoeuer of the non pareille letter [6 point type] and the brevier letter [8 point type], and also except iiiij ympressions yereuly of the grammer and lykwise iiiij ympressions yereuly of the Accidence seuerally[y] in 4th or 8th and also all prymers and Catechisms. and that euery of th[e] impressions of grammers Accidences prymers and Catechisms and of all bookes of the none pareill letter and brevier letter be not aboue 2500 or 3000 at the most . . .

Too little is known of the enforcement of these regulations, and caution must be used in applying them, see R. B. McKerrow’s Introduction to Bibliography, 1927, pages 130–133, and 214 note.

The first edition of the poem, largely because of the existing copy of the contract, can be closely approximated for number of copies, and the number of copies existing today can be made a definite proportional number to the total number of copies printed in that edition. Can the same process be used to indicate the number of copies in the second edition? That is, Simmons paid Milton five pounds in 1669 after selling thirteen hundred copies of the first edition, and, about 1940, there were perhaps two hundred copies of the first edition in existence. For the second edition, slightly more than fifty copies have been located and used, directly or indirectly, in making this facsimile edition. Can the number of copies printed in 1674 be recovered from these simple figures? No absolute claim can be made for the validity of the results obtained from such figures; but at least there must be some relationship existing between the number of known extant copies of any old book and the size of the edition of that book. There are several factors in the situation of the second edition of Paradise Lost that must be kept in mind, however, in any attempt to recover the size of the edition from such figures. The second edition has never been intensively ‘collected’ from the time of its first printing to the present day. Many great collections of editions of Milton’s works lack the second edition of Paradise Lost entirely, and others have but one or two poor copies of it, although every collection of Milton’s works that is worth mentioning contains several copies of the first edition of the poem. Of course, in comparison with the first edition, there has been little reason in the past for any collection to contain more than one copy of the second edition, although, due to the multiple title pages of the first, almost every collection, public or private, has or tries to have copies of more than one title page of the
first edition. Thus, on the basis of the number of copies located for use in the present edition, slightly more than fifty copies of the second edition seem to exist today, whereas perhaps as many as one hundred seventy-five, or even as many as two hundred whole or fragmentary copies of the first edition were known to exist about 1940. But because of the 'uncollected' phase of the second edition, it would be wise arbitrarily to double the number of 1674 copies located, and assume that there may be about one hundred existing copies of it extant today. In the same fashion, the number of copies actually assembled for direct use, twenty-two of the second as compared with over fifty of the first edition, yields roughly the same proportion, or about one half as many. It would be most misleading to use the proportion formed by copies actually located of the two editions, which would argue for a second edition only about one fourth as large as the first, or as few as four hundred copies. But if the number of copies actually located is doubled, then the proportion points towards a second edition about half as large as the first, or an edition of about seven or eight hundred copies. And I doubt very much if the second edition of Paradise Lost was much larger than that. Bentley in 1732 clearly assumed that the poem had made its reputation on the circulation of the first edition, and had attained that reputation for itself and for its author before the second edition was printed. Of course Bentley can always be suspected of special pleading in support of his thesis, and certainly his assumption in connection with the circulation of the first edition was to the advantage of that thesis. But no such bias exists for Richardson's statement regarding the scarcity, by 1734, of copies of the second edition, only sixty years after its publication. Then too, I am inclined to believe that Simmons paid Elizabeth Milton all that he owed her, and perhaps more than he owed her. That is, I doubt very much that the second edition was printed in an edition as large as thirteen hundred copies, and, according to the contract, the sale of any number less than that could, at best, be only proportionately paid for, if paid for at all. Thus, an edition of only eight hundred copies, even if sold out, could not have required a payment of five pounds and might not legally have called for any payment at all. Nothing is known of the size of the third edition, although I have noted its appearance for sale from time to time and acquired perhaps a half dozen copies of it. My impression of its number is that it was printed in about as many copies as was the second edition, thus aping the second in this respect as it certainly did in format and contents. That is, there is no reason to suppose that the third edition was printed in any greater number of copies than the second. I have no desire to labor the point beyond reason, or even to the degree of seeming to be unnecessarily defending Simmons from the charge of niggardliness towards Elizabeth Milton, cast on him by Masson and others. But the promptness with which Simmons paid Milton himself the second five pounds and the allegedly dilatory and seemingly sharp practice with the widow have always seemed to me to call for more explanation than has ever been forthcoming. Under the terms of the contract of 1667, Elizabeth could have demanded an accounting at any time, and thus have been fully aware of the number of copies sold of first, second, or third edition. If both the second and third editions, in number of copies, were far below the minimum figure called for in the contract, then all elements in the transaction recorded in the receipt and release signed by Elizabeth Milton are properly accounted for. Tonson, see Miss Darbishire, The Manuscript of Milton's Paradise Lost, Book I, page xi ff., called Simmons 'able & substantial' and no contemporary aspersion was cast on him for his treatment of the widow.

Although too little is known of the third edition, that of 1678, to throw much light on the size of the second edition, 1674, the great folio edition of 1688 unexpectedly provides some information that is pertinent here. The list of subscribers, present in most copies of this edition, covering six pages in double columns, contains the names of about five hundred fifty persons, and the subscriptions for about five hundred sixty copies of the book, several persons subscribing
for more than one copy. As this book was an expensive undertaking, apparently sold only by subscription and sold out thereby, it is extremely doubtful if the edition was much larger than the number of copies subscribed for, or about six hundred. There is, of course, no connection whatever known to exist between the second and fourth editions, and thus no reason that the small, three shilling octavo second edition should in any way be physically compared with the large folios of 1688. But actually, perhaps only by accident, the number of surviving copies of each of these editions appears to be about the same. This may be only a coincidence, and of no real significance; or it may mean that the number of copies printed off of each was by accident about the same, and again, the second edition, 1674, would seem to have been one of less than a thousand copies.

Thus, many signs point towards a much smaller number of copies printed for the second edition, 1674, than for the first edition, 1667. These signs, in chronological order are: Simmons settled with the widow for less than the amount called for in the contract, which may mean that considerably fewer copies were printed for both second and third editions than the thirteen hundred copies that called for a five-pound payment at the end of each, or when each had sold out at least thirteen hundred copies. Bentley, in 1732, insisted that the poem had made its way and reputation almost entirely on the circulation of the copies of the first edition alone, indicating that so far as he was concerned, copies of that edition were much more readily available than copies of the second edition. Richardson, two years later in 1734, insisted that the second edition was a very scarce edition, and copies of it difficult to come by, as Peck also insisted, in 1740, by naming the actual copy he used. Tonson, sometime after the appearance of Bentley's edition in 1732, in the letter transcribed and printed by Miss Darbishire, The Manuscript of Milton's Paradise Lost, Book I, mentions, or seems to be concerned solely about the text of the first edition, as if that was the only early edition he knew or cared about. All these factors contribute a little to the general impression that the second edition of the poem was much smaller than the first. Added to these early indications is the fact that the number of surviving copies of it is much smaller in comparison with the number of copies surviving of the first edition, and, though the bases of any absolute number of surviving copies of the second edition scarcely as yet exist, the general trend of the evidence seems to be that the second edition was only about half as large as the first, or at least was considerably smaller in number of copies.
VIII.

COMPARISON OF THE 1674 AND 1667 TEXTS

It is difficult to make a comparison of the texts of the first and second editions of *Paradise Lost* that as such has much value apart from actual use and comparison of the two editions in their respective originals. Long familiarity through extensive and intensive use of both editions is essential to an adequate understanding of either or both, and then only slowly comes a sense rather than an exact knowledge of the relationships that exist between the two. And much of the slowly acquired sense of their relationships will inevitably be a matter of taste rather than one of fact. Masson and others have expressed a decided preference for the printing style and format of the first edition over the second that once seemed to me to be a little silly. But extensive and intensive use of both editions has led me to at least some understanding of what lay back of that preference. To read the poem in its second edition after having read it in the first is almost like entering another world. The type is smaller and the pages seem cramped and niggardly treated after the ampler layout and treatment of the first. I think that the reader most misses the rules surrounding the type in the first edition. Then too, the lack of line numbers in the second edition of course is distressing, especially for purposes of cross reference; but their absence alone should not so much detract as something certainly does from the pleasure or satisfaction engendered by reading the poem in its second edition. Thus, the two different formats create a sort of intangible barrier between each other that I cannot entirely overcome. For reading and general use, I find that, along with Masson, I prefer the first edition. Certainly part of the reason for this preference arises from my dislike of small books for actual use. This dislike is of course most unfair to the second edition. After all, it is of its age, not of ours, and that age was one in which small type, crowded pages, and poor presswork were not only taken for granted, but probably the first two of these three characteristics were actually preferred. Consider Milton’s *Epistolar* published almost simultaneously with the second edition of *Paradise Lost*. They were published in an even smaller format, as the *History of Moscovia* (1680) was to be a few years later. That taste, if it was a taste, for smaller and smaller books which led to Pickering’s Diamond Classics of the middle of the nineteenth century, themselves direct descendants of the early seventeenth century Elzevir duodecimos and smaller foldings, was one that produced books so small that I cannot relish the reading of them. I find a heavy book difficult to hold and manipulate; but 12, or even 14 point type is very welcome in any format, and ample margins make a difference. In fairness to the second edition of *Paradise Lost*, I must add that for general reading purposes I would gladly pass up both first and second editions for one of the generous Newton quartos, or Todd’s second edition (1809), and of the moderns, Beeching in one of the Clarendon’s larger formats is superb, as are Grierson’s beautifully printed two volumes. The desire of recent years for quaintness in Milton texts which has resulted in some queer general purpose editions of Milton’s poetry, I cannot share. The old, uncertain spelling bothers me, and the long ‘t's’ cannot lure me with their double uncertainty. And I heartily dislike the uneven thickness of old papers. Thus, perhaps so far as my personal prejudices are concerned, the second edition fares not too badly.

But reading preferences really have nothing to do with the merits of the two slightly different texts of the first and second editions. Strictly on the point of their respective merits, comparison is most difficult to make real and pointed. It has been said that the Elizabethans generally wished to be at once diffuse and pointed, which combination is impossible. It is just as impossible for me to try to say something here of a general nature about the two editions and at the same
time to be specific enough to have my remarks of value in the creation of an understanding of the precise differences between the two texts. Only a great deal of study slowly leads to an understanding of the actual differences between the two, and the trail of my study is to be found, not in these introductory remarks, but in the notes to both texts, not even in either taken separately. After such study, there still remains the task of effecting a union between the two sets of notes, and that process requires patience and cogitation. The value of the work of any textual editor lies almost entirely in his accuracy, and that accuracy can never rise above the level of his inherent honesty. The temptation to interpret, to supply, then to distort, to state that "it" must read so, to force assumptions about an author's intent or a printer's accomplishment, is a constant and complex one. The editor cannot drop his guard for a moment, or he may succumb to the temptation. The luxury of all speculation is denied the textual editor. He is allowed only the drudgery of endless examination and exact reproduction of originals. Some of this I have partly avoided by the use of photography, perhaps to my ultimate sorrow, for photography is unable to do everything, and in any form leaves much to be desired. And, unlike certain other editors, I cannot fall back on a mania for a particular form of photographic reproduction. I have chosen the form which I have used because it would allow the use in any combination of photograph and letterpress, which certain other and no doubt partly more satisfactory processes of photographic reproduction would not so easily have permitted. And whether I have used half tone or line, black and white, or, as I might have, color, to mention only a few phases of photographic reproduction, my sole aim has been to produce a text, not reproductions of old books, or papers, or type.

The text of the second edition of Paradise Lost is a better text than that of the first edition, chiefly because the compositor who set the type for it was a better craftsman than the compositor who set the type for the first edition. Perhaps he was better only because he had before him the work of the compositor of the first edition, together with the corrections. But the craftsmanship of the 1674 compositor is better than that of 1667. The general if not the whole matter of spelling in Paradise Lost is largely a matter of the compositor's spelling, and the man who set the second edition had more orthoepic and linguistic sense than the compositor of the first edition. He also seemed to have had more experience with setting poetry, although the evidence for this point is utterly intangible. On the whole, the 1674 compositor did a good job, his occasional lapses, however, being more easily understood than those of his corrector or proofreader. The result generally was a text that needs only an understanding of what was involved in the lapses, but that can come only from knowing a great deal about the first edition and how its text was made. Peck in his Memoirs, 1740, page 97, mentioned a copy of the first edition 'corrected by Milton himself,' from which he says the second edition was made, but if the copy to which he refers ever actually existed, as one similar to what he describes must have existed, it has long since disappeared, as Peck said it had. Miss Darbishire's wise and thoughtful statements in her introduction to her facsimile edition of the Manuscript of the first book are forever salutary and valuable to the editor of Milton's poetry, although the 1667 and 1674 deliberate rejection of readings of the Manuscript are sometimes most disconcerting. But Miss Darbishire allowed for such a condition, and her statement, quoted below, of the persistent problems confronting the editor of the texts of Milton's poetry cannot be improved on as an epitome of those problems.

The second edition of Paradise Lost presents the text of the poem to us about as Milton wanted it presented, and yet its text retains too many traces of the first edition that are unwanted. Not that these traces are so numerous, but the unchanged Foul of Book 7:451 for what almost certainly should have been printed 'soul' or 'Soul' and the retention of a metrically short line followed by one that is too long, Book 10:989-90, in their unchanged states throughout three editions, 1667, 1674, and 1678, remain a mystery.
Chiefly because I have wished to record these direct impressions as soon as possible after their publication, I have come to a decision regarding some points of difference between the first and second editions, and between clarity and obscurity. Of course the clarity and obscurity are my own. I have therefore decided to include in the textual footnotes my preferences, if I have any, for this or that textual reading. No one needs to accept these preferences, any more than my understanding of such lines as indicated by my preference for punctuation need be accepted. These preferences can do no harm, as the originals are herein always available, and indeed all these interpretations can be completely ignored if unwanted.

The differences between the text of the second edition of Paradise Lost and that of the first edition are too complex to describe accurately and adequately, except as they are found in the minutaie of the notes in the second and third volumes of this edition. Generalizations of a comparative nature, without the actual evidence, are exceedingly misleading, and hence dangerous. The best statement ever to see print concerning the two texts is that by Miss Darbishire, see The Manuscript of Milton’s Paradise Lost, Book I, Oxford: Clarendon, 1931, pages xlv-xlvi, as follows:

The second edition published in 1674, the last year of Milton’s life, was, according to the title-page, ‘Revised and Augmented by the Author’. The ten books were rearranged as twelve, and lines of introduction added to the newly numbered Books VIII and XII. Milton went carefully through the text, altering a few words and phrases, and in two places adding new lines.3 ([V. 636, xi. 484. At xi. 548, one line is amplified to two.) He saw to it that the spelling of the unemphatic pronoun their for their was carried through the first book where it had been neglected in the first edition,4 (refers to her discussion of this point on pages 72 and 73) but beyond this he made no systematic revision of faulty spellings.1 [Refers in a footnote to a number of examples.] There is no doubt that the second edition corrects and revises the first, but neither is there any doubt that it introduces fresh errors. In the first book the four places noted in the Errata of 1668, at lines 25, 409, 758, and 760, are corrected in the second edition, which moreover agrees with the manuscript in the following right spellings and pointings: Biaireos for Biarios for the first Ed. 1, line 199; Hierarchie for Hierarch Ed. 1, line 737; him for him, Ed. 1, line 370. But in other places the second edition, disagreeing with both manuscript and first edition, goes astray: power, for power Ed. 1 and manuscript, line 112; Aroar for Aroer Ed. 1 and manuscript, line 407; hight for right Ed. 1 and manuscript, line 552; Kings for Kings, Ed. 1 and manuscript, line 694; Beelzebub for Bêelzebub and Bêelzebub Ed. 1 and manuscript, lines 81 and 271.5 [Cites Grierson’s use of Aroar 14:47.] Of verbal alterations in the first book, one at line 504 springs from a deliberate second thought, and must be accepted without question:

... and that night
In Gibeah, when hospitable Dores
Yielded thir Matrons to prevent worse rape.

becomes in the second edition

In Gibeah, when the hospitable door
Expos’d a Matron to avoid worse rape.

Two others, championed by Professor Grierson, remain difficult to accept as author’s corrections: at line 530 ‘Thir fainting’ (should be fainting) ‘courge’ for ‘Their fainted courage’ of the first edition, where the context seems to support ‘fainted’ (the collapse is over, their courage is not fainting, it begins to revive); and at line 703, ‘found out the massie Ore’ for ‘found’, where the first edition’s ‘found’ seems clearly right—‘found out’ only possible by a forced interpretation, and at the best ambiguous.1 [Points out in a footnote that Grierson defends ‘found out’ in his Preface, but preserves ‘found’ in his text.] The manuscript in both places supports the reading of the first edition. Throughout the poem the balance on small matters of spelling, punctuation, omission or mistake, seems about even, the second edition now correcting rightly, now letting an error slip in. I judge that Milton spent more time and pains in supervising the textual minutiae of his first edition than he could bring himself to spend on the second. The human probabilities point that way.

The manuscript gives no decisive answer to the question, which printed text is authoritative? But the three texts read side by side, manuscript, first edition, and second edition, provoke some reflections. Milton took unusual pains to prepare an accurate text for his printer, employing a careful scribe, and careful correctors; he supervised proof-correction of the first edition in 1667, overhauled the book for a page of errata in 1668, and revised the text once more for a second edition in 1674. The urge to perfection was there, and Milton was worthily aided, but the tendency
to err is inseparable from human beings and their machines. Neither amanuenses, nor compositors, nor correctors whether of author’s manuscript or of printer’s proof, nor even authors themselves are incapable of making mistakes. At every stage where corrections are made, new errors creep in. Moreover Milton was blind, and though gifted with a noble patience, he did not dictate the spelling, letter by letter, of every word his amanuensis wrote: nor did he correct the printer’s proofs, letter by letter and point by point, from beginning to end. There survive in the text of Paradise Lost some of his scribe’s spellings and pointings, some of the correctors’ and some of the compositors’, which a single glance of Milton’s eye would have condemned, and a stroke of his pen put right. A wise editor of Paradise Lost will prepare himself for his task by an intimate study of the manuscript of Book I, side by side with the two first printed texts. This will teach him to step warily, yet with a sense that some footing is secure, in the difficult paths of spelling and punctuation. He will base his text upon the second edition, since it embodies the author’s latest corrections, but he will purge it of minor errors by a careful collation with the first, and, for the first book, with the manuscript. He will allow a margin for human fallibility, and the better he knows Milton, the less inclined will he be either to undervalue minute detail or to overvalue mechanical consistency.

It is difficult to improve on this statement, or to add much to what Miss Darbishire has said therein concerning the comparison between the two texts, 1667 and 1674. Certainly no editor of Milton’s text can afford to neglect her suggestions and warnings. She has well stated the real difficulty, which is that it is extremely difficult, when it is not impossible, to discriminate between variants as found in the two texts, because in so many instances of variation there is little possibility of determining whether author or author’s representative, compositor, or corrector was responsible for the variation. That is, in 1674 it almost seems as if Simmons had forced the author to agree to accept what was printed from the copy Milton submitted. In the 1667 text, alterations during the printing were found to be numerous, and the one state of the C Signature of that edition clearly shows that the compositor started setting from the still extant Manuscript, then changed to conform with what must surely have been author’s corrections, not of the Manuscript, but of the proof or early sheets from the press. The evidence for such changes in the 1667 text exist so far as I know only in copy 12 of the first edition, see my volume 2:238-247. Few such liberties were allowed, apparently, during the printing of the second edition. Some changes made in 1674 from 1667 offer insuperable difficulties, chiefly because it is impossible to tell whether they were, as they may have been, changes made by the author, or changes made by the print shop corrector, or perhaps even by the compositor during the process of setting the type. Such a case in point is that found in 1674, Book 9:394 of the 1667 Book 8:394 ‘Likest the feemd,’ which 1674 changed to Likelieft and so reads in all 1674 copies examined. What sort of change was this, and which word should be preferred? Anyone familiar with the history of these two words as used here will forever be unable to choose between them. The two words ‘like’ and ‘likely’ were apparently interchangeable until well after the middle of the seventeenth century. Then too, in this instance, there is the possibility of the compositor’s frequent confusion in discriminating between ‘i’ and ‘I’ as seen in the 1598 quarto of Love’s Labors Lost, 42:88, in which the apparently impossible form ‘liklest’ occurs, and which tells us exactly nothing. Is the second ‘I’ superfluous, or was the compositor setting ‘likliest’ but left out the second ‘i’ or confused it with the ‘I’ and then failed to change it? For this Shakespearean printing, no solution need be attempted here. Other occurrences of the word ‘likelihood’ in Paradise Lost appear in Book 2:756, Book 3:572, and Book 6:301; and, the one under discussion here, Book 9 (Book 8 of 1667):394; each of the other occurrences printing ‘likest’ in both editions, only the fourth and last reading ‘Likest’ in 1667 and Likelieft in 1674. About all that can be said here finally is that it would be a rash editor of the text of Paradise Lost who did more than point out the difference in the two editions.

But the most difficult of all decisions to make are found in the punctuation. Miss Darbishire, page xli, mildly urges the importance of the punctuation found in the Manuscript for twenty-two different cases. Her claims are most reasonable; but her list includes one case involving
punctuation and her transcription another, probably only a capital, not in her list, page xli, but in her transcription, page 43, that cannot be accepted, namely, Book 1:569, views; in Manuscript, and Book 1:682, gold, in Manuscript. She prints views, and Gold, respectively as the readings of the first edition, whereas copy 12 only of that edition reads views; and gold, showing that the manuscript readings were first set and then, due to the condition of this form in copy 12, were almost certainly changed to the reading of all other copies of the 1667 text examined. The 1674 edition followed the second state of 1667. Such a condition certainly cannot be taken to mean that every difference between the Manuscript of the first book and the printing of 1667 is suspect; but with equal certainty, these circumstances for this form mean that one cannot be sure of how much of the Manuscript was intentionally altered in the 1667 printing, and, if such is the case, then one cannot be sure of how many of the differences between 1667 and 1674 texts were unintentional. In some instances, therefore, I have taken the liberty in the notes of expressing a preference now and then for the reading of one text as opposed to the other, or for the Manuscript alone or with one or the other printed text as opposed to either one or both. As all three texts are available in this edition, the reader can compare all of them and see for himself.

The 1674 compositor set his type from a corrected copy of the 1667 text, and the internal nature of this copy can be reconstructed from my notes so far as the states of its signatures are concerned. In this 1667 copy of the text, Milton had had his amanuenses, perhaps principally Edward Phillips, make the changes in the Arguments and text that made twelve out of the original ten Books; add new lines at the beginning of the new Books 8 and 12, and occasionally elsewhere; change the reading in various lines throughout the poem; alter the punctuation here and there; make sure that all the 1668 Errata except the one involving Book 2:414 were carried out; and attempt to secure greater uniformity in the stressed and unstressed forms of the personal pronouns, me he she we their and theirs. He succeeded very well in securing the changes he wanted in the prose Arguments, and also with the added lines at the beginnings of the two new Books, as well as here and there elsewhere. But he was not so successful with his other desired changes, though whether his lack of success was due to his amanuensis or to the compositor is difficult if not impossible to determine. Perhaps all three persons concerned, amanuensis, compositor, and corrector failed to understand exactly what Milton wanted, or perhaps the amanuensis failed to make clear the exact word or phrase which Milton wished to change, as several senseless changes occur in lines that are near other lines containing almost exactly the same word or words, and the failure may be accounted for in this manner. A copy of the first edition, properly marked, was used by the 1674 compositor, and the work proceeded very much as Milton had had the copy marked. However, in the second edition, it is apparent to anyone who knows how Milton worked over his manuscripts that he changed his mind even about changes he had already made. Thus, all but one of the 1668 Errata have been changed, and I can scarcely believe that the one unchanged was inadvertently omitted by either amanuensis or by the compositor. As pointed out in the notes, it seems to me that Milton changed his mind about it and deliberately let the form we (Book 2:414) stand because he finally decided that the syllable should not be accented. In many other cases, he failed to note, or his amanuenses failed to record, or the compositor failed to set the accented forms of some pronouns. In fewer instances, the accented form of the first edition seems wrong, but has not been changed in the second. Sometimes the unaccented form of the first edition is printed in the accented form in 1674, although it seems pointless to me to accent it. Of course this is a delicate matter, as the case cited above will quickly demonstrate. But we cannot be certain in any particular case of accent or stress with which we may disagree that Milton actually succeeded in getting the form he wanted in print. I believe that he succeeded in getting most of these dual form pronouns printed
in the form he desired, but by no means all. The punctuation of the 1674 edition offers the
textual editor the same problem. Much of it that is changed from the first edition is obviously
changed for the better; but some of the changes, if they are changes, seem almost certainly
wrong. But exactly which ones are wrong beyond a doubt? On this point there can be only one
editorial principle adhered to, and the application of that principle the camera mercifully permits.
That principle is to reproduce exactly what Milton’s printer put on paper.

Much has been argued in the past from similar passages, usages, and constructions in other
passages anywhere in Milton’s works, these other usages being used in favor of, or in opposition
to, a particular usage in Paradise Lost. But frequently such appeals are fruitless, for Milton was
inconsistent with himself in such matters, as anyone who has ever attempted to transcribe much
of his holograph manuscript work soon discovers, whether with matters of spelling, punctuation,
syntax, or meaning of words, and in addition was enough of a belated Elizabethan to relish
verbal and punctuational experimentation.

In short, the textual editor of Milton’s poetry is nowhere in greater difficulty than with the
text of Paradise Lost, as we have it today, if he takes his work seriously. He must select the text
of the second edition as basic; but he cannot omit at least in footnotes the variants from the
Manuscript of the First Book and from the first edition. But, as with the earlier poetry, though
much more frequently, in many instances he will be unable to determine exactly which reading
Milton preferred.

There were between eight and nine hundred changes made in the 1674 edition of Paradise
Lost from that of 1667, counting only those changes that actually called for a different setting
of type, and disregarding all those that arose from differences of format, layout, size of type,
or style of type font employed. These changes may be roughly classified, and the categories
thence formed are of various degrees of importance to the textual editor. The following classi-
fication of type changes from 1667 to 1674 takes into account the principal kinds of changes
that were discovered:

1. Those changes called for in the page of Errata first printed in 1668, all but one of which,
Book 2:414, were corrected in 1674.
2. Simple changes in spelling, such as in Book 1:33, ‘fowl’ of 1667 changed to foul in 1674.
3. Changes in the initial letters of words from capital to lower case or from lower case let-
ters to capitals.
4. Changes from roman type in 1667 to italic type in 1674, or vice versa.
5. Changes in punctuation other than those few called for in the Errata.
6. Spelling changes intended to indicate light or heavy metrical stress in the line, principally
in pronouns.
7. Changes that alter the meter of the lines, principally to rectify metrically deficient lines,
such as that in Book 10:827.
8. Changes in meaning, such as that in Book 1:504 ff.
9. Added material, such as that in Book 12:1-5, and similar additions elsewhere in the second
edition.
10. Errors made by the 1674 compositor, including foul case, and those arising from a rather
obvious intent to make a change in one line, and actually making the change in another, such as

The individual changes found in these various categories have different values to the textual
editor, ranging from almost nothing to great importance, and the categories by no means agree
in the number or extent of the changes which they contain, some involving very few, and others
involving a great many changes.
The changes contained in the first of these categories were faithfully carried out, except for the one called for in Book 2:414, in which particular case, it seems to me that Milton probably changed his mind between 1668 and 1674, and left the pronoun unstressed, as it seemingly should be.

The simple changes in spelling, those without any complicating factor connected with them, are practically without significance to us today, although many of Milton's apparent spelling preferences such as 'Childern' 'hunderd' 'voutrafe' were virtually eliminated by them in 1674, except as the 1674 compositor overzealously followed the 1667 emended copy.

The changes of initial letters to or from capital letters are equally insignificant today, especially in the face of our rigid rules of printing style governing such matters, and these changes have had little significance textually since the eighteenth century.

But beginning with the fourth category, the remaining kinds of changes begin to take on considerable if unequal importance, especially to the textual editor. Changes in punctuation can be of great importance, and many of those made in 1674 are. But some 1674 changes on the other hand are either in absolute error, or it is impossible today to understand exactly what Milton wanted, as in Book 6:666, and elsewhere. Perhaps most annoying of all are those lines in which the punctuation as printed, sometimes in both 1674 and 1667, and sometimes in 1674 only, obviously calls for a radical change that has not been made in either edition. However, for those changes in punctuation that are apparently deliberate, or that make better sense than the 1667 punctuation, we can only be grateful to Milton, to Edward Phillips, to Simmons or to his compositor or corrector, or to the person unknown who instigated these changes.

Although of much less value today than Milton intended them to be, those spelling changes involving the indication of light or heavy metrical stress within the lines, that is, such changes as from 'their' to 'thir' or 'me' to 'mee' or vice versa and similar cases, at least give us a closer understanding now and then of Milton's precise metrical intent. These changes, although actually spelling changes, cannot be exactly disregarded today as mere changes in spelling. They must be studied in connection with all similar occurrences and passages in any attention paid today to Milton's metrical intentions.

Changes sometimes of entire words in order to secure the proper metrical quantities or qualities, such as in Book 10:827, are of considerable consequence, because they show the care with which at least part of the revision of the first edition was made. Such a change as that in Book 12:238 is an astounding performance coming from a blind author, utterly dependent on others, for it required not only a delicate perspicacity to discover the need for the change, but also the pertinacity to insure that the change was made. But the very reverse of this process is to be found in Book 11:427 and, unfortunately, elsewhere, indicating how fallible were amanuenses, correctors, and other readers generally.

Deliberate changes in sense, as in Book 1:504 ff., are, of course, of serious consequence to both general reader and textual editor, whenever and wherever they occur, and therefore need no particular emphasis or explanation here, as they speak for themselves. In the same way, the added material, whenever and wherever it occurs, as in Book 12:1-5, needs no special attention here.

The errors of the 1674 edition are less numerous, certainly, than those of 1667, largely because the 1674 compositor had before him a corrected copy of the 1667 edition by which he was guided, but often, and indeed, too slavishly, he followed its errors and vagaries. Thus, in some ways, the 1674 text is not entirely an improvement on that of 1667, as it retains many errors from 1667, and in addition adds new ones of its own making. But the total number of such errors, whether repeated from 1667 or new ones, is actually less than the number of errors found in the 1667 textual printing, because most of the 1667 errors, if not quite all of them, were corrected in 1674. Many of the errors committed by the 1674 compositor were caused by what printers used to call
foul case, and many a time the compositor set from his stock of periods what he thought would print as a period, only to print a comma; or he set an intended comma, and printed a battered semicolon, or vice versa. In Book 2:136 undoubtedly occurs an example of the use of a foul case letter u for 'n'; but there are fewer instances of this in 1674 for letters than can be readily found in the 1667 text. Indeed, most of the foul case in 1674 occurs in the punctuation.

It is impossible, of course, to be certain of those cases in which the compositor or corrector or both, intending to make some particular change, actually made another and unintended one. The notes contain several suggested instances of this process, and I am reasonably certain that such a process occurred not just once, but several times in the course of the composition and correction of the 1674 printing. But it is today impossible to be precise about this matter. Those cases to which I have called attention in the notes as being perhaps of this nature seem to me to be most easily explained as having arisen in this way. Otherwise, they are inexplicable. Much more study of standard printing practice of the time, and particularly of books and other materials printed by Simmons needs to be made before anything like absolute certainty in such cases can be obtained. Indeed, further study of the practices in the Simmons print shop might provide more information on which to base an opinion of the state of the text, 1674, or 1667, than can be attempted herein.

One further observation of considerable importance arose from my study of the changes between the two editions. That was the general impression amounting almost to a fact that in both printings, 1667 and 1674, that the text gets better as the printing goes on, that is, in both editions, the printing becomes better patterned, as it were, to Milton’s vagaries of spelling and punctuation as the compositor proceeded. The unhappy aspect of this situation is that in other respects the compositor continues to suffer lapses almost to the very end of the book. I have discovered, however, that though the number of changes from 1667 to 1674 lessen after the first two books, they remain much more constant by books than I had anticipated might be the case. The figures for the changes by books follow:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Book</th>
<th>Changes</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>127</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>124</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>72</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>90</td>
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<td>85</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>82</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I see no particular significance in these figures, as they include changes made by or for Milton by an amanuensis, by Phillips, or by compositor and corrector of the second edition. If an attempt is made to sort out the changes which Milton intended, only the roughest kind of list can be made, for in too many instances there can be no precise determination of the origin of the change, whether from Milton or from compositor and corrector. But for Book 2, using my own judgment, some forty odd changes at the most seem to me to have possibly originated from Milton, and about eighty from the compositor-corrector. Of course these figures are sheer guesswork; but they are at least indicative of an impression that I have formed that Milton, or someone acting for him, may have originated some three hundred or more of the total number of changes found in the second edition. But the number of borderline cases contained therein make such a statement little more than a possibility. Exactly what the real circumstances were in this respect, we can never know, of course. The only value of such guessing from the actual changes noted is the conclusion that, regardless of the origin of the changes, the second edition, from a printer’s standpoint, was a highly revised piece of work. My impression that over three hundred of these changes originated from Milton or some one acting for him, would certainly well substantiate the claimed revision of the title page.
IX.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The second edition of Paradise Lost was provided for in the 1667 contract between Simmons and Milton for the publication of the first edition. The possible appearance of a second edition of the poem was made contingent in the contract on the sales of the first. The second edition was printed during the spring and early summer of 1674, appearing for sale about July 1 of that year, being announced in the Term Catalogues for the week of July 6. The edition seems to have been used more in conjunction with the first edition than alone; but was sufficiently well known to have caused the permanent alteration of the poem to the twelve-book form in which it has been printed since 1674. It is a difficult, fascinating, but almost fruitless exercise to try to establish connections between the 1674 edition and all later editions of the poem except that of 1678, the third edition. Growing attention to Milton's works, reflecting itself in the book trade after about 1679 led to other editions of those works, but not to closer attention to the earlier editions of any of them, and this condition especially obscures the early history of the second and third editions of Paradise Lost.

The second and third editions were printed by Samuel Simmons, the same printer who printed the first edition, and who held the copyright of the poem for a time after the third edition appeared.

The early biographers provide little or no information about the second edition of the poem that aids us much in understanding its history.

The book was printed in gatherings of eight leaves, in a smaller format, and on less of a variety of paper stocks than the first edition, and, like the first, after about two thirds of the book was printed, the remainder was printed on such similar paper stock as could then be secured. The paper stock measured a little more than seventeen and one half inches by only a little less than fourteen inches to the sheet before folding. It was perhaps printed four pages at a time, or two pulls to the same side of the sheet. The pages are without rules, the running heads carrying the page numbers, the book number, and the title of the poem. The text was printed in 10 point type with the commonly used modified Garamond face. Neither type nor presswork was particularly remarkable. The printing reflects the growing tendency of the time to do away with ornamentation of all kinds. The printing of the poem proper began on page 1 and continued straight through the poem, probably never more than four complete eight page forms or thirty-two pages existing at any one time, and as rapidly as each form was completely printed, the type was washed and redistributed to be used again and again.

Changes were made in the type as the book was being printed, and these changes were apparently of two similar but slightly different kinds. Some few, such as the movement of the apostrophe on page 7, Book 1:171 and again on page 12, Book 1:321 and 347, were almost certainly mere shop changes, or changes made by the compositor without instigation by the author or by a representative of the author. But on page 3, Book 1:17, the deleted comma, and on page 4, Book 1:71 in the change of the unaccented their to thir are changes that seem to have originated with the author or with someone representing him. Thus, printing states occur in 1674, but not with the frequency that they do in the first edition, nor with the significance and import of some of the states of the earlier edition. There are two states of the D Signature of 1674, the rare first state following 1667 exactly, and the commoner second state changing nine spellings in six of the eight pages of the recto as bound. These changes seem to have been instigated by the author or someone representing him. Very few of these changes resulting in
printing states are of much consequence today, the most important of them being merely the change to the stressed or to the unstressed form of one of the pronouns, or a change in punctuation, the other changes being of almost no consequence such as changes from a lower case to a capital initial or the reverse, a slight change in spelling, or a combining of two words, such as what and ever in Book 2:442, to form one word. The most valuable aspect of these changes is the indication which they afford as evidence that Milton changed his mind almost endlessly about the details of the text, and changed it sometimes more than once.

The book appeared for sale as a small, unadorned octavo, made to sell for three shillings. Only about fifty copies of the second edition were located for use in this facsimile edition, or less than one fourth of the total number of copies located for the first edition. The total number of copies in the second edition was probably only about half, or a little more than half the number of copies printed in the first edition.

The 1674 text is in many ways superior to the 1667 text, but in other ways it offers us one insoluble enigma after another. It was set from a corrected copy of the first edition, not from a manuscript as its close following, sometimes too close, of what was certainly a single 1667 copy indicates. The new divisions and locations of the prose Arguments, and of the text, together with the additions to the latter, were marked and added to the particular printed 1667 copy used for this purpose. The copy of the first edition so used has long since disappeared, but may have been known long after 1700, and Peck may have been referring to a reality. All but one of the 1668 Errata were corrected in 1674. On the whole, the 1674 edition is better printed, smaller, more compact, less attractive to present-day taste, and the text nearer to Milton’s last wishes than the first edition. But the second edition is a queer sort of ghost of the first, and not only preserves many errors from the earlier edition, but creates several new ones.

To the present editor, the most disconcerting fact connected with the study of the 1674 edition of Paradise Lost is the slowly mounting evidence, sweeping all reluctant admission before it, that the compositor and corrector were responsible for about as much of the state of the text of the poem as we have it today as were Milton and his amanuenses and friends. But this condition or fact arose only partly from his blindness, and was more or less a constant factor in all printing of the century. Thus, I am inclined to believe that throughout Milton’s lifetime, and not, as has been too often suggested in the past, only after he became blind, every work he ever printed contains a great many forms that were originated by the compositor in the print shop. Certainly some of these affect the sense, meaning, and poetic euphony of the material, and some of them were caught and changed, whether before or after his blindness. Many were not, and the problem of what Milton would actually have done with them had they come to his attention is absolutely insoluble. Certain it is that then, as now, the compositor and the printer were responsible for much of the final text as we have it, and in Milton’s case, only minute study of the printing processes through which his works passed can yield much information of what actually occurred. Sometimes the explanation is rather obvious, and at other times, there is no solution possible. But no other basis than study of the printed texts is feasible.

As an almost invariable practice, not only in England but throughout Europe, printers generally finished the text proper of a book before beginning work on the preliminary material. In the case of the 1674 edition of Paradise Lost, all sound copies should carry before the text the four leaves of a half sheet of the same size paper stock as that on which the text was printed. But the watermark of the preliminary half sheet, number 8, nowhere occurs in the text sheets in any copy examined. These four preliminary leaves have the portrait leaf wrapped around their binding folds, with the stub of the right-hand sheet showing between the last leaf of the four and the B leaf of the text. The portrait faces the first of the four leaves.
X.

THE PORTRAIT, TITLE PAGE, AND OTHER PRELIMINARY LEAVES

There are five leaves bound before the text, the first containing the portrait on its verso, with recto blank, the other four leaves being conjugate in pairs. These four leaves were made by folding twice a half sheet of paper stock the same size as that on which the book is printed. On the first of these four leaves is printed the title page, with verso blank, and on the second, with Signature A2 begins the Latin poem in/ Paradisum Amiffam/ Summi Poetae/ Johannis Miltoni./ which runs over onto the verso of the same leaf, and is signed S.B. M.D. The next or third leaf [A3] contains the opening of the poem on/ Paradisfe Loft./ which ends on the verso of this leaf and is signed A.M. The Latin poem has always been held to be by Samuel Barrow. The English poem was by Andrew Marvell, see The Poems and Letters of Andrew Marvell, edited by H. M. Margoliouth. 2 volumes. Oxford, 1927, volume 1, pages 131-32 (text), and 260-61 (notes). This poem was printed again in the third edition of Paradise Lost, 1678, and was accepted as Marvell's by being printed by the editor of the Miscellaneous Poems. By Andrew Marvell. London, 1681, see pages 61-2 of that folio edition.

The fourth leaf of the preliminary gathering is taken up, recto and verso, with the short statement about the verse added in 1668 to the first edition. This last leaf immediately preceded the first leaf of the B Signature containing the opening of the poem.

This preliminary material will be briefly dealt with here, and in the notes to its reproductions, in the order of the occurrence of its various elements. The reproductions then follow the introductory material.

In its condition of original binding, the second edition of Paradise Lost is almost duplicated by the condition today of copies 4, 10, 14, 16, and 19, though copies 14 and 16 are bound with the first edition, 1671, and copy 10 is bound with the second edition, 1680, of Paradise Regained and Samson Agonistes. But these four copies in their present binding state closely approximate the original arrangement of the various parts of the book. In them, the first printed material originally encountered at the front of the book was the portrait. This is a print from a copper plate, and the print faces the title page with its recto blank as bound. The portrait found in most copies of the second edition of Paradise Lost has never been minutely described. John Fitchett Marsh in the Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, Liverpool, 1860, volume 12, pages 135-188 came the nearest of anyone who has yet published on the subject to describing the portrait printed in 1674. The 1674 portrait is reduced from the Faithorne print published as a frontispiece in the History of Britain, 1670. It is signed 'W. Dolle sculpit.' and dated '1671.' Otherwise it is a rather faithful copy of the Faithorne print, though much smaller. Marsh and others have noted that the same, or nearly the same print occurs in copies of Milton's Artis Logicae, with either of its two title pages, 1672 or 1673. But that is about all the information regarding the 1674 print that has been available.

Close examination of the 1674 prints indicates that the Dolle reproduction of the Faithorne print from the History of Britain was a good copy, although the Dolle face is younger and the shape of the head slightly fuller horizontally. Otherwise, Dolle made a good reduced copy of the Faithorne. When it comes to comparisons between prints in the Artis Logicae and in the 1674 Paradise Lost there is a different story to tell. Close examination of a number of prints in each of the two books shows a fundamental minor difference of detail that could, however, arise

60
only from slight changes in the same plate. I am inclined to believe that the plate was first used for those prints that occur in some copies of the *Artis Logicae*. No copy of that work examined contained a print of the portrait that fitted the book. This point was conjecturally mentioned in my volume 1, page 9. The plate produced a print too large for a book the size of the *Artis Logicae*, and there can be no answer to the question, ‘For what work was the plate originally made?’ Spencer Hickman printed the *Artis Logicae*, but he and Simmons may have collaborated on the production of the plate. The Simmons printing establishment certainly owned a plate press, as the work of Matthew demonstrated again and again, and it may well be that Samuel Simmons actually printed the portraits that are today found in many copies of the *Artis Logicae*. Indeed, Simmons may have planned the production of the second edition of *Paradise Lost* for an earlier date than that at which it ultimately appeared, and had thought of using a portrait in it. The prints occurring in all those copies of the *Artis Logicae* before me are in a slightly different state from those in any copy of the 1674 *Paradise Lost* at hand. The readiest points of difference to be noted are those between the stippling in the two foreheads and in the lower lips, in the 1672-73 state the lower lip being high lighted by the omission of all lines in two spots, while in the 1674 prints the lower lip is evenly lined throughout. There are other and more minute differences in the face only which result in the slightly different expressions already mentioned. Even under high magnification, there are no observable differences in the engraving surrounding the oval in which the face occurs. If the engraving was done directly on the copper plate, then the dots added to the forehead and lines of the lower lip would have been graved by needle and burin directly into the copper. If the copper was etched with acid, then the process whereby the plate was slightly modified was that so minutely described by William Faithorne, in his book, *The Art of Graveing and Etching*, London, 1662. The print was produced on a plate press, all copies of it making the outlines of the plate easily discernible to the eye and one can also feel the depression, which the plate forced into the paper. The process by which this was done, including a detailed description of the press and its working, is fully set forth in a paper read by John Evelyn to the Royal Society on May 14, 1662, see part 2 of C. F. Bell’s nonphotographic facsimile edition of *Evelyn’s Sculptura, with the unpublished Second Part*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906. It may be noted that Faithorne put both forms of his famous etching signature ‘F’ on the 1670 portrait, and that Dolle, wittingly or unwittingly, carefully reproduced the Faithorne initial signature in the 1672-1674 plate. The two forms of the ‘F’ one facing each way occur in the ligature ‘Æ’ of the word ‘Ætat.’

After the portrait was printed on the plate press, or ‘star wheel’ press as Jan Poortenaar and others have called it, see his *Technique of Prints and Art Reproduction Processes*. London: John Lane, 1933, page 45 and passim, probably on one half of a quarter sheet, it was bound in the book by wrapping it about the four preliminary leaves that immediately follow it, including the title page. The stub left from cutting off the conjugate blank leaf between the last of the four preliminary leaves and the first page of the text proper, or the B leaf, may be seen in copies 4, 10, 11, 14, 16, 19 and doubtless other extant copies. Those copies of the portrait examined that show any trace of a watermark, contain a portion of the watermark of the first four leaves or one very much like it, see page 36.
The Faithorne Portrait, Taken from the *History of Britain*, 1670, Illinois Copy 20

This reproduction is as nearly actual size of the 1670 print as possible. It is bound as a verso page facing the 1670 *History of Britain* title page.
The Dolle Copy of the Faithorne Portrait, 
Taken from the Artis Logicae, 1672, 
Illinois Copy i

This reproduction of the Dolle etching clearly shows how the print was trimmed to fit the 1672 Artis Logicae in which the portrait is bound as a verso to face the title page.

The Dolle Copy of the Faithorne Portrait, 
Taken from Paradise Lost, 1674, 
Illinois Copy ii

This portrait is a copy of the one dated 1670, first appearing as the frontispiece of the History of Britain, London, 1670, and therein signed 'Gul. Faithorne ad Vivum Delin. et sculpsit.' Then in 1672 it was redrawn in this reduced form and etched by W. Dolle for use in the Artis Logicae, London, 1672. As it appears in Paradise Lost, London, 1674, it is from a second state of the 1672 plate, and is more specifically described herein on pages 60-61. The white spot at upper left is a wormhole in the paper of the copy photographed. The portrait was bound as a verso to face the title page.
The 1674 Portrait (copy 11)

Not in 1667. The white spot at upper left is a wormhole in the paper of copy 11 as photographed. The portrait was printed in a plate press on a single leaf and for binding the stub of the leaf was wrapped around the folded half sheet that followed. It is reproduced again here properly facing the 1674 title page.
Paradise Lost.
A POEM IN TWELVE BOOKS.

The Author
JOHN MILTON.

The Second Edition Revised and Augmented by the same Author.

LONDON,
Printed by S. Simmons next door to the Golden Lion in Aldersgate-street, 1674.

The 1674 Title Page

The model, as it were, for the 1674 title page was the 1669 title page, the layout of the page being almost identical, except for the insertion of the three lines 8, 9, and 10, in the third ruled box. The first three lines on the page are in the same size type as in 1669, and lines 4 and 5 are similar, except in smaller type and the word TWELVE substituted for the word 'TEN' in line 5, and the period after BOOKS, first introduced in 1668, is present. Line 6 is in smaller type than in 1669; but the author's name is set in the same type. The next, the third ruled box on the page, is new, as is all the letterpress material which it contains. The word LONDON, is set in smaller italic capitals; but the printer's signature is set in the same type, providing his address and omitting the name of any bookseller. The numerals of the date are set in the second line of the printer's signature, not below it as in 1669. The outside double rules, horizontal and vertical, also follow the 1669 pattern.
The verso [Av] of the 1674 title page is blank.
IN
Paradisum Amismam
Summi Poetæ

Johannis Miltoni.

Qvi legis Amismam Paradisum, grandiam magni
Carmina Miltoni, quid nisi creata legas?
Res cuellis, & cuelliorum primum verum,
Et satis, & fines continet iste liber.
Intima panduntur magni penetralia mundi,
Seribitur & tene quicquid in Orbe latet.
Terraque, tragiisque maris, colunque profundum
Sulphureumque Erebi, flammeumque focus.
Quaque colunt terras, Portumque & Tartara caeca,
Quaque colunt summi lucida regna Poli.
Et quocunque ullis conclusionis est finibus usquam,
Et fine fine Chaos, & fine fine Deus:
Et fine fine magis, si quid magis est fine fine,
In Christo erga homines consilium amor.
Hac qui peraret quis credet esse futurum?
Et tamen hae bec bodie terra Britanna legis.
O quantus in bella Ducus! que proutuit arma!
Quae cavit, & quanta praelia dira tuta.
Caelites aces! atque in centamim Calum!
Et que Caelites puennae deceret agros!
Quantus in aetheris tollit fe Lucifer armis!
Atque ipsa graditur xix Michaelis minor!
Quantis, & quam funes his concurratur iris
Dum seris hic stellas protegit, ille rapit!
Dum melius Montes con Telis reciproca torquent,
Et non mortales desper igne pluant:

The Latin Commendatory Poem by S.B.

Not in 1667. One of the earliest appreciations of the poem to be printed.
Sta dubia cui se parti concedat Olympus,
Et metuit pugna non supereffe sua.
As simul in calis Messia insignia fulgens,
Et currus animes, armaque digna Deo,
Horrendumque rafe frident, & forva rotarum
Erumpunt tervis fulgura luminibus,
Et flammae vibrant, & vera tonitrua raucu
Admitis flammis infonuere Polo:
Excidit attoneis mens omnis, & impetua omnis
Et caedis dextris irrita Telacadun.
Ad pocas fugiat, & eum forre Ormus asylum
Infernis certant condere se tenebris.
Cedite Romani Scriptores, cedite Graii
Et quos fama recens vel celebravit anus.
Hec quicunque leges tantum ecce deesse putabis
Mætonidem ranas, Virgilium culicis.

S. B. M. D.

S. B. M. D.] These initials have been taken to be those of Samuel Barrow, whose relations with Milton are very little known.
ON

Paradise Lost.

When I beheld the Poet blind, yet bold,
In slender Book his vast Design unfold,
Messiah Crown'd, Gods Reconcil'd Decree,
Rebelling Angels, the Forbidden Tree,
Heav'n, Hell, Earth, Chaos, All; the Argument
Held me a while middoubting his Intent,
That he would ruine (for I saw him strong)
The sacred Truths to Fable and old Song
(So Sampson grasp'd the Temples Poits in Spight)
The World o'rewelling to revenge his sight.

Yet as I read, soon growing less severe,
I lik'd his Project, the Success did fear;
Through that wide Field how he his way should find
O're which lame Faith leads Understanding blind;
Left he perplex'd the things he would explain,
And what was easie he should render vain.

Or if a Work so infinite he spann'd,
Jealous I was that some less skilful hand
(Such as disquiet always what is well,
And by ill imitating would excell)
Might hence presume the whole Creations day
To change in Scenes, and shew it in a Play.
Pardon me, Mighty Poet, nor despise
My caufeless, yet not impious, surmise.
But I am now convinced, and none will dare
Within thy Labours to pretend a share.
Thou hast not mis'd one thought that could be fit,
And all that was improper dost omit:

So

The English Commendatory Poem by A.[ndrew] M.[arvell]

Not in 1667.
So that no room is here for Writers left,
But to detect their Ignorance or Theft.
That Majesty which through thy Work doth Reign
Draws the Devout, deterring the Profane.
And things divine thou treatst of in such state
As them preserves, and thee, inviolate.
At once delight and horror on us seizes,
Thou sing'st with so much gravity and ease;
And above humane flight dost soar aloft
With Plume so strong, so equal, and so soft,
The Bird nam'd from that Paradise you sing
So never flags, but always keeps on Wing.
Where couldst thou words of such a compass find?
Whence furnish such a vast expense of mind?
Just Heav'n thee like Tiresias to requite
Rewards with Prophecy thy loss of sight.
Well mightst thou scorn thy Readers to allure
With tinkling Rhyme, of thy own scene secure;
While the Town-Bayes writes all the while and spells,
And like a Pack-horse tires without his Bells:
Their Fancies like our Bully-points appear,
The Poets tag them, we for fashion wear.
I too transported by the Mode offend,
And while I meant to Praise thee must commend.
Thy Verse created like thy Theme sublime,
In Number, Weight, and Measure, needs not Rhyme.

A. M.

A. M.] These initials have long been taken to be those of Andrew Marvell, who worked with Milton in connection with the Latin secretariaship. These lines were reprinted in Marvell's Miscellaneous Poems, London, 1681, pages 61-62.
THE VERSE.

The Measure is English Heroic Verse without Rime, as that of Homer in Greek, and of Virgil in Latin; Rime being no necessary Adjunct or true Ornament of Poem or good Verse, in longer Works especially, but the Invention of a barbarous Age, to set off wretched matter and lame Meter; gracie indeed since the use of some famous modern Poets, carried away by Custom, but much to their own vexation, hindrance, and constraint to express many things otherwise, and for the most part worse than else they would have express'd them. Not without cause therefore some both Italian and Spanish Poets of prime note have rejected Rime both in longer and shorter Works, as have also long since our best English Tragedies, as a thing of it self, to all judicious ears, trivial and of no true musical delight, which consists only in apt Numbers, fit quantity of Syllables, and the sense variously drawn out from one Verse into another, not in the jingling sound of like endings, a fault avoyded by the

The Prose Essay on the Verse

The collation is 1674, 1668, and 1669. The italic and roman types are reversed throughout the essay from those of 1668 and 1669. 1 THE] THe] 9 Meeter;] Meeter;] Meeter; 19 ears,] ears,] ears, 20 trivial] trivial] trivial 21 onely] only] 24 avoyded] avoyde] avoided
the learned Ancients both in Poetry and all good Oratory. This neglect then of Rime so little is to be taken for a defect, though it may seem so perhaps to vulgar Readers, that it rather is to be esteem'd an example set, the first in English, of ancient liberty recover'd to Heroic Poem from the troublesome and modern bondage of Rimeing.

Paradise

PART II

THE TEXT OF THE SECOND EDITION
FOREWORD TO THE TEXTUAL NOTES

THE TEXTUAL NOTES RECORD 1) variants between 1674, 1667-1669, and the Manuscript of Book 1; 2) variants between 1674 and 1667-1669 including indications of states of either or both editions; 3) conditions peculiar to the various types in 1674; 4) conditions of the titles, arguments, running heads, pagination, catchwords, and any other elements found on the printed pages; 5) because Milton attempted to indicate stress or lack of it through the spelling of certain pronominal forms, notably me\mee, he\hee, she\shee, thir\their, and perhaps certain other words, a practice he had begun in the 1667 text, many notes of unsuccessful and frequently erroneous printings of these forms in 1674 have been included; 6) weak or faint letters and punctuation marks arising from worn type, foul case, faulty presswork, faulty inking, and slipping of type in the form have been irregularly noted; 7) any other aberration that seemed worth noting for any reason whatever. As in the earlier volumes of this facsimile edition, bold face type in the notes is reserved for material taken directly from the photographic reproductions immediately above the notes; in this case, of the 1674 text. As before, the square bracket following bold face type indicates the termination of material brought down from the reproduction of the text immediately above the notes. If what follows the bracket is a variant from 1674, it is from 1667. If this is in turn followed by a bracket, the material following the second bracket is from the Manuscript of Book 1 for that Book alone, or from the reprinted material of 1669. But what follows the first bracket may be an explanation only of the 1674 material. A double bracket following bold face type means that the two texts being collated agree to the second bracket. If the note ends with the double brackets, or perhaps very rarely with triple brackets, complete agreement of the two or three texts being collated is indicated. Such apparently redundant occurrences have been retained because I have used them constantly in my collations to reassure myself that other texts or notes, insisting on differences, are either wrong or cannot withstand careful scrutiny. Many of these double or triple brackets have been most useful to me, and anyone who comes on one of their occurrences may profitably investigate each particular instance in which they occur.

As in my volume 2, the term 'state' is reserved exclusively for the designation of those pages or sides of sheets showing intentional changes in type, and, though much less frequent than in the 1667 edition, the 1674 edition has enough of them to serve as a warning to the serious student of the text that the whole textual problem of the poem, involving the Manuscript of Book 1, the 1667 and the 1674 texts, is modified and if not entirely clarified, at least a little better illuminated by them.

The rule slanting to the left (\) is used between states of the same edition. In the case of 1674 states, both are set in bold face type in the notes because both states are directly available above the notes. The rule slanting to the right (/) indicates the end of a line, as is usual.

The collations and textual observations are based on the collation of the Manuscript of Book 1 with the 1667 text, the collation of the 1667 text as both collations are to be found in my volume 2, the states and second printings of 1667 and 1669 respectively, and the whole collated with the 1674 text as printed in the photographs and including its states. The text herein set forth and its notes are based on direct collation of twenty-two actual and twenty-nine photographic copies, most of the latter being on film.

Again, it must not be assumed that every variant between the second and first editions or between the second edition and the Manuscript of Book 1, that ever existed is to be found in these notes. In the first place, the very next copy examined in addition to those at hand may contain variants that are not listed here. In the second place, it is possible that other variants exist in the
copies actually examined which may have been overlooked by the collator. Thus, again the only claim made for the variants listed is that they have been found in the copies examined. Direct or magnified photographic reproductions of variants are provided whenever such variants are important enough to warrant that procedure. It is quite possible that a larger number of copies of the 1674 edition might have yielded more information about the 1674 text and its relations to that of 1667; but it is doubtful if any new types of variants would have appeared.

One interesting case of changes in the same form was discovered, namely on the recto as bound of the B Signature. There were five slight changes observed in the copies examined in this form. Three were small punctuation changes, pages 9 and 12 (two changes). The other two changes, pages 4, Book 1:71, and page 16, Book 1:478, were spelling changes. Thirty-three copies contained what appear to be the original or first printing states of all five cases. Eighteen copies contained what appear to be changed or second printing states of these cases; but five of these eighteen copies, copies 9, 11, 13, 20, and 39, have second printing states on pages 4, 9, and 12, but on page 16 these four copies retain state 1. That is, the changes in this form appear to have been made in two stages. The printer ran off the recto as bound of the B Signature for perhaps two thirds of the total number of sheets required. Then someone found five changes to be made. Four of them, or those on pages 4, 9, and 12, were made, and a few sheets were run off after the four changes were made on those three pages. Then someone discovered that the intended change on page 16 had not been made and it was then effected. The rest of the sheets were then printed with all five changes made. Thus, thirteen copies examined were found to contain all five recto changes, but five other copies, copies 9, 11, 13, 20, and 39, show only the first four changes, with the fifth, on page 16, unchanged, and there exist three slightly different printing forms of this signature.

It has again been impossible, due to wartime conditions, to deal precisely in the notes with some of the ligatures that occur in 1674. Throughout this facsimile edition, modern type reproductions of many of the old ligatures that would have necessitated special designing and cutting could not be obtained under today’s conditions, and will not appear in any volume of this edition.

In general and on the basis of much actual collation, the text of the third edition, printed in 1678, is textually almost valueless, being a close and often unintelligent imitation of the text of the 1674 edition. Therefore the collation of the 1678 is very sparingly used herein.

Great difficulty has been sometimes experienced in holding legible in the photographic reproductions of the printed pages of 1674 the faint paintings that frequently appear therein. Principally for this reason, a relatively large number of broken or faint types, and various other peculiarities of the type are listed in the notes. The chief value of these notations is to warn the casual observer that in most such instances there has not been a change of type. The user of these notes who owns a copy of the 1674 edition may find that the particular broken, battered, or worn type to which I have called attention may be in good condition in his copy. This may and frequently can only mean that the type, as in his copy, was originally in good condition, and then became impaired during the printing process, but was not reset. Only the cumulative observation of hundreds of such minutiæ has made possible the determination of what type was actually reset or replaced, and what type was not.
Paradise Lost.

BOOK I.

THE ARGUMENT.

This first Book proposes, first in brief, the whole Subject, Man's disobedience, and the loss thereupon of Paradise wherein he was plac'd: Then touches the prime cause of his fall, the Serpent, or rather Satan in the Serpent; who, revolted from God, and, drawing to his side many Legions of Angels, was by the command of God driven out of Heaven with all his Crew into the great Deep. Which action past over, the Poem hafts into the midit of things, presenting Satan with his Angels now fallen into Hell, describ'd here, not in the Center (for Heaven and Earth may be suppos'd as yet not made, certainly not yet accur'd) but in a place of utter darkness, first calle'd Chaos: Here Satan with his Angels lying on the burning Lake, thunder-struck and astonished, after a certain time recover'd, as from confusion, calls up him who next in Order and Dignity lay by him; they confer of their miserable fall. Satan awakens all his Legions, who lay in...
2

Paradise Lost. Book I.

lay till then in the same manner confounded: They rise, thir Numbers, array of Battel, thir chief Leaders nam'd, according to the Idols known afterwards in Canaan and the Countries adjoyning.

To these Satan directs his Speech, comforts them with hope yet of regaining Heaven, but tells them laufly of a new World and new kind of Creature to be created, according to an ancient Prophesie or report in Heaven: for that Angels were long before this visible Creation, was the opinion of many ancient Fathers. To find out the truth of this Prophesie, and what to determine therein he refers to a full Council. What his Associates thence attempt. Pandemonium the Palace of Satan rises, suddenly built out of the Deep: The infernal Peers there fit in Council.

F Mans First Disobedience, and the Fruit
Of that Forbidden Tree, whose mortal taft
Brought Death into the World, and all our woe,
With los of Eden, till one greater Man

5 Restore us, and regain the blissful Seat,
Sing Heav'nly Mufe, that on the secret top
Of Oreh, or of Sinai, didst inspire
That Shepherd, who first taught the chosen Seed,
In the Beginning how the Heav'n's and Earth

10 Rofe out of Chaos: Or if Sion Hill
Delight thee more, and Siloam's Brook that flow'd
Fait by the Oracle of God: I thence
Invoke thy aid to my adventrous Song,

That
This is the first occurrence of the problem of making two states of the same page appear on facing pages. In order to do this with the two pages that follow, different states of the same recto page, this preceding recto is used as a sort of introduction to them; the first state is printed on the next page, a verso, and the second state appears as the recto it is, on a recto page of this facsimile edition.
Book I. Paradise Lost.

That with no middle flight intends to soar
Above th' Aonian Mount, while it pursues
Things unattempted yet in Prose or Rhime.
And chiefly Thou, O Spirit, that dost prefer
Before all Temples th' upright heart and pure,
Instruct me, for Thou knowst it; Thou from the first
Wall prevent, and with mighty wings outspread
Dove-like fatid brooding on the vast Abyss
And mad it it pregnant: What in me is dark
Illumin, what is low raise and support;
That to the height of this great Argument
I may assist: Eternal Providence,
And justify the ways of God to men.

Say first, for Heav'n hides nothing from thy view
Nor the deep Tract of Hell, say first what cause
Mov'd our Grand Parents in that happy State,
Favour'd of Heav'n so highly, to fall off
From thir Creator, and transgress his Will
For one restraint, Lords of the World besides?
Who first seduc'd them to that foul revolt?
To infernal Serpent; he it was, whose guile
Stir'd up with Envy and Revenge, deceiv'd
The Mother of Mankind, what time his Pride
Had call him out from Heav'n, with all his Host
Of Rebel Angels, by whose aid aspiring
He t' infernal Serpent: he it was, whose guile
Agast the Throne and Monarchy of God
Rais'd impious War in Heav'n and Battel proud
With vain attempt. Him the Almighty Power

Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' Ethereal Skie
With hideous ruine and combustion down
To bottomless perdition, there to dwell

In

State 1 (copies 5, 35, 54, and 57 only)
There are two slightly different 1674 states of this page, see line 17.

14 foar] foare 15 Mount,) Mount; it] The t is very faint in all copies examined. pursues] perfuses 16 unattempted] vnattempted Profe] profe Rhime.]] name. In the Manuscript, the word was first written 'rhime,' and then the 'h' was lightly struck out, but the compositor missed this. 17 chiefly] chiefly Thou,] Thou Thou] thou This is a difficult spot. Most copies of the 1674 edition examined show no punctuation after the word. But copies 5, 35, 54, and 57 show a clear comma here. The same construction appears again in Book 2:810, But thou O Father, with no comma following thou although one may have been intended. In all copies examined, the space in Book 1:17 was set for the comma. I think that the comma is needed; but apparently it was set first and then broke or failed to print, or was deliberately removed. Book 1:622 O Myriads of immortal Spirits, O Powers scarcely helps matters, as only the apposition is common to both. Spirit.]] Spirit 16 Temples] tempes and ]]] pure 19 Instruct] The I is broken at top left in all copies examined. Thou . . . Thou . . . thou 20 and ]] & 21 faltt] fals The long 'l' and curled 's' of the Manuscript are not used with the precision of the printer's use. Abyss]] Abyss, See Miss Darbishire's note, her page 53, where she states that the comma is clearly visible in the Manuscript. 22 What] what [dark] dark 23 Illumin] Illumine,]] and]] & 24 Argument]] argument 25 Eternal] th' Eternal] eternal In the Manuscript, 'th' was first written, then struck
Book I. Paradise Lost.

That with no middle flight intends to soar
15 Above th’ Aonian Mount, while it pursues
Things unattempted yet in Prose or Rhime.
And chiefly Thou O Spirit, that dost prefer
Before all Temples th’ upright heart and pure,
Instruct me, for Thou know’st it; Thou from the first
20 Waft present, and with mighty wings outspread
Dove-like fast brooding on the vast Abyss
And mad’st it pregnant: What in me is dark
Illumin, what is low raise and support;
That to the height of this great Argument
25 I may affect Eternal Providence,
And justify the ways of God to men.
Say first, for Heav’n hides nothing from thy view
Nor the deep Tract of Hell, say first what cause
Mov’d our Grand Parents in that happy State,
30 Favour’d of Heav’n to highly, to fall off
From thir Creator, and transgres’d his Will
For one restraint, Lords of the World beside?
Who first seduced them to that foul revolt?
Th’ infernal Serpent; he it was, whose guile
35 Stir’d up with Envy and Revenge, deceiv’d
The Mother of Mankind, what time his Pride
Had call’d him out from Heav’n, with all his Host
Of Rebel Angels, by whose aid aspiring
To fet himselv in Glory above his Peers,
40 He trusted to have equal’d the most High,
If he oppos’d; and with ambitious aim
Against the Throne and Monarchy of God
Rais’d impious War in Heav’n and Battel proud
With vain attempt. Him the Almighty Power
45 Hurl’d headlong flaming from th’ Ethereal Skie
With hideous ruin and combustion down
To bottomless perdition, there to dwell

State 2 (all other copies examined)

There are two slightly different 1674 states of this page, see line 17.

out. The deletion of ‘th’ is ordered in the 1668 Errata. 26 men. 27 Heav’n 28 Tract] tract
Hell,] hell, 29 Grand[ ] grand Parents[ ] parents happy[ ] happy State[ ] state, 30 Favour’d[ ] favour’d
Heav’n] heav’n 31 From[ ] from thir[ ] their thir and[ ] & transgres’d[ ] transgres’ will[ ] will 32 For[ ] for
World] world 33 foul[ ] foul ovale 34 he] hee The Manuscript is right here, as the word seems to need a heavy
stress. 35 Stir’d] Stir’d Envy[ ] envy and[ ] & Revenge[ ] revenge, deceiv’d[ ] deceiv’d 36 In 1674, the apo-
trophe is very faint, but space is provided in all copies, and in many it is clear. 36 Mankind, Mankind; 37 Heav’n, Heav’n; Fatal Favour’d, Favour’d
Rebel Rebel Angels, Angels, aid aid
Peers Peers, 39 himself himself Glory, Peers Peers, 40 Hee Hee Someone seems to have decided that the
word could not be stressed, and so printed it. have] have equal’d[ ] equal’d 41 and[ ] & aim] aim
42 Battel Battel 44 vain] vain Power Power 45 headlong] head long flaming] flaming
th’ Ethereal th’ ethereal In copy 22 of 1674, there is absolutely no visible trace of the apostrophe. Skie 46 and] & down] downe
47 bottomles[ ] bottoms
4 Paradise Lost. Book I.

In Adamantine Chains and penal Fire,
Who durst defie th' Omnipotent to Arms.

Nine times the Space that measures Day and Night
To mortal men, he with his horrid crew
Lay vanquish'd, rowling in the fiery Gulfe
Confounded though immortal: But his doom
Referv'd him to more wrath; for now the thought

Both of loft happiness and lafting pain
Torments him: round he throws his baleful eyes
That witness'd huge affliction and difmay
Mixt with obdurate pride and fledfast hate:
At once as far as Angels kenne he views

The diſmal Situation waſtle and wilde,
A Dungeon horrible, on all sides round
As one great Furnace flamm'd, yet from those flames
No light, but rather darknes visible
Serv'd onely to discover fightes of woe,

Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
And rest can never dwell, hope never comes
That comes to all; but torture without end
Still urges, and a fiery Deluge, fed
With ever-burning Sulphur unconsum'd:

Such place Eternal Justice had prepar'd
For those rebellious, here their Prison ordain'd
In utter darknes, and thir portion fet
As far remov'd from God and light of Heav'n
As from the Center Right to th' utmost Pole.

O how unlike the place from whence they fell!
There the companions of his fall, o'rewhelm'd
With Floods and Whirlwinds of tempestuous fire,
He soon discovers, and weltering by his side
One next himself in power, and next in crime,

Long after known in Palaſine, and nam'd
Belzebub. To whom th' Arch-Enemy,

State I (found in thirty-three of the copies examined)
There are two 1674 states of this page, see line 71.
4 Paradise Lost. Book I.

In Adamantine Chains and penal Fire,
Who durst deifie th' Omnipotent to Arms.

50 Nine times the Space that measures Day and Night
To mortal men, he with his horrid crew
Lay vanquish'd, rowling in the fiery Gulfe
Confounded though immortal: But his doom
Referv'd him to more wrath; for now the thought

55 Both of loft happiness and lasting pain
Torments him; round he throws his baleful eyes
That witnes'd huge affliction and dismay
Mixt with obdurate pride and fitful hate:
At once as far as Angels kenn he views

60 The dismal Situation waite and wilde,
A Dungeon horrible, on all sides round
As one great Furnace flam'd, yet from those flames
No light, but rather darknes visible
Serv'd onely to discover sights of woe,

65 Regions of sorrow, doeful shades, where peace
And reft can never dwell, hope never comes
That comes to all; but torture without end
Still urges, and a fiery Deluge, fed
With ever-burning Sulphur unconsum'd:

70 Such place Eternal Justice had prepar'd
For thofe rebellious, here thir Prison ordain'd
In utter darknes, and thir portion set
As far remot'd from God and light of Heav'n
As from the Center thrice to th' utmost Pole.

75 O how unlike the place from whence they fell!
There the companions of his fall, o'rewhelm'd
With Floods and Whirlwinds of tempestuous fire,
He soon discerns, and weeping by his side
One next himself in power, and next in crime,

80 Long after known in Palestine, and nam'd
Beelzebub. To whom th' Arch-Enemy,

State 2 (found in eighteen of the copies examined)
There are two 1674 states of this page, see line 71.

70 Eternal] eternal 71 For]] for thofe]] thefe This is a difficult reading. The third letter in the Manuscript is made in the regular fashion for the running and connected 'e' but there is probably no more reason for calling it an 'e' here than an 'o' although to Miss Darbishire the 'e' was certain. their[thir] their] thir All copies of 1674 examined have corrected the same word in the next line. See also page 15, 1674, line 433. Prifon]] prifon See my note, volume 2:39. I still think that the scribe meant to strike out the o but wrote only his apostrophe.
72 darkness]] darkness, and]] & thir] their] thir 73 far]] far and]] & 74 Pole]] pole.
75 unlike]] unlike 76 fall]] fall o'rewhelm'd]] o'rewhelm'd 77 Floods]] floods and]] & Whirlwinds]] whirlwinds 78 He]] Hee Seems to be unstressed. foon]] foon discerns]] foon discerns, and]] & 79 himself]] himselfe power]] power and]] & 81 Beelzebub.]] Bêêêêebub. Bêêêêebub. Enemy,]] enemy
Because both the facing prints immediately before this page were versos as bound, this page is used only in order to have the next page, a recto as bound, print herein as a recto.
Book I. Paradise Lost.

And thence in Heaven call'd Zaran, with bold words
Breaking the horrid glance thus began.
If thou beest he; But O how fall'n! how chang'd

From him, who in the happy Realms of Light
Cloth'd with transcendent brightness didst out-shine
Myriads though bright: If he whom mutual league,
United thoughts and counsels, equal hope
And hazard in the Glorious Enterprise,

Joy'd with me once, now misery hath joynd
In equal ruin: into what Pit thou seest
From what height fall'n, so much the stronger prov'd
He with his Thunder: and till then who knew
The force of those dire Arms? yet not for those,
Nor what the Potent Victor in his rage
Can else inflikt, do I repent or change,
Though chang'd in outward lustre; than fixt mind
And high disdain, from sense of injur'd merit,
That with the mightiest rais'd me to contend,

And to the fierce contention brought along
Innumerable force of Spirits arm'd
That durst dislike his reign, and me preferring,
His utmost power with adv'd power oppos'd
In dubious Battel on the Plains of Heaven,

And stook his throne. What though the field be lost?
All is not lost; the unconquerable Will,
And study of revenge, immortal hate,
And courage never to submit or yield:
And what is else not to be overcome?

That Glory never shall his wrath or might
Extort from me. To bow and sue for grace
With suppliant knee, and deifie his power,
Who from the terour of this Arm so late
Doubled his Empire, that were low indeed,

That were an ignominy and shame beneath

B 3 This
6 Paradise Lost. Book I.

This downfall; since by Fate the strength of Gods
And this Empyreal substance cannot fail,
Since through experience of this great event
In Arms not worse, in foresight much advance't,

120 We may with more successful hope resolve
To wage by force or guile eternal Warr
Irreconcilable, to our grand Foe,
Who now triumphs, and in th' excesss of joy
Sole reigning holds the Tyranny of Heav'n.

125 So spake th' Apollate Angel, though in pain,
Vaunting aloud, but rackt with deep despair:
And him thus answer'd soon his bold Compeer:
O Prince, O Chief of many Throned Powers,
That led th'imbatrelld Seraphim to Warr

130 Under thy conduct, and in dreadful deeds
Fearles, endanger'd Heav'n's perpetual King;
And put to proof his high Supremacy,
Whether upheld by strength, or Chance, or Fate,
Too well I see and rue the dire event,

135 That with sad overthrow and soul defeat
Hadst lost us Heav'n, and all this mighty Host
In horrible destruction laid thus low,
As far as Gods and Heav'nly Effences
Can perish: for the mind and spirit remains

140 Invincible, and vigour soon returns,
Though all our Glory extinct, and happy fate
Here swallow'd up in endless misery.
But what if he our Conquerour, (whom I now
Of force believe Almighty, since no less

145 Then such could hav orepow'rd such force as ours)
Have left us this our spirit and strength intire
Strongly to suffer and support our pains,
That we may so suffice his vengeful ire,
O: do him mightier service as his thralls

By
This is another occurrence of the problem of making two states of the same page appear on facing pages. In order to do this with the two pages that follow, different states of the same recto page, this preceding recto is used for a sort of introduction to them; the first state is printed on the next page, a verso, and the second state appears as the recto it is, on a recto page of this facsimile edition.
Book I. Paradisal Lost.

150 By right of Warr, what e're his businesse be
Here in the heart of Hell to work in Fire,
Or do his Errands in the gloomy Deep;
What can it then avail though yet we feel
Strength undiminish'd, or eternal being

To undergo eternal punishment?
Whereunto with speedy words th' Arch-fiend reply'd.
Fall'n Cherub, to be weak is miserable
Doing or Suffering: but of this be sure,
To do ought good never will be our task,

But ever to do ill our sole delight,
As being the contrary to his high will
Whom we resist. If then his Providence
Out of our evil seek to bring forth good,
Our labour must be to pervert that end,

And out of good still to find means of evil;
Which oft times may succeed, so as perhaps
Shall grieve him, if I fail not, and disturb
His inmost counsels from this deformed aim.

But see the angry Victor hath recall'd

170 His Ministers of vengeance and pursuit
Back to the Gates of Heaven: the Sulphurous Hail
Shot after us in storm, o'reblown hath hid
The fiery Surge, that from the Precipice
Of Heaven receiv'd us falling, and the Thunder,

Wing'd with red Lightning and impetuous rage,
Perhaps hath spent his shafts, and ceases now
To bellow through the vault and boundles Deep.
Let us not split th' occasion, whether scorn,
Or future fury yield it from our Foe.

Seest thou yon dreary Plain, forlorn and wilde,
The fear of defolation, voyd of light,
Save what the glimmering of these livid flames
Calls pale and dreadful? Thither let us rend

State I (copies 5, 35, 54, and 57 only)
There are two slightly different 1674 states of this page, see line 171.

Running Head. Loft.] The round period again. 150 Warr,] warr, busines[s]] buif'nesse be] be] The word is almost certainly stressed. 151 Fire,] fire, 152 do] doe Errands] errands Deep;] deep, 153 avail]] avail'] we]] we. It seems difficult to stress this word. feel] fees] 154 undiminifht,] vndiminish'd, eternal][eternal 155 undergo] undergo' eternal][eternal 156 Whereuto] Where to 157 be]] be] The word seems to be unstressed. 158 Suffering;]] suffer; fury,]] fury 159 ought] ought be]] be] This case seems to be indeterminate. Certainly the word is stressed, but not heavily. 160 do] doe 162 we]] wee Again, though stressed, the emphasis seems relatively light. Providence] providence 163 evil]] evil 165 evil;]] evil, 166 oft times]] oftimes 167 fall]] faile 168 counsels]] counsels thir] their] thir 169 angry]] Angry
Book I.  Paradis LOST.

150  By right of Warr, what 'e're his business be
   Here in the heart of Hell to work in Fire,
Or do his Errands in the gloomy Deep;
What can it then avail though yet we feel
Strength undiminished, or eternal being
To undergo eternal punishment?
Where'to with speedy words th'Arch-fiend reply'd.
  Fall'n Cherube, to be weak is miserable
Doing or Suffering: but of this be sure,
To do ought good never will be our task,
160  But ever to do ill our sole delight,
As being the contrary to his high will
Whom we resist. If then his Providence
Out of our evil seek to bring forth good,
Our labour must be to pervert that end,
165  And out of good still to find means of evil;
Which oft times may succeed, so as perhaps
Shall grieve him, if I fail not, and disturb
His inmost counsels from thir destind aim.
But see the angry Victor hath recall'd
170  His Ministers of vengeance and pursuit
Back to the Gates of Heaven: the Sulphurous Hail
Shot after us in storm, oreblown hath laid
The fiery Surge, that from the Precipice
Of Heaven receiv'd us falling, and the Thunder,
175  Wing'd with red Lightning and impetuous rage,
Perhaps hath spent his shafts, and ceases now
To bellow through the vast and boundles Deep.
Let us not flipp th' occasion, whether scorn,
Or fatiate fury yield it from our Foe.
180  See'ft thou yon dreary Plain, forlorn and Wilde,
The fear of defolation, voyd of light,
Save what the glimmering of these livid flames
Calls pale and dreadful? Thither let us tend
From

STATE 2 (all other copies examined)

There are two slightly different 1674 states of this page, see line 171.

170 Ministers || ministers purruit || perpet \ 171 Gates || gates Heav'n || Heaven: There are two slightly different states of this word in 1674. In the first, corresponding to and with Thou, on page 3, line 17 (Book I), the apostrophe is down between the v and n whereas in the second state, corresponding to and with Thou in line 17, the apostrophe has been raised to its proper position. Second the || the Sulphurous || sulphurous Hail || haile 172 oreblown || oreblown laid || layd \ 173 The || This Precipice || precipice \ 174 Heav'n || heaven Thunder, || thunder \ 175 Wing'd || Wing Lightning || lightning rage, || rage \ 177 boundles || boundlesse Deep, || deep. \ 178 occasion || occasion: 179 yield || yeld Foe, || foe. \ 180 Plain, || plain, 183 dreadful || dreadful
Paradise Lost. Book I.

From off the toffing of these fiery waves,
185 There rest, if any rest can harbour there,
And reassembling our afflicted Powers,
Confult how we may henceforth most offend
Our Enemy, our own losf how repair,
How overcome this dire Calamity,
190 What reinforcement we may gain from Hope,
If not what resolution from despair.

Thus Satan talking to his neerest Mare
With Head up-lift above the wave, and Eyes
That sparkling blaz'd, his other Parts belides

Prone on the Flood, extended long and large
Lay floating many a rood, in bulk as huge
As whom the Fables name of monifrous fize,
Titanian, or Earth-born, that war'd on Jove,
Briareos or Typhon, whom the Den

By ancient Tarfsus held, or that Sea-beast
Leviathan, which God of all his works
Created bugeft that swim th' Ocean stream:
Him haply flumbring on the Norway foam,
The Pilot of some small night-founder'd Skiff,

Deeming some Ifland, oft, as Sea-men tell,
With fixed Anchor in his skaly rind
Moors by his fide under the Lee, while Night
Invelts the Sea, and withfl'd Morn delays:
So if'recht our huge in length the Arch-f fend lay

Chain'd on the burning Lake, nor ever thence
Had ris'n or heav'd his head, but that the will
And high permifion of all-ruling Heaven
Left him at large to his own dark designs,
That with reiterated crimes he might

Heap on himself' damnation, while he fought
Evil to others, and enrag'd might see
How all his malice ferv'd but to bring forth

Infinite

Running Head. Loft.] The round period again. 186 Powers,] powers, 187 we ] wee Another indeterminate case, because while the word is certainly stressed, with equal certainty the stress should not be heavy.

201 works ] works, 202 stream,] stream; 203 foam ] foame 204 founder'd ] founder'd Skiff,] skiff,
205 Ifland,] Ifland, Sea-men ] Seamen tell,] tell 206 skaly (no ligature for the s and k in either 1667 or 1674)] Scaly rind ] rinde 207 Moors ] Moors Night,] night 208 Sea,] sea, Morn ] morn delays,] delays. 209 So ] The 0 is very faint in a few of the copies examined. 210 Lake,] lake,
211 ris'n ] rifen 212 ruling ] ruleing Heaven ] heaven 214 he ] hee 215 himself ] himfelle he ] hee As in line 214, it seems as though the printer was right and the Manuscript wrong. 216 Evil ] Evill
This is another occurrence of the problem of making two states of the same page appear on facing pages. In order to do this with the two pages that follow, different states of the same recto page, this preceding recto is used for a sort of introduction to them; the first state is printed on the next page, a verso, and the second state appears as the recto it is, on a recto page of this facsimile edition.
Book I. Paradise Lost.

Infinite goodness, grace and mercy shewn
On Man by him seduc't, but on himself

220 Treble confusion, wrath and vengeance pour'd.
Forthwith upright he rears from off the Pool
His mighty Sature; on each hand the flames
Driv'n backward slope thir pointing spires, and rowld
In billows, leave i'th midft a horrid Vale.

225 Then with expanded wings; he flears his flight
Aloft, incumbent on the dusky Air
That felt unusual weight, till on dry Land
He lights, if it were Land that ever burn'd
With solid, as the Lake with liquid fire;

230 And such appear'd in hue, as when the force
Of subterranean wind transports a Hill
Torn from Pelorus, or the shatter'd side
Of thundering Etna, whose combustible
And fewel'd enthrals thence conceiving Fire,

235 Sublim'd with Mineral fury, aid the Winds,
And leave a fized bottom all involv'd
With fench and fmoak; Such refting found the sole
Of unbleft feet. Him followed his next Mate,
Both glorying to have scapt the Stygian flood

240 As Gods, and by thir own recover'd strength,
Not by the sufferance of supernal Power.
Is this the Region, this the Soil, the Clime,
Said then the loft Arch-Angel, this the fear
That we must change for Heav'n, this mornful gloom

245 For that celestial light? Be it so, since he
Who now is Sovran can difpole and bid
What shall be right: fardeft from him is best
Whom reaon hath equald, force hath made supream
Above his equals. Farewel happy Fields

250 Where Joy for ever dwells: Hail horrous, hail
Infernal world, and thou profoundeft Hell

Receive

STATE I (found in thirty-three of the copies examined)
There are two slightly different 1674 states of this page, see line 238.

218 goodness, | goodness, mercy | mercy, 219 Man | man himself | himself | 220 wrath | wrauth
221 Forthwith | forth with Pool | pool | 222 Sature | stature; 223 Driv'n | driv'n their | their
Unstressed, | pointing | pointing and | & | 224 ith' midft | ith' midft: Vale, | vale. 225 fiers | fiers
226 Air | air | 227 unusual | unusual weight | weight, | weight, Land | land | 228 Land | land | 229 fire | fire,
230 hue | hue; 231 Hill | hill | 233 Etna | Etna, 234 fewel'd | fewell'd enthrals | enthrals
The' was inserted in the Manuscript, see my volume 2:53. Fire, | fire | 235 Mineral | mineral | Winds, | winds,
237 fmoak | fmoak. 238 unbleft | unblest feet | feet | Him | him followed | followed
The Manuscript's elision is metrically correct. Mate, | Mate There was a change made in the comma here, in 1674. The first state
of this page shows a very worn or battered comma, whereas the second state shows a sharp one. 239 have | have
Book I. Paradice Lost.

Infinite goodnes, grace and mercy shewn
On Man by him seduc't, but on himself
Treble confusion, wrath and vengeance pour'd.
Forthwith upright he rears from off the Pool
His mighty Stature; on each hand the flames
Driv'n backward slope their pointed spires, and rowld
In billows, leave i'th midst a horrid Vale.

Then with expanded wings he tears his Flight
Aloft, incumbent on the dusky Air
That felt unusual weight, till on dry Land
He lights, if it were Land that ever burn'd
With solid, as the Lake with liquid fire;
And such appear'd in hue, as when the force
Of subterranean wind transports a Hill
Torn from Pelorus, or the shatter'd side
Of thundring Aima, whose combustible
And sweat'd enthrall thence conceiving Fire,
Sublim'd with Mineral fury, aid the Winds,
And leave a singed bottom all involv'd
With fench and smoak: Such resting found the sole
Of unblist feet. Him followed his next Mate,
Both glorying to have scap't the Stygian flood
As Gods, and by thir own recover'd strength,
Not by the sufferance of supernal Power.

Is this the Region, the Soil, the Clime,
Said then the loft Arch-Angel, this the feat
That we must change for Heav'n, this mournful gloom
For that celestial light? Be it so, since he
Who now is Sovran can dispose and bid
What shall be right: farthest from him is best
Whom reason hath equal'd, force hath made supream
Above his equals. Farewel happy Fields

Where Joy for ever dwells: Hail horrours, hail
Infernal world, and thou profoundest Hell
Receive

State 2 (found in eighteen of the copies examined)
There are two slightly different 1674 states of this page, see line 238.

240 Gods,]] Gods thir] their] thir] The word is unstressed. 241 supernal]] supernal Power.]] power. 242 Region,]] region, Soil,]] soile, Clime,]] clime, 243 Arch-Angel,]] Arch Angel,]] Archangell, 244 we]] wee The word must be stressed. mournful]] mournfull 245 light?] Italie question mark. he] bee] he. There appears to be little sense in Manuscript or 1674 readings, and certainly this word, with its three different treatements, is disconcerting to all attempts to be systematic with the Manuscript, the first edition, and the second. I cannot read or scan the line and continue into the next one without stressing he If line 245 is scanned alone, it can be done; but it is senseless. 240 Farewel]] farewell happy]] happie Fields]] fields 250 Joy]] joy Hail]] Haile horrours,]] Horrors,] hail]] Haile
10  Paradise Lost.  Book I.

Receive thy new Possessor: One who brings
A mind not to be chang'd by Place or Time.
The mind is its own place, and in it self
Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n.
What matter where, if I be still the same,
And what I should be, all but less then he
Whom Thunder hath made greater? Here at least
We shall be free; th' Almighty hath not built
Here for his envy, will not drive us hence:
Here we may reign secure, and in my choyce
To reign is worth ambition though in Hell:
Better to reign in Hell, then serve in Heav'n.
But wherefore let we then our faithful friends,
Th' associates and copartners of our loss
Lye thus altonight on th' oblivious Pool,
And call them not to share with us their part
In this unhappy Mansion, or once more
With rallied Arms to try what may be yet
Regain'd in Heav'n, or what more lost in Hell?

So Satan spake, and him Beelzebub
Thus answered, Leader of these Armies bright,
Which but th' Omnipotent none could have joyld.
If once they hear that voyce, thir liveliest pledge
Of hope in fears and dangers, heard so oft
In worst extremes, and on the perilous edge
Of battle when it rag'd, in all assaults
Thir surest signal, they will soon resume
New courage and revive, though now they lye
Groveling and prostrate on yon Lake of Fire,
As we erewhile, astound'd and amaz'd,
No wonder, fall'n such a pernicious hight.
He scarce had ceas'd when the superiour Fiend
Was moving toward the shoar; his ponderous shield

Ethereal temper, maffy, large and round,

State I (copies 5, 35, 54, and 57 only)

There are two slightly different 1674 states of this page, see lines 265 and 270.

252 Possessor: place: 253 Place: 254 its: 255 Time: time. 254 its 255 Rare occurrence of this form.
Telfe 257 less: lese he hee he Almost certainly stressed. 258 Thunder: thunder 259 Wee: Wee Should the word be heavily stressed? Almighty: Almighty 262 reign: The g is battered in all 1674 copies examined. Hell: hell: 264 we: wee Seems unstressed. faithful: faithfull friends: freinds,
Paradise Lost. Book I.

Receive thy new Possessor: One who brings
A mind not to be chang'd by Place or Time.
The mind is in its own place, and in it self

Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n.
What matter where, if I be fill'd the fame,
And what I should be, all but left then he
Whom Thunder hath made greater? Here at least:

We shall be free; 'th Almighty hath not built

Here for his envy, will not drive us hence:
Here we may reign secure, and in my choyce
To reign is worth ambition though in Hell:
Better to reign in Hell, then serve in Heav'n.
But wherefore let us then our faithful friends,

Th' associates and copartners of our losl
Lye thus altonight on th' oblivious Pool,
And call them not to share with us their part
In this unhappy Mansion, or once more
With rallied Arms to try what may be yet

Regain'd in Heav'n, or what more lost in Hell?

So Satan spake, and him Beelzebub
Thus answer'd, Leader of those Armies bright,
Which but th' Omnipotent none could have foyled,
If once they hear that voyce, thir liveliest pledge

Of hope in fears and dangers, heard so oft
In warf extremas, and on the perilous edge
Of battel when it rag'd, in all affauts
Thir purest signal, they will soon resume
New courage and revive, though now they lye

Groveling and prostrate on yon Lake of Fire,
As we erewhile, astound'd and amaz'd,
No wonder, fall'n such a pernicious highth.
He scarce had ceas'd when the superiour Fiend
Was moving toward the shore; his ponderous shield

Ethereal temper, mafly, large and round,

State 2 (all other copies examined)
There are two slightly different 1674 states of this page, sec lines 265 and 270.
Because both the facing prints immediately before this page were versos as bound, this page is used only in order to have the next page, a recto as bound, print herein as a recto.
Behind him call; the broad circumference
Hung on his shoulders like the Moon, whose Orb
Through Optic Glafs the Tuscan Artift views
At Evening from the top of Fefole,

Or in Valdarno, to defcry new Lands,
Rivers or Mountains in her fpotty Globe.
His Spear, to equal which the tallest Pine
Hewn on Norwegian hills, to be the Maft
Of some great Ammiral, were but a wand,

He walkt with to support uneafie steps
Over the burning Marle, not like those steps
On Heavens Azure, and the torrid Cline
Smote on him fore besides, vaulted with Fire;
Nathles he fo endur'd, till on the Beach

Of that inflamed Sea, he stood and call'd
His Legions, Angel Forms, who lay intransit
Thick as Autumnal Leaves that throw the Brooks
In Vailombrofa, where th' Etrurian shades
High overarch't imbower; or scattered fedge

Afloat, when with fierce Winds Orion arm'd
Hath vex'd the Red-Sea Coast, whose waves o'rehrow
Bifiris and his Memphian Chivalry,
While with perfidious hatred they purfu'd
The Sojourners of Gofhen, who beheld

From the fafe Shore thir floating Carkafes
And broken Chariot Wheels, fo thick befrown
Abjed and loft lay thefe, covering the Flood,
Under amazement of thir hideous change.
He call'd fo loud, that all the hollow Deep

Of Hell refounded. Princes, Potentates,
Warriors, the Flowr of Heavn, once yours, now loft,
If fuch athonishment as this can fieze
Eternal fpirits; or have ye chos'n this place
After the toyl of Battel to repofe

Your
12 Paradise Lost. Book I.

Your wearied vesture, for the ease you find
To slumber here, as in the Vales of Heavn?
Or in this abject posture have ye sworn
To adore the Conquerour? who now beholds
Cerube and Seraph rowling in the Flood

With scatter'd Arms and Ensigns, till anon
His swift pursuers from Heavn Gates discern
Th' advantage, and descending tread us down
Thus drooping, or with linked Thunderbolts
Transfix us to the bottom of this Gulfe.

Awake, arise, or be for ever fall'n.
They heard, and were abash'd, and up they sprung
Upon the wing, as when men wont to watch
On duty, sleeping found by whom they dread,
Rouse and beftir themselves ere well awake.

Nor did they not perceive the evil plight
In which they were, or the fierce pains not feel;
Yet to thir Generals Voyce they soon obeyd
Innumerable. As when the potent Rod
Of Amram's Son in Egypt's evil day

Wav'd round the Coast, up call'd a pitchy cloud
Of Locusts, warping on the Eastern Wind,
That o'er the Realm of impious Pharaoh hung
Like Night, and darken'd all the Land of Nile:
So numberles were those bad Angels seen

Hovering on wing under the Cope of Hell
'Twixt upper, nether, and surrounding Fires;
Till, as a signal giv'n, th' uplifted Spear
Of thir great Sultan waving to direct
Thir course, in even ballance down they light

On the firm brimstone, and fill all the Plain;
A multitude, like which the populous North
Pour'd never from her frozen loyins, to pafs
Rhene or the Danaw, when her barbarous Sons

Came

State I (found in thirty-three of the copies examined)
There are two slightly different 1674 states of this page, see lines 321 and 347.

Running Head. Book I. 'The occasional, unneeded period after the word. 321 Vales || vales Heavn?] In state I, seen in copy 5, etc., the apostrophe sits down between the letters. In state 2, or in other copies examined, the apostrophe has been raised to its proper position. 322 have || have ye || yee Unstressed? sworn || sworne
324 Flood || flood In 1674, the F is either very badly worn or wrong font. 325 Arms || arms
326 pursuers || pursuers Gates || gates 327 down || downe 328 Thunderbolts || thunderbolts
329 Gulfe || gulf 330 be || be Stressed. fall'n || fal'n. 331 heard || heard abash'd || abash'd,
332 Upon || Upon wing || wing. 334 beat || beat or 335 perceive || perceive evil || evil
337 thir || their || seems to be unstressed. Generals || Generals Voyce || voice. But first written 'voyce' then changed. obeyd || obai'd; The punctuation in the Manuscript may represent an unsuccessful attempt to put a
12 Paradise Lost. Book I.

320 Your wearied vertue, for the ease you find
To slumber here, as in the Vales of Heaven?
Or in this abject posture have ye sworn
To adore the Conqueror? who now beholds
Cerubins and Seraphs rowling in the Flood

325 With scatter'd Arms and Ensigns, till anon
His swift pursuers from Heaven Gates discern
Th' advantage, and descending tread us down
Thus drooping, or with linked Thunderbolts
Transfix us to the bottom of this Gulf.

330 Awake, arise, or be for ever fall'n.
They heard, and were abash'd, and up they sprung
Upon the wing, as when men wont to watch
On duty, sleeping found by whom they dread,
Rouse and beftir themselves ere well awake.

335 Nor did they nor perceave the evil plight
In which they were, or the fierce pains not feel;
Yet to thir Generals Voyce they soon obey'd
Innumerable. As when the potent Rod
Of Amram's Son in Egypt's evil day

340 Way'd round the Coaft, up call'd a pitchy cloud
Of Locusts, warping on the Eastern Wind,
That or the Realm of impious Pharaoh hung
Like Night, and darken'd all the Land of Nile:
So numberles were thos bad Angels seen

345 Hovering on wing under the Cope of Hell
'Twixt upper, nether, and surrounding Fires;
Till, as a signal giv'n, th' uplifted Spear
Of thir great Sultan waving to direc't
Thir course, in even ballance down they light

350 On the firm brimstone, and fill all the Plain;
A multitude, like which the populous North
Pour'd never from her frozen loyns, to pafs
Rhene or the Danaw, when her barbarous Sons

State 2 (found in eighteen of the copies examined)

There are two slightly different 1674 states of this page, see lines 321 and 347.

heavy stop at the end of this line, and then make the next line read 'Innumerable as when the potent Rod' but the two printed editions seem to have forced, or recorded, a better solution. 338 Rod || rod 339 Son || Son Egypt || Egypt 340 Coaft || coast 341 Wind || wind 342 Realm || realm 343 Night || night, darken'd || dark'n'd The Manuscript contains one too many apostrophes, as the line is metrically deficient if 'dark'n'd' is taken as one syllable. Nile || Nile 344 Angels || Angells 345 under || under 346 Twixt || Twixt 347 nether || nether Fires || fires 347 giv'n || given, th' uplifted In state 1, the apostrophe sits down between the letters. In state 2, it has been raised to its proper position. Spear || speare 348 their || thir Seems to be stressed. 349 Thir || Their Confused with the preceding line; this word can hardly be stressed. 350 Plain || plain 352 pafs || palse 353 Sons || sons
Because both the facing prints immediately before this page were versos as bound, this page is used only in order to have the next page, a recto as bound, print herein as a recto.
Book I. Paradise Lost.

Came like a Deluge on the South, and spread

Beneath Gibraltar to the Libyan lands.

Forthwith from every Squadron and each Band
The Heads and Leaders thither hail where flood
Thir great Commander; Godlike shapes and forms
Excelling human, Princely Dignities,

And Powers that earth in Heaven fat on Thrones;
Though of thir Names in heav'ly Records now
Be no memorial blotted out and ras'd
By thir Rebellion, from the Books of Life.

Noth had they yet among the Sons of Eve

Got them new Names, till wandering ore the Earth,
Through Gods high fuffrance for the tryal of man,
By fallacies and lies the greatest part
Of Mankind they corrupted to forfake
God thir Creator, and th' invisible

Glory of him that made them, to transform
Oft to the Image of a Brute, adorn'd
With gay Religions full of Pomp and Gold,
And Devils to adore for Deities:

Then were they known to men by various Names,

And various Idols through the Heathen World.
Say, Mufe, thir Names then known, who first, who last.
Rous'd from the flumber, on that fiery Couch,
At thir great Emperors call, as next in worth
Came lingly where he stood on the bare strand,

While the promiscuous cloud flood yet aloof?
The chief were those who from the Pit of Hell
Roaming to seek thir prey on earth, durst fix
Thir Seats long after next the Seat of God,
Thir Altars for his Altar, Gods ador'd

Among the Nations round, and durst abide
	(exkovah thundring out of Sion, thron'd
between the Cherubim; yea, often plac'd

Within

14 Paradise Lost. Book I.

Within his Sanctuary it self thir Shrines,  
Abominations; and with cursed things
His holy Rites, and solemn Feasts profan'd,  
And with thir darknesst durst affront his light.
First Moloch, horrid King bestray'd with blood  
Of human sacrifice, and parents tears,
Though for the noyse of Drums and Timbrels loud
Thir childrens cries unheard, that past through fire
To his grim Idol. Him the Ammonites  
Worship'd in Rabba and her wary Plain,
In Argo and in Basan, to the stream
Of utmost Arnon. Nor content with such
Audacious neighbourhood, the wisefelt heart
Of Solomon he led by fraud to build
His Temple right against the Temple of God
On that opprobrious Hill, and made his Grove
The pleafant Vally of Hinnom, Tophet thence
And black Gehenna call'd, the Type of Hell.
Next Chemos, th'o' obscene dread of Moab's Sons,
From Aroer to Nebo, and the wild
Of Southmold Abarim; in Hefehs
And Horonaim, Sons Realm, beyond
The flowry Dale of Sibma clad with Vines,
And Estale to th' Aspaltick Pool.
Peir his other Name, when he enticed
Israel In Sittim on thir march from Nile
To do him wanton rites, which colt them woe.
Yet thence his lustful Orgies he enlarg'd
Even to that Hill of Scandal, by the Grove
Of Molach homicide, lust hard by hate;
Till good Josiah drove them thence to Hell.
With thirse came they, who from the bordring flood
Of old Euphrates to the Brook that parts
Egypt from Syrian ground, had general Names

Book 1. Paradise Lost. 15

Of Baalim and Astarteh, those male,
Thefe Feminine. For Spirits when they please
Can either Sex assume, or both; so soft
And uncompounded is thir Essence pure,
Not ti’d or manacl’d with Joyn or limb,
Nor founded on the brittle strength of bones,
Like cumbrous flesh; but in what shape they choose
Dilated or condens’d, bright or obscure,
Can execute thir aerie purposes,
And works of love or enmity fulfill.
For thofe the Race of Israel oft forlook
Thir living strength, and unfrequented left
His righteous Altar, bowing lowly down
To beftial Gods; for which thir heads as low
Bow’d down in Battel, funk before the Spear
Of deplacable foes. With thiefe in troop
Came Astarteh, whom the Phoenicians call’d
Astarte, Queen of Heavn’, with crescent Horns;
To thofe bright Image nightly by the Moon
Sidonian Virgins paid thir Vows and Songs,
In Sion also not unfung, where flowed
Her Temple on th’ offensive Mountain, built
By thofe uxorious King, whose heart though large,
Beguil’d by fair Idolatrettes, fell
To Idols fould. Thammuz came next behind,
Whofe annual wound in Lebanon allur’d
The Syrian Damfels to lament his fate
In amorous dittyes all a Summers day,
While smooth Adonis from his native Rock
Ran purple to the Sea, suppos’d with blood
Of Thammuz yearly wounded: the Love-tale
Infected Sions daughters with like heat,
Whofe wanton passions in the sacred Porch
Ezekiel’s law, when by the Vision led

His
His eye survay'd the dark Idolatries
Of alienated Judah. Next came one
Who mourn'd in earnest, when the Captive Ark
Maim'd his brute Image, head and hands loft off
In his own Temple, on the grundfall edge,
Where he fell flat, and sham'd his Worshippers:
Dagon his Name, Sea Monster, upward Man
And downward Fish: yet had his Temple high
Rear'd in Azotus, dreaded through the Coast
Of Palestine, in Gaash and Ascalon
And Accaron and Gaza's frontier bounds.
Him follow'd Rimmon, whose delightful Seat
Was fair Damascus, on the fertile Banks
Of Abbana and Pharpar, lucid streams.

He also against the house of God was bold:
A Leper once he lost and gain'd a King,
Abaz, his foolish Conquerour, whom he drew
Gods Altar to disparage and displace
For one of Syrian mode, whereon to burn
His odious offerings, and adore the Gods
Whom he had vanquish't. After these appear'd
A crew who under Names of old Renown,
Osiris, Isis, Osiris, and their Train
With monstrous shapes and forgeries abus'd
Fanatic Egypt and her Priests, to seek
Thir wandring Gods disguis'd in brutish forms
Rather then human. Nor did Israel escape
Th' infection when thir borrow'd Gold compos'd
The Calf in Oreb: and the Rebel King
Doubl'd that sin in Bethel and in Dan,
Lik'ning his Maker to the Grazed Ox,
Jehovah, who in one Night when he pass'd
From Egypt marching, equal'd with one stroke.
Both her first born and all her bleating Gods.

State 1 (found in thirty-eight of the copies examined)
There are two 1674 states of this page, see line 478.
His eye survey'd the dark Idolatries
Of alienated Judah. Next came one
Who mourn'd in earnest, when the Captive Ark
Maim'd his brue Image, head and hands lopt off
In his own Temple, on the grumtel edge,
Where he fell flat, and sham'd his Worshipers:
Dagon his Name, Sea Monster, upward Man
And downward Filh: yet had his Temple high
Rear'd in Azetos, dreaded through the Coast
Of Palestine, in Gath and Ascalon
And Accaron and Gaza's frontier bounds.
Him follow'd Rimmon, whose delightful Seat
Was fair Damascus, on the fertile Banks
Of Abbania and Pharpar, lucid streams.
He also against the house of God was bold:
A Leper once he lost and gain'd a King,
Ahaz, his frightful Conquerour, whom he drew
Gods Altar to disparage and displace
For one of Syrian mode, whereon to burn
His odious offerings, and adore the Gods
Whom he had vanquish'd. After these appear'd
A crew who under Names of old Renown,
Osiris, Isis, Orus and thir Train
With monstrous shapes and forceries abus'd
Fanatic Egypt and her Priests, to seek
Thir wandering Gods disguis'd in brutish forms
Rather then human. Nor did Israel escape
Th' infection when thir borrow'd Gold compos'd
The Calf in Oreb: and the Rebel King
Doub'ld that sin in Bethel and in Dan,
Lik'ning his Maker to the Grazed Ox,
Jehovah, who in one Night when he pass'd
From Egypt marching, equal'd with one stroke
Both her first born and all her bleating Gods.

Belial.

State 2 (found in thirteen of the copies examined)
There are two 1674 states of this page, see line 478.

Names || names Renown, || renown, 478 their \thir \ their || The first state of 1674 reads their which was changed on this recto of the sheet as bound at a later time than the change in the same word on page 4. The word is unstressed, and both 1667 and Manuscript are wrong. Train || train 480 Egypt || Egypt Priests || preists, 483 thir \ their \ thir \ Unstressed. Gold || gold 484 Calf || Calf \ Rebel || rebell 486 Lik'ning || Likning Grazed || grazed Ox, || ox, 487 Jehovah, || Jehovah Night || night pale'd || pale 488 Egypt || Egypt equal'd || equall'd
Book I. Paradise Lost.

Belial came last, then whom a Spirit more lewd
Fell not from Heaven, or more Gros to love
Vice for it self: To him no Temple stood
Or Altar smook'd: yet who more oft then hee
In Temples and at Altars, when the Priest

Turns Atheist, as did Ely's Sons, who fill'd
With luft and violence the house of God.
In Courts and Palaces he also Reigns
And in luxurious Cities, where the noyse
Of riot ascends above their loftiest Towers,
And injury and outrage: And when Night
Darkens the Streets, then wander forth the Sons
Of Belial, flown with insolence and wine.
Witness the Streets of Sodom, and that night
In Gibeah, when the hospitable door

Expos'd a Matron to avoid worse rape.
These were the prime in order and in might;
The rest were long to tell, though far renown'd,
Th' Ionian Gods, of Javans Issue held
Gods, yet confess later then Heav'n and Earth

Thir boasted Parents; Titan Heav'n's first born
With his enormous brood, and birthright feis'd
By younger Saturn, he from mighty Jove
His own and Rhea's Son like meafure found;
So Jove usurping reign'd: these first in Creet

And Ida known, thence on the Snowy top
Of cold Olympus' the middle Air
Thir highest Heav'n: or on the Delphian Cliff,
Or in Dodona, and through all the bounds
Of Doric Land: or who with Saturn old

Fled over Adria to th' Hesperian Fields,
And ore the Celtic roam'd the utmost Isles.
All these and more came flocking: but with looks
Down cast and damp, yet fuch wherein appear'd

C

Obstreperous

State 1 (copies 12, 17, 40, 44, 49, 56, and 58)
There are two 1674 states of this page, see line 499.

490 Spirit || spirit 491 Heaven, || heaven, gros || gross 492 self: || selfe: To || to Temple || temple
493 Altar || altar smook'd: || smook'd: 494 Temples || Temples Priest: || Priest 495 Ely's || Ely's
Sons, || sons, 497 Reigns || reigns 498 Cities, || cities, noyse || noise 499 above || above
their || their 499. The first state, found in copies 12, 17, 40, 44, 49, 56, and 58, reads their and the second, found in all other 1674 copies examined, reads thir the change being made for the same reason that the change was made in the same word on page 4, line 71. State 2 of 1674 was a change from a typographical error, seemingly, as neither 1667 nor Manuscript had erred here. The word is unstressed. Towns, || towers, 500 And || and Night || night
Book I. Paradise Lost. 17

490 Belial came last, then whom a Spirit more Lewd
fell not from Heaven, or more grofs to love
Vice for it self: To him no Temple stood
Or Altar bmaok'd: yet who more oft then hee
In Temples and at Altars, when the Priest
Turns Atheist, as did Ely's Sons, who fill'd
With luft and violence the houfe of God.
In Courts and Palaces he also Reigns
And in luxurious Cities, where the noyse
Of riot ascends above thir loftiext Towers,
And injury and outrage: And when Night
Darkens the Streets, then wander forth the Sons
Of Belial, flown with infolence and wine.
Witness the Streets of Sodom, and that night
In Gibeah, when the hospitable door

505 Expos'd a Matron to avoid worse rape.
There were the prime in order and in might;
The reft were long to tell, though far renown'd,
Th' Ionian Gods, of Javans Illufe held
Gods, yet confent later then Heav'n and Earth

510 Thir boasted Parents; Titan Heav'n's first born
With his enormous brood, and birthright feis'd
By younger Saturn, he from mightier Jove
His owne and Rhea's Son like meafure found;
So Jove usurping reign'd: these first in Crees
And Ida known, thence on the Snowy top
Of cold Olympus rul'd the middle Air
Thir highest Heav'n; or on the Delphian Cliff,
Or in Dodona, and through all the bounds
Of Doric Land; or who with Saturn old

520 Fleed over Adria to th'Hesperian Fields,
And o're the Celtic roam'd the utmost Isles.
All thirse and more came flocking; but with looks
Downcast and damp, yet such wherein appear'd

C Obscure

State 2 (all other copies examined)
There are two 1674 states of this page, see line 499.

501 Streets, || streets Sons || tons || Wifiefs || Witnifie Streets || streets 504 door || Doros || doors But the text has been changed here, see the following cut from 1667, Book 1:504-506, and 1674 agrees with Judges 19.

| In Gibeah, when hospitable Doros |
| Yielded thir Matrons to prevent worse rape. |
| These were the prime in order and in might: |

507 renown'd, || renown'd 508 llse || llse 509 Heav'n || heav'n Earth || earth 510 Parents; || parents; Heav'n's || heav'n's 512 he || hee The word seems to need a heavy stress. 513 Rhea's || Rhea's Son || tonne 514 reign'd; || reign'd; 515 Snowy || snowy 516 Air || air 517 Heav'n; || heav'n; Cliff; || cliff 519 Land; || land; 520 Fleed || fled Fields; || fields, 521 Iles. || Iles.
18 Paradise Lost. Book I.

Obscure some glimps of joy, to have found their chief
Not in despair, to have found themselves not lost
In losit self; which on his count'nance cast
Like doubtful hue: but he his wonted pride
Soon recollecting, with high words, that bore
Semblance of worth, not sub stance, gently rais'd

Thir fanting courage, and dispel'd thir fears.
Then they came to their comrade, and fear'd
To make them sure, with thousands bold:
Of Trumpets loud and Clarions be upread
His mighty Standard; that proud honour claim'd
Acheron as his right, a Cherub tall:

Who forthwith from the glittering Staff unfur'd
Th' Imperial Ensign, which full high advance'd
Shone like a Meteor streaming to the Wind
With Gems and Golden luftre rich imblaz'd,
Seraphic arms and Trophies: all the while
Sonorous metal blowing Martial sounds:
At which the universal Host upsent
A shout that tore Hells Concave, and beyond
Frighted the Reign of Chaos and old Night.
All in a moment through the gloom were seen

Ten thousand Banners rise into the Air
With Orient Colours waving: with them rose
A Forreft huge of Spears: and throning Helms
Appear'd, and ferried Shields in thick array
Of depth immeasurable: Anon they move
In perfect Phalanx to the Dorian mood
Of Flutes and soft Recorders: such as rais'd
To height of noblest temper Hero's old
Arming to Battel, and in stead of rage
Deliberate valour breath'd, firm and unmov'd

With dread of death and flight or foul retreat,
Nor waning power to mitigate and swage
With solemn touches, troub'd thoughts, and chase
Anguish

524 some| fom| some glimps| glimpse have| have chief| chief 525 despair| despair, have| have themselves| them selves 526 self| self; 527 doubtful| doubtful hue; hue: he || So spelled in Manuscript, 1667, and 1674, though it seems to be as heavily stressed as any pronoun in the entire poem, and 'he' should certainly have been written and printed. It is an excellent case for reference in several instances in which all three texts are wrong for no apparent reason. 529 worth, worth || 530 Thir Their || Unstressed. 530 Thr| Their|| Unstressed. 530 Thr| Their|| Unstressed. 530 Thr| Their|| Unstressed.

courage, courage dispel'd|| dispel'd thir|| their|| thir fears, fears. 532 Trumpets|| trumpets

Clarions, clarions upread|| upread 533 Standard;|| Standard; 534 Cherub|| Cherub 535 Staff || staff unfur'd|| unfur'd 536 Imperial|| imperial Ensign,|| ensign, 537 Wind|| wind 538 Gems| gems and| and|| Golden|| Golden imblaz'd,|| imblaz'd, 539 Trophies:|| trophies: 540 mettal|| mettle

Martial|| Martial founds:|| founds:|| founds. 541 universal|| universal Hoft|| hoft 542 Hells|| hells

Concave,|| concave, 543 Reign| reign 545 Banners|| Banners Air| air 546 Orient|| orient

Colours,|| colours waving:|| waving: 547 Forrest|| Forrest Spears:|| Speares: 548 Shields|| Shields:|| helms

548 Shields|| Shields|| helms 549 Anon|| Anon 550 perfect|| perfect 551 Flutes| Flutes|| Flutes|| Flutes|| Flutes

552 hight,|| hight, 553 Battel,|| battell, 554 unmov'd|| unmov'd 555 retreat,
Book I. Paradise Lost. 19

Anguished doubts and fear and sorrow and pain
From mortal or immortal minds. Thus they

Breathing united force with fixed thought
Moved on in silence to see Pipes that charm'd
Thir painful steps o're the burnt foyle; and now
Advance in view, they stand, a horrid front
Of dreadful length and dazzling Arms, in guise

Of Warriors old with order'd Spear and Shield,
Awaiting what command thir mighty Chief
Had to impose: He through the armed Files
Darts his experience's eye, and soon traverse
The whole Battalion views, thir order due,

Thir vifages and stature as of Gods,
Thir number laft he sunns. And now his heart
Diffends with pride, and hardening in his strength
Glories: For never since created man,
Met such imbodied force, as nam'd with these

Could merit more then that small infantry
Warr'd on by Cranes; though all the Giant brood
Of Phlegre with th' Heroic Race were joy'd
That fought at Theb's and Ilium, on each side
Mint with auxiliar Gods; and what refounds

In Fable or Romance of Others Son
Begirt with Britifh and Armorick Knights;
And all who fince, Baptiz'd or Infidel
Joufted in Aspraymont or Montalban,
Damasco, or Marocco, or Trifcond,

Or whom Biferta fent from Afric shore
When Charlemain with all his Peerage fell
By Fontarabbia. Thus far these beyond
Compare of mortal prowfs, yet obferv'd
Thir dread commander: he above the rest

In fhape and gesture proudly eminent
Stood like a Tower; his form had yet not loft

C 2 All
Paradise Lost. Book I.

All her Original brightnes, nor appear’d
Lest then Arch Angel ruin’d, and th’ excess
Of Glory obfcur’d: As when the Sun new ris’n
Looks through the Horizontal milky Air
Shorn of his Beams, or from behind the Moon
In dim Eclips difaftrous twilight thedes
On half the Nations, and with fear of change
Perplexes Monarchs. Dark’n’d so, yet thon

Above them all th’ Arch Angel: but his face
Deep scars of Thunder had intrench’d, and care
Sat on his faded cheek, but under Browes
Of dauntles courage, and confiderate Pride
Waiting revenge: cruel his eye, but calm

Signs of remorse and passion to behold
The fellows of his crime, the followers rather
(Far other once beheld in blifs) condemn’d
For ever now to have thir lot in pain,

Millions of Spirits for his fault amerc’t
Of Heav’n, and from Eternal Splendors flung
For his revolt, yet faithfull how they stood,
Thir Glory WITHERD. As when Heavens Fire
Hath fcat’th’d the Foret’l Oaks, or Mountain Pines,
With finged top thir ftately growth though bare

Stands on the blaffe’d Heath. He now prepar’d
To speak; wherein thir doubl’d Ranks they bend
From wing to wing, and half enclose him round
With all thir Peers: attention held them mute.
Thrice he affay’d, and thrice in fpight of fcor’n,

Tears such as Angels weep, burst forth: at laft
Words interwove with lighs found out thir way.
O Myriads of immortal Spirits, O Powers
Matchles, but with th’ Almighty, and that ftrife
Was not inglorious, though th’ event was dire,

As this place teftifies, and this dire change

Hateful
This is another occurrence of the problem of making two states of the same page appear on facing pages. In order to do this with the two pages that follow, different states of the same recto page, this preceding recto is used for a sort of introduction to them; the first state is printed on the next page, a verso, and the second state appears as the recto it is, on a recto page of this facsimile edition.
Book I. Paradise Lost.

Hateful to utter: but what power of mind
Foreseeing or prefaging, from the Depth
Of knowledge past or present, could have fear'd,
How such united force of Gods, how such

As flood like these, could ever know repulse?
For who can yet believe, though after los't,
That all these puissant Legions, whose exile
Hath emptied Heavn', shall fail to re-ascend
Self-rais'd, and reposest thir native fear?

For mee be witnes all the Hoft of Heavn',
If counsels different, or danger shun'd
By me, have lost our hopes. But he who reigns
Monarch in Heavn', till then as one secure
Sat on his Throne, upheld by old repite,
Confem or cutforme, and his Regal State
Put forth at full, but still his strength conceal'd,
Which tempted our attempt, and wrought our fall.
Henceforth his might we know, and know our own
So as not either to provoke, or dread

New warr, provok't; our better part remains
To work in close design, by fraud or guile
What force effect'd not: that he no les
At length from us may find, who overcomes
By force, hath overcome but half his foe.

Space may produce new Worlds; whereof so rise
There went a fame in Heavn'that heere long
Intended to create, and therein plant
A generation, whom his choice regard
Should favour equal to the Sons of Heaven:

Thither, if but to pry, shall be perhaps
Our first eruption, thither or elsewhere:
For this Infernal Pit shall never hold
Celestial Spirits in Bondage, nor th' Abyfs
Long under darkness cover. But these thoughts

C 3

State 1 (copies 12, 17, 40, 44, 49, 56, and 58)
There are two 1674 states of this page, see lines 637 and 638.

626 Hateful]] Hatefull | power]] powre | 628 have]] have | fear'd]] fear'd | 629 united]] united
630 thefe]][[ thefe | 631 beleive],[[ beleive | los',]] los' | 632 Legions,][[ legions, | 633 Hath] Did Milton dictate
'Hal?' | Heavn',]] heavn', | fall]] fall | re-ascend]] reascend | 634 Self]] Self | reposse]] reposse
thir]] thir | Unstressed. | fear]] feat. | feate. | The punctuation in the Manuscript is indeterminable because the paper is torn away, but the correct reading here is the question mark. 635 mee] me,]] Stressed.

witnes]] witnese | Hoft]] hoft | Heavn',]] heavn', | 636 counse]] counse]] counells | shun'd]] shun'd
637 me,] mee,] me,]] Heavily stressed, and changed in many 1674 copies, resulting in two states, the first state agreeing with 1667 and Manuscript, and the second changed to the stressed form. have]] have | he | Another case
Book I. Paradise Lost.

Hateful to utter: but what power of mind
Foreseeing or prefaging, from the Depth
Of knowledge past or present, could have fear'd,
How such united force of Gods, how such

630 As flood like these, could ever know repulse?
For who can yet believe, though after los's,
That all these puissant Legions, whose exile
Hath emptied Heav'n, shall fail to re-ascend
Self-raied, and repos'ls thir native seat?

635 For mee be witnes all the Hoit of Heav'n,
If counfels different, or danger fhun'd
By mee, have loft our hopes. But he who reigns
Monarch in Heav'n, till then as one secure
Sat on his Throne, upheld by old repute

640 Content or cuftome, and his Regal State
Put forth at full, but still his strength conceal'd,
Which tempted our attempt, and wrought our fall.
Henceforth his might we know, and know our own
So as not either to provoke, or dread

645 New warr, provok't; our better part remains
To work in close defign, by fraud or guile
What force effected not: that he no lefs
At length from us may find, who overcomes
By force, hath overcome but half his foe.

650 Space may produce new VWorlds; whereof so rife
There went a fame in Heav'n that here long
Intended to create, and therein plant
A generation, whom his choice regard
Should favour equal to the Sons of Heaven:

655 Thither, if but to cry, shall be perhaps
Our firft eruption, thither or elsewhere:
For this Infernal Pit shall never hold
Celestial Spirits in Bondage, nor th' Abyfs
Long under darknes cover. But these thoughts

C 3  Full
22  Paradise Lost.  Book I.

660  Full Counsel must mature: Peace is despaired,
For who can think Submission? Warr then, Warr
Open or underfoot must be resolv'd.
He spake: and to confirm his words, out-flew
Millions of flaming swords, drawn from the thighs
665  Of mighty Cherubim; the sudden blaze
Far round illumined hell: highly they rag'd
Against the Heigheft, and fierce with grasped Arms
Clash'd on th' frounding Shields the din of war,
Hurling defiance toward the Vault of Heav'n.
670  There stood a Hill not farwhofe griezly top
Belch'd fire and rowling smoak; the ref't entire
Shone with a gloffe fcurfl, undoubted fign
That in his womb was hid metallic Ore,
The work of Sulphur. Thither wing'd with speed
675  A numerous Brigad halten'd. As when Bands
Of Pioners with Spade and Pickax arm'd
Forcerun the Royal Camp, to trench a Field,
Or call a Rampart. Mammon led them on,
Mammon, the leaff erect'd Spirit that fell
680  From heav'n, for ev'n in heav'n his looks and thoughts
Were always downward bent, admiring more
The riches of Heav'n's pavement, ród'h Gold,
Then taught divine or holy elfe enjoy'd
In vision beatific: by him firit
685  Men alfo, and by his fuggiftion taught,
Ranflack'd the Center, and with impious bands
Riff'd the bowels of th'ir mother Earth
For Treasures better hid. Soon had his crew
Op'nd into the Hill afpacious wound
690  And dig'd out ribs of Gold. Let none admire
That riches grow in Hell; that foyle may belt
Deferve the precious bane. And here let thofe
VWho boutl in mortal things, and wond'ring tell

Of

660  Full  Counfel  peace  defpair'd.  Submiſſion? judg'd  Warr  Open  to  underfootarf  resolv'd.
661  Submiſſion?  Warr  Open  underfoot.  Warr  Open  underfoot.  Open.  or  underfoot  must  be  resolv'd.
663  spake:  out-flew.  666  Far  Fagg  667  Arms  arms.  668  their  Un-
669  stressed.  Shields  war.  669  Vault  vault.  Heav'n.  hill  Hill.  hill  Heav'n.  hill  Heav'n.  hill
670  fcurfl.  672  fcurf.  673  farwhofe.  farwhofe.  farwhofe.  farwhofe.
675  Brigad  halten'd.  677  Royal  royall.  678  Rampart.  rampart.  679  Spirit.  spirit  680  ev'n  even  and
681  always  always  682  Gold.  684  Gold.  gold.  674  follows  state  2  of  1667  not  state  1  or  Manuscript.
685  taught.  686  Center.  687  bowels.  688  Treasures.  Treasures
689  Op'n'd  Hill.  hill  690  Gold.  Hill.  691  Hill.  692  precious  693  mortal  693  mortal  wond'ring  wond'ring.
Book 1. Paradise Lost.

Of Babel, and the works of Memphian Kings

695 Learn how thir greatesf Monuments of Fame,
And Strength and Art are easily out-done
By Spirits reprobate, and in an hour
What in an age they with inceffant toyle
And hands innumerable scarce perform

700 Nigh on the Plain in many cells prepar'd,
That underneath had veins of liquid fire
Sle'd from the Lake, a second multitude
VWith wond'rous Art found out the maffie Ore,
Severing each kind, and scum'd the Bullion dros:

705 A third as soon had form'd within the ground
A various mould, and from the boyling cells
By strange conveyance fill'd each hollow nook,
As in an Organ from one blast of wind
To many a row of Pipes the found-board breaths.

710 Anon out of the earth a Fabrick huge
Roof'd like an Exhalation, with the found
Of Dulcet Symphonies and voices sweet,
Built like a Temple, where Pilasters round
VVeere set, and Doric pillars overlaid

715 VVith Golden Architrave; nor did there want
Cornice or Freeze, with boffy Sculptures grav'n,
The Roof was fretted Gold. Not Babylon,
Nor great Alcaire such magnificence
Equal'd in all thir glories, to infringe

720 Belus or Serapis thir Gods, or feat
Thir Kings, when Egypt with Assyria strove
In wealth and luxurie. Th'ascending pile
Stood fixt her stately bighth, and strait the dores
Op'ning thir brazen foulds discover wide

725 VVithin, her ample spaces, o're the smooth
And level pavement: from the arched roof
Pendant by sultle Magic many a row

C 4

Of

Of Starry Lamps and blazing Creffets fed
VWith Naphtha and Asphaltus yeilded light

As from a sky. The hasty multitude
Admiring enter'd, and the work some praise
And some the Architect: his hand was known
In Heav'n by many a Towred Structure high,
VWhere Scepter'd Angels held this residence,
And fat as Princes, whom the supreme King
Exalted to such power, and gave to rule,
Each in his Hierarchie, the Orders bright.
Nor was his name unheard or unador'd
In ancient Greece; and in Awsonian land

Men call'd him Muleiber; and how he fell
From Heav'n, they fabled, thrown by angry Love
Sheer o're the Chrystal Battlements; from Morn
To Noon he fell, from Noon to dewy Eve,
A Summers day; and with the setting Sun

Dropt from the Zenith like a falling Star,
On Lemnos th'Agaan Ile: thus they relate,
Erring; for he with this rebellious rout
Fell long before: nor aught avail'd him now
To have built in Heav'n high Tows; nor did he escape

By all his Engins, but was headlong sent
VWith his industruous crew to build in hell.
Mean while the winged Haralds by command
Of Sovran power, with awful Ceremony
And Trumpets found throughout the Hoft proclaim

A solemn Council forthwith to be held
At Pandemonium, the high Capital
Of Satan and his Peers: this summons call'd
From every Band and squared Regiment
By place or choice the worthiest; they anon

VWith hundreds and with thousands trooping came
Attended: all access was throng'd, the Gates

And

728 Lamps] lamps blazing] blazing Creffets] creffets 729 yeilded] yielded 730 enter'd] enterd,
733 Heav'n] heav'n Towred] towred high] high 734 Scepter'd] sceptor'd 735 Princess] princes,
741 Heav'n] heav'n, 742 Sheer] Sheere Chrystal] chrystal Battlements] Battlements; battlements

Heavily stressed. 749 have] have Heav'n] heav'n Tows;] Tows; 750 Engins] engins,
754 Trumpets] trumpets throughout] through out Hoft] hoft proclaim] proclaim

755 Council] counsel forthwith] forth with 756 Capital] Capitol Miss Darbishire points out that the Manuscript first had 'Capitoll' then this was changed to 'Capital' and that the word should read with an 'o' in the last syllable. Paradise Regained, Book 4:17 ft. and History of Britains (Columbus) volume 10:624 are both pertinent here.
Book I. Paradis**********************************************************************************************************************************************

Paradise Lost. 25

And Porches wide, but chief the spacious Hall
(Though like a cover'd field, where Champions bold
Wont ride in arm'd, and at the Soldans chair

765 Def'd the best of Panim chivalry
To mortal combat or carree with Lance)
Thick swarm'd, both on the ground and in the air,
Brutish with the hifs of rustling wings. As Bees
In spring time, when the Sun with Taurus rides,

770 Pour forth their populous youth about the Hive
In clusters: they among fresh dews and flowers
Flic to and fro, or on the smoothed Plank,
The suburb of this Straw-built Cittadel,
New rub'd with Baum, expatiate and confer

775 Thir State affairs. So thick the aerie crowd
Swarm'd and were ftrain'd; till the Signal giv'n,
Behold a wonder! they but now who feem'd
In bignefs to surpass Earths Giant Sons
Now lefs then smallest Dwarfs, in narrow room

780 Throng numberless, like that Pigmean Race
Beyond the Indian Mount, or Faerie Elves,
Whose midnight Revels, by a Forrest side
Or Fountain some belated Peafant fees,
Or dreams he fees, while over-head the Moon

785 Sits Arbitrefs, and neerer to the Earth
Wheels her pale courfe, they on thir mirth and dance
Intent, with jocond Mufic charm his ear;
At once with joy and fear his heart rebounds.
Thus incorporeal Spirits to smallest forms

790 Reduce'd thir shapes immene, and were at large,
Though without number still amidit the Hall
Of that infernal Court. But far within
And in thir own dimensions like themselves
The great Seraphic Lords and Cherubim

In

775 State] state 776 Signal] Signall giv'n] giv'n] The 1674 punctuation looks like a period, but it may be
a foul case smashed comma, although it is not clear in any copy examined, and 1678 printed a period.
The comma seems to be needed here. Peafant] peafant 784 he] hee Unstress'd over-head] over head]
far] farr within] with in 793 themelves] them elves
26 Paradise Lost. Book I.

795 In close reces and secret conclave sat
A thousand Demy-Gods on golden feat's,
Frequent and full. After short silence then
And summons read, the great consult began.

The End of the First Book.

Paradise
Paradise Lost.

BOOK II.

THE ARGUMENT.

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

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

Powers and Dominions, Deities of Heav'n,
For since no deep within her gulf can hold
Immortal vigor, though oppress and fall'n,
I give not Heav'n for loft. From this descent
Celestial virtues rising, will appear
More glorious and more dread then from no fall,
And trust themselves to fear no second fate:
Mee though just right, and the fixt Laws of Heav'n
Did first create your Leader, next free choice,
With what besides, in Counfel or in Fight,
Hath bin achievd of merit, yet this loss
Thus far at least recover'd, hath much more
Establishd in a safe unenvied Throne
Yielded with full consent. The happier State
In Heav'n, which follows dignity, might draw
Envy from each inferior; but who here
Will envy whom the highest place exposes
Formost to stand against the Thunderers aim
Your bulwark, and condemns to greatest share
Of endless pain? where there is then no good
For which to strive, no strive can grow up there
From Faction; for none sure will claim in Hell

Prece-
Precedence, none, whose portion is so small
Of present pain, that with ambitious mind
Will covet more. With this advantage then
To union, and firm Faith, and firm accord,
More then can be in Heav’n, we now return
To claim our just inheritance of old,
Sure to prosper then prosperity
Could have assur’d us; and by what best way,
Whether of open Warr or covert guile,
We now debate; who can advise, may speak.
He ceas’d, and next him Molae, Scepter’d King
Stood up, the strongest and the fiercest Spirit
That fought in Heav’n; now fiercer by despair:
His trust was with th’ Eternal to be deem’d
Equal in strength, and rather then be left
Car’d not to be at all; with that care loft
Went all his fear: of God, or Hell, or worse
He reck’d not, and these words thereafter spake.
My sentence is for open Warr: Of Wiles,
More unexpert, I boast not: them let those
Contrive who need, or when they need, not now
For while they fit contriving, shall the rest
Millions that stand in Arms, and longing wait
The Signal to ascend, striving here
Heav’n’s fugitives, and for their dwelling place
Accept this dark opprobrious Den of flame,
The Prison of his Tyranny who Reigns
By our delay? no, let us rather choose
Arm’d with Hell flames and fury all at once
Ore Heav’n’s high Towers to force retitles way,
Turning our Tortures into horrid Arms
Against the Torturer; when to meet the noise
Of his Almighty Engin he shall hear
Infernal Thunder, and for Lightning see

Black

34 ambitious | The first i is broken at the bottom in all copies examined. 41 Whether | The W is wrong font. Warr | The W is wrong font. 42 We | The W is wrong font. 50 reck’d | recked 51 Warr: | The W is wrong font. Wiles, | The W is wrong font. 53 now | now. As is frequently the case at the ends of these long lines, the w is battered and in no 1674 copy examined can any trace of punctuation be seen. The period (1678) and fourth (1688) editions print a colon here. The period of 1667 seems best. 58 opprobrious | The final s is faint in all copies examined. 65 he | Stressed. 66 Infernal | First n is faint in all copies examined.
30 Paradise Lost. Book II.

Black fire and horror shot with equal rage
Among his Angels; and his Throne it self
Mixt with Tartarean Sulphur, and strange fire,
His own invented Torments. But perhaps
The way seems difficult and steep to scale
With upright wing against a higher foe.
Let such bethink them, if the sleepy drench
Of that forgetful Lake benumm not still,
That in our proper motion we ascend
Up to our native seat: descent and fall
To us is adverse. Who but felt of late
When the fierce Foe hung on our brok'n Rear
Insulting, and pursu'd us through the Deep,
With what compulsion and laborious flight
We funk thus low? Th' ascent is easie then;
Th' event is fear'd; should we again provoke
Our stronger, some worse way his wrath may find
To our destruction: if there be in Hell
Fear to be worse destroy'd: what can be worse
Then to dwell here, driv'n out from bliss, condemn'd
In this abhorred deep to utter woe;
Where pain of unextinguishable fire
Muft exercife us without hope of end
The Vassals of his anger, when the Scourge
Inexorably, and the torturing hour
Calls us to Penance? More destroy'd then thus
We should be quite abolisht and expire.
What fear we then? what doubt we to incense
His utmost ire? which to the height enrag'd,
Will either quite consume us, and reduce
To nothing this essential, happier farr
Then miserable to have eternal being:
Or if our subsance be indeed Divine,
And cannot cease to be, we are at worst

69 fire,) The comma is smeared in some 1674 copies examined. 72 With] The W is wrong font. 74 benumm| benumme 77 Who] The W is wrong font. 78 When] The W is wrong font. 80 With] The W is wrong font. compulsion| The f is broken. 81 We] The W is wrong font. 88 Where] The W is wrong font. 91 hour| houre 93 We] The W is wrong font. 94 What] The W is wrong font. 96 Will] The W is wrong font. 98 being:] The 1674 edition tends to print a great many italic colons. The cause of this may have been foul case.
Book II. **Paradise Lost.**

On this side nothing; and by proof we feel
Our power sufficient to disturb his Heav'n,
And with perpetual inroads to Allarme,
Though inaccessible, his fatal Throne:

Which if not Victory is yet Revenge.

He ended frowning, and his look denounced
Desperate revenge, and Battle dangerous
To lest then Gods. On th' other side up rose
**Belial,** in act more graceful and humane;

A fairer person lost not Heav'n; he seem'd
For dignity compos'd and high exploit:
But all was false and hollow; though his Tongue
Dropt Manna, and could make the worse appear
The better reason, to perplex and dash

Matuteft Counsels: for his thoughts were low;
To vice industrious, but to Nobler deeds
Timorous and slothful: yet he pleas'd the ear,
And with persuasive accent thus began.

I should be much for open VVarr; O Peers,
As not behind in hate; if what was urg'd
Main reason to persuade immediate VVarr,
Did not dissuade me most, and seem to cast
Ominous conjecture on the whole success:
When he who most excels in fact of Arms,

In what he counsels and in what excels
Mistrustful, grounds his courage on despair
And utter dissolution, as the scope
Of all his aim, after some dire revenge.
First, what Revenge? the Towers of Heav'n are fill'd

With Armed watch, that render all access
Impregnable; oft on the bordering Deep
Encamp thir Legions, or with obscure wing
Scout farr and wide into the Realm of night,
Scorning surprize. Or could we break our way

By

---

No capital 'W's' appear on this page and none is used again until page 37, the printer using VV's.

By force, and at our heels all Hell should rise
With blackest Infurrection, to confound
Heav'n's purest Light, yet our great Enemy
All incorruptible would on his Throne
Sit unpolluted, and th' Ethereal mould
Incaptive of stain would soon expel
Her mischief, and purge off the bawd fire
Victorious. Thus repuls'd, our final hope
Is flat despair: we must exasperate
Th' Almighty Victor to spend all his rage,
And that must end us, that must be our cure,
To be no more; sad cure; for who would loose,
Though full of pain, this intellectual being,
Those thoughts that wander through Eternity,
To perish rather, swallowed up and lost
In the wide womb of uncreated night,
Devoid of sense and motion? and who knows,
Let this be good, whether our angry Foe
Can give it, or will ever? how he can
Is doubtful; that he never will is sure.
Will he, so wise, let loose at once his ire,
Belike through impotence, or unaware,
To give his Enemies their wish, and end
Them in his anger, whom his anger favors
To punish endlessly? wherefore cease we then?
Say they who counsel War, we are decreed,
Refer'red and delin'd to Eternal woe;
Whatever doing, what can we suffer more,
What can we suffer worse? is this then worst,
Thus sitting, thus consulting, thus in Arms?
What when we fled amain, pursued and strick
With Heav'n's afflicting Thunder, and besought
The Deep to shelter us? this Hell then seem'd
A refuge from those wounds: or when we lay
Chained

---

135 Infurrection, All 1674 copies examined read alike. 137 Enemy Enemie
138 All The A is out of alignment. 143 exasperate exasperate exasperate 1674 is from state
2 of 1667. 160 counsel The n is weak. 164 Thus The s is broken in all copies examined.
This is another occurrence of the problem of making two states of the same page appear on facing pages. In order to do this with the two pages that follow, different states of the same recto page, this preceding recto is used for a sort of introduction to them; the first state is printed on the next page, a verso, and the second state appears as the recto it is, on a recto page of this facsimile edition.
Book II. Paradise Lost.

Chain'd on the burning Lake? that fire was worse.

170

What if the breath that kindl'd those grim fires
Awak'd should blow them into sevenfold rage
And plunge us in the flames? or from above
Should intermitted vengeance arm again

175

His red right hand to plague us? what if all
Her stores were open'd, and this Firmament
Of Hell should spout her Cararact's of Fire,
Impendent horrors, threatening hideous fall
One day upon our heads; while we perhaps
Desiring or exhorting glorious warr,

Caught in a fierie Tempest shall be hurl'd
Each on his rock transfixed, the sport and prey
Of racking whirlwinds, or for ever funk
Under yon boyling Ocean, wrapt in Chains;
There to converse with everlasting groans,

180

Unrepited, unpitied, unrepriev'd,
Ages of hopeles end; this would be worse,
V'arr therefore, open or conceal'd, alike
My voice diffuses; for what can force or guile
With him, or who deceive his mind, whole eye

185

Views all things at one view? he from heav'n's hight
All these our motions vain, fees and derides;
Not more Almighty to relift our might
Then wife to frustrate all our plots and wiles.
Shall we then live thusly, the race of Heav'n

190

Thus trampl'd, thus expell'd to suffer here
Chains and these Torments? better thefe then worfe
By my advice; since fate inevitable
Subdues us, and Omnipotent Decree,
The Victors will. To suffer, as to doe,

Our strength is equal, nor the Law unjust
That fo ordains: this was at firft refolv'd,
If we were wife, againft fo great a foe

D Contending.

State 1 (copies 5, 48, and 54 only)

There are two 1674 states of this page, see line 194.

This page begins the D Signature, the recto of which as bound is perhaps the most scrambled of any signature in the 1674 edition. The recto of this sheet as bound exists in two slightly different states, the second of which exists in two different conditions. The type changes made for state 2 are of little consequence so far as the meaning of the text is concerned, and of the ten certain changes, and eight more possible changes, only one is of metrical significance.

First called to my attention by the Columbia text which reads 'hight' and note of line 190, I became suspicious, as no other copy available read other than hight until copy 15 came along. In this copy, the right-hand ends of the following longer lines have been very skillfully strengthened or restored with a pen, one or two instances being only discernible under high magnification, when the brown color in the ink used by the pen appears. The pen strokes in copy 15 are as follows: 172 above] The letters ve are penned in completely. 174 all] Part of the a and both ll's are penned in. 175 Firmament] The t is at least strengthened. 176 Fire,] The e and comma are supplied, the e in part and the comma entirely. 177 fall] The second l is penned in. 178 perhaps] The letters ps were penned in. 181 prey] The y is at least strengthened with a pen. 183 Chains,] The comma, which should be a semicolon, is entirely supplied with a pen. 190 hight] The letters th are supplied with a pen. The work is very skillfully done, and can
Book II. Paradise Lost.

Chain'd on the burning Lake? that sure was worse,

170

V'hat if the breath that kindl'd those grim fires

Awak'd should blow them into sevenfold rage

And plunge us in the flames ? or from above

Should intermitted vengeance arm again

His red right hand to plague us ? what if all.

175

Her stores were open'd, and this Firmament

Of Hell should spout her Cataracts of Fire,

Impendent horrors, threatening hideous fall

One day upon our heads; while we perhaps

Desiring or exhorting glorious war.

Caught in a fierce Tempest shall be hurl'd

Each on his rock transfixt, the sport and prey

Of racking whirlwinds, or for ever funk

Under yon boiling Ocean, wrapt in Chains;

There to converse with everlasting groans,

Unrepit'd, unpitied, unrepriev'd,

Ages of hopeless end; this would be worse.

Warr therefore, open or conceal'd, alike

My voice diffwades; for what can force or guile

With him, or who deceive his mind, whose eye

190

Views all things at one view? he from heav'n's highth

All thee our motions vain, fees and derides;

Not more Almighty to refit our might

Then wife to frustrate all our plots and wiles.

Shall we then live thus vile, the Race of Heav'n

195

Thus trampled, thus expell'd to suffer here

Chains and these Torments? better these then worse

By my advice; since fate inevitable

Subdues us, and Omnipotent Decree,

The Victors will. To suffer, as to doe,

Our strength is equal, nor the Law unjust

That so ordains: this was at first refolv'd,

If we were wise, against so great a foe

D Contending.

State 2 (all copies examined except 5, 48, and 54)

There are two 1674 states of this page, see line 194.

only be detected under about 120 power magnification, except in line 172 in which the letters	without magnification look too large. As this edge of the page was at an outer edge of the sheet,
it was most likely that the pressure between tympan and paper somehow fell off on some D sheets	as they were being printed.

Copy 40, the Columbia copy, shows: 172 above] The e is affected. 174 all] The second l is almost gone. 176 Fire] The comma is almost gone. 190 hath] The final h is gone entirely. It was unfortunate that the Columbia editor had only this one copy for collation, as	almost any other copy which he might have looked at would at least have warned him that some-
thing was wrong here, and the two textual errors which he committed within fifteen lines could	have been avoided. Because of the care with which the corrections in copy 15 were made, I am	inclined to believe that the pen work was done in the print shop at the time of printing the book.

The two states are known to me only through three copies in state 1, namely, copies 5, 48, 
and 54. On this page, the change is in line 194. 172 flames?] Flames? 173 arm] Arme 
175 open'd,] op'n'd, 179 warr,] Warr, 194 race] race Copies 5, 48, and 54 print lower 
case f and all other 1674 copies print capital. 196 and] 


34 **Paradise Lost. Book II.**

Contending, and to doubtful what might fall.
I laugh, when those who at the Spear are bold
And vent'rous, if that fail them, shrink and fear
What yet they know must follow, to endure
Exile, or ignominy, or bonds, or pain,
The sentence of thir Conquerour: This is now
Our doom; which if we can sustain and bear,

Our Supream Foe in time may much remit
His anger, and perhaps thus far remov'd
Not mind us: not offending, satisf'd
With what is punish't; whence these raging fires
Will slack'n, if his breath stir not thir flames.

Our purer effence then will overcome
Thir noxious vapour, or enur'd not feel,
Or chang'd at length, and to the place conform'd
In temper and in nature, will receive
Familiar the fierce heat, and void of pain,
This horror will grow milde, this darknefs light,
Besides what hope the never-ending flight
Of future dayes may bring, what chance, what change
Worth waiting, since our present lot appeas
For happy though but ill, for ill not worst,

If we procure not to our selves more woe.
Thus Belial with words cloath'd in reafons garb
Counfel'd ignoble eafe, and peaceful floath,
Not peace: and after him thus Mammon spake.
Either to dethrone the King of Heav'n

VVe warr, if warr be bell, or to regain
Our own right loft: him to unthrone we then
May hope when everlatting Fate shall yeild
To fickle Chance, and Chaos judge the strife:
The former vain to hope argues avain

The latter: for what place can be for us
VVealth Heav'n's bound, unless Heav'n's Lord suprem

---

The verso as bound of the D Signature seems not to have been disturbed in any way.
208 Conquerour:] Italic colon. 211 His] The H is broken in some copies and clear in others.
222 dayes:] days 225 we:] Stressed. 231 Our] The O is faint in all copies examined.
loft:] Italic colon. 232 hope:] hope,
Book II. Paradise Lost.

Ve overpower? Suppose he should relent
And publish grace to all, on promise made
Of new subjection; with what eyes could we

Stand in his presence humble, and receive
Strict laws impos’d, to celebrate his throne
With warbled hymns, and to his godhead sing
Force Hallelujah’s; while he lordly sits
Our envied Sovran, and his altar breathes

Ambrosial odours and Ambrosial flowers,
Our servile offerings. This must be our task
In Heav’n this our delight; how wearisome
Eternity so spent in worship paid
To whom we hate. Let us not then pursue

By force impossible, by leave obtain’d
Unacceptable, though in Heav’n, our state
Of splendid vassalage, but rather seek
Our own good from our selves, and from our own
Live to our selves, though in this vast recess,

Free, and to none accountable, preferring
Hard liberty before the earlie yoke
Of servile pomp. Our greatness will appear
Then most conspicuous, when great things of small,
Useful of hurtful, prosperous of adverse

Ve can create, and in what place so e’re
Thrive under evil, and work ease out of pain
Through labour and indurance. This deep world
Of darkness do we dread? How oft amidst
Thick clouds and dark doth Heav’n’s all-ruling Sire

Choose to reside, his glory unobscur’d,
And with the majesty of darknes round
Covers his throne; from whence deep thunders roar
Must ring thir rage, and Heav’n resembles Hell?
As he our darknes, cannot we his Light

Imitate when we please? This delart foile

D 2

Vvants

36 Paradise Lost. Book II.

VVants not her hidden lustre, Gemms and Gold;
Nor want we skill or art, from whence to raise
Magnificence; and what can Heav'n shew more?
Our torments also may in length of time
Become our Elements, these piercing Fires
As soft as now severe, our temper chang'd
Into their temper; which must needs remove
The sensible of pain. All things invite
To peaceful Counsels, and the setld State
Of order, how in safety belt we may
Compose our present evils, with regard
Of what we are and were, dismissing quite
All thoughts of warr: ye have what I advise.
He scarce had finisht, when such murmur fill'd
Th' Assembly, as when hollow Rocks retain
The sound of blustering winds, which all night long
Had rous'd the Sea, now with hoarse cadence full
Sea-faring men overwatch'd, whose Bark by chance
Or Pinnacle anchors in a craggy Bay
After the Tempel: Such applause was heard
As Mammon ended, and his Sentence pleas'd,
Adviling peace: for such another Field
They dreaded worse then Hell: so much the fear
Of Thunder and the Sword of Michael
VVrought still within them; and no less desire
To found this nether Empire, which might rise
By policy, and long process of time,
In emulation opposite to Heav'n.
Which when Beelzebul receiv'd, then whom,
Satan except, none higher fat, with grave
Affect he rote, and in his riling seem'd
A Pillar of State; deep on his Front engraven
Deliberation fat and public care;
And Princely counsel in his face yet shon,
Majestick

State 1 (copies 5, 48, and 54 only)
There are two 1674 states of this page, see line 272 and Catchword.

In the reproduction above from copy 5, line 282 through line 286, there is a smear
of some kind of material blurring the letters of one or two words in each line. The
smear was in no way connected with the printing, but done by a user of the book.

272 we] Stressed. art[Art.] art, Only the three 1674 copies 5, 48, and 54 use the lower case a here. 277 their] Stressed. 280 Of] In state 1, copies 5, 48, and 54 only, the battered O was probably also wrong font and was reset in state 2. 281 Compose] The p is badly worn in copies 5, 48, and 54, but clear enough in all others examined. 282 were,] where, The first edition seems the better reading; but the meaning is different. 283 warr:] Warr: 296 Empire,] Again,
Paradise Lost. Book II.

VVants not her hidden luflre, Gems and Gold;
Nor want we skill or Art, from whence to raise
Magnificence; and what can Heav'n them more?
Our torments also may in length of time
Become our Elements, these piercing Fires
As soft as now severe, our temper chang'd
Into their temper, which must needs remove
The sensible of pain. All things invite
To peaceful Counsels, and the left'd State
Of order, how in safety lest we may
Compose our present evils, with regard
Of what we are and were, dismiss'ing quite
All thoughts of war: ye have what I advise.
He scarce had finished, when such murmur fill'd
Th' Assembl'y, as when hollow Rocks retain
The sound of blustering winds, which all night long
Had rous'd the Sea, now with hoarse cadence lull
Sea-faring men orewatcht, whose Bark by chance
Or Pinnacle anchors in a craggy Bay
After the Tempest: Such applause was heard
As Mammon ended, and his Sentence pleas'd,
Adviseing peace: for such another Field
They dreaded worse then Hell: so much the fear
Of Thunder and the Sword of Michael
VVrought fill'd within them; and no less desire
To found this nether Empire, which might rise
By policy, and long procefs of time,
In emulation oppolite to Heav'n.
VVhich when Beelzebub perceiv'd, then whom,
Satan except, none higher fat, with grave
Aspect he rose, and in his rising seem'd
A Pillar of State; deep on his Front engraven
Deliberation fat and public care;
And Princely counsel in his face yet shon,
Majestic

State 2 (all copies examined except 5, 48, and 54)
There are two 1674 states of this page, see line 272 and Catchword.

the p is faint in state 1, and apparently has been reset in state 2. 298 oppolite] The first p is faint in state 1 and seems to have been replaced for state 2. 299 Beelzebub] Beelzebub perceiv'd,] The faint p of state 1 appears to have been replaced for state 2. 301 Aspect] The faint p of state 1 has apparently been replaced for state 2. 302 deep] The faint p of state 1 has apparently been replaced for state 2. 303 public] public] The faint p of 1674 state 1 has apparently been replaced for state 2, and the even fainter I almost certainly has been. 304 his] The faint s of state 1 has apparently been replaced for state 2. Catchword. Majestic] The final k is present in copies 5, 48, and 54 only.
Book II. Paradise Lost.

305 Majestick though in ruin: sage he stood
With Atlantean shoulders fit to bear
The weight of mightiest Monarchies; his look
Drew audience and attention still as Night
Or Summers Noon-tide air, while thus he spake.

Thrones and Imperial Powers, off-spring of heav'n
Ethereal Vertues; or these Titles now
Mult we renounce, and changing title be call'd
Princes of Hell? for so the popular vote
Inclines, here to continue, and build up here
A growing Empire; doubtless; while we dream,
And know not that the King of Heav'n hath doom'd
This place our dungeon, not our safe retreat
Beyond his Potent arm, to live exempt
From Heav'n's high jurisdiction, in new League
Banded against his Throne, but to remaine
In strictest bondage, though thus far remov'd,
Under th' inevitable curb, reserv'd
His captive multitude: For he, be sure
In height or depth, still first and last will Reign
Sole King, and of his Kingdom loose no part
By our revolt, but over Hell extend
His Empire, and with Iron Scepter rule
Us here, as with his Golden those in Heav'n.
What fit we then projecting peace and Warr?

VWarr hath determin'd us; and fold with los's
Irreparable; tears of peace yet none
Voul'taf't or sought; for what peace will be giv'n
To us enslave'd, but custody severe,
And stripes, and arbitrary punishment
Infli(ated? and what peace can we return,
But to our power hostility and hate,
Untam'd reluctance, and revenge though slow,
Yet ever plotting how the Conqueror failt

May

State 1 (copies 5, 48, and 54 only)
There are two 1674 states of this page, see line 305.

Running Head. Loft.] The recurrent round period. 305 Majestick Majestic Majestick
310 Imperial imperial heav'n heav'n. The comma of the first edition must be accepted, and it may have been only the accident of its failing to print at the end of the longest line on the
Book II. Paradise Lost.

305 Majestic though in ruin: sage he stood
With Atlantean shoulders fit to bear
The weight of mightiest Monarchies; his look
Drew audience and attention still as Night
Or Summers Noon-tide air, while thus he spake.

310 Thrones and Imperial Powers, off-spring of heav'n
Ethereal Vertues; or these Titles now
Must we renounce, and changing title be call'd
Princes of Hell? for so the popular vote
Inclines, here to continue; and build up here

315 A growing Empire; doubtles; while we dream,
And know not that the King of Heav'n hath doom'd
This place our dungeon, not our safe retreat
Beyond his Potent arm, to live exempt
From Heav'n's high jurisdiction, in new League
Banded against his Throne, but to remaine
In strictest bondage, though thus far remov'd,
Under th' inevitable curb, referv'd
His captive multitude: For he, be sure
In height or depth, still first and last will Reign

320 Sole King, and of his Kingdom loose no part
By our revolt, but over Hell extend
His Empire, and with Iron Scepter rule
Us here, as with his Golden thole in Heav'n.
What fit we then projecting peace and Warr?

325 VVarr hath determin'd us, and soild with los's
Irreparable; tears of peace yet none
Vountfu't or fought; for what peace will be giv'n
To us enslav'd, but custody sever'd,
And stripes, and arbitrary punishment

330 Inflicted; and what peace can we return,
But to our power hostility and hate,
Untam'd reluctance, and revenge though flow,
Yet ever plotting how the Conqueror leaft

D 3 May

State 2 (all copies examined except 5, 48, and 54)
There are two 1674 states of this page, see line 305.

page that makes the second edition seem to lack it. 323 he, | Stressed. fur[e] The comma is needed. 324 height| hight 329 peace| Peace 335 we] Stressed. 336 Butto] No space in any 1674 copy examined. 338 Conqueror| Conquerour
38 Paradise Lost. Book II.

May reap his conquest, and may least rejoice
In doing what we most in suffering feel?
340 Nor will occasion want, nor shall we need
With dangerous expedition to invade
Heav’n, whose high walls fear no assault or Siege,
Or ambush from the Deep. What if we find

Some easier enterprize? There is a place
(if ancient and prophetic fame in Heav’n
Err not) another World, the happy feat
Of some new Race call’d Man, about this time
To be created like to us, though less

350 In power and excellence, but favour’d more
Of him who rules above; so was his will
Pronounc’d among the Gods, and by an Oath,
That shook Heav’n’s whol circumference, confirm’d.
Thither let us bend all our thoughts, to learn

What creatures there inhabit, of what mould,
Or substance, how endu’d, and what their Power,
And where their weakness, how attempted bent,
By force or subtlety: Though Heav’n be shut,
And Heav’n’s high Arbitrator sit secure

360 In his own strength, this place may lyè expos’d
The utmost border of his Kingdom, left
To their defence who hold it: here perhaps
Some advantageous act may be achiev’d
By sudden onset, either with Hell fire

365 To waft his whole Creation, or possess
All as our own, and drive as we were driven,
The puny habitants, or if not drive,
Seduce them to our Party, that their God
May prove their foe, and with repenting hand

Abolish his own works. This would surpass
Common revenge, and interrupt his joy

In our Confusion, and our Joy upraise

343 high] The g is battered in all copies examined. 346 (if] (If 348 some] fom 362 their]] Stressed. 366 we]] Stressed.
Book II. Paradise Lost. 39

In his disturbance; when his darling Sons
Hurl'd headlong to partake with us, shall curse
375 Thir frail Original, and faded bliss,
Faded so soon. Advise if this be worth
Attempting, or to sit in darkness here
Hatching vain Empires. Thus Beelzebub
Plead'd his devilish Counsel, first devis'd

380 By Satan, and in part propos'd: for whence,
But from the Author of all ill could Spring
So deep a malice, to confound the race
Of mankind in one root, and Earth with Hell
To mingle and involve, done all to spite

385 The great Creator? But thir spite still serves
His glory to augment. The bold design
Pleas'd highly those infernal States, and joy
Spark'd in all thir eyes; with full assent
They vote: whereat his speech he thus renewes.

390 Well have ye judged, well ended long debate,
Synod of Gods, and like to what ye are,
Great things resolv'd, which from the lowest deep
Will once more lift us up, in spight of Fate,
Neerer our ancient Seat; perhaps in view

395 Of those bright confines, whence with neighbouring
And opportune excursion we may chance
Re-enter Heav'n; or else in some milde Zone
Dwell not unvisited of Heav'n's fair Light
Secure, and at the brightning Orient beam

400 Purg off this gloom; the soft delicious Air,
To heal the scar of these corrosive Fires
Shall breathe her balme. But first whom shall we send
In search of this new world, whom shall we find
Sufficient? who shall tempt with wandering feet

405 The dark unbottom'd infinite Abyfs
And through the palpable obscure find out

D 4 His
40 **Paradise Lost.** Book II.

His uncouth way, or spread his aerie flight
Upborn with indefatigable wings
Over the vail abrupt, ere he arrive

410 The happy Ile; what strength, what art can then
Suffice, or what evasion bear him safe
Through the strict Senteries and Stations thick
Of Angels watching round? Here he had need
All circumspection, and we now no lefs

415 Choice in our suffrage; for on whom we fend,
The weight of all and our last hope relies.
This said, he sat; and expectation held
His look suspense, awaiting who appear’d
To second, or oppose, or undertake

420 The perilous attempt: but all sat mute,
Pondering the danger with deep thoughts; and each
In others countenance read his own dismay
Aftonift: none among the choice and prime
Of those Heav’n-warring Champions could be found

425 So hardie as to proffer or accept
Alone the dreadful voyage; till at last
Satan, whom now transcendent glory rais’d
Above his fellows, with Monarchal pride
Conscious of highest worth, unmov’d thus spake.

430 O Progeny of Heav’n, Empyreal Thrones,
With reafon hath deep silence and demurr
Seis’d us, though undismaid; long is the way
And hard, that out of Hell leads up to light;
Our prifon strong, this huge convex of Fire,

435 Outrageous to devour, immures us round
Ninefold, and gates of burning Adamant
Barr’d over us prohibit all egress.
Thefe pafs, if any pafs, the void profound
Of unfeffional Night receives him next

440 Wide gaping, and with utter loss of being

---

Running Head, loft.] The recurrent round period. 414 we ] The 1668 Errata call for ‘wee’ here, but as this is the only one of those Errata not followed by the 1674 compositor, I am inclined to believe that Milton here changed his mind. It seems a little difficult to stress the word. 421 and ] & 422 read ] red 433 light;] Light; 440 Wide ] The d is broken in most copies examined.
This is another occurrence of the problem of making two states of the same page appear on facing pages. In order to do this with the two pages that follow, different states of the same recto page, this preceding recto is used for a sort of introduction to them; the first state is printed on the next page, a verso, and the second state appears as the recto it is, on a recto page of this facsimile edition.
Threatens him, plung'd in that abortive gulf.
If thence he scape into what ever world,
Or unknown Region, what remains him less
Then unknown dangers and as hard escape.

But I should ill become this Throne, O Peers,
And this Imperial Sov'ran'y, adorn'd
With splendor, arm'd with power, if aught propos'd
And judg'd of public moment, in the shape
Of difficulty or danger could deterr

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 honour, due alike
To him who Reigns, and so much to him due

Of hazard more, as he above the rest
High honour'd fits? Go therefore mighty Powers,
Terror of Heav'n, though fall'n; intend at home,
While here shall be our home, what belt may safe
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 saying rofe
The Monarch, and prevented all reply,
Prudent, lest from his resolution rais'd
Others among the chief might offer now

( Certain to be refus'd ) what e'er they feard;
And so refus'd might in opinion stand
His Rivals, winning cheap the high repute
Which he through hazard huge mult earn. But they
Dreaded not more th' adventure then his voice

For-
Book II. Paradise Lost.

威胁他，深陷在那流产的深渊。
如果他能逃入任何未知的地域，
或未知的国度，他将面临什么
未知的危险和更加难以逃脱。

445 但愿我能成为这王座，诸位，
并让这帝国的荣耀，用辉煌
武装，用权力，如果被提议
和被公众认为是一个形状
难以或危险的障碍可以阻止

450 我从尝试中解脱。因此，我接受
这些王位，而不拒绝统治，
拒绝接受更大的风险
和荣誉，同样地
对他，谁统治，和他如此的多

455 将危险放得更高，他高于其余
高尚的荣誉？所以，因此，诸神
恐怖的天庭，虽然已倒下；
我们在这里将是我们家园，无论最好
可能会使痛苦的现状

460 更让可容忍；如果存在奇迹或咒语
来解除或欺骗，或使痛苦
得以缓解
为了这个邪恶的国家：不要放任警惕
对一个警惕的敌人，在我出国

465 为了我们所有：这个计划
没有人会参与我和。
因此，那君王，他阻止了所有的回答，
谨慎的人，离开他的决心

470 （肯定要被拒绝的）他们所害怕的
和拒绝，如果他们拒绝；
他的对手，赢得廉价的高荣誉
他通过危险巨大的必须得到。但他们
害怕，没有再冒险，他的声音

State 2 (all copies examined except 5, 48, and 54)
There are two 1674 states of this page, see lines 442 and 450.

464 Coasts | coasts 466 me.] Stressed. 472 Rivals,] rivals, 472 through 474. In all but
the three copies of 1674 state 1, the misalignment of the type at the ends of these three lines is
quite pronounced. In the three copies in 1674 state 1, the misalignment is less marked.
Forbidding; and at once with him they rose;
Thir rising all at once was as the sound
Of Thunder heard remote. Towards him they bend
With awful reverence prone; and as a God
Extoll him equal to the highest in Heav'n:
Nor fail'd they to express how much they prais'd,
That for the general safety he defpis'd
His own: for neither do the Spirits damn'd
Loose all her virtue; least bad men should boast
Thir specious deeds on earth, which glory excites,
Or clof ambition varnifht o're with zeal.
Thus they thir doubtful consultations dark
Ended rejoicing in thir matchlefs Chief:
As when from mountain tops the dusky clouds
Ascending, while the North wind sleeps, o'respread
Heav'n's cheerful face, the lowring Element
Scowls o'er the dark'nd lantskip Snow, or snowre;
If chance the radiant Sun with farewell sweet
Extend his even beam, the fields revive,
The birds thir notes renew, and bleating herds
Ateft thir joy, that hill and valley rings.
O shame to men! Devil with Devil damn'd
Firm concord holds, men onely disagree.
Of Creatures rational, though under hope
Of heavenly Grace: and God proclaiming peace,
Yet live in hatred, enmity, and strife
Among themselves, and levie cruel warres,
Wafting the Earth, each other to destroy:
As if (which might induce us to accord)
Man had not hellish foes now beside,
That day and night for his destruction waiet.
The Stygian Councel thus dissolv'd; and forth
In order came the grand infernal Peers,
Midst came thir mighty Paramount, and feeml
Alone
Book II. Paradise Lost.

Alone th' Antagonist of Heav'n, nor less
Than Hell's dread Emperour with pomp Supream,
And God-like imitated State; him round
A Globe of fierie Seraphim inclos'd
With bright imblazonrie, and horrent Arms.
Then of thir Seffion ended they did cry
With Trumpets regal sound the great refult:
Toward the four winds four speedy Cherubim
Put to thir mouths the founding Alchymie
By Harald's voice explain'd: the hollow Abyfs
Heard farr and wide, and all the hoft of Hell
With deafning loud, return'd them loud acclaim.
Thence more at ease thir minds and somewhat rais'd
By fable presumptuous hope, the ranged powers
Disband, and wandring, each his several way
Purfues, as inclination or fad choice
Leads him perplex'd, where he may likeliest find
Truce to his reticled thoughts, and entertain
The irkſome hours, till this great Chief return.
Part on the Plain, or in the Air sublime
Upon the wing, or in swift Race contend,
As at th' Olympian Games or Pythian fields;
Part curb thir fierie Steeds, or thun the Goal
With rapid wheels, or fronted Brigads form.
As when to warn proud Cities warr appears
Wag'd in the troubl'd Skie, and Armies ruft
To Battel in the Clouds, before each Van
Prick forth the Aerie Knights, and couch thir Spears
Till thickeſt Legions close; with feats of Arms
From either end of Heav'n the welkin burns.
Others with vaill Typhæan rage more fell
Rend up both Rocks and Hills, and ride the Air
In whirlwind; Hell scarce holds the wilde uproar.
As when Alcides from Oechalia Crown'd
With
Paradise Lost. Book II.

With conquest, felt th' envenom'd robe, and tore
Through pain up by the roots Thessalian Pines,
And Lichas from the top of Oeta threw
Into th' Euboic Sea. Others more milde,
Retreated in a silent valley, sing
With notes Angelical to many a Harp
Thir own Heroic deeds and hapless fall

By doom of Battel; and complain that Fate
Free Vertue should enthral Force or Chance.
Thir Song was partial, but the harmony
What could it less when Spirits immortal sing?
Suspended Hell, and took with ravishment

The thronging audience. In discourse more sweet
(For Eloquence the Soul, Song charms the Sense,) Others apart fat on a Hill retir'd,
In thoughts more elevate, and reason'd high
Of Providence, Foreknowledge, Will and Fate,

First Fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute,
And found no end, in wandring mazes lost.
Of good and evil much they argu'd then,
Of Happines and final misery,
Passion and Apathie, and glory and shame,
Vain wisdom all, and false Philosopfi ;
Yet with a pleasing forcerie could charm
Pain for a while or anguish, and excite
Fallacious hope, or arm th'obdured brest
With stubborn patience as with triple steel.

Another part in Squadrons and gross Bands,
On bold adventure to discover wide
That disfmal world, if any Clime perhaps
 Might yield them earier habitation, bend
Four ways thir flying March, along the Banks

Of four infernal Rivers that disgorge
Into the burning Lake thir baleful streams;

Abhor-
This is another occurrence of the problem of making two states of the same page appear on facing pages. In order to do this with the two pages that follow, different states of the same recto page, this preceding recto is used for a sort of introduction to them; the first state is printed on the next page, a verso, and the second state appears as the recto it is, on a recto page of this facsimile edition.
Book II. Paradise Lost.  

Abhorred Styx the flood of deadly hate,  
Sad Acheron of sorrow, black and deep;  
Cerisy, nam'd of lamentation loud  
580 Heard on the rufing stream; fierce Phlegeton  
Whole waves of torrent fire inflame with rage.  
Farr off from these a slow and silent stream,  
Lesthe the River of Oblivion roules  
Her warie Labyrinth, whereof who drinks,  
585 Forwith his former fate and being forgets,  
Forgets both joy and grief, pleasure and pain.  
Beyond this flood a frozen Continent  
Lies dark and wilde, beat with perpetual storms  
Of Whirlwind and dire Hail, which on firm land  
590 Thaws not, but gathers heap, and ruin seems  
Of ancient pile; all else deep snow and ice,  
A gulf profound as that Serbonian Bog  
Betwixt Damiaita and mount Cason old,  
Where Armies whole have funk: the parching Air  
595 Burns frote, and cold performs th' effect of Fire.  
Thither by harpy-footed Furies hail'd,  
At certain revolutions all the damn'd  
Are brought: and feel by turns the bitter change  
Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more fierce,  
600 From Beds of raging Fire to starve in Ice  
Thir lost Ethereal warmth, and there to pine  
Immovable, infixt, and frozen round,  
Periods of time, thence hurried back to fire.  
They ferry over this Lethean Sound  
605 Both to and fro, thir sorrow to augment,  
And with and struggle, as they pass, to reach  
The tempting stream, with one small drop to loose  
In sweet forgetfulness all pain and woe,  
All in one moment, and so near the brink;  
610 But fate withstands, and to oppose th' attempt Medusa

STATE I (copies 5, 48, and 54 only)  
There are two 1674 states of this page, see line 610.

594 funk: Italics colon.  610 fate \ fate The initial letter was changed to a capital in 1674, state 2, and the type fate withstands, has been moved to the right to make room for the capital F leaving no space after the comma.
Book II. Paradise Lost. 45

Abhorred Styx the flood of deadly hate,
Sad Acheron of sorrow, black and deep;
Cocytus, nam’d of lamentation loud

580 Heard on the rufeful stream; fierce Phlegeton
Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage.
Farr off from these a flow and silent stream,
Lethe the River of Oblivion roules
Her wat’rie Labyrinth, whereof who drinks,

585 Forthwith his former state and being forgets,
Forgets both joy and grief, pleasure and pain.
Beyond this flood a frozen Continent
Lies dark and wilde, beat with perpetual storms
Of Whirlwind and dire Hail, which on firm land

590 Thaws not, but gathers heap, and ruin seems
Of ancient pile; all else deep snow and ice,
A gulf profound as that Serbonian Bog
Between Damiata and mount Casius old,
Where Armies whole have sunk: the parching Air

595 Burns:ore, and cold performs th’effect of Fire.
Thither by harpy-footed Furies hail’d,
At certain revolutions all the damn’d
Are brought: and feel by turns the bitter change
Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more fierce,

600 From Beds of raging Fire to starve in Ice
This soft Ethereal warmth, and there to pine
Immovable, infixt, and frozen round,
Periods of time, thence hurried back to fire.
They ferry over this Lethean Sound

605 Both to and fro, thir sorrow to augment,
And with and struggle, as they pass, to reach
The tempting stream, with one small drop to looфе
In sweet forgetfulness all pain and woe,
All in one moment, and so near the brink;

610 But Fate withstands, and to oppose th’attempt

Medusa

State 2 (all copies examined except 5, 48, and 54)
There are two 1674 states of this page, see line 610.
Paradise Lost. Book II.

Medusa with Gorgonian terror guards
The Ford, and of it selfe the water flies
All taste of living wight, as once it fled
The lip of Tantalus. Thus roving on

In confus’d march forlorn, th’ adventurous Bands
With thuddring horror pale, and eyes agait
View’d first thir lamentable lot, and found
No rest : through many a dark and drearie Vaile
They pafs’d, and many a Region dolorous,

O’er many a Frozen, many a fierie Alpe,
Rocks, Caves, Lakes, Fens, Bogs, Dens, and shades of
A Universe of death, which God by curse (death,
Created evil, for evil only good,
Where all life dies, death lives, and Nature breeds,
Perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious things,
Abominable, inutterable, and worfe
Than Fables yet have feign’d, or fear conceiv’d,
Gorgons and Hydra’s, and Chimeras dire.

Mean while the Adversary of God and Man,
Satan with thoughts inflam’d of highest design,
Puts on swift wings, and towards the Gates of Hell
Explores his solitary flight: som times
He scours the right hand coaft, som times the left,
Now plaves with level wing the Deep, then foares

Up to the fierie Concave touring high.
As when far off at Sea a Fleet descri’d
Hangs in the Clouds, by Equinoctial Winds
Close falling from Bengal, or the Isles
Of Ternate and Tidore, whence Merchants bring

Thir spicie Drugs: they on the Trading Flood
Through the wide Ethiopian to the Cape
Ply stemming nightly toward the Pole. So seem’d
Farr off the flying Fiend: at last appeare
Hell bounds high reaching to the horrid Roof,

And

635 Concave] concave 640 Trading] trading
Book II. Paradise Lost.

645 And thrice threefold the Gates; three folds were Brass, Three Iron, three of Adamantine Rock, Impenetrable, impal'd with circling fire, Yet unconfum'd. Before the Gates there sat On either side a formidable shape;

650 The one seem'd Woman to the waste, and fair, But ended foul in many a scaly foul Voluminous and vast, a Serpent arm'd With mortal sting: about her middle round A cry of Hell Hounds never ceasing bark'd

655 With wide Cerberian mouths full loud, and rung A hideous Peal: yet, when they lift, would creep, If sought disturb'd their noyse, into her woomb, And kennel there, yet there still bark'd and how'l'd, Within unseen. Farr less abhorrd than thefe

660 Vex'd Scylla bathing in the Sea that parts Calabria from the hoarse Trinacrian shore: Nor uglier follow the Night-Hag, when call'd Insecret, riding through the Air she comes Lur'd with the smell of Infant blood, to dance

665 With Lapland Witches, while the labouring Moon Eclipses at their charms. The other shape, If shape it might be call'd that shape had none Distinguishable in member, joyn't, or limb, Or substance might be call'd that shadow seem'd,

670 For each seem'd either: black it stood as Night, Fierce as ten Furies, terrible as Hell, And shot a dreadful Dart; what seem'd his head The likeness of a Kingly Crown had on. Satan was now at hand, and from his feat

675 The Monster moving onward came as fast With horrid strides, Hell trembled as he strode. The undaunted Fiend what this might be admir'd, Admir'd, not fear'd; God and his Son except, Created
Paradise Lost. Book II.

Created thing naught valu'd he nor thun'd;
And with disdainful look thus first began.

Whence and what art thou, execrable shape,
That dar'ft, though grim and terrible, advance
Thy miscreated From athwart my way
To yonder Gates? through them I mean to pass,

That be affur'd, without leave askt of thee:
Retire, or taste thy folly, and learn by proof,
Hell-born, not to contend with Spirits of Heav'n.

To whom the Goblin full of wrath
'G'd. Art thou that Traitor Angel, art thou he,

Who first broke peace in Heav'n and Faith, till then
Unbrok'n, and in proud rebellious Arms
Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's Sons
Conjur'd against the highest, for which both Thou
And they outcast from God, are here condemn'd

To waste Eternal daies in woe and pain?
And reck'n'lt thou thy self with Spirits of Heav'n,
Hell-doom'd, and breath'st defiance here and scorn
Where I reign King, and to enrage thee more,

Thy King and Lord? Back to thy punishment,
False fugitive, and to thy speed add wings,

Leaft with a whip of Scorpions I pursue
Thy lingering, or with one stroke of this Dart
Strange horror seize thee, and pangs unfealt before.

So spake the grievful terror, and in shape,

So speaking and so threatening, grew tenfold
More dreadful and deform: on th' other side
Incen'd with indignation Satan flood
Unterrif'd, and like a Comet burn'd,
That fires the length of Ophiucus huge

In th' Artick Sky, and from his horrid hair
Shakes Pestilence and Warr. Each at the Head
Level'd his deadly aim; this fatal hand

STATE I (copies 5, 48, and 54 only)
There are two 1674 states of this page, see lines 695 and 707.

679 valu'd | valu'd  695 daies|days | daies 1674 copies 5, 48, and 54 only agree with first edition. 697 doom'd,| doomd, | corn | scorn  702 stroke | stroke  The final c of 1674 is doubtless foul case. 705 tenfold| ten fold  707 Incen't | Incen't | Incen't  The close following of the
48 Paradise Lost. Book II.

Created thing naught val'd be nor shun'd;
And with disdainful look thus first began.
Whence and what art thou, execrable shape,
That dar'st, though grim and terrible, advance
Thy miscreated Front athwart my way
To yonder Gates? through them I mean to pass,
That be affur'd, without leave askt of thee:
Retire, or taste thy folly, and learn by proof,
Hell-born, not to contend with Spirits of Heav'n.
To whom the Goblin full of wrauth reply'd,
Art thou that Traitor Angel, art thou hee,
Who first broke peace in Heav'n and Faith, till then
Unbrok'n, and in proud rebellious Arms
Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's Sons
Conjur'd against the highest, for which both Thou
And they outcast from God, are here condemn'd
To waste Eternal days in woe and pain?
And reck'n'th thou thy self with Spirits of Heav'n,
Hell-doom'd, and breath't defiance here and scorn
Where I reign King, and to enrage thee more,
Thy King and Lord? Back to thy punishment,
Falle fugitive, and to thy speed add wings,
Left with a whip of Scorpions I pursue
Thy lingering, or with one stroke of this Dart
Strange horror seise thee, and pangs unfelt before.
So spake the grieulie terrour, and in shape,
So speaking and so threatening, grew tenfold
More dreadful and deform: on th' other side
Incens'd with indignation Satan flood
Unterrif'd, and like a Comet burn'd,
That fires the length of Ophiucus huge
In th' Artick Sky, and from his horrid hair
Shakes Pestilence and Warr. Each at the Head
Level'd his deadly aima; thir fatal hands

STATE 2 (all copies examined except 5, 48, and 54)
There are two 1674 states of this page, see lines 695 and 707.

first edition here is found only in 1674 copies 5, 48, and 54. 712 1e 41 In all copies examined, the space for the apostrophe appears; but in no copy is there the faintest trace of an ink mark.
Because both the facing prints immediately before this page were versos as bound, this page is used only in order to have the next page, a recto as bound, print herein as a recto.
Book II. Paradise Lost

No second stroke intend, and such a frown
Each call at th’ other, as when two black Clouds
With Heav’n; Artillery fraught, come rattling on
Over the Caffian, then stand front to front
Hoving a space, till Winds the signal blow
To joyn thir dark Encounter in mid air:
So frownd the mighty Combatants, that Hell
Grew darker at thir frown, so matcht they flood;
For never but once more was either like
To meet so great a foe: and now great deeds
Had been achiev’d, whereof all Hell had rung,
Had not the Snakie Sorcerers that fat
Faft by Hell Gate, and kept the fatal Key,
Ris’n, and with hideous outcry rush’d between;
O Father, what intends thy hand, the cry’d,
Against thy only Son? What fury O Son,
Possessest thee to bend that mortal Dart
Against thy Fathers head? and knowst for whom?
For him who his above and laughs the while
At thee ordain’d his drudge, to execute
What ’e re his wrath, which he calls Justice, bids,
His wrath which one day will destroy ye both.
She spake, and at her words the hellish Peft
Forborne, then these to her Satan return’d:
So strange thy outcry, and thy words so strange
Thou interpoest, that my sudden hand
Prevented spares to tell thee yet by deeds
What it intends; till first I know of thee,
What thing thou art, thus double-form’d, and why
In this infernal Vaile first met thou call’d it
Me Father, and that Fantasm call’d it my Son?
I know thee not, nor ever saw till now
Sight more desir’d, than him and thee.

714 other,} other,\other, 732 execute ] The c is faint in all copies examined. 733 he ] ] Stressed.
Whom thus the Porters of Hell Gate reply'd;  
Haft thou forgot me then, and do I seem  
Now in thine eye so foul, once deemed so fair  
In Heav'n, when at th' Assembly, and in sight  
Of all the Seraphim with thee combin'd  
In bold conspiracy against Heav'n's King,  
All on a sudden miserable pain  
Surpris'd thee, dim thine eyes, and dizzy swum  
In darkness, while thy head flames thick and fast  
Threw forth, till on the left side op'ning wide,  
Likelt to thee in shape and countenance bright,  
Then flaming heavenly fair, a Goddess arm'd  
Out of thy head I sprung: amazement seiz'd  
All th' Host of Heav'n; back they recoil'd afraid  
At first, and call'd me Sin, and for a Sign  
Portentous held me; but familiar grown,  
I pleas'd, and with attractive graces won  
The most adverse, thee chiefly, who full oft  
Thy self in me thy perfect image viewing  
Becam'ſt enamour'd, and such joy thou took'st  
With me in secret, that my womb conceiv'd  
A growing burden. Mean while War arose,  
And fields were fought in Heav'n; wherein remain'd  
(For what could else) to our Almighty Foe  
Closer Victory, to our part los'd and rout  
Through all the Empyrean: down they fell  
Driv'n headlong from the Pitch of Heaven, down  
Into this Deep, and in the general fall  
I also; at which time this powerful Key  
Into my hand was giv'n, with charge to keep  
Thefe Gates for ever shut, which none can pass  
Without my op'ning. Penfive here I sat  
Alone, but long I sat not, till my womb

755 forth, || The comma is broken in all 1674 copies examined. 764 self] The f is battered in all copies examined. 771 Empyrean: ] Italic colon.
Pregnant by thee, and now excessive grown
Prodigious motion felt and rueful throes.
At last this odious offspring whom thou seest
Thine own begotten, breaking violent way
Tore through my entrails, that with fear and pain
Distorted, all my nether shape thus grew
Transorm'd: but he my inbred enemie
Forth issu'd, brandishing his fatal Dart
Made to destroy: I fled, and cry'd out Death:
Hell trembl'd at the hideous Name, and sigh'd
From all her Caves, and back refounded Death.
I fled, but he pursu'd (though more, it seems,
Inflam'd with lust then rage) and swifter far,
Mee overtook his mother all dismaid,
And in embraces forcible and foule
Ingendring with me, of that rape begot
These yelling Monsters that with ceaseless cry
Surround me, as thou sawst, hourly conceiv'd
And hourly born, with sorrow infinite
To me, for when they lift into the womb
That bred them, they return, and howle and gnaw
My Bowels, thir repast; then bursting forth
A fresh with conscionable torments vex me round,
That rest or intermission none I find.
Before mine eyes in opposition ris
Grim Death my Son and foe, who seizes them on,
And me his Parent would full soon devour
For want of other prey, but that he knows
His end with mine invovled; and knows that I
Should prove a bitter Morfel, and his bane,
When ever that shall be; so Fate pronoun'd.
But thou O Father, I forewarn thee, shun
His deadly arrow: neither vainly hope
To be invulnerable in those bright Arms,

Though
52 Paradise Lost. Book II.

Though temper'd heav'nly, for that mortal din,
Save he who reigns above, none can resist.

815 She finish'd, and the little Fiend his lore
Soon learnt, now milder, and thus answer'd smooth.
Dear Daughter, since thou claim'st me for thy Sire,
And my fair Son here shouldest me, the dear pledge
Of dalliance had with thee in Heav'n, and joys

820 Then sweet, now fad to mention, through dire change
Befall us unforeseen, unthought of, know
I come no enemie, but to set free
From our this dark and dismal house of pain,
Both him and thee, and all the heav'nly Host

825 Of Spirits that in our just pretences arm'd
Fell with us from on high: from them I go
This uncouth errand sole, and one for all
My self expose, with lonely steps to tread
Th' unfounded deep, and through the void immense

830 To search with wandering quest a place foretold
Should be, and, by concurring signs, ere now
Created vast and round, a place of bliss
In the Pourlieus of Heav'n, and therein plac't
A race of upstart Creatures, to supply

835 Perhaps our vacant room, though more remov'd,
Least Heav'n surcharg'd with potent multitude
Might hap to move new broiles: Be this or aught
Then this more secret now design'd, I haste
To know, and this once known, shall soon return,

840 And bring ye to the place where Thou and Death
Shall dwell at ease, and up and down unseen
V'ing silently the buxom Air, imbal'm'd
V'ith odours; there ye shall be fed and fill'd
Immeasurably, all things shall be your prey.

845 He ceas'd, for both seem'd highly pleas'd, and Death
Grinnd horrible a ghastly smile, to hear

His
Book II. Paradise Lost.

His famine should be fill'd, and blest his maw;
Destin'd to that good hour: no less rejoic'd
His mother bad, and thus bespake her Sire.

850 The key of this infernal Pit by due,
And by command of Heav'n's all-powerful King
I keep, by him forbidden to unlock
These Adamantine Gates; against all force
Death ready stands to interpose his dart,

855 Fearless to be o'rematcht by living might.
But what o'er I to his commands above
Who hates me, and hath his thrt me down
Into this gloom of Tartarus profound,
To sit in hateful Office here confin'd,

860 Inhabitant of Heav'n, and heav'nlie-born,
Here in perpetual agonie and pain,
With terrors and with clsmors compast round
Of mine own brood, that on my bowels feed:
Thou art my Father, thou my Author, thou

865 My being gav'il me; whom should I obey
But thee, whom follow, thou wilt bring me soon
To that new world of light and bliss, among
The Gods who live at eafe, where I shall Reign
At thy right hand voluptuous, as becoms

870 Thy daughter and thy darling, without end.

Thus saying, from her side the fatal Key,
Sad instrument of all our woe, she took;
And towards the Gate routling her bestial train,
Forthwith the huge Porculis high up drew,

875 Which but her self not all the Stygian powers
Could once have mov'd, then in the key-hole turns
Th' intricate wards, and every Bolt and Bar
Of maffie Iron or sollid Rock with ease
Unfail'ns: on a sudden op'n flie

880 With impetuous recoile and jarring sound

Running Head. Lost.] The recurrent round period. 850 due.] The comma is worn in all 1674 copies examined. 855 o'rematch] o'rematch 859 confin'd,] The apostrophe is entirely lacking in most 1674 copies examined. The comma is clear in some 1674 copies and broken in others.
54 Paradise Lost. Book II.

Th' infernal dores, and on thir hinges grate
Harsh Thunder, that the loweft bottom shook
Of Erebus. She op'nd, but to shut
Excel'd her power; the Gates wide op'n flood,
That with extended wings a Banner’d Hoft
Under spread Ensigns marching might pass through
With Horse and Chariots rankt in loose array;
So wide they flood, and like a Furnace mouth
Caff forth redounding smoak and ruddy flame.

Before thir eyes in sudden view appear
The secrets of the hoarie deep, a dark
Ilimitable Ocean without bound,
Without dimenfion, where length, breadth, & highth,
And time and place are loft; where eldeft Night
And Chaos, Ancestors of Nature, hold
Eternal Anarchie, amidt the noife
Of endless Warrs, and by confusion stand.
For hot, cold, moift, and dry, four Champions fierce
Strive here for Maifterie, and to Battel bring
Thir embryon Atoms; they around the flag
Of each his Faction, in thir several Clans,
Light-arm’d or heavy, sharp, smooth, swift or slow,
Swarm populous, unnumber’d as the Sands
Of Barca or Cyrene’s torrid soil,
Levied to fide with warring Winds, and poife
Thir lighter wings. To whom these molt adhere,
Hee rules a moment, Chaos Umpire fits,
And by decision more imbroiles the fray
By which he Reigns: next him high Arbiter
Chance governs all. Into this wilde Abyss,
The Womb of nature and perhaps her Grave,
Of neither Sea, nor Shore, nor Air, nor Fire,
But all these in thir pregnant caufes mixt
Confus’dly, and which thus muft ever fight,

Unlefs
Book II. Paradise Lost.  55

915 Unless th' Almighty Maker them ordain
His dark materials to create more Worlds,
Into this wild Abyss the warie fiend
Stood on the brink of Hell and look'd a while,
Pondering his Voyage; for no narrow frith
920 He had to cross. Nor was his care left unemployed
With noises loud and ruinous (to compare
Great things with small) then when Beliona storms,
With all her battering Engines bent to raise
Some Capital City; or left then if this frame
925 Of Heav'n were falling, and these Elements
In mutiny had from her Axle torn
The red hat Earth. At last his Sail-broad Vannes
He spreads for flight, and in the surging smoke
Uplifted spurns the ground, thence many a League
930 As in a cloudy Chair ascending rides
Audacious, but that fleet soon failing, meets
A vast vacuities: all unawares
Fluttering his pennons vain plumb down he drops
Ten thousand fathom deep, and to this hour
935 Down had been falling, had not by ill chance
The strong rebuff of some tumultuous cloud
Infinit with Fire and Nitre hurried him
As many miles aloft: that furie stay'd,
Quench'd in a Boggie Syrtis, neither Sea,
940 Nor good dry Land: nigh foundered on he fares,
Treading the crude confidence, half on foot,
Half flying; behoves him now both Oare and Saile.
As when a Gryfon through the Wildernes
With winged course ore Hill or moarie Dale,
945 Pursues the Arimaspians, who by field
Had from his wakeful custody purloind
The guarded Gold: So eagerly the fiend
Ore bog or steep, through strait, rough, dense, or rare,

E 4

916 Worlds,] The W is wrong font.  917 wild] wide  923 With) The W is wrong font.
924 City;] City.  932 vacuitie:] The t is battered in all copies examined.  938 aloft:] Italic
colon.  940 Land;] Italic colon.  943 Wildernes] The W is wrong font.
56 Paradise Lost. Book II.

With head, hands, wings or feet pursues his way,
And swims or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies:
At length a universal hubbub wide
Of stunning sounds and voices all confus'd
Born through the hollow dark assaults his ear
With loudest vehemence: thither he plyes,

Undaunted to meet there what ever power
Or Spirit of the nethermost Abyss
Might in that noise reside, of whom to ask
Which way the neerest coast of darkness lyes
Bordering on light; when strait behold the Throne

Of Chaos, and his dark Pavilion spread
Wide on the wasteful Deep; with him Enthron'd
Sat Sable-vested Night, eldest of things,
The Confort of his Reign; and by them stood
Orcus and Ades, and the dreaded name

Of Demogorgon; Rumor next and Chance,
And Tumult and Confusion all imbroild,
And Discord with a thousand various mouths.
'Through whom Satan turning boldly, thus. Ye Powers
And Spirits of this nethermost Abyss,

Chaos and ancient Night, I come no Spy,
With purpose to explore or to disturb
The secrets of your Realm, but by constraint
Wandering this darksome Desart, as my way,
Lies through your spacious Empire up to light,

Alone, and without guide, half lost, I seek
What readiest path leads where your gloomie bounds
Confine with Heav'n; or if from other place
From your Dominion won, th' Ethereal King
Possesses lately, thither to arrive

I travel this profound, direct my course;
Directed no mean recompence it brings
To your behoof, if I that Region loth.

All

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Running Head. Lost. The recurrent round period. 949 wings; wings, 958 Which] The W is wrong font. 962 Night, Night. 963 Comfort, comfort and] The n is very faint in all copies examined. 965 Rumor, Rumor Chance, Chance. 966 Tumult, Tumult Confusion, Confusion. 967 Discord, Discord. 970 Spy, Spy. 973 Desart, Desart. way, wav No comma is wanted. 981 Directed] Directed, A comma seems to be needed.
Book II. Paradise Lost.

All usurpation thence expell'd, reduce
To her original darkenss and your sway

(Which is my present journey) and once more
Erect the Standard there of ancient Night;
Yours be th' advantage all, mine the revenge,
Thus Satan; and him thus the Anarch old
With faultering speech and visage incompos'd

Answer'd, I know thee, stranger, who thou art,
That mighty leading Angel, who of late
Made head against Heav'n's King, though overthrown.
I saw and heard, for such a numerous Host
Fled not in silence through the frighted deep

With ruin upon ruin, rout on rout,
Confusion worse confounded; and Heav'n Gates
Poured out by millions her victorious Bands
Pursuing. I upon my Frontiers here
Keep residence; if all I can will serve,

That little which is left fo to defend,
Encroach on still through our intestine broiles
VWeakening the Scepter of old Night; first Hell
Your dungeon stretching far and wide beneath;
Now lately Heaven and Earth, another World
Hung o'er my Realm, link'd in a golden Chain
To that side Heav'n from whence your Legions fell:
If that way be your walk, you have not far;
So much the neerer danger; go and speed;
Havock and spoil and ruin are my gain.

He cease'd; and Satan said not to reply,
But glad that now his Sea should find a shore,
WTh fresh alacritie and force renew'd
Springs upward like a Pyramid of fire
Into the wilde expanse, and through the shock

Of fighting Elements, on all sides round
Environ'd wins his way; harder befet

And

986 Standard | standard
993 Host | host
1000 defend, | defend

A comma seems to be needed.

Though both 1667 and 1674 so read, I think Milton intended 'your.'

1674 agrees with 1667 state 2 of text.
58 Paradise Lost. Book II.

And more endanger'd, then when Argo pas'd
Through Bosporus betwixt the jutting Rocks:
Or when Ulysses on the Larbord shunn'd
Charybdis, and by th' other whirlpool steard.

So he with difficulty and labour hard
Mov'd on, with difficulty and labour hee;
But hee once paft, soon after when man fell,
Strange alteration! Sin and Death amain

Following his track, such was the will of Heav'n,
Pav'd after him a broad and beat'n way
Over the dark Abyss, whose boiling Gulf
Tamely endur'd a Bridge of wondrous length
From Hell continu'd reaching th' utmost Orbe

Of this frail World, by which the Spirits perverse
VWith ealie intercourse pas'd to and fro
To tempt or punish mortals, except whom
God and good Angels guard by special grace.

But now at last the sacred influence
Of light appears, and from the walls of Heav'n
Shoots far into the bosome of dim Night
A glimmering dawn; here Nature first begins
Her fardeft verge, and Chaos to retire
VWith rumult lefs and with less hostile din,
That Satan with less toil, and now with eafe
VVaits on the calmer wave by dubious light
And like a weather-beaten Vessel holds
Gladly the Port, though Shrouds and Tackle torn;

Or in the emptier waste, resembling Air,
VVeighs his spread wings, at leasure to behold
Farr off th' Empyreal Heav'n, extended wide
In circuit, undetermin'd square or round,
VVith Opal Towers and Battlements adorn'd

Of living Saphire, once his native Seat;

And

Running Head. Lofit.] The recurrent round period. 1039 brok'd] brok'n In copies 12 and 22 of 1674, the d is skillfully altered to 'n' by a pen. This was probably done in the print shop. 1041 toil,] The i is faint in all copies examined. 1050 Of] Of
And fast by hanging in a golden Chain
This pendant world, in bigness as a Starr
Of smallest Magnitude close by the Moon.
Thither full fraught with mischievous revenge,
Accurst, and in a cursed hour he hies.

The End of the Second Book.

Paradise
Paradise Lost.

BOOK III.

THE ARGUMENT.

God sitting on his Throne sees Satan flying towards this world, then newly created; [shews him to the Son who sat at his right hand; foretells the success of Satan in perverting mankind; clears his own Justice and Wisdom from all imputation, having created Man free and able enough to have withstood his Tempter; yet declares his purpose of grace towards him, in regard he fell not of his own malice, as did Satan, but by him seduc't. The Son of God renders praise to his Father for the manifestation of his gracious purpose towards Man; but God again declares, that Grace cannot be extended towards Man without the satisfaction of divine Justice; Man hath offended the majesty of God by aspiring to God-head, and therefore with all his Progeny devoted to death must dye, unless some one can be found sufficient to answer for his offence, and undergo his Punishment. The Son of God freely offers himself a Ransom for Man: the Father

Title. Paradise Lost.] PARADISE LOST. In 1674 the first a is the one with the nicks in the vertical stroke. The rules are composite, not solid.

THE ARGUMENT. The collation of the Argument only, in order, is 1674, 1668, and 1669.

Book III. Paradise Lost.  61

Father accepts him, ordains his incarnation, pronounces his exaltation above all Names in Heaven and Earth; commands all the Angels to adore him; they obey, and hymning to their Harps in full Quire, celebrate the Father and the Son. Meanwhile Satan alights upon the bare Convex of this World's outermost Orb; where wandering he first finds a place since call'd The Lymbo of Vanity; what persons and things fly up thither; thence comes to the Gate of Heaven, describ'd ascending by stairs, and the waters above the Firmament that flow about it: His passage thence to the Orb of the Sun, he finds there Uriel the Regent of that Orb, but first changes himself into the shape of a meaner Angel, and pretending a zealous desire to behold the new Creation and Man whom God had plac't here, inquires of him the place of his habitation, and is directed first on Mount Niphates.

Hail holy Light, offspring of Heav'n first-born, Of th' Eternal Coeternal beam May I express thee unblam'd? since God is light, And never but in unapproached light Dwelt from Eternitie, dwelt then in thee, Bright effluence of bright essence increase. Or hear'st thou rather pure Ethereal stream, Whole Fountain who shall tell? before the Sun, Before the Heavens thou wast, and at the voice Of God, as with a Mantle didst invest The rising world of water: dark and deep, Won from the void and formless infinite. Thee I revisit now with bolder wing, Escap't the Stygian Pool, though long detain'd

The Argument. The collation of the Argument only is 1674, 1668, and 1669.

The Text.  1 Light, light, 11 waters] The s is very faint in all copies examined.
62  Paradice Lost.  Book III.

15  In that obscure sojourn, while in my flight
Through utter and through middle darknes borne
With other notes then to th' Orphean Lyre
I sung of Chaos and Eternal Night,
Taught by the heav'nly Muse to venture down
The dark descent, and up to reascend,
Though hard and rare: thee I revisit safe,
And feel thy soveran vital Lamp; but thou
Revisit'st not these eyes, that rowle in vain
To find thy piercing ray, and find no dawn;
20  So thick a drop serene hath quencht thir Orbs,
Or dim suffusion veild. Yet not the more
Cease I to wander where the Muses haunt
Cleer Spring, or thidie Grove, or Sunnie Hill,
Smitt with the love of sacred Song; but chief
Thee Sion and the flowrie Brooks beneath
That waft thy hallow'd feet, and warbling flow,
Nightly I visit: nor somtimes forget
Those other two equal'd with me in Fate,
So were I equal'd with them in renown,
30  Blind Thamyris and blind Maonides,
And Tiresias and Phineus Prophets old.
Then feed on thoughts, that voluntarie move
Harmonious numbers; as the wakeful Bird
Sings darkling, and in shadiest Covert hid
Tunes her nocturnal Note. Thus with the Year
Seafons return, but not to me returns
Day, or the sweet approach of Ev'n or Morn,
Or flight of vernal bloom, or Summers Rose,
Or flocks, or herds, or human face divine;
35  But cloud in head, and everduring dark
Surrounds me, from the chearful wayes of men
Cut off, and for the Book of knowledge fair
Presented with a Universal blanc

25  Orbs,] The punctuation here is a comma in 1674 as in 1667.  29  Song;] song;  33  me]]
Stressed.  35  Maonides,] Maonides\ Maonides,  1674 agrees with state 2 of 1667.
40  Year,] year,\ Year 1674 agrees with state 2 of 1667.  41  me]]] Stressed.
44  heard,] herds,  46  wayes] waies
Book III. Paradice Lost. 63

Of Natures works to mee expung'd and ras'd,
And wisdome at one entrance quite shut out.
So much the rather thou Celestial light
Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers
Irradiate, there plant eyes, all mist from thence
Purge and disperfe, that I may see and tell
Of things invisible to mortal sight.

Now had the Almighty Father from above,
From the pure Empyrean where he sits
High Thron'd above all bight, bent down his eye,
His own works and their works at once to view:

About him all the Sanctities of Heaven
Stood thick as Starrs, and from his sight receiv'd
Beatitude past utterance; on his right
The radiant image of his Glory sat,
His onely Son; On Earth he first beheld

Our two first Parents, yet the onely two
Of mankind, in the happie Garden plac't,
Reaping immortal fruits of joy and love,
Uninterrupted joy, unrivald love
In blissful solitude; he then survey'd

Hell and the Gulf between, and Satan there
Coafting the wall of Heavn on this side Night
In the dun Air sublime, and ready now
To stoop with wearied wings, and willing feet
On the bare outside of this World, that seem'd

Firm land imbofom'd without Firmament,
Uncertain which, in Ocean or in Air.
Him God beholding from his prospect high,
Wherein past, present, future he beholds,
Thus to his onely Son foreseeing spake.

Onely begotten Son, feest thou what rage
Transports our adverfarie, whom no bounds
Prescrib'd, no barrs of Hell, nor all the chains

Heapt

59 their ]] Stressed. view: ] Italic colon. 61 flight] flight] flight 1674 agrees with state 2 of 1667. 64 onely ]] Stressed. 65 onely ]] Stressed. 74 World, ] The W is wrong font.
77 God ] The G is broken in all copies examined. 78 Wherein ] The W is wrong font.
79 onely ]] Stressed.
64 Paradise Lost. Book III.

Heapt on him there, nor yet the main Abyss
Wide interrupt can hold; so bent he seems

85 On desperate revenge, that shall redound
Upon his own rebellious head. And now
Through all restraint broke loose he wings his way
Not farr off Heav'n, in the Precincts of light,
Directly towards the new created World,

And Man there plac't, with purpose to assay
If him by force he can destroy, or worse,
By some false guile pervert; and shall pervert
For man will hark'nto his glazing yyes,
And easily transgress the sole Command,

90 Sole pledge of his obedience: So will fall,
Hee and his faithles Progenie: whose fault?
Whose but his own? ingrate, he had of mee
All he could have; I made him just and right,
Sufficient to have flood, though free to fall.

Such I created all th'Ethereal Powers
And Spirits, both them who flood and them who faild;
Freely they flood who flood, and fell who fell.
Not free, what proof could they have given sincere
Of true allegiance, constant Faith or Love,

95 Where onely what they needs must do, appeard,
Not what they would; what praise could they re-
What pleasure I from such obedience paid, (ceive?)
When Will and Reason (Reason also is choice)
Useless and vain, of freedom both depoild,

100 Made passive both, had servd necessity,
Not mee. They therefore as to right belon'd,
So were created, nor can justly accuse
Thir maker, or thir making, or thir Fate,
As if predestination over-ruil'd

105 Thir will, disposed by absolute Decree
Or high foreknowledge; they themselves decreed

Thir
Book III. Paradise Lost.

Thir own revolt, not I: if I foreknew,  
For knowledge had no influence on their fault,  
Which had no less prov'd certain unforeknown.

So without least impulse or shadow of Fate,  
Or aught by me immutablie foreseen,  
They transgress, Authors to themselves in all  
Both what they judge and what they choose; for so  
I formd them free, and free they mult remain,

Till they enthrall themselves: I else must change  
Thir nature, and revoke the high Decree  
Unchangeable, Eternal, which ordain'd  
Thir freedom, they themselves ordain'd thir fall.  
The first fort by thir own fuggestion fell,

Self-tempted, self-deprav'd: Man falls deceiv'd  
By the other first: Man therefore shall find grace,  
The other none: in Mercy and Justice both,  
Through Heav'n and Earth, so shall my glorie excel,  
But Mercy first and last shall brightest shine.

Thus while God spake, ambrosial fragrance fill'd  
All Heav'n, and in the bleffed Spirits elect  
Senfe of new joy ineffable diffus'd:  
Beyond compare the Son of God was seen  
Molt glorious, in him all his Father shon

Substantially express'd, and in his face  
Divine compassion visibly appeard,  
Love without end, and without measure Grace,  
Which uttering thus be to his Father spake.  
O Father, gracious was that word which clos'd

Thy sovereign sentence, that Man should find grace;  
For which both Heav'n and Earth shall high estoil  
Thy praises, with th' innumerable found  
Of Hymns and sacred Songs, wherewith thy Throne  
Encompass'd shall resound thee ever blest.

For should Man finally be lost, should Man

---

118 their]] It is difficult to determine the metrical quantity of this word. 119 Which] The W is wrong font. 121 me]] Stressed. 143 he]] Stressed?
Paradise Lost. Book III.

Thy creature late so lov'd, thy youngest Son
Fall circumvented thus by fraud, though joynd
With his own folly? that be from thee far,
That far be from thee, Father, who art Judg

155 Of all things made, and judgest onely right.
Or shall the Adversarie thus obtain
His end, and frustrate thine, shall he fulfill
His malice, and thy goodness bring to naught,
Or proud return though to his heavier doom,

160 Yet with revenge accomplisht and to Hell
Draw after him the whole Race of mankind,
By him corrupted? or wilt thou thy self
Abolish thy Creation, and unmake,
For him, what for thy glorie thou haft made?

165 So should thy goodness and thy greatnes both
Be questioned and blasphem'd without defence.
To whom the great Creatour thus reply'd.
O Son, in whom my Soul hath chief delight,
Son of my bofom, Son who art alone

170 My word, my wisdom, and effectual might,
All haft thou spok'n as my thoughts are, all
As my Eternal purpose hath decreed:
Man shall not quite be lost, but fav'd who will,
Yet not of will in him, but grace in me

175 Freely voutsaft; once more I will renew
His lapsed powers, though forfeit and enthral'd
By in to foul exorbitant desires;
Upheld by me, yet once more he shall stand
On even ground againft his mortal foe,

180 By me upheld, that he may know how frail
H's fall'n condition is, and to me ow
All his deliv'rance, and to none but me.
Some I have cho'en of peculiar grace
Elect above the reit; fo is my will:

The

154 Judg.] Judge 155 onely]] Stressed. 157 thine] The i is faint and the dot over it scarcely printed in any 1674 copy examined. he] Stressed. 174 me]] Stressed. 178 me,]] Stressed. 180 me]] Stressed. he]] Stressed. 181 His] In most copies examined the i failed to print and is practically indiscernible in others. 182 me,]] Stressed. 184 will:] Italic colon.
THE TEXT OF THE SECOND EDITION  

Book III. Paradise Lost.  

185 The reit shall hear me call, and oft be warnd  
Thir sinful state, and to appease betimes  
Th' incensed Deitie, while offerd grace  
Invites; for I will clear thir senfes dark,  
What may suffice, and soft'n thine hearts  
190 To pray, repent, and bring obedience due.  
To Pray, repentance, and obedience due,  
Though but endevor with sincere intent,  
Mine ear shall not be slow, mine eye not shut.  
And I will place within them as a guide  
195 My Umpire Conscience, whom if they will hear,  
Light after light well us'd they shall attain,  
And to the end persifting, safe arrive.  
This my long sufferance and my day of grace  
They who neglect and scorn, shall never taste;  
200 But hard be hard'nd, blind be blinded more,  
That they may stumble on, and deeper fall;  
And none but such from mercy I exclude.  
But yet all is not don; Man disobeying,  
Dilloyal breaks his fealtie, and finns  
205 Against the high Supremacie of Heav'n,  
Afflicting God-head, and so loosing all,  
To expiate his Treason hath naught left,  
But to destruction sacred and devote,  
He with his whole polterie must dye,  
210 Dye hee or Justice must; unless for him  
Som other able, and as willing, pay  
The rigid satisfaction, death for death.  
Say Heav'nly powers, where shall we find such love,  
Which of ye will be mortal to redeem  
215 Mans mortal crime, and just th' unjust to save,  
Dwels in all Heaven charitie so deare?  
He ask'd, but all the Heav'nly Quire flood mute,  
And silence was in Heav'n: on mans behalf  
F 2  
Patron
68 Paradise Lost. Book III.

Patron or Intercessor none appeard,
220 Much less that durft upon his own head draw
The deadly forfeiture, and ransom fet.
And now without redemption all mankind
Much have bin lost, adjudged to Death and Hell
By doom severe, had not the Son of God,
225 In whom the fulness dwells of love divine,
His dearest mediation thus renew'd.
Father, thy word is past, man shall find grace;
And shall grace not find means, that finds her way,
The speedieft of thy winged messengers,
230 To visit all thy creatures, and to all
Comes unprevent'd, unimplor'd, unsought,
Happie for man, so coming; he her aide
Can never seek, once dead in sins and lost;
Atonement for himself or offering meet,
235 Indebted and undon, hath none to bring:
Behold mee then, mee for him, life for life
I offer, on mee let thine anger fall;
Account mee man; I for his sake will leave
Thy bosom, and this glorie next to thee
240 Freely put off, and for him laftly dye
Well pleas'd, on mee let Death wreck all his rage;
Under his gloomy power I shall not long
Lie vanquish'd; thou hast given me to possesse
Life in my self for ever, by thee I live,
245 Though now to Death I yield, and am his due
All that of me can die, yet that debt paid,
Thou wilt not leave me in the loathful grave
His prey, nor suffer my unspotted Soule
For ever with corruption there to dwell;
250 But I shall rise Victorious, and subdue
My vanquisher, spoil'd of his vanced spoile;
Death his death's wound shall then receive, and stooop
Inglorious, of his mortall sting difarm'd.
Book III.  Paradise Lost.  69

I through the ample Air in Triumph high

Shall lead Hell Captive mangre Hell, and show

The powers of darkness bound.  Thou at the sight

Pleased, out of Heaven shalt look down and smile,

While by thee rais'd I ruin all my foes,

Death laft, and with his Carcass glut the Grave:

Then with the multitude of my redeem'd

Shall enter Heaven long absent, and returne,

Father, to see thy face, wherein no cloud

Of anger shall remain, but peace assur'd,

And reconciliation; wrath shall be no more

Thenceforth, but in thy presence Joy entire.

His words here ended, but his meek aspect

Silent yet spake, and breath'd immortal love

To mortal men, above which only thon

Fifial obedience: as a sacrifice

Glad to be offer'd, he attends the will

Of his great Father.  Admiration feis'd

All Heav'n, what this might mean, and whither tend

Wondring; but soon th' Almighty thus reply'd:

O thou in Heav'n and Earth the only peace

Found out for mankind under wrath, O thou

My sole complacence! well thou know'st how dear,

To me are all my works, nor Man the least

Though last created, that for him I spare

Thee from my bosom and right hand, to save,

By looking thee a while, the whole Race loast,

Thou therefore whom thou only canst redeem,

Thir Nature also to thy Nature joyn;

And be thy self Man among men on Earth,

Made flesh, when time shall be, of Virgin seed,

By wondrous birth: Be thou in Adams room

The Head of all mankind, though Adams Son.

As in him perish all men, so in thee

F 3 As
70 Paradise Lost.  Book III.

As from a second root shall be restor'd,
As many as are restor'd, without thee none.

290 His crime makes guilty all his Sons, thy meric
Imputed shall absolve them who renounce
Their own both righteous and unrighteous deeds,
And live in thee transplanted, and from thee
Receive new life.  So Man, as is most just,

Shall satisfy for Man, be judg'd and die,
And dying rise, and rising with him raise
His Brethren, ranom'd with his own dear life.
So Heav'nly love shall outdo Hellish hate
Giving to death, and dying to redeem,

300 So dearly to redeem what Hellish hate
So easilys destroy'd, and still destroyes
In those who, when they may, accept not grace.
Nor shalt thou by descending to assume
Mans Nature, lest's n' or degrade thine owne.

305 Because thou haft, though Thron'd in highest bliss
Equal to God, and equally enjoying
God-like fruition, quitted all to fave
A World from utter los, and haft been found
By Merit more then Birthright Son of God,

310 Found worthieth to be so by being Good,
Farr more then Great or High; because in thee
Love hath abounded more then Glory abounds,
Therefore thy Humiliation shall exalt
With thee thy Manhood also to this Throne;

315 Here shalt thou sit incarnate, here shalt Reign
Both God and Man, Son both of God and Man,
Anointed universal King; all Power
I give thee, reign for ever, and assume
Thy Merits; under thee as Head Supream

320 Thrones, Princedoms, Powers, Dominions I reduce:
All knees to thee shall bow, of them that bide

In

298 shall] shall hate, The comma seems to be needed.  314 Throne;} The punctuation here in 1674 is a semicolon so badly worn that it looks like a comma in all copies examined; but in some copies a faint trace of the upper element shows. In some copies this element is more noticeable than in others, and in no copy examined is it entirely lacking. The 1678 edition set a comma here. See line 317.  315 Reign] Reigne  317 King;} The same condition obtains here as in line 314. That is, from examination of a large number of copies, there can be no doubt that the punctuation in 1674 was a semicolon. It is equally true that no copy shows a clear semicolon, only the faintest trace of the upper element showing in any copy examined. A single copy can convince no one; but after examination of a large number, any observer will, no matter how reluctantly, be convinced that the mark was produced by a well-worn semicolon. Wright's treatment (1903) of these two lines is incomprehensible.
Book III.  Paradise Lost.  71

In Heaven, or Earth, or under Earth in Hell;
When thou attended gloriously from Heav'n
Shalt in the Sky appear, and from thee send
The summoning Arch-Angels to proclaime
Thy dread Tribunal: forthwith from all Windes
The living, and forthwith the cited dead
Of all past Ages to the general Doom
Shall hail, such a peal shallrouse thir sleep.
Then all thy Saints assembl'd, thou shalt judge
Bad men and Angels, they arraigned shall sink
Beneath thy Sentence; Hell her numbers full,
Thenceforth shall be for ever still. Mean while
The World shall burn, and from her ashes spring
New Heav'n and Earth, wherein the just shall dwell,
And after all thir tribulations long
See golden days, fruitful of golden deeds,
With Joy and Love triumphing, and fair Truth.
Then thou thy regal Scepter shalt lay by,
For regal Scepter then no more shall need,
God shall be All in All. But all ye Gods,
Adore him, who to compass all this dies,
Adore the Son, and honour him as mee.
No sooner had th' Almighty ceased, but all
The multitude of Angels with a shout
Loud as from numbers without number, sweet
As from blest voices, uttering joy; Heav'n rung
With Jubilee, and loud Hosanna's fill'd
Th' eternal Regions: lowly reverent'
Towards either Throne they bow, and to the ground
With solemn adoration down they cast
Thir Crowns inwove with Amarant and Gold,
Immortal Amarant, a Flour which once
In Paradise, fall by the Tree of Life
Began to bloom, but soon for mans offence

324  Skie  332  Hell  335  dwell  344  fooner  348  fill'd  349  reverent'
Paradise Lost. Book III.

To Heav’n remov’d where first it grew, there grows,
And flowers aloft shading the Fount of Life,
And where the river of Blifs through midst of Heavn
Rowls o’re Elifan Flours her Amber stream;
With these that never fade the Spirits elect
Bind thir resplendent locks in wreath’d with beams,
Now in loose Garlands thick thrown off, the bright
Pavement that like a Sea of Jasper shon
Impurpl’d with Celestial Roses smil’d.

Then Crown’d again thir gold’n Harps they took,
Harps ever tun’d, that glittering by thir side
Like Quivers hung, and with Preamble sweet
Of charming symphonie they introduce
Thir sacred Song, and waken raptures high;
No voice exempt, no voice but well could joine
Melodious part, such concord is in Heavn.

Thee Father first they fung Omnipotent,
 Immutable, Immortal, Infinite,
 Eternal King; thee Author of all being,
 Fountain of Light, thy self invisible
Amidst the glorious brightness where thou first
Thron’d inaccessible, but when thou shed’st
The full blaze of thy beams, and through a cloud
Drawn round about thee like a radiant Shrine,

Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appeare,
Yet dazle Heavn, that brightest Seraphim
Approach not, but with both wings veil thir eyes.
Thee next they fung of all Creation first,
Begotten Son, Divine Similitude,

In whose conspicuous countenance, without cloud
Made visible, th’ Almighty Father shines,
Whom else no Creature can behold; on thee
Imprest the effulgence of his Glorie abides,
Transfus’d on thee his ample Spirit rests.

Hee
Hee Heav'n of Heavens and all the Powers therein
By thee created, and by thee threw down
Th' aspiring Dominations: thou that day
Thy Fathers dreadful Thunder didst not spare,
Nor stop thy flaming Chariot wheels, that shook
Heav'n's everlasting Frame, while o're the necks
Thou drov'est of warring Angels disarray'd.
Back from pursuit thy Powers with loud acclaim:
Thee only extoll'd, Son of thy Fathers might,
To execute fierce vengeance on his foes,
Not so on Man; him through their malice fall'n,
Father of Mercie and Grace, thou didst not doome
So stringly, but much more to pitie encline:
No sooner did thy dear and onely Son
Perceive thee purpos'd not to doom frail Man
So stringly, but much more to pitie enclind,
He to appease thy wrath, and end the strife
Of Mercy and Justice in thy face discern'd,
Regardlesst of the Bliss wherein hee sat
Second to thee, offer'd himself to die
For mans offence. O unexampl'd love,
Love no where to be found lesst then Divine!
Hail Son of God, Saviour of Men, thy Name
Shall be the copious matter of my Song
Henceforth, and never shall my Harp thy praise
Forget, nor from thy Fathers praise disjoin'd.
Thus they in Heav'n, above the stary Sphair,
Thir happie hours in joy and hymning spent.
Mean while upon the firm opacon Globe
Of this round World, whose first convex divides
The luminous inferior Orbs, enclos'd
From Chaos and th' inroad of Darknes old,
Satan alighted walks: a Globe farr off
It seem'd, now seems a boundlesse Continent

398 extoll'd,] extold, 402 encline:[ ] There is little doubt in my mind that this word needs a final 'd' and that the spelling should be enclin'd; as in line 405. 403 onely ]] Stressed.
406 He ]] This spelling, with a single e comes from 1667. The word, however, appears to be heavily stressed. 408 bee ]] This spelling, with ee comes also from the 1667 text. There can be little doubt that the stressed form should have been in line 406, and that this word in this line, 408, should have been printed in the unstressed form. This pair of lines contains one of the best examples in the 1674 edition of how closely the compositor was following his copy, which was the 1667 text as emended by Milton through amanuenses, of course. The case here is obvious.
If the e is to be doubled in line 408, it should be quadrupled in line 406.
Dark, waste, and wild, under the frown of Night
Starless expos'd, and ever-threatening storms
Of Chaos blustering round, inclement skies;
Save on that side which from the wall of Heaven
Though distant far from small reflection gains
Of glimmering airs vex'd with tempest loud:
Here walk'd the Fiend at large in spacious field.
As when a Vultur on Imaus' bred,
Whose snowy ridge the roving Tartar bounds,
Dislodging from a Region scarce of prey
To gorge the flesh of Lambs or yearling Kids
On Hills where Flocks are fed flies toward the Springs
Of Ganges or Hydaspes, Indian streams;
But in his way lights on the barren plains
Of Sericana, where Chinese's drive
With Sails and Wind their canie Wagons light.
So on this windie Sea of Land, the Fiend
Walk'd up and down alone bent on his prey,
Alone, for other Creature in this place
Living or liveless to be found was none,
None yet, but store hereafter from the earth.
Up hither like Aereal vapours flew
Of all things transfitoric and vain, when Sin
With vanity had fill'd the works of men:
Both all things vain, and all who in vain things
Built their fond hopes of Glorie or lasting fame,
Or happiness in this or the other life;
All who have their reward on Earth, the fruits
Of painful Superstition and blind Zeal,
Naught seeking but the praise of men, here find
Fit retribution, emptie as their deeds;
All th' unaccomplish'd works of Nature's hand,
Abortive, monstrous, or unkindly mixt,
Dissolv'd on Earth, flees hither, and in vain,
Till
Book III. Paradise Lost. 75

Till final dissolution, wander here,
Not in the neighbouring Moon, as some have dream'd;
Those argent Fields more likely habitants,
Translated Saints, or middle Spirits hold
Betwixt th' Angelical and Human kinde:
Hither of ill-joynd Sons and Daughters born
First from the ancient World those Giants came
With many a vain exploit, though then renown'd:
The builders next of Babel on the Plain
Of Semnar, and still with vain designe
New Babels, had they wherewithall, would build:
Others came single; he who to be deem'd
A God, leap'd fondly into Etna flames,
Empedocles, and hee who to enjoy
Plato's Elysium, leap'd into the Sea,
Cleombrotus, and many more too long,
Embryo's and Idiots, Eremits and Friers
White, Black and Grey, with all their trumperie,
Here Pilgrims roam, that stray'd so far to seek
In Golgotha him dead, who lives in Heav'n;
And they who to be sure of Paradise
Dying put on the weeds of Dominic,
Or in Franciscan think to pass disguis'd;
They pass the Planets seven, and pass the fixt,
And that Crystalline Sphaer whose ballance weighs
The Trepidation talkt, and that first mov'd;
And now Saint Peter at Heav'n's Wicket seems
To wait them with his Keys, and now at foot
Of Heav'n's ascents they lift thir Feet, when loe
A violent cross wind from either Coast
Blows them transverse ten thousand Leagues awry
Into the devious Air; then might ye see
Cowles, Hoods and Habits with thir wearers toft
And flutter'd into Raggs, then Reliques, Beads,

468 Babels,]] The recurrent smashed comma of 1674. 469 he] hee Stressed? 471 hee]] Here the stressed form is used as in 1667. It is almost certain that the same stressed form should have been used in line 469 as here, and as 1667 had printed them, for the construction is the same in both lines. 472 Plato's]] The s is roman.
Indulgences, Dispensations, Pardons, Bulls,
The Sport of Winds: all these upwhirl'd aloft
Fly o're the backside of the World farr off
Into a Limbo large and broad, since call'd
The Paradise of Fools, to few unknown
Long after, now unpeopled, and untrod;
All this dark Globe the Fiend found as he pafs'd,
And long he wandered, till at last a gleame
Of dawning light turn'd thither-ward in haste
His travel'd steps; farr distant he descries
Ascending by degrees magnificent
Up to the wall of Heaven a Structure high,
At top whereof, but farr more rich appeareth
The work as of a Kingly Palace Gate
With Frontispice of Diamond and Gold
Imbellisht, thick with sparkling orient Gemmes
The Portal shown, imitable on Earth
By Model, or by shading Pencil drawn.
The Stairs were such as whereon Iacob saw
Angels ascending and descending, bands
Of Guardians bright, when he from Esau fled
To Padan-Aram in the field of Luz,
Dreaming by night under the open Skie,
And waking cri'd, This is the Gate of Heav'n
Each Stair mysteriously was meant, nor flood
There alwayes, but drawn up to Heav'n somtimes
Viewles, and underneath a bright Sea flow'd
Of Jasper, or of liquid Pearl, whereon
Who after came from Earth, sayling arriv'd,
Wafted by Angels, or flew o're the Lake
Rapt in a Chariot drawn by fiery Steeds,
The Stairs were then let down, whether to dare
The Fiend by calie ascent, or aggravate
His sad exclusion from the dores of Blifs.

Running Head. Book. | Note the occasional, unneeded period. 497 Long | The g is battered in all copies examined. untrod; | The top element of the semicolon is broken in all 1674 copies examined. 501 he] hee Stressed? 515 This is the Gate of Heav'n] This is the Gate of Heav'n.
517 always,] alwaies,
Book III. Paradise Lost.

Direct against which op'nd from beneath,
Just o're the blissful seat of Paradise,
A passage down to th' Earth, a passage wide,
Wider by far the than that of after-times

Over Mount Sion, and, though that were large,
Over the Promis'd Land to God so dear,
By which, to visit oft those happy Tribes,
On high beheld his Angels to and fro
Pafs'd frequent and his eye with choice regard

From Pantas the fount of Jordans flood
To Beerfaba, where the Holy Land
Borders on Egypt and the Arabian shore;
So wide the op'ning seem'd where bounds were set
To darkness, such as bound the Ocean wave.

Satan from hence now on the lower stair
That scale'd by steps of Gold to Heav'n Gate
Looks down with wonder at the sudden view
Of all this World at once. As when a Scout
Through dark and defart ways with peril gone
All night; at last by break of cheerfull dawne
Obtains the brow of some high-climbing Hill,
Which to his eye discovers unaware
The goodly prospect of some forein land
First-seen, or some renown'd Metropolis

With glistering Spires and Pinnacles adornd,
Which now the Rifting Sun guilds with his beams.
Such wonder feis'd, though after Heaven seen,
The Spirit maligne, but much more envy feis'd
At sight of all this World beheld so faire.

Round he furveys, and well might, where he stood
So high above the circling Canopie
Of Nights extended shade; from Eastern Point
Of Libra to the Heeie Starr that bears
Andromeda farr off Atlantic Seas

Beyond
78 Paradise Lost. Book III.

560 Beyond th' Horizon; then from Pole to Pole
He views in breith, and without longer pause
Down right into the Worlds first Region throws
His flight precipitant, and windes with ease
Through the pure marble Air his oblique way

565 Amongst innumerable Stars, that from
Stars distant, but nigh hand seemd other Worlds,
Or other Worlds they seemd, or happy Iles,
Like those Hesperian Gardens fam'd of old,
Fortunate Fields, and Groves and flourie Vales,

570 Thrice happy Iles, but who dwelt happy there
He stayd not to enquire: above them all
The golden Sun in splendor likest Heaven
Allur'd his eye: Thither his course he bends
Through the calm Firmament; but up or downe

575 By center, or eccentric, hard to tell,
Or Longitude, where the great Luminarie
Aloof the vulgar Constellations thick,
That from his Lordly eye keep distance due,
Dispenes Light from far; they as they move

580 Thir Starry dance in numbers that compute
Days, months, & years, towards his all-chieing Lamp
Turn swift thir various motions, or are turnd
By his Magnetic beam, that gently warms
The Univers, and to each inward part

585 With gentle penetration, though unseen,
Shoots invisile vertue even to the deep:
So wondroufly was set his Station bright.
There lands the Fiend, a spot like which perhaps
Astronomer in the Sun's lucent Orbe

590 Through his glaz'd Optic Tube yet never saw.
The place he found beyond expression bright,
Compar'd with aught on Earth, Medal or Stone;
Not all parts like, but all alike informed

With

580 Starry] Sarry 581 &] and 582 thir] their Unstressed. 586 invisile] So spaced in all
1674 copies examined.
Book III.  Paradise Lost.

With radiant light, as glowing Iron with fire;
If metal, part seemd Gold, part Silver clear;
If stone, Carbuncle most or Chrysolite,
Rubie or Topaz, to the Twelve that shon
In Aarons Breast-plate, and a stone besides
Imagind rather oft then elsewhere seen,

That stone, or like to that which here below
Philosophers in vain so long have sought,
In vain, though by thir powerful Art they binde
Volatil *Hermes*, and call up unbound
In various shapes old *Proteus* from the Sea,

Draind through a Limbec to his Native forme.
What wonder then if fields and regions here
Breathe forth *Elixir* pure, and Rivers run
Potable Gold, when with one vertuous touch
Th' Arch-chimic Sun so farr from us remote

Produces with Terrestrial Humor mixt:
Here in the dark so many precious things
Of colour glorious and effect so rare?
Here matter new to gaze the Devil met
Undazl'd, farr and wide his eye commands,

For sight no obstacle found here, nor shade,
But all Sun-shine, as when his Beams at Noon
Culminate from th' *Equator*, as they now
Shot upward still direct, whence no way round
Shadow from body opaque can fall, and the Aire,

No where so cleer, shar pond his visual ray
To objects distant farr, whereby he soon
Saw within kenn a glorious Angel stand,
The fame whom *John* saw also in the Sun:
His back was turnd, but not his brightnes hid;

Of beaming sunnie Raies, a golden tiar
Circl'd his Head, nor left his Locks behind
Illustrious on his Shoulders fledge with wings

594 With| Which  With is correct.  602 binde| The final *e* is wrong font. It was not reset in any copy examined.
80 **Paradise Lost.** Book III.

Lay waving round; on some great charge impoy'd
He seem'd, or fixt in cogitation deep.

630 Glad was the Spirit impure as now in hope
To find who might direct his wandering flight
To Paradise the happie seat of Man,
His journies end and our beginning woe.
But first he calls to change his proper shape,
Which else might work him danger or delay:
And now a stripling Cherube he appears,
Not of the prime, yet such as in his face
Youth smil'd Celestial, and to every Limb
Suitable grace diffus'd, so well he sign'd;

635 Under a Coronet his flowing haire
In curls on either cheek plaid, wings he wore
Of many a colour'd plume sprinkl'd with Gold,
His habit fit for speed succinct, and held
Before his decent steps a Silver wand.

640 He drew not nigh unheard, the Angel bright,
Ere he drew nigh, his radiant visage turnd,
Admonisht by his ear, and straight was known
Th' Arch-Angel Uriel, one of the heav'n
Who in God's preference, nearest to his Throne

645 Stand ready at command, and are his Eyes
That run through all the heav'ns, or down to th' Earth
Bear his swift errands over moist and dry,
O're Sea and Land: him Satan thus accostes;
Uriel, for thou of those heav'n Spirits that stand

650 In flight of God's high Throne, gloriously bright,
The first art wont his great authentic will
Interpreter through highest Heav'n to bring,
Where all his Sons thy Embassie attend;
And here art likeliest by supream decree

655 Like honour to obtain, and as his Eye
To visit oft this new Creation round;

---

629 He | Hee Is this word stressed? 630 impure | impure | impure | 1674 agrees with 1667 state 1 only. There should be a semicolon here, as in 1667 state 2. See also lines 633 and 655.
647 ear | eare, 632 Heav'n, or | No space, but the line is long.
655 God's | God's | God's | Once more this is state 1 of 1667, and should be 'God's' as in 1667 state 2. See my volume 2:320-321. This page in 1674 was set from a 1667 copy having the recto of Signature L in state 1.
Book III. Paradise Lost. 81

Unspeakeable desire to see, and know
All these his wondrous works, but chiefly Man,
His chief delight and favour, him for whom
All these his works so wondrous he ordain'd,
Hath brought me from the Quires of Cherubim
Alone thus wandring. Brightest Seraph tell
In which of all these shining Orbes hath Man
His fixed seat, or fixed seat hath none,
But all these shining Orbes his choice to dwell;
That I may find him, and with secret gaze,
Or open admiration him behold
On whom the great Creator hath bestowed
Worlds, and on whom hath all these graces pow'r;
That both in him and all things, as is meet,
The Universal Maker we may praise;
Who justly hath driv'n out his Rebell Foes
To deep'lt Hell, and to repair that loss
Created this new happy Race of Men
To serve him better: wife are all his ways.
So spake the false dissembler unperceiv'd;
For neither Man nor Angel can discern
Hypocrify, the onely evil that walks
Invisible, except to God alone,
By his permittive will, through Heav'n and Earth:
And oft though wisdom wake, suspicion sleeps
At wisdoms Gate, and to simplitie
Resigns her charge, while goodness thinks no ill
Where no ill seems: Which now for once beguil'd
Vriel, though Regent of the Sun, and held
The sharpest fighted Spirit of all in Heav'n;
Who to the fraudulent Impostor foule
In his uprightness answ'red thus return'd.
Fair Angel, thy desire which tends to know
The works of God, thereby to glorifie
82 Paradise Lost. Book III.

The great Work-Master, leads to no excess
That reaches blame, but rather merits praise
The more it seems excess, that led thee hither
From thy Empyreal Mansion thus alone,

700 To witness with thine eyes what some perhaps
Contented with report hear only in heav'n:
For wonderful indeed are all his works,
Pleasant to know, and worthieth to be all
Had in remembrance always with delight;

705 But what created mind can comprehend
Thir number, or the wisdom infinite
That brought them forth, but hid thir causes deep.
I saw when at his Word the formless Mafs,
This worlds material mould, came to a heap:

710 Confusion heard his voice, and wilde uproar
Stood rul'd, flood vast infinitude confin'd;
Till at his second bidding darkness fled,
Light then, and order from disorder sprung;
Swift to thir several Quarters halted then

715 The cumbrous Elements, Earth, Flood, Aire, Fire,
And this Ethereal quintessence of Heav'n
Flew upward, spirited with various forms,
That round orbicular, and turn'd to Starrs
Numberles, as thou feest, and how they move;

720 Each had his place appointed, each his course,
The rest in circuit walles this Universe.
Look downward on that Globe whose hither side
With light from hence, though but reflected, shines;
That place is Earth the seat of Man, that light

725 His day, which else as th' other Hemisphere
Night would invade, but there the neighbouring Moon
( So call that opposite fair Starr ) her aide
Timely interposes, and her monthly round
Still ending, still renewing, through mid Heav'n;

With

701 hear] heare heav'n:] Italic colon. 710 Confusion] Confusion 725 invade, but] No space, but the line is long. 729 renewing, ] renewing renewing 1674 is from state 1 of 1667, and apparently no comma was wanted here. Heav'n; Heav'n; Heav'n. Again, this is from state 1 of 1667, and should read with a comma, as in state 2. See my volume 2:326-327.
Book III. Paradise Lost. 83

730 With borrowd light her countenance triform
Hence fills and empties to enlighten th' Earth,
And in her pale dominion checks the night.
That spot to which I point is Paradise,
Adams abode, those lostic shades his Bowre.

735 Thy way thou canst not misc, me mine requires.

Thus said, he turn'd, and Satan bowing low,
As to superior Spirits is wont in Heaven,
Where honour due and reverence none neglecs,
Took leave, and toward the coast of Earth beneath,

740 Down from th' Ecliptic, sped with hop'd success,
Throws his steep flight in many an Aerie wheele,
Nor stayd, till on Niphatas top he lights.

The End of the Third Book.

G 2 Paradise

731 th' Earth, th' Earth, th' Earth, 1674 is from state 1 of 1667. Apparently Milton wanted a different stress here, as the final state of 1667 reads 'the Earth, 737 Heaven, Heaven, Heaven.
Again, 1674 is from state 1 of 1667, the final state of which is 'Heav'n,' 741 in] with\in The 1668 Errata call for in which fact explains why, although using the earlier state of 1667 here, the word is changed, although the other features of 1667 state 1 are retained.
THE ARGUMENT.

Satan now in prospect of Eden, and nigh the place where he must now attempt the bold enterprise which he undertook alone against God and Man, falls into many doubts with himself, and many passions, fear, envy, and despair; but at length confirms himself in evil, journeys on to Paradise, whose outward prospect and situation is described, overleaps the bounds, sits in the shape of a Cormorant on the Tree of life, as highest in the Garden to look about him. The Garden described; Satan's first sight of Adam and Eve; his wonder at their excellent form and happy state, but with resolution to work their fall; overhears their discourse, thence gathers that the Tree of knowledge was forbidden them to eat of, under penalty of death; and therefore intends to found his Temptation, by seducing them to transgress: then leaves them a while, to know further of their state by some other means. Meanwhile Uriel descending on a Sun-beam warns Gabriel, who had in charge the Gate of Paradise,
Book IV. Paradise Lost. 85

dile, that some evil spirit had escap'd the Deep, and past at Noon by his Sphere in the shape of a good Angel down to Paradise, discovered after by his furious gestures in the Mount. Gabriel promises to find him ere morning. Night coming on, Adam and Eve, discourse of going to their rest: thir Bower describ'd; thir Evening worship. Gabriel drawing forth his Bands of Night-watch to walk the round of Paradise, appoints two strong Angels to Adams Bower, lest the evil spirit should be there doing some harm to Adam or Eve sleeping: there they find him at the ear of Eve, tempting her in a dream, and bring him, though unwilling, to Gabriel; by whom question'd, he scornfully answers, prepares resistance, but hinder'd by a Sign from Heaven, flies out of Paradise.

For that warning voice, which he who saw Th' Apocalypse, heard cry in Heaven aloud, Then when the Dragon, put to second rout, Came furious down to be reveng'd on men, We to the inhabitants on Earth! that now, While time was, our first Parents had bin warnd The coming of thir secret foe, and escap'd Haply so escap'd his mortal snare; for now Satan, now first inflam'd with rage, cam'down, The Tempter ere th' Accuser of man-kind, To wreck on innocent frail man his loss Of that first Battle, and his flight to Hell: Yet not rejoicing in his speed, though bold, Far off and fearless, not with caufe to boast, Begins his dire attempt, which nigh the birth Now rowling, boils in his tumultuous brest, And like a devilish Engine back recoiles Upon himself; horror and doubt distract

Page Number. 85] The 8 is battered in all copies examined.

THE ARGUMENT. The collation of the Argument only is 1674, 1668, and 1669.

THE TEXT. 6 first-Parents] first Parents
His troubl'd thoughts, and from the bottom stirr
The Hell within him, for within him Hell
He brings, and round about him, nor from Hell
One step no more then from himself can fly
By change of place: Now conscience wakes despair
That slumberd, wakes the bitter memorie
Of what he was, what is, and what must be
Worse; of worse deeds worse sufferings must ensue.
Sometimes towards Eden which now in his view
Lay pleufant, his grieved look he fixes sad,
Sometimes towards Heav'n and the full-blazing Sun,
Which now so high in his Meridian Towre:
Then much revolving, thus in sighs began,
O thou that with furpassing Glory crownd,
Look'd from thy sole Dominion like the God
Of this new World; at whose fight all the Starrs
Hide their diminift heads; to thee I call,
But with no friendly voice, and add thy name
O Sun, to tell thee how I hate thy beams
That bring to my remembrance from what state
I fell, how glorious once above thy Spheare;
Till Pride and worse Ambition threw me down
Warring in Heav'n against Heav'n's matchles King:
Ah wherefore! he deservd no such return
From me, whom he created what I was
In that bright eminence, and with his good
Upbraided none; nor was his service hard.
What could be les then to afford him praise,
The easifte recompence, and pay him thanks,
How due! yet all his good prov'd ill in me,
And wrought but malice; lifted up so high
I fdeind subjefion, and thought one step higher
Would set me highest, and in a moment quit
The debt immenfe of endless gratitude,
So
Book IV. Paradise Lost. 87

So burthenfome still paying, still to ow;
Forgetful what from him I still receive,
And understand not that a grateful mind
By owing owes not, but still pays, at once
Indebted and discharged; what burden then?
O had his powerful Destiny ordain'd
Me some inferior Angel, I had stood
Then happy; no unbounded hope had rais'd
Ambition. Yet why not? from other Power
As great might have aspir'd, and me though mean
Drawn to his part; but other Powers as great
Fell not, but stand unshak'n, from within
Or from without, to all temptations arm'd.
Hadst thou the same free Will and Power to stand?
Thou hadst: whom hast thou then or what to accuse,
But Heav'n's free Love dealt equally to all?
Be then his Love accurs'd, since love or hate,
To me alike, it deals eternal woe.
Nay curs'd be thou; since against his thy will
Chose freely what it now so justly rues,
Me miserable! which way shall I flie
Infinite wrath, and infinite despaire?
Which way I flie is Hell; my self am Hell;
And in the lowest deep a lower deep
Still threatening to devour me opens wide,
To which the Hell I suffer seems a Heav'n.
O then at last relent: is there no place
Left for Repentance, none for Pardon left?
None left but by submission; and that word
Difdain forbids me, and my dread of shame
Among the spirits beneath, whom I seduced
With other promises and other vaunts
Then to submit, boasting I could subdue
Th' Omnipotent. Ay me, they little know

G 4

Page Number. 87] The bottom of the 7 is smashed in all copies examined.
53 burthenfome] burthenfome, I think the comma is needed. 65 Or] The O is faint in most copies examined. 67 hadst:] Italic colon. 75 Which] The W is wrong font.
83 spirits] Spirits 1674 agrees with state 1 of 1667 which reads 'spirits' but state 2 reads 'Spirits'
88 **Paradise Lost.** Book IV.

How dearly I abide that boast so vain,
Under what torments inwardly I groan;
While they adore me on the Throne of Hell,
With Diadem and Scepter high advanced
The lower still I fall, onely Supream
In miferie; such joy Ambition finds.
But say I could repent and could obtaine
By Act of Grace my former state; how soon
Would high recollected thoughts, how soon unfay
What feign'd submission swore: ease would recant
Vows made in pain, as violent and void.
For never can true reconciliation grow
Where wounds of deadly hate have pierc'd so deep:
Which would but lead me to a worse relapse
And heavier fall: so should I purchase deare
Short intermission bought with double smart.
This knows my punisher; therefore as far
From granting hee, as I from begging peace:
All hope excluded thus, behold in stead
Of us out-cast, exiled, his new delight,
Mankind created, and for him this World.
So farwel Hope, and with Hope farwel Fear,
Farwel Remorse: all Good to me is lost;
Evil be thou my Good; by thee at least
Divided Empire with Heav'n's King I hold
By thee, and more then half perhaps will reign;
As Man ere long, and this new World shall know.
Thus while he spake, each passion dimm'd his face
Thrice chang'd with pale, ire, envie and despair,
Which marrd his borrow'd visage, and betray'd
Him counterfe't, if any eye beheld.
For heau'nly minds from such distempers foule
Are ever cleer. Whereof hee soon aware,
Each perturbation smooth'd with outward calme,

Artifi-
Book IV. Paradise Lost. 89

Artificer of fraud; and was the first
That practis'd falsehood under faintly shew,
Deep malice to conceal, coucht with revenge:
Yet not anough had practis'd to deceive

Uriel once warnd; whose eye pursu'd him down
The way he went, and on th' Assyrian mount
Saw him disfigur'd, more then could befall
Spirit of happie fort: his gestures fierce
He markd and mad demeanour, then alone,

As he suppos'd, all unobserv'd, unseen.
So on he fares, and to the border comes,
Of Eden, where delicious Paradize,
Now nearer, Crowns with her enclofure green,
As with a rural mound the champain head

Of a steep wildernes, whose hairie sides
With thicker overgrown, gottefque and wilde,
Access denid; and over head up grew
Inuperable hight of loftiest shade,
Cedar, and Pine, and Firi, and branching Palm,

A Silvan Scene, and as the ranks ascend
Shade above shade, a woodie Theatre
Of statelesst view. Yet higher then thir tops
The verdurous wall of paradize up sprung:
Which to our general Sire gave prospect large

Into his neather Empire neighbouring round.
And higher then that Wall a circling row
Of goodliest Trees loaden with fairest Fruit,
Blossoms and Fruits at once of golden hue
Appeard, with gay enameld colours mixt:

On which the Sun more glad impres'd his beams
Then in fair Evening Cloud, or humid Bow,
When God hath showrd the earth; so lovely seemd
That Lantskip: And of pure now purer aire
Meets his approach, and to the heart inspires

Vernal
90  Paradise Lost. Book IV.

155 Vernal delight and joy, able to drive
All sadness but despair: now gentle gales
Fanning thir odoriferous wings dispense
Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole
Those balmic spoiles. As when to them who fail
160 Beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are past
Mozambique, off at Sea North-East windes blow
Sa bene Odours from the spicie shoare
Of Arabia the blest, with such delay
Well pleas'd they slack thir course, and many a League
165 Cheer'd with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles.
So entertain'd thir odorous sweets the Fiend
Who came thir bane, though with them better pleas'd
Then Asmodeus with the fictie fume,
That drove him, though enamourd, from the Spouse
170 Of Tobits Son, and with a vengeance sent
From Media past to Egypt, there fast bound.
Now to th' ascent of that steep savage Hill
Satan had journey'd on, pensive and flow;
But further way found none, so thick entwined,
175 As one continu'd brake, the undergrowth
Of shrubs and tangling bushes had perplex'd
All path of Man or Beast that past that way:
One Gate there only was, and that looked East
On th' other side: which when th' arch-fellow saw
180 Due entrance he disdain'd, and in contempt,
At one flight bound high over leap'd all bound
Of Hill or higheft Wall, and sheer within
Lights on his feet. As when a prowling Wolfe,
Whom hunger drives to seek new haunt for prey:
185 Watching where Shepherds pen thir Flocks at eve
In hurld Cotes amid the field secure,
Leaps o're the fence with ease into the Fould:
Or as a Thief bent to unhoord the cash

Running Head. Loft.] The recurrent round period. 165 Cheer'd | Cheard 178 only] only
180 he ]] Stressed. 181 over leap'd] overlap'd 182 Of] The O is wrong font.
Catchword. O] The first word beginning the next page is 'Of'
Book IV. Paradise Lost.  91

Of some rich Burgher, whose substantial stores,
Cross-barr’d and bolted fast, fear no assault,
In at the window climbs, or o’er the tiles;
So clomb this first grand Thief into Gods Foul’d;
So since into his Church lewd Hirelings climb’d.
Thence up he flew, and on the Tree of Life
195 The middle Tree and highest there that grew,
Sat like a Cormorant; yet not true Life
Thereby regained, but fat devising Death
To them who liv’d; nor on the vertue thought
Of that life-giving Plant, but only us’d

For prospect, what well us’d had bin the pledge
Of immortality. So little knows
Any, but God alone, to value right
The good before him, but perverts best things
To woful abuse, or to thir meanest use.

Beneath him with new wonder now he views
To all delight of human sense expos’d
In narrow room Natures whole wealth, yea more,
A Heav’n on Earth, for blissful Paradise
Of God the Garden was, by him in the East

Of Eden planted; Eden stretch’d her Line
From Auran Eastward to the Royal Towns
Of great Seleucia, built by Grecian Kings,
Or where the Sons of Eden long before
Dwelt in Telassel; in this pleasant soil

His far more pleasant Garden God ordain’d;
Out of the fertile ground he caus’d to grow
All Trees of noblest kind for light, smell, taste;
And all amid them flow’d the Tree of Life,
High eminent, blooming Ambrosial Fruit

220 Of vegetable Gold; and next to Life
Our Death the Tree of knowledge grew fast by,
Knowledge of Good bought dear by knowing ill.

South.
92 Paradise Lost. Book IV.

Southward through Eden went a River large,
Nor chang'd his course, but through the Thaggie hill
That Mountain as his Garden mould high rais'd
Upon the rapid current, which through veins
Of porous Earth with kindly thirst up drawn,
Role a fresh Fountain, and with many a rill
Waterd the Garden; thence united fell
Down the steep glade, and met the neather Flood,
Which from his darksom passage now appears.
And now divided into four main Streams,
Runs divers, wandring many a famous Realme
And Country whereof here needs no account,
But rather to tell how, if Art could tell,
How from that Saphire Fount the crisped Brooks,
Rowling on Orient Pearl and sands of Gold,
With mazie error under pendant shades
Ran Nectar, visitng each plant, and fed
Flours worthy of Paradise which not nice Art
In Beds and curious Knots, but Nature boon
Powrd forth profuse on Hill and Dale and Plaine,
Both where the morning Sun first warmly smote
The open field, and where the unpierc't shade
Imbround the noonide Bows : Thus was this place,
A happy rural fear of various view;
Grovses whose rich Trees wept odorous Gumms and
Others whose fruit burnishd with Golden Rinde
Hung amiable, Heesperian Fables true,
If true, here only, and of delicious taste:
Betwixt them Lawns, or level Downs, and Flocks
Graing the tender herb, were interpos'd,
Or palmie hilloc, or the flourie lap
Of som irriguous Valley spred her store,
Flours of all hue, and without Thorn the Rose:
Another

248 odorous] The recurrent faint s
249 with] The t is italic.
250 Heesperian] The a is indiscernible in many copies examined.
251 only,] onely, tafte:] The colon is italic.
255 spred] spread
Book IV. Paradise Lost. 93

Another side, umbrageous Grots and Caves
Of cool recesses, o’re which the mantling vine
Layes forth her purple Grape, and gently creeps
260 Luxuriant; mean while murmuring waters fall
Down the slope hills, disperst, or in a Lake,
That to the fringed Bank with Myrtle crownd,
Her chrystal mirror holds, unite thir streams.
The Birds thir quire apply; aires, vernal aires,
265 Breathing the smell of field and grove, attune
The trembling leaves, while Universal Pan
Knit with the Graces and the Hours in dance
Led on th’Eternal Spring. Not that faire field
Of Enna, where Proserpin gathering flours
270 Her self a fairer Floure by gloomie Dis
Was gather’d, which cost Ceres all that pain
To seek her through the world; nor that sweet Grove
Of Daphne by Orontes, and th’inspir’d
Caflalian Spring, might with this Paradise
275 Of Eden strive; nor that Nyselian Ile
Girt with the River Triton, where old Cham,
Whom Gentiles Ammon call and Lybian love,
Hid Amalthea and her Florid Son
Young Bacchus from his Stepdame Rhea’s eye;
280 Nor where Abassin Kings thir issue Guard,
Mount Amara, though this by som suppos’d
True Paradise under the Ethiop Line
By Nilus head, enclos’d with shining Rock,
A whole days journey high, but wide remote
285 From this Assyrian Garden, where the Fiend
Saw undelighted all delight, all kind
Of living Creatures new to fight and strange:
Two of far nobler shape erect and tall,
Godlike erect, with native Honour clad
290 In naked Majestie seemd Lords of all,

And

258 Vine} Vine 263 chrystall] chrystall 269 gathering] gathering 271 Was] The W is wrong font. 274 Spring} Spring The comma is an improvement and was, I believe, inserted at Milton’s insistence. 277 Lybian] Libyan 283 enclos’d] enclos’d Apparently the 1674 compositor forgot to set the apostrophe, as the curled s was used before an apostrophe, and the ‘f’ would have been used if the d was to follow immediately. 284 days] dayes journey 287 strange;} The e is broken in all copies examined.
And worthie seem'd, for in thir looks Divine
The image of thir glorious Maker shon,
Truth, wisdom, Sanctitude severe and pure,
Severe but in true filial freedom plac't;
Whence true authoritie in men; though both
Not equal, as thir sex not equal seem'd;
For contemplation hee and valour form'd,
For softnes shee and sweet attractive Grace,
Hee for God only, shee for God in him:
His fair large Front and Eye sublime declar'd
Absolute rule; and Hyacinthin Locks
Round from his parted forelock manly hung
Clustering, but not beneath his shoulders broad:
Shee as a vail down to the slender waite
Her unadorned golden trefles wore
Disheveld, but in wanton ringlets wav'd
As the Vine curles her tendrils, which impli'd
Submission, but requir'd with gentle sway,
And by her yielded, by him best receiv'd,
Yielded with coy submissiion, modest pride,
And sweet reluctant amorous delay.
Nor tho' those mysterious parts were then conceal'd,
Then was not guilty shame, dishonest shame
Of nature works, honor dishonorable,
Sin-bred, how have ye troubl'd all mankind
With shews instead, mere shews of seeming pure,
And banish'd from mens life his happiest life,
Simplicitie and spotless innocence.
So pass'd they naked on, nor flund the sight
Of God or Angel, for they thought no ill:
So hand in hand they passd, the loveliest pair
That ever since in loves imbraces met,
Adam the goodliest man of men since borne
His Sons, the fairest of her Daughters Eve.

293 wisdom, | wisdom, 294 severe | severe, The comma seems to be needed. 303 broad: |
Italic colon. 309 yielded, | yielded, 310 Yielded | Yielded submissiion, | The comma is faint
in all 1674 copies examined. 316 With | The W is wrong font.
Book IV. Paradise Lost

325 Under a tuft of shade that on a green
     Stood whispering soft, by a fresh Fountain side
     They sat them down, and after no more toil
     Of thir sweet Gardning labour then sufficed
     To recommend coole Zephyr, and made ease

330 More easie, wholsom thirst and appetite
     More grateful, to thir Supper Fruits they fell,
     Nepramine Fruits which the compliant boughes
     Yielded them, side-long as they fat recline
     On the soft downie Bank damaskt with flours:

335 The favourite pulp they chew, and in the rinde
     Still as they thirsted scoop the brimming stream;
     Nor gentle purpose, nor endearing smiles
     Wanted, nor youthful dalliance as beseems
     Fair couple, linkt in happie nuptial League,

340 Alone as they. About them frisking playd
     All Beasts of th’ Earth, fince wilde, and of all chafe
     In Wood or Wildernes, Forreft or Den;
     Sporting the Lion rampd, and in his paw
     Dandl’d the Kid; Bears, Tygers, Ounces, Pards,
     Gambold before them, th’ unwieldy Elephant

345 To make them mirth us’d all his might, and wreak’d
     His Lithe Proboscis; clofe the Serpent fly
     Influating, wove with Gordian twine
     His breaded train, and of his fatal guile
     Gave proof unheeded; others on the grasfs
     Coucht, and now fild with pasture gazing fat,
     Or Bedward ruminating: for the Sun
     Declin’d was hafting now with prone carreer
     To th’ Ocean Iles, and in th’ ascending Scale

350 Of Heav’n the Starrs that urther Evening rofe:
     When Sat was still in gaze, as fift he ftood,
     Scarce thus at length faid speech recoverd fad.
     O Hell! what doe mine eyes with grief behold,

---

328 thir | Stressed?  333 Yielded | Yeilded  344 Pards, | Pards  The comma seems unwanted.
346 and | &
Paradise Lost. Book IV.

Into our room of bliss thus high advance,
Creatures of other mould, earth-born perhaps,
Not Spirits, yet to heav'nly Spirits bright
Little inferior; 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 this shape hath pour'd.
Ah gentle pair, yee little think how nigh
Your change approaches, when all these delights
Will vanish and deliver ye to woe,
More woe, the more your taste is now of joy;
Hap'pie, but for so happy ill secur'd
Long to continue, and this high seat your Heav'n
Ill secur'd for Heav'n to keep out such a foe
As now is enter'd; yet no purpos'd foe
To you whom I could pitie thus forlorn
Though I unpitied: League with you I seek,
And mutual amity so freight, so close,
That I with you must dwell, or you with me
Henceforth; my dwelling haply may not please
Like this fair Paradise, your sense, yet such
Accept your Makers work; he gave it me,
Which I as freely give: Hell shall unfold,
To entertain you two, her widest Gates,
And send forth all her Kings; there will be room,
Not like these narrow limits, to receive
Your numerous offspring; if no better place,
Thank him who puts me loath to this revenge
On you who wrong me not for him who wrongd.
And should I at your harmless innocence
Melt, as I doe, yet public reason just,
Honour and Empire with revenge enlarg'd,
By conquering this new World, compels me now
To do what else though damn'd I should abhorre.

377 me] Stressed. 381 unfold,} unfould, 389 I] The I is battered in all copies examined.
Book IV.  Paradise Lost.

So spake the Fiend, and with necessitie,
The Tyrants plea, excus'd his devilish deeds.

Then from his loftie stand on that high Tree
Down he alights among the sportful Herd
Of those fourfooted kindes, himself now one,
Now other, as thir shape serv'd best his end
Neerer to view his prey, and unesp'd

To mark what of thir state he more might learn
By word or action markt: about them round
A Lion now he talkes with fierie glare,
Then as a Tyger, who by chance hath spied
In some Purlieus two gentle Fawnes at play,

Strait couches close, then rising changes oft
His couchant watch, as one who chose his ground
Whence rushing he might surest seize them both
Grip't in each paw: When Adam first of men
To first of women Eve thus moving speach,

Turn'd him all are to hear new utterance flow.
Sole partner and sole part of all these joyes,
Dearer thy self then all; needs must the power
That made us, and for us this ample World
Be infinitely good, and of his good

As liberal and free as infinite,
That rais'd us from the dust and plac't us here
In all this happynes, who at his hand
Have nothing merited, nor can performe
Aught whereof hee hath need, hee who requires

From us no other service then to keep
This one, this easie charge, of all the Trees
In Paradise that bear delicious fruit
So various, not to taste that onely Tree
Of knowledge, planted by the Tree of Life,

So neer grows Death to Life, what ere Death is,
Some dreadful thing no doubt; for well thou knowst

H God
God hath pronounce't it death to taste that Tree,
The only sign of our obedience left
Among so many signs of power and rule
Conferrd upon us, and Dominion giv'n
Over all other Creatures that posses
Earth, Aire, and Sea. Then let us not think hard
One easie prohibition, who enjoy
Free leave so large to all things else, and choice
Unlimited of manifold delights:
But let us ever praife him, and extoll
His bountie, following our delightful task
To prune these growing Plants, and tend these Flours,
Which were it toilful, yet with thee were sweeter.
To whom thus Eve replid. O thou for whom
And from whom I was formed flesh of thy flesh,
And without whom am to no end, my Guide
And Head, what thou hast said is just and right.
For wee to him indeed all praises owe,
And daily thanks, I chiefly who enjoy
So far the happier Lot, enjoying thee
Preeminent by so much odds, while thou
Like comfort to thy self canst no where find.
That day I oft remember, when from sleep
I first awak't, and found my self repos'd
Under a shade of Flours, much wondering where
And what I was, whence thither brought, and how.
Not distant far from thence a murmuring sound
Of waters issu'd from a Cave and spread
Into a liquid Plain, then stood unmov'd
Pure as the expanse of Heav'n; I thither went
With unexperienc't thought, and laid me downe
On the green bank, to look into the clear
Smooth Lake, that to me seemed another Skie.
As I bent down to look, just oppopire,

Running Head. Loff.] The recurrent round period. 431 posses | possesse 435 delights:
Italic colon. 438 growing Plants, No space in any copy examined, and | & 439 Which | The W is wrong font. 447 Preeminent | Preeminent 451 of | on. It is difficult to be certain that this change was deliberate, as the change in sense is so great that Milton might have intended either word.
Book IV. Paradise Lost.

A Shape within the watry gleam appeard
Bending to look on me, I start’d back,
It start’d back, but pleas’d I soon return’d,
Pleas’d it return’d as soon with answer’d looks

Of sympathie and love; there I had fixt
Mine eyes till now, and pin’d with vain desire,
Had not a voice thus warn’d me, VVhat thou feest,
VVhat there thou feest fair. Creature is thy self,
VVith thee it came and goes: but follow me,
And I will bring thee where no shadow stais
Thy coming, and thy soft imbraces, hee
VVhose image thou art, him thou shalt enjoy
Infeparable thine, to him shalt beare
Multitudes like thy self, and thence be call’d:

Mother of human Race: what could I doe,
But follow strait, invisibly thus led?
Till I spie’d thee, fair indeed and tall,
Under a Platan, yet methought lest faire,
Lest winning soft, lest amiablie milde,

Then that smooth watry image; back I turnd,
Thou following cry’d it aloud, Return faire Eve;
VVhom fist thou? whom thou fist, of him thou art,
His fist, his bone; to give thee being I lent
Out of my side to thee, neerest my heart

Substantial Life, to have thee by my side
Henceforth an individual solace dear;
Part of my Soul I seek thee, and thee claim
My other half: with that thy gentle hand
Self’d mine, I yielded, and from that time fee

How beauty is excel’d by manly grace
And wisdom, which alone is truly fair.
So spake our general Mother, and with eyes
Of conjugal attraction unreprov’d,
And meek surrender, half imbracing leand

463 pleas’d] pleas’d The use of the curled ‘s’ in the first edition may indicate that the compositor’s intent was to set an apostrophe after it, as otherwise the long ‘i’ could have been used.
465 love:] love, This change could have arisen from foul case, but on the other hand, the pause seems heavier than the 1667 comma can indicate.
467 VVhat] Notice the lack of capital ‘W’s’ on the page.
481 faire] fair Eve,] ‘The mark above the comma in 1674 is from something on the type or an offset smear. It makes an almost clear semicolon in copy 14, from which the above reproduction was taken. But in copy 6 and others, the mark is barely visible. Examination of all 1674 copies at hand leaves no doubt that a comma was set, and something got on the type and made it print like a semicolon. 1678 printed a comma here.
488 half:] Italic colon.
489 yielded,] yielded. The 1674 compositor seemed to prefer the ie spelling throughout the poem, just as the 1667 compositor preferred the ‘ei’ spelling. Of course there is the possibility that Milton called for the ie spelling, but it seems more likely to me that the preference was the compositor’s.
On our first Father, half her swelling Breast
Naked met his under the flowing Gold
Of her loose tresses hid: he in delight
Both of her Beauty and Submissive Charms
Smil'd with superior Love, as Jupiter

On zymo smiles, when he impregnates the Clouds
That shed May Flowers; and pres'd her Matron lip
With kis's, aside the Devil turnd
For envie, yet with jealous leer maligne
Ey'd them askance, and to himself thus plain'd.

Sight hateful, sight tormenting! thus these two
Imparadis'd in one another's arms
The happier Eden, shall enjoy their fill
Of bliss on bliss, while I to Hell am thrust,
Where neither joy nor love, but fierce desire,

Among our other torments not the least,
Still unfulfill'd with pain of longing pines;
Yet let me not forget what I have gain'd
From their own mouths; all is not theirs it seems:
One fatal Tree there stands of Knowledge call'd,
Forbidden them to taste: Knowledge forbid'n?
Suspectious, reasonless. Why should their Lord
Envie them that? can it be sin to know,
Can it be death? and do they only stand
By Ignorance, is that their happiest state,

The proof of their obedience and their faith?
O fair foundation laid whereon to build
Their ruine! Hence I will excite their minds
With more desire to know, and to reject
Envious commands, invented with designe

To keep them low whom knowledge might exalt
Equal with Gods; aspiring to be such,
They taste and die: what likelier can ensue?
But first with narrow search I must walk round

This

497 he]] The word is stressed, but the short form of the pronoun has not been changed from the same form in the 1667 edition. 509 Whereither] No space in any copy examined. 513 thir . . . theirs]] Notice the careful discrimination here between the stressed and unstressed forms of the pronoun. 516 Suspicious,] The e is below type alignment. 518 onely]] The first syllable is stressed.
This Garden, and no corner leave unpick'd;
530 Some wandering Spirit of Heav'n, by Fountain side,
Or in thick shade retir'd, from him to draw
What further would be learnt. Live while ye may,
Yet happie pair; enjoy, till I return,
535 Short pleasures, for long woes are to succeed.
So saying, his proud step he scornful turn'd,
But with fly circumspection, and began (roam.
Through wood, through waste, o're hill, o're dale his
Mean while in utmost Longitude, where Heav'n
540 With Earth and Ocean meets, the setting Sun
Slowly descended, and with right aspect
Against the eastern Gate of Paradise
Leveld his evening Rayes: it was a Rock
Of Alabaster, pil'd up to the Clouds,
545 Conspicuous berr, winding with one ascent
Accessible from Earth, one entrance high;
The rest was craggie cliff, that overhung
Still as it rose, impossible to clime.
Betwixt these rockie Pillars Gabriel sat
550 Chief of th' Angelic Guards, awaiting night;
About him exercis'd Heroic Games
Th' unarmed Youth of Heav'n, but nigh at hand
Celestial Armourie, Shields, Helmes, and Speares,
Hung high with Diamond flaming, and with Gold.
555 Thither came Uriel, gliding through the Eeven
On a Sun beam, swift as a shooting Starr
In Autumn thwarts the night, when vapors fir'd
Impress the Air, and files the Mariner
From what point of his Compas to beware
560 Impetuous winds: he thus began in haste.
Gabriel, to the thee thy course by Lot hath giv'n
Charge and strict watch that to this happie Place

No
No evil thing approach or enter in;
This day at hight of Noon came to my Spheare
A Spirit, zealous, as he seem’d, to know
More of th’ Almighty’s works, and chiefly Man
Gods latest Image: I describ’d his way
Bent all on speed, and markt his Aerie Gate;
But in the Mount that lies from Eden North,
Where he first lighted, soon discern’d his looks
Alien from Heav’n, with passions foul obscur’d:
 Mine eye pursu’d him still, but under shade
Lost sight of him; one of the banish’d crew
I fear, hath ventur’d from the deep, to raise
New troubles; him thy care must be to find.
To whom the winged Warrior thus return’d:
Uriel, no wonder if thy perfect sight,
Amid the Sun’s bright circle where thou first,
See far and wide: in at this Gate none pass
The vigilance here plac’t, but such as come
Well known from Heav’n; and since Meridian hour
No Creature thence: if Spirit of other sort,
So minded, have o’releapt these earthie bounds
On purpose, hard thou knowst it to exclude
Spiritual substance with corporeal barr.
But if within the circuit of these walks,
In whatsoever shape he lurk, of whom
Thou tellst, by morrow dawning I shall know.
So promised he. and Uriel to his charge
Return’d on that bright beam, whose point now rais’d
Bore him slope downward to the Sun now fall’n
Beneath th’ Azores; whither the prime Orb,
Incredible how swift, had thither rowl’d
Diurnal, or this less volubil Earth
By shorter flight to th’ East, had left him there
Arraying with reflect’d Purple and Gold

582 thence: ] Italic colon. 586 walks, ] walks 588 tellst, ] tellst, 592 whither: ] Although making perfectly good sense, and printed thus in both 1667 and 1674 editions, since 1719 this word has been changed to ‘whether’ by a great many editors. But see my note on Book 1:133.
This is another occurrence of the problem of making two states of the same page appear on facing pages. In order to do this with the two pages that follow, different states of the same recto page, this preceding recto is used for a sort of introduction to them; the first state is printed on the next page, a verso, and the second state appears as the recto it is, on a recto page of this facsimile edition.
Book IV. Paradise Lost. 101

The Clouds that on his Western Throne attend:
Now came still Eevning on, and Twilight gray
Had in her sober Liverie all things clad;
Silence accompanied, for Beast and Bird,
They to thir grassie Couch, these to thir Nests
Were flunk, all but the wakeful Nightingale;
She all night long her amorous descant sung;
Silence was pleas'd: now glow'd the Firmament
With living Saphirs: Hefperus that led.
The starrie Host, rode brightest, till the Moon
Rising in clouded Majestie, at length
Apparent Queen unvail'd her peerless light,
And o're the dark her Silver Mantle threw.
When Adam thus to Eve: Fair Confort, th' hour
Of night, and all things now retir'd to rest
Mind us of like repose, since God hath set
Labour and rest, as day and night to men
Successive, and the timely dew of sleep
Now falling with soft slumberous weight inclines
Our eye-lids; other Creatures all day long
Rove idle unimploud, and lefs need rest;
Man hath his daily work of body or mind
Appointed, which declares his Dignitie,
And the regard of Heav'n on all his waies;
While other Animals unaactive range,
And of thir doings God takes no account.
To morrow ere fresh Morning streak the East
With first approach of light, we must be ris'n,
And at our pleasant labour, to reform
Yon flourie Arbors, yonder Allies green,
Our walk at noon, with branches overgrown,
That mock our scant manuring, and require
More hands then ours to lop thir wanton growth:
Those Blossoms also, and thos dropping Gumms,
That

State 1 of Page Number

Page Number. About two thirds of the copies examined numbered this page 101 but the others printed the page number 103 correctly. 597 Western] The W is wrong font. 627 walk] walks
The plural form of 1667 seems to me to be preferred, as it suggests daily retreats by Adam and Eve at noon to the Allies green, but the matter is a delicate one.
The Clouds that on his Western Throne attend:
Now came still Evening on, and Twilight gray
Had in her sober Liverie all things clad;
Silence accompanied, for Beast and Bird,
They to thir grassie Couch, thse to thir Nefts
Were flunk, all but the wakeful Nightingale;
She all night long her amorous descant sung;
Silence was pleas'd: now glow'd the Firmament
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Successive, and the timely dew of sleep
Now falling with soft slumberous weight inclines
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With first approach of light, we must be ris'n,
And at our pleasant labour, to reform
Yon flourie Arbors, yonder Allies green,
Our walk at noon, with branches overgrown,
That mock our scant manuring, and require
More hands then ours to lop thir wanton growth:
Those Blossoms also, and those dropping Gummis,
That lie bestrowne unsightly and unsmooth,
Ask riddance, if we mean to tread with ease;
Mean while, as Nature wills, Night bids us rest.
To whom thus *Eve* with perfect beauty adord.

635 My Author and Dispenser, what thou bidst
Unargu'd I obey; so God ordains,
God is thy Law, thou mine: to know no more
Is woman's happiest knowledge and her praise.
With thee conversing I forget all time,

640 All seasons and their change, all please alike.
Sweet is the breath of morn, her rising sweet,
With charm of earliest Birds; pleasant the Sun
When first on this delightful land he spreads
His orient Beams, on herb, tree, fruit, and flower,

645 Glistering with dew; fragrant the fruitful earth
After soft showers; and sweet the coming on
Of grateful Evening milde, then silent Night
With this her solemn Bird and this fair Moon,
And these the Gems of Heav'n, her starrie train:

650 But neither breath of Morn when she ascends
With charm of earliest Birds, nor rising Sun
On this delightful land, nor herb, fruit, flower,
Glistering with dew, nor fragrance after showers,
Nor grateful Evening mild, nor silent Night

655 With this her solemn Bird, nor walk by Moon,
Or glittering Starr-light without thee is sweet.
But wherefore all night long shine these, for whom
This glorious light, when sleep hath shut all eyes?
To whom our general Ancestor repli'd.

660 Daughter of God and Man, accompli'sht *Eve*,
Those have their course to finish, round the Earth,
By morrow Evening, and from Land to Land
In order, though to Nations yet unborn,
Ministering light prepar'd, they set and rise;

Least

---

Running Head. Loft.] The recurrent broken period. 632 Ask] Ask (ligature) 651 Sun] The S is italic. 654 Evening] Evening. The 1674 form seems to fit the meter of the line better than does the 1667 form. 655 With] The W is wrong font. 658 This] The T is out of alignment in all copies examined.
Book IV. Paradise Lost

665 Least total darkness should by Night regain
Her old possession, and extinguish life
In Nature and all things, which these soft fires
Not only enlighten, but with kindly heat
Of various influence foment and warme,

670 Temper or nourish, or in part shed down
This stellar virtue on all kinds that grow
On Earth, made hereby apter to receive
Perfection from the Suns more potent Ray.
These then, though unbeheld in deep of night,

675 Shine not in vain, nor think, though men were none,
That heav'n would want spectators, God want praise;
Millions of Spirituall Creatures walk the Earth
Unseen, both when we wake, and when we sleep:
All these with ceasless praise his works behold

680 Both day and night: how often from the steep
Of echoing Hill, or Thicket have we heard
Celestial voices to the midnight air,
 Sole, or responsive each to others note
Singing thir great Creator: oft in bands

685 While they keep watch, or nightly rounding walk
With Heavenly touch of instrumenall sounds
In full harmonic number joint, thir songs
Divide the night, and lift our thoughts to Heaven.
Thus talking hand in hand alone they pass'd

690 On to thir blissful Bower; it was a place
Chos'n by the Sovran Planter, when he fram'd
All things to mans delightful use; the roose
Of thickest covert was inwoven shade
Laurel and Mirtle, and what higher grew

695 Of firm and fragrant leaf; on either side
Acantthus, and each odorous bulbie shrub
Fenc'd up the verdant wall; each beauteous flower,
Iris all hues, Roses, and Gessamin

Rear'd

673 Ray.] The R is battered in all copies examined. 674 unb. The n is faint and below type alignment. 686 Heav'nly.] The v is below type alignment in all copies examined.
Rear’d high thir flourish heads between, and wrought
Mosaic ; underfoot the Violet,
Crocus, and Hyacinth with rich inlay
Broider’d the ground, more colour’d then with stone
Of colliest Emblem: other Creature here
Beast, Bird, Insect, or Worm durst enter none;
Such was thir awe of Man. In shadie Bower
More sacred and sequestred, though but feigned,
Pan or Silvanus never slept, nor Nymph,
Nor Faunus haunted. Here in close recess
With Flowers, Garlands, and sweet-smelling Herbs
Epoufed Eve deckt first her nuptial Bed,
And heav’ly Quires the Hymenian fung,
What day the genial Angel to our Sire
Brought her in naked beauty more adorn’d,
More lovely then Pandora, whom the Gods
Endow’d with all thir gifts, and O too like
In sad event, when to the unwiser Son
Of Japhet brought by Hermes, she enfrar’d
Mankind with her faire looks, to be aveng’d
On him who had stole Joves’ authentic Fire.
Thus at thir shadie Lodge arriv’d, both stood
Both turn’d, and under op’n Skie ador’d
The God that made both Skie, Air, Earth and Heav’n
Which they beheld, the Moons refulgent Globe
And Starrie Pole: Thou also mad’st the Night,
Maker Omnipotent, and thou the Day,
Which we in our appointed work imployd
Have finisht happie in our mutual help
And mutual love, the Crown of all our blis
Ordain’d by thee, and this delicious place
For us too large, where thy abundance wants
Partakers, and uncropped falls to the ground.
But thou hast promis’d from us two a Race

---

705 Man.] man. shadie] shadier The word should seemingly be in the comparative form, although the word More in the next line prevents the form ending in ‘r’ from being completely mandatory today. Copy 15 has the ‘r’ skillfully supplied with a pen. 710 nuptial] Nuptial 718 aveng’d] The 1674 apostrophe is faint in all copies examined and barely visible in a few and in still others, fails to print as above. 720 stood] stood. The comma seems to be needed. 722 and | & 729 Ordain’d] Ordain’d
Book IV.  

Paradise Lost.  

To fill the Earth, who shall with us extoll
Thy goodnes infinite, both when we wake,

735 And when we seek, as now, thy gift of sleep.
This said unanimous, and other Rites
Observing none, but adoration pure
Which God likes best, into thir inmost bowre
Handed they went; and eas'd the putting off

740 These troublesome disguises which wee wear,
Strait side by side were laid, nor turnd I weene
Adam from his fair Spouse, nor Eve the Rites
Mysterious of connubial Love refus'd:
Whatever Hypocrites aufterely talk

745 Of puritie and place and innocence,
Defaming as impure what God declares
Pure, and commands to fom, leaves free to all.
Our Maker bids increase, who bids abtain
But our destroyer, foe to God and Man?

750 Haile wedded Love, mysterious Law, true source
Of human ofspring, sole proprietie,
In Paradise of all things common elfe,
By thee adulterous lust was driv'n from men
Among the bestial herds to raunge, by thee

755 Founded in Reason, Loyal, just, and Pure,
Relations dear, and all the Charities
Of Father, Son, and Brother first were known.
Farr be it, that I should write thee sin or blame,
Or think thee unbesitting holieft place,

760 Perpetual Fountain of Domestic sweets,
Whose bed is undefil'd and chaste pronounc't,
Prefent, or past, as Saints and Patriarchs us'd.
Here Love his golden shaftes imploies, here lights
His constant Lamp, and waves his purple wings,

765 Reigns here and revels; not in the bought smile
Of Harlots, loveles, joyles, unindeard,

Casual

---

Running Head. IV.] The same broken period that occurs on pages 89, 121, 171, and 185.
738 bowre | bower  740 destroyer, | Destroyer, The d is battered in all 1674 copies examined.
750 wedded | The second d is very faint in most copies examined.  751 ofspring, | ofspring  753 lust | The ligature is broken in all copies examined.  755 Jult,
The J is very faint in most copies examined.  761 bed | Bed chasf | chasf
Casual fruition, nor in Court Amours
Mixt Dance, or wanton Mask, or Midnight Bal,
Or Serenade, which the starv'd Lover sings
To his proud fair, best quitted with disdain.
Thefe lull'd by Nightingales imbracing slept,
And on thir naked limbs the flourie roof
Showrd Rofcs, which the Morn repair'd. Sleep on
Blef't pair; and O yet happiest if ye seek
No happier state, and know to know no more.
Now had night measur'd with her shaddowie Cone
Half way up Hill this vall Sublunar Vault,
And from thir Ivorie Port the Cherubim
Forth ifuing at th' accustomed hour flood arm'd
To thir night watches in warlike Parade,
When Gabriel to his next in power thus spake.
Uzziel, half these draw off, and coast the South
With strictest watch; these other wheel the North,
Our circuit meets full West. As flame they part
Half wheeling to the Shield, half to the Spear.
From these, two strong and subtle Spirits he calld
That neer him stood, and gave them thus in charge.
Ishuriel and Zepphon, with wingd speed
Search through this Garden, leave unsearch no nook,
But chiefly where thofe two fair Creatures Lodge,
Now laid perhaps asleep secure of harme.
This Evening from the Sun's decline arriv'd
Who tells of som infernal Spirit seen
Hitherward bent (who could have thought?) escap'd
The barrs of Hell, on errand bad no doubt:
Such where ye find, feife fast, and hither bring.
So saying, on he led his radiant Files,
Dizzling the Moon, these to the Bower direct
In search of whom they fought: him there they found
Squat like a Toad, close at the care of Eve;

Book IV. Paradise Lost. 109

Assaying by his Devilish art to reach
The Organs of her Fancie, and with them forge
Illusions as he lift, Phantasm and Dreams,
Or if, inspiring venom, he might taint

805 Th' 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 ingending pride.

810 Him thus intent Ithuriel with his Spear
Touch'd lightly; for no falsehood can endure
Touch of Celestial temper, but returns
Of force to its own likeness: and he starts
Discover'd and surpriz'd. As when a spark

815 Lights on a heap of nitrous Powder, laid
Fit for the Tun from Magazin to store
Against a rumour'd War, the Smutty grain
With sudden blaze diffus'd, inflames the Aire:
So started up in his own shape the Fiend.

820 Back seat those two faire Angels half amaz'd
So sudden to behold the grievous King;
Yet thus, unmoved with fear, accost him soon.
Which of those rebell Spirits adjudg'd to Hell
Come thou, escap'st thy prison, and transform'd,

825 Why faft thou like an enemy in wait?
Here watching at the head of these that sleep?
Know ye not then said Satan, fill'd with scorn,
Know ye not mee? ye knew me once no more
For you, there sitting where ye durst not soar;

830 Not to know mee argues your selves unknown,
The lowest of your throng; or if ye know,
Why ask ye, and superfluous begin
Your meffage, like to end as much in vain?
To whom thus Zephon, anfwering scorn with scorn.

Think
Paradise Lost. Book IV.

835 Think not, revolted Spirit, thy shape the same,
Or undiminished brightness, to be known
As when thou stoodst in Heav'n upright and pure;
That Glorie then, when thou no more waft good,
Departed from thee, and thou resembl'st now

840 Thy sin and place of doom obscure and foule.
But come, for thou, before, shalt give account
To him who sent us, whose charge is to keep
This place inviolable, and these from harm.
So spake the Cherube, and his grave rebuke

845 Severe in youthful beautie, added grace
Invincible: abash the Devil stooed,
And felt how awful goodness is, and saw
Vertue in her shape so lovely, saw, and pin'd
His los'; but chiefly to find here observ'd

850 His luftre visibly impar'd; yet seem'd
Undaunted. If I must contend, said he,
Beft with the beft, the Sender not the fent,
Or all at once; more glorie will be wonn,
Or lefs be loft. Thy fear, said Zephon bold,

855 Will save us trial what the leaft can doe
Single against thee wicked, and thence weak.
The Fiend repli'd not, overcome with rage;
But like a proud Steed reined, went haute on,
Chaumping his iron curb: to strive or fly

860 He held it vain; awe from above had quelled
His heart, not else dismay'd. Now drew they nigh
The weftern Point, where thofe half-rounding guards
Juft met, and cloing stooed in squadron join'd
Awaiting next command. To whom thir Chief

865 Gabriel from the Front thus call'd aloud.
O friends, I hear the tread of nimble feet
Halting this way, and now by glimps discern
Isburiel and Zepbon through the shade.

---

841 before,] No space, but the form is from 1667, and few editors have bothered with the matter. Beeching correctly printed it exactly as it reads in 1667; but Columbia text and note are wrong. No one could possibly object to the two words being printed separately; but all should object to any statement indicating that the two editions read differently here. 846 Invincible.] Italic colon. 859 curb:] Italic colon. 861 heart,] The comma is smeared in most copies examined. 862 Point,] point, 863 and ] &
Book IV. Paradise Lost. 118

And with them comes a third of Regal port,
But faded splendor wan; who by his gate
And fierce demeanour seems the Prince of Hell,
Not likely to part hence without consent;
Stand firm, for in his look defiance lours.

He scarce had ended, when those two approach'd
And brief related whom they brought, where found,
How busied, in what form and posture coucht.

To whom with stern regard thus Gabriel spake,
Why hast thou, Satan, broke the bounds prefcrib'd
to thy transgressions, and disturb'd the charge
Of others, who approve not to transgress
By thy example, but have power and right
To question thy bold entrance on this place;
Implod it seems to violate sleep, and those
Whose dwelling God hath planted here in bliss?

To whom thus Satan, with contemptuous brow.
Gabriel, thou hadst in Heav'n th' esteem of wife,
And such I held thee; but this question askt
Puts me in doubt. Lives ther who loves his pain?
Who would not, finding way, break loose from Hell,

Though thither doom'd? Thou wouldest thyself, no
And boldly venture to whatever place (doubt,
Farthest from pain, where thou might'st hope to change
Torment with ease, and soonest recompence
Dole with delight, which in this place I sought;

To thee no reason; who knowst only good,
But evil hast not tri'd: and wilt object
His will who bound us? let him furer barr
His Iron Gates, if he intends our stay
In that dark durance: thus much what was askt.

The rest is true, they found me where they say;
But that implies not violence or harme.

Thus he in scorn. The warlike Angel mov'd,

Disdain-

875 where| when 878 prefer ib'd] So spaced in all 1674 copies examined. 883 to] Both letters are battered in all copies examined. 885 Satan,] Satan 893 and] & 902 he] hee The word is almost certainly stressed, and the 1674 compositor has slipped up here.
Disdainfully half smiling thus repli'd.
O lost of one in Heav'n to judge of wife,
Since Satan fell, whom follie overthrew,
And now returns him from his prifon scap't,
Gravely in doubt whether to hold them wise
Or not, who ask what boldnefs brought him hither
Unlicenc't from his bounds in Hell prefcrib'd;
So wife he judges it to fly from pain
However, and to fcape his punishment,
So judge thou still, presumptuous, till the wrauth,
Which thou incur't by fying, meet thy flight
Seavenfold, and fcorge that wifdom back to Hell,
Which taught thee yet no better, that no pain
Can equal anger infinite provok't.
But wherefore thou alone? wherefore with thee
Came not all Hell broke loofe? is pain to them
Lefs pain, lefs to be fled, or thou then they
Lefs hardie to endure? courageous Chief,
The firft in flight from pain, had'ft thou allegd'd
To thy deferred hoft this caufe of flight,
Thou furely hadft not come fole fugitive.
To which the Fiend thus anfwer'd frowning stern.
Not that I lefs endure, or shrink from pain,
Infulting Angel, well thou know't I ftood
Thy fercelt, when in Battel to thy aide
Thy blasting volied Thunder made all speed
And feconded thy else not dreaded Spear.
But ftrill thy words at random, as before,
Argue thy inexperience what behooves
From hard affaiyes and ill succeffes pait
A faithful Leader, not to hazard all
Through wayes of danger by himself untri'd,
I therefore, I alone firft undertook

921 allegd'd] alleg'd 928 Thy] Thy 934 untri'd,] untri'd. Almost certainly, the punctuation should be a period. 934 untri'd,] untri'd. Almost certainly, the punctuation should be a period. Catchword. To] This page carries only thirty-three lines of text and the catchword is two line spaces below the bottom line of text. This arrangement occurs again on pages 128, 136, 280, and 300.
To wing the defolate Abyss, and spie
This new created World, whereof in Hell
Fame is not silent, here in hope to find
Better abode, and my afflicted Powers
To settle here on Earth, or in mid Aire;
Though for possession put to try once more
What thou and thy gay Legions dare against;
Whose easier business were to serve thir Lord
High up in Heavn, with songs to hymne his Throne,
And practis’d distances to cringe, not fight.
To whom the warriour Angel, soon repli’d.
To say and straight unsay, pretending first
Wife to flee pain, professing next the Spie,
Argues no Leader but a lyar trac’t,
Satan, and couldst thou faithful add? O name,
O sacred name of faithfulnes profan’d!
Faithful to whom? to thy rebellious crew?
Armie of Fiends, fit body to fit head;
Was this your discipline and faith ingag’d,
Your military obedience, to dissolve
Allegence to th’ acknowledg’d Power supream?
And thou fly hypocricie, who now wouldst seem
Patron of liberty, who more then thou
Once fawn’d, and cring’d, and fervilly ador’d
Heav’n’s awful Monarch? wherefore but in hope
To dissipell him, and thy self to reigne?
But mark what I arreede thee now, avant;
Fie thither whence thou fledst: if from this house
Within these hallowed limits thou appeare,
Back to th’ infernal pit I drag thee chain’d,
And Seale thee so, as henceforth not to scorne
The facil gates of hell too slightly barr’d.
So threaten’d hee, but Satan to no threats
Gave heed, but waxing more in rage repli’d.

Then

Running Head. V.] So all copies examined, although apparently the error was caught before some copies had left the shop, and in copies 17, 43, and 48 there is a skillful insertion of the ‘I’ before the V. done with a pen. 936 Space work-up between the and defolate in all copies examined. 946 Angel,] Angel The comma seems unneeded. 949 Leader] Leader, 936 acknowledg’d] acknowledg’d 966 henceforth] The c is faint in all copies examined.
Then when I am thy captive talk of chains,
Proud limitarie Cherube, but ere then
Farr heavier load thy self expect to feel
From my prevailing arme, though Heavens King
Ride on thy wings, and thou with thy Compeers,
Us'd to the yoak, draw'ft his triumphant wheels
In progres through the rode of Heav'n Star-pav'd.
While thus he spake, th' Angelic Squadron bright
Turn'd fierie red, sharpening in mooed bornes
Thir Phalanx, and began to hemm him round
With ported Spears, as thick as when a field
Of Ceres ripe for harvest waving bends
Her bearded Grove of ears, which way the wind
Swayes them; the careful Plowman doubting stands
Least on the threshing floore his hopeful sheaves
Prove chaff. On th' other side Satan allarm'd
Collecting all his might dilated flood,
Like Teneriff or Atlas unremov'd:
His stature reacht the Skie, and on his Creft
Sat horror Plum'd; nor wanted in his graspe
What seemd both Spear and Shield: now dreadful
Might have ensu'd, nor onely Paradise
In this commotion, but the Starrie Cope
Of Heav'n perhaps, or all the Elements
At least had gon to rack, disturb'd and torne
With violence of this conflict, had not soon
Th' Eternal to prevent such horrid fray
Hung forth in Heav'n his golden Scales, yet seen
Betwixt Afrecia and the Scorpion signe,
Wherein all things created first he weighd,
The pendulous round Earth with ballanc't Aire
In counterpoise, now ponders all events,
Battles and Realms: in these he put two weights
The sequel each of parting and of fight;

991 only] The first syllable is stressed. 992 Starrie] The S is too low in all copies examined.
Catchword. The] So spaced and the h is broken in all copies examined.
Book IV. Paradise Lost. 115

The latter quick up flew, and kickt the beam;
Which Gabriel spyng, thus bespake the Fiend.
Satan, I know thy strength, and thou knowst mine,
Neither our own but giv'n; what follie then
To boast what Arms can doe, since thine no more
Then Heav'n permits, nor mine, though doubt'd now

1005 To trample thee as mire: for proof look up,
And read thy Lot in yon celestial Sign (weak,
Where thou art weigh'd, and shewn how light, how
If thou relist. The Fiend lookt up and knew
His mounted scale aloft: nor more; but fled
Murmuring, and with him fled the shades of night.

The End of the Fourth Book.

I 2 Paradise
Paradise Lost

BOOK V.

THE ARGUMENT.

Morning approach's, Eve relates to Adam her troublesome dream; he likes it not, yet comforts her: They come forth to their day labours: Their Morning Hymn at the Door of their Bower. God to render Man inexcusable sends Raphael to admonish him of his obedience, of his free estate, of his enemy near at hand; who he is, and why his enemy, and whatever else may avail Adam to know. Raphael comes down to Paradise, his appearance describ'd, his coming discern'd by Adam afar off sitting at the door of his Bower; he goes out to meet him, brings him to his lodge, entertains him with the choicest fruits of Paradise got together by Eve; their discourse at Table: Raphael performs his message, minds Adam of his state and of his enemy; relates at Adams request who that enemy is, and how he came to be so, beginning from his first revolt in Heaven, and the occasion thereof; how he drew his Legions after him to the parts of the North.
Book V. Paradise Lost.

North, and there incited them to rebel with him, persuading all but only Abdiel a Seraph, who in Argument diswades and opposes him, then forsakes him.

Now Morn her rosie feet in th' Eastern Clime Advancing, now'd the earth with Orient Pearle, When Adam wak't, so culled, for his sleep Was Aerie light from pure digestion bred,

And temperat vapors bland, which th' only found
Of leaves and fuming rills, Aurora's fan,
Lightly dispers'd, and the shrill Matin Song
Of Birds on every bough; so much the more
His wonder was to find unawak'd Eve

With Tresses discompos'd, and glowing Cheek,
As through unquiet rest: he on his side
Leaning half-rais'd, with looks of cordial Love
Hung over her enamour'd, and beheld
Beautie, which whether waking or asleep,

Shot forth peculiar Graces; then with voice
Milde, as when Zephyrus on Flora breathes,
Her hand soft touching, whisper'd thus. Awake
My fairer, my espous'd, my latest found,
Heav'n's last best gift, my ever new delight.

Awake, the morning shines, and the fresh field
Calls us, we lose the prime, to mark how spring
Our tended Plants, how blows the Citron Grove,
What drops the Myrrhe, and what the balmie Reed,
How Nature paints her colours, how the Bee

Sits on the Bloom extracting liquid sweet.
Such whispering wak'd her, but with startled eye
On Adam, whom imbracing, thus she spake.
O Sole in whom my thoughts find all repose,
My Glory, my Perfection, glad I see

Thy face, and Morn return'd, for I this Night,

Such

The Argument. The collation of the Argument only is 1674, 1668, and 1669.

In all 1674 copies examined a space work-up appears between ment and diswades

The Text. Earth] Earth 4 light] light. The comma seems, if not entirely necessary, at least not out of place here. 5 only] The first syllable is stressed. 23 and] &

24 colours, how] No space in any copy examined. 30 for] The 0 is faint in many copies examined.
118 Paradise Lost. Book V.

Such night till this I never pass'd, have dream'd,
If dream'd, not as I oft am wont, of thee,
Works of day pass't, or morrows next designe,
But of offence and trouble, which my mind
Knew never till this irksome night; methought
Clofe at mine ear one call'd me forth to walk
With gentle voice, I thought it thine; it said,
Why sleepest thou Eve? now is the pleasant time,
The cool, the silent, fave where silence yields
To the night-warbling Bird, that now awake
Tunes sweetest his love-labor'd song; now reignes
Full Orb'd the Moon, and with more pleasing light
Shadowy sets off the face of things; in vain,
If none regard; Heav'n wakes with all his eyes,
Whom to behold but thee, Natures defire,
In whose light all things joy, with ravishment
Attracted by thy beauty still to gaze.
I rose as at thy call, but found thee not;
To find thee I directed then my walk;
And on, methought, alone I pass'd through ways
That brought me on a sudden to the Tree
Of interdicted Knowledge: fair it seem'd,
Much fairer to my Fancie then by day;
And as I wondering lookt, beside it stood
One shap'd and wing'd like one of those from Heav'n
By us oft seen; his dewie locks distill'd
Ambrosia; on that Tree he also gaz'd;
And O fair Plant, said he, with fruit surcharged,
Deigns none to taste thy load and taste thy sweet,
Nor God, nor Man; is Knowledge so despis'd?
Or envious, or what reserve forbids to taste?
Forbid who will, none shall from me withhold
 Longer thy offer'd good, why else set here?
This said he pause'd not, but with ventrous Arme

Running Head. Loft.] The recurrent battered period. 31 pass'd,[] 35 pass't,[] Notice these two slightly different forms of the same word within two lines of each other. 44 regard;]] The top element of the semicolon is faint in all 1674 copies examined. 54 lookt,]] The comma is faint in all 1674 copies examined. 55 shap'd] Although so spaced in all 1674 copies examined, none showed even a trace of the apostrophe here. and] & 57 Ambrosia;] Ambrofia; If we can reason from lines 962, 965, 966, 967, and 1002 in Book 2 in which 1674 has printed in italic type those personifications encountered by Satan in Chaos, Milton or the printer tried to get all proper names italicized in 1674, and in general succeeded, although the name Satan in roman type occasionally slipped by his readers and the compositor. See note to Book 1:271. The use of italics here is much more significant for understanding what happened or was intended to happen elsewhere than this simple and to us almost valueless change in this line.
Book V. Paradise Lost. 119

65 He pluckt, he tasted; mee damp horror chill'd
   At such bold words voucht with a deed so bold:
   But he thus overjoy'd, O Fruit Divine,
   Sweet of thy self, but much more sweet thus cropt,
   Forbidd'n here, it seems, as onely fit
70 For God's, yet able to make Gods of Men:
   And why not Gods of Men, since good, the more
   Communicated, more abundant growes,
   The Author not impair'd, but honour'd more?
   Here, happie Creature, fair Angelic Eve,
75 Partake thou also; happie though thou art,
   Happier thou may'st be, worther canst not be:
   Taste this, and be henceforth among the Gods
   Thy self a Goddes, not to Earth confind,
   But somtimes in the Air, as wee, somtimes
   Ascend to Heav'n, by merit thine, and see
   What life the Gods live there, and such live thou.
   So sayeing, he drew nigh, and to me held,
   Even to my mouth of that fame fruit held part
   Which he had pluckt; the pleasaunt favourie smell
   So quicknd appetite, that I, methought,
80 Could not but taste. Forthwith up to the Clouds
   With him I flew, and underneath beheld
   The Earth outstretcht immens, a prospect wide
   And various: wondering at my flight and change
   To this high exaltation; suddenly
   My Guide was gon, and I, me thought, sunk down,
   And fell asleep; but O how glad I wak'd
   To find this but a dream! Thus Eve her Night
85 Related, and thus Adam answer'd sad.
90 Belt Image of my self and dearer half,
   The trouble of thy thoughts this night in sleep
   Affects me equally; nor can I like
   This uncouth dream, of evil sprung I fear;

14 Yet

---

Running Head. Lof[t.] The recurrent round period. 69 onely]] The first vowel is long and the first syllable stressed. 70 God's,] Gods. 81 there,]] The comma is faint in most 1674 copies examined.
Yet evil whence? in thee can harbour none,
Created pure. But know that in the Soule
Are many lesser Faculties that serve
Reason as chief; among these Fanie next
Her office holds; of all external things,
Which the five watchful Senses represent,
She forms Imagination, Aerie shapes,
Which Reason joyning or disjoyning, frames
All what we affirm or what deny, and call
Our knowledge or opinion; then retires
Into her private Cell when Nature rests.

Oft in her absence mimic Fanie wakes
To imitate her; but misjoyning shapes,
Wilde work produces oft, and most in dreams,
Ill matching words and deeds long past or late.
Som such refemblances methinks I find
Of our last Eevenings talk, in this thy dream,
But with addition strange; yet be not fad.
Evil into the mind of God or Man
May come and go, so unapprov'd, and leave
No spot or blame behind: Which gives me hope
That what in sleep thou didst abhor to dream,
Waking thou never wilt consent to do.
Be not disheart'nd then, nor cloud those looks
That wont to be more cheerfull and serene
Then when fair Morning first smiles on the World,
And let us to our freth imployments rise
Among the Groves, the Fountains, and the Flours
That open now thir choicest bosom'd smells
Refervd from night, and kept for thee in store.
So cheard he his fair Spoufe, and she was cheard,
But silently a gentle tear let fall
From either eye, and wip'd them with her haire;
Two other precious drops that ready flood,
Each

121 do.] do:\do:\do. 1674 follows state 3 of 1667, Signature Q verso. 127 bosom'd] The first o is broken in all copies examined.
Book V. Paradise Lost. 121

Each in thir Chryftal flute, hee ere they fell
Kifs'd as the gracious signs of sweet remorfe

135
And pious awe, that feared to have offended.
So all was clear'd, and to the Field they haste.
But first from under thacie arborous roof,
Soon as they forth were come to open sight
Of day-spring, and the Sun, who scarce up risen

140
With wheels yet ho'ring o're the Ocean brim,
Shot parallel to the earth his dewie ray,
Discovering in wide Lantskip all the East
Of Paradise and Edens happie Plains,
Lowly they bow'd adoring, and began

145
Thir Orifons, each Morning duly paid
In various style, for neither various style
Nor holy rapture wanted they to praise
Thir Maker, in fit strains pronounce't or sung
Unmeditated, such prompt eloquence

150
Flow'd from thir lips, in Prose or numerous Verse,
More tuneable then needed Lute or Harp
To add more sweetness, and they thus began.

151
These are thy glorious works, Parent of good,
Almightie, thine this universal Frame,

155
Thus wondrous fair; thy self how wondrous then!
Unspakeable, who first above these Heavens
To us invincible or dimly seen

160
In these thy lowest works, yet these declare
Thy goodness beyond thought, and Power Divine:

165
Speak yee who best can tell, ye Sons of light,
Angels, for yee behold him, and with songs
And choral symphonies, Day without Night,
Circle his Throne rejoicing, yee in Heavn,
On Earth joyn all ye Creatures to extoll

170
Him first, him laft, him midst, and without end.
Fairest of Starrs, last in the train of Night,

If
122 Paradise Lost. Book V.

If better thou belong not to the dawn,
Sure pledge of day, that crown'st the smiling Morn
With thy bright Circlet, praise him in thy Sphere.

While day arises, that sweet hour of Prime.
Thou Sun, of this great World both Eye and Soule,
Acknowledge him thy Greater, found his praise
In thy eternal course; both when thou climb'st,
And when high Noon hast gained, and when thou fall'st.

Moon, that now meet'st the orient Sun, now first
With the fixt Starks, first in thir Orb that flies,
And yee five other wandring Fires that move
In mystic Dance not without Song, refund
His praise, who out of Darkness call'd up Light.

Aire, and ye Elements the eldest birth
Of Natures Womb, that in quaternion run
Perpetual Circle, multiform; and mix
And nourish all things, let your ceaseles change
Varie to our great Maker still new praise.

Ye Mills and Exhalations that now rise
From Hill or steaming Lake, duskie or grey,
Till the Sun paint your fleecie skirts with Gold,
In honour to the Worlds great Author rise,
Whether to deck with Clouds the uncolour'd skie,

Or wet the thirstie Earth with falling showers,
Rising or falling still advance his praise.
His praise ye Winds, that from four Quarters blow,
Breathe soft or loud; and wave your tops, ye Pines,
With every Plant, in sign of Worship wave.

Fountains and yee, that warble, as ye flow,
Melodious murmurs, warbling tune his praise.
Joyn voices all ye living Souls, ye Birds,
That singling up to Heaven Gate ascend,
Bear on your wings and in your notes his praise;

Yee that in Waters glide, and yee that walk

The

173 climb ft.] So spaced in all 1674 copies examined, the apostrophe was entirely lacking in most of them. 174 and & fallst.] The recurrent battered period. 186 duskie] duskie (ligature)
188 honour] The n is battered in all copies examined. 189 skie,] skie, (ligature)
193 Breath] Breath Corrected according to 1668 Errata.
Book V. Paradise Lost.

The Earth, and stately tread, or lowly creep;
Witness if I be silent, Morn or Even,
To Hill, or Valley, Fountain, or fresh shade
Made vocal by my Song, and taught his praise.

Hail universal Lord, be bounteous still
To give us only good; and if the night
Have gathered aught of evil or conceal'd,
Disperse it, as now light dispels the dark.

So pray'd they innocent, and to their thoughts
Firm peace recover'd soon and woned calm.
On to thir mornings rural work they haste
Among sweet dewes and flowers; where any row
Of Fruit-trees overwoodie reach'd too far
Thir pamperd boughes, and needed hands to check

Fruitles imbraces: or they led the Vine
To wed her Elm: she spous'd about him twines
Her marriageable arms, and with her brings
Her down th' adopted Clusters, to adorn
His barren leaves. Them thus implo'd beheld
With pittie Heav'n's high King, and to him call'd
Raphael, the sociable Spirit, that deign'd
To travel with Tobias, and secure'd
His marriage with the seavetimes-wedded Maid.

Raphael, said hee, thou hearest what stir on Earth
Satan from Hell scap't through the darksom Gulf
Hath rais'd in Paradise, and how disturb'd
This night the human pair, how he designes
In them at once to ruin all mankind.
Go therefore, half this day as friend with friend
Converse with Adam, in what Bowre or shade
Thou findst him from the heat of Noon retir'd,
To repose his day-labour with repose,
Or with repose; and such discourse bring on,
As may advise him of his happy state.

Happiness

206 only] The first syllable is stressed. 229-231 Note the break in alignment of type in the last word in each of the three lines.
Hapiness in his power left free to will,
Left to his own free Will, his Will though free,
Yet mutable; whence warne him to beware
He swerve not too secure: tell him withall
His danger, and from whom, what enemie
Late falln himself from Heav'n, is plotting now
The fall of others from like state of bliss;
By violence, no, for that shall be withstood,
But by deceit and lies; this let him know,
Least wilfully tranfgressing he pretend
Surprifal, unadmonifht, unforewarned.
So spake th' Eternal Father, and fullfild
All Justice; nor delaid the wing'd Saint
After his charge receivd; but from among
Thoufand Celestial Ardors, where he stood
Vaild with his gorgeous wings, up springing light
Flew through the midst of Heav'n; th' angelic Quries
On each hand parting, to his speed gave way
Through all th' Empyreal road, till at the Gate
Of Heav'n arriv'd, the gate self-opend wide
On golden Hinges turning, as by work
Divine the fov ran Architect had fram'd:
From hence, no cloud, or, to obstruct his sight,
Starr interpos'd, however small he sees,
Not unconform to other shining Globes,
Earth and the Gard'n of God, with Cedars crownd
Above all Hills. As when by night the Glafs
Of Galileo, lefs affur'd, observes
Imagind Lands and Regions in the Moon:
Or Pilot from amidft the Cyclades
Delos or Samos first appearing kenns
A cloudy spot. Down thither prone in flight
He speeds, and through the vast Ethereal Skie
Sailes between worlds and worlds, with steddie wing

The page was set from a 1667 copy containing state 3 of Signature Q verso.

240 falln | fall'n | fall'n | fall'n | Heav'n, | Heaven, | Heaven, | Heav'n,
251 Quires | quires | Quires | Quires | 257 In 1674 this line is not indented. In 1667, states 1 and 2, the line is indented. It was not indented in 1667 state 3.
258 interpos'd | interpos'd | interpos'd | interpos'd | however | how ever | however | however
259 unconform | unconform | unconform | unconform | unconform | 261 all | The second 'l' seems to be I probably because of foul case. 268 and | &
Book V. Paradis Lost. 125

Now on the polar windes, then with quick Fann
Winnows the buxom Air; till within aore
Of Towring Eagles, to all the Fowles he seems
A Phoenix, gaz'd by all, as that sole Bird
When to enshrine his reliques in the Sun's
Bright Temple, to Egyptian Thes; he flies.

At once on th' Eastern cliff of Paradice
He lights, and to his proper shape returns
A Seraph wing'd; six wings he wore, to flade
His lineaments Divine; the pair that clad
Each shoulder broad, came mantling o're his breast

With regal Ornament; the middle pair
Girt like a Starrie Zone his waiste, and round
Skirted his loines and thighs with downie Gold
And colours dipt in Heav'n; the third his feet
Shaddowd from either heele with featherd maille

Ske-tinetur'd grain. Like Maia's Son he stood,
And shook his Plumes, that Heav'nly fragrance filling
The circuit wide. Strait knew him all the Bands
Of Angels under watch; and to his state,
And to his meassage high in honour rife;

For on som meassage high they gued his bound.
This glittering Tents he pass'd, and now is come
Into the blissful field, through Groves of Myrhave,
And crowing Odours, Cassia, Nard, and Balme;
A Wilderness of sweets; for Nature here

Wantond as in her prime, and plaid at will
Her Virgin Fancies, pouring forth more sweeter,
Wilde above Rule or Art; enormous blifs.
Him through the spicie Forrest onward com
Adam discern'd, as in the dore be far

Of his coole Bowre, while now the mounted Sun
Shor down direct his fervid Raies to warme
Earth inmost womb, more warmth then Adam needs;
And
And Eve within, due at her hour prepar'd
For dinner favourie fruits, of taste to please
True appetite, and not displeish thirst
Of nectarous draughts between, from milkie stream,
Berrie or Grape: to whom thus Adam call'd.
Haste hither Eve, and worth thy sight behold
Eastward among those Trees, what glorious shape
Comes this way moving; seems another Morn
Ris'n on mid-noon, from great bounties from Heav'n
To us perhaps he brings, and will voutrage
This day to be our Guest. But go with speed,
And what thy stores contain, bring forth and pour
Abundance, fit to honour and receive
Our Heav'nly stranger, well we may afford
Our givers thir own gifts, and large below
From large bestowed, where Nature multiplies
Her fertile growth, and by disbursing grows
More fruitful, which instructs us not to spare.
To whom thus Eve, Adam, earth's hallowd mould,
Of God inspir'd, small store will serve, where store,
All seasons, ripe for use hangs on the stalk;
Save what by frugal storing firmness gains
To nourish, and superfluous moist consumes:
But I will haste and from each bough and break,
Each Plant and juciest Gourd will pluck such choice
To entertain our Angel guest, as hee
Beholding shall confess that here on Earth
God hath dispenc'd his bounties as in Heav'n.
So saying, with dispatchful looks in haste
She turns, on hospitable thoughts intent
What choice to chuse for delicacie best,
What order, so contriv'd as not to mix
Tastes, nor well joynd, inelegant, but bring
Taste after taste upheld with kindliest change,
Bestirs.
Book V.  Paradise Lost.  127

Behirs her then, and from each tender stalk
Whatever Earth all-bearing Mother yields
In India East or West, or middle shore
In Pontus or the Punic Coast, or where
Alcinoüs reign'd, fruit of all kindes, in coat, rough, or smooth vined, or bearded husk, or shell
She gathers, Tribute large, and on the board
Heaps with unsparing hand; for drink the Grape
She crushes, inoffensive mouth, and meathes
From many a berrie, and from sweet kernels press
She tempers dulceet creams, nor these to hold
Wants her fit vessels pure, then strews the ground
With Rose and Oudours from the shrub unfum'd.

Mean while our Primitive great Sire, to meet
His god-like Guest, walks forth, without more train
Accompani'd then with his own compleat
Perfections, in himself was all his state,
More solemn then the tedious pomp that waits
On Princes, when thir rich Retinue long
Of Horses led, and Grooms befmeard with Gold
Dazzles the crowd, and fets them all agape.
Neerer his presence Adam though not awd,
Yet with submifs approach and reverence meek,
As to a superior Nature, bowing low,

Thus said.  Native of Heav'n, for other place
None can then Heav'n such glorious shape contain;
Since by descen ding from the Thrones above,
Those happie places thou haft deign'd a while
To want, and honour these, voufate with us
Two onely, who yet by fov'ran gift possefs
This spacious ground, in yonder shady Bowre
To reft, and what the Garden choicest bears
To fit and tafe, till this meridian heat
Be over, and the Sun more coole decline.

Whom

338 yields | yeilds  342 husk, | hufk, (ligature)  351 god-like | The hyphen is very faint in many copies examined. Guest, | The ft ligature is broken in all copies examined. 355 thir | Should this word be stressed?  366 onely, | | The first syllable is stressed.  367 ground, | The comma is faint in all 1674 copies examined.
12.8 Paradise Lost. Book V.

Whom thus the Angelic Vertue answer'd milde.

Adam, I therefore came, nor art thou such
Created, or such place hast here to dwell,
As may not oft invite, though Spirits of Heav'n
To visit thee; lead on then where thy Bowre
Orephades; for these mid-hours, till Eevning rife
I have at will. So to the Silvan Lodge
They came, that like Pomona's Arbour smil'd
With florets deck't and fragrant smells, but Eve
Undeckt, save with her self more lovely fair
Then Wood-Nymph, or the fairest Goddesse feign'd
Of three that in Mount Ida naked strove,
Stood to entertain her guest from Heav'n, no vaile
Shee needed, Vertue-proof, no thought infrimte
Alter'd her cheek. On whom the Angel Haile
Beflowd, the holy salutation us'd
Long after to blest Marie, second Eve.
Haile Mother of Mankind, whose fruitful Womb
Shall fill the World more numerous with thy Sons
Then with these various fruits the Trees of God
Have heap'd this Table. Raise'd of grasse terf
Thir Table was, and mossie seats had round,
And on her ample Square from side to side
All Autumn pi'd, though Spring and Autumn here
Danc'd hand in hand, A while discourfe they hold;
No fear left Dinner coole; when thus began
Our Authour. Heav'nly stranger, please to taste
These bounties which our Nourisher, from whom
All perfet good unmeasur'd our, descends,
To us for food and for delight hath caus'd
The Earth to yield; unfavourie food perhaps
To spiritual Natures; only this I know,
That one Celestial Father gives to all.

To

378 Pomona's Pomona's 395 hold; to] In 1674 the top element of the semicolon is battered but present in all copies. 390 Dinner] The second n is broken in all copies examined.
401 yield; yield. Catchword. To | As on pages 112, 136, 280, and 300 this page carries only thirty-three lines of text and the catchword is two line spaces below the bottom line of the text.
To whom the Angel. Therefore what he gives

(Whose praise be ever fung) to man in part
Spiritual, may of purest Spirits be found
No ingratitude food: and food alike those pure
Intelligential substances require
As doth your Rational; and both contain

405

Within them every lower faculty
Of sense, whereby they hear, see, smell, touch, taste,
Tasting concoct, digest, assimilate,
And corporeal to incorporeal turn.
For know, whatever was created, needs

410

To be satisfied and fed; of Elements
The greater feeds the purer, Earth the Sea,
Earth and the Sea feed Air, the Air those Fires
Ethereal, and as lowest first the Moon;
Whence in her visage round those spots, unpurg'd

415

Vapours not yet into her substance turnd.
Nor doth the Moon no nourishment exhale
From her moist Continent to higher Orbes,
The Sun that light imparts to all, receives
From all his alimental recompence

420

In humid exhalations, and at Even
Sups with the Ocean: though in Heav'n the Trees
Of life ambrosial frutage bear, and vines
Yield Nectar, though from off the boughs each Morn
We brush mellifluous Dewes, and find the ground

425

Cover'd with pearly grain: yet God hath here
Varied his bounty so with new delights,
As may compare with Heaven; and to taste
Think not I shall be nice. So down they fall,
And to thir viands fell, nor seemingly

430

The Angel, nor in mist, the common gloss
Of Theologians, but with keen dispatch
Of real hunger, and concoctive heat

435

Is this word stressed?

Paradise Lost. Book V.

To tranubstantiate; what redounds, transpires
Through Spirits with ease; nor wonder; if by fire
Of footy coal the Empiric Alchimist
Can turn, or holds it possible to turn
Metals of drossleft Oresto perfect Gold
As from the Mine. Mean while at Table Eve
Ministerd naked, and thir flowing cups
With pleafant liquors crown'd: O innocence
Deferving Paradise! if ever, then,
Then had the Sons of God excuse to have bin
Enamour'd at that sight; but in those hearts
Love unlibidinous reign'd, nor jealoufie
Was underftood, the injur'd Lovers Hell.
Thus when with meats and drinks they had suffic'd,
Not burd'nd Nature, sudden mind arose
In Adam, not to let th' occasion pafs
Given him by this great Conference to know
Of things above his World, and of thir being
Who dwell in Heav'n, whose excellence he faw
Transcend his own fo farr, whose radiant forms
Divine effulgence, whose high Power so far
Exceeded human, and his wary speech
Thus to th' Empyreal Minifter he fram'd.
Inhabitant with God, now know I well
Thy favour, in this honour done to man,
Under whose lowly roof thou haft vountaf't
To enter, and thirse earthly fruits to taste,
Food not of Angels, yet accepted fo,
As that more willingly thou couldft not seem
At Heav'n's high feasts to have fed: yet what compare?
To whom the winged Hierarch repli'd.
O Adam, one Almighty is, from whom
All things proceed, and up to him return,
If not deprav'd from good, created all

Such

448 fight;[ | The 1674 recurrent worn semicolon with the top element barely printing.
451 and[ & 455 World,] The W is too low in all copies examined.
Book V. Paradice Lost. 131

Such to perfection, one first matter all,
Indul'd with various forms various degrees
Of substance, and in things that live, of life;
But more refin'd, more spirituous, and pure,
As neerer to him plac't or neerer tending
Each in thir several active Sphairs affign'd,
Till body up to spirit work, in bounds
Proportion'd to each kind. So from the root:

Springs lighter the green stalk, from thence the leaves
More aerie, last the bright conlummate floure
Spirits odorous breathes: flours and thir fruit
Mans nourishment, by gradual scale sublim'd
To vital Spirits aspire, to animal,

To intellectual, give both life and sense,
Fanie and understanding, whence the Soule
Reason receives, and reason is her being,
Discursive, or Intuitive; discourse
Is oft'nest yours, the latter most is ours,

Differing but in degree, of kind the same.
Wonder not then, what God for you faw good
If I refuse not, but convert, as you,
To proper substance; time may come when men
With Angels may participate, and find

No inconvenient Diet, nor too light Fare:
And from these corporal nutriments perhaps
Your bodies may at last turn all to Spirit,
Improvd by tract of time, and wingd ascend
Ethereal, as wee, or may at choice

Here or in Heavenly Paradises dwell;
If ye be found obedient, and retain
Unalterably firm his love entire
Whose progenie you are. Mean while enjoy
Your fill what happiness this happy state

Can comprehend, incapable of more.

K 2 To

477 Each] The e is very faint in most copies examined. 483 nourishment.] The comma is clear in some 1674 copies and very faint in others. 486 Soule | soule 493 substance:] Although the semicolon is very faint in its top or upper element in many 1674 copies, it is the same recurrent worn semicolon that is used apparently many times throughout the book, and is not a comma. It was set as a semicolon to follow the semicolon on 1667.
To whom the Patriarch of mankind repli'd,
O favourable spirit, propitious guest,
Well hast thou taught the way that might direct
Our knowledge, and the scale of Nature set
From center to circumference, whereon
In contemplation of created things
By steps we may ascend to God. But say,
What meant that caution joint, if ye be found
Obedient? can we want obedience then
To him, or possibly his love defert
Who form'd us from the dust, and plac'd us here
Full to the utmost measure of what bliss
Human desires can seek or apprehend?
To whom the Angel, Son of Heav'n and Earth,
Attend: That thou art happy, owe to God;
That thou continu'st such, owe to thy self,
That is, to thy obedience; therein stand.
This was that caution giv'n thee; be advis'd,
God made thee perfect, not immutable;
And good he made thee, but to persevere
He left it in thy power, ordain'd thy will
By nature free, not over-rul'd by Fate
Inextricable, or strict necessity;
Our voluntary service he requires,
Not our necessitated, such with him
Findes no acceptance, nor can find, for how
Can hearts, not free, be try'd whether they serve
Willing or no, who will but what they must
By Deity, and can no other choose?
My self and all the Angelic Host that stand
In sight of God in thron'd, our happy state
Hold, as you yours, while our obedience holds;
On other surety none; freely we serve,
Because we freely love, as in our will

---

506 repli'd,] repli'd. Probably should be period, and 1674 comma arose from foul case.
507 propitious] The s is out of alignment in all copies examined. 514 Obedient? Obedient?
we] wee. The word seems to me to be unstressed.
520 God;] In my volume 2, page 391, state 2, Book 5:520 has only the lower element of the semicolon here due to an accident of processing. Both 1667 states (line numbers) carry a semicolon here. See correction at the end of my volume 4.
524 perfect,] The t is wrong font in all 1674 copies examined. 538 serve,] serve. The comma seems to be correct here.
To love or not; in this we stand or fall:
And some are fall'n, to disobedience fall'n,
And so from Heaven to deepest Hell; O fall
From what high state of bliss into what woe!
To whom our great Progenitor. Thy words

Attentive, and with more delighted ear,
Divine instructor, I have heard, then when
Cherubic Songs by night from neighbouring Hills
Aereal Music send: nor knew I not
To be both will and deed created free;

Yet that we never shall forget to love
Our maker, and obey him whose command
Single, is yet so just, my constant thoughts
Affur'd me, and still assure: though what thou tellst
Hath past in Heaven, some doubt within me move,

But more desire to hear, if thou content,
The full relation, which must needs be strange,
Worthy of Sacred silence to be heard;
And we have yet large day, for scarce the Sun
 Hath finish'd half his journey, and scarce begins

His other half in the great Zone of Heaven.

Thus Adam made request, and Raphael
After short pause assenting, thus began.

High matter thou injoinst me, O prime of men,
Sad task and hard, for how shall I relate

To human sense th' invisible exploits
Of warring Spirits; how without remorse
The ruin of so many glorious once
And perfect while they stood; how last unsoiled
The secrets of another world, perhaps

Not lawful to reveal? yet for thy good
This is dispens'd, and what surmounts the reach
Of human sense, I shall delineate so,
By likening spiritual to corporal forms,

As
As may express them best, though what if Earth
Be but the shadow of Heav'n, and things therein
Each to other like, more then on earth is thought?
As yet this world was not, and Chaos wilde
Reign'd where these Heav'n's now rowl, where Earth
Upon her Center pois'd, when on a day ( now refus
( For time, though in Eternitie, appl'd
To motion, measures all things durable
By present, past, and future ) on such day
As Heav'n's great Year brings forth, th' Empyrean Host
Of Angels by Imperial summons call'd,
Innumerable before th' Almighty's Throne
Forthwith from all the ends of Heav'n appeard
Under thir Hierarchs in orders bright
Ten thousand thousand Ensignes high advanc'd,
Standards, and Gonfalons twixt Van and Reare
Stram in the Aire, and for distinction serve
Of Hierarchies, of Orders, and Degrees;
Or in thir glittering Tiffues bear imblaz'd
Holy Memorials, acts of Zeale and Love
Recorded eminent. Thus when in Orbes
Of circuit inexpressible they stood,
Orb within Orb, the Father infinite,
By whom in bliss imbosom'd fat the Son,
Amidst as from a flaming Mount, whose top
Brightness had made invisible, thus spake.
Hear all ye Angels, Progenie of Light,
Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Vertues, Powers,
Hear my Decree, which unrevok't shall stand.
This day I have begot whom I declare
My onely Son, and on this holy Hill
Him have anointed, whom ye now behold
At my right hand; your Head I him appoint;
And by my Self have sworn to him shall bow

580 time,] Time, 589 twixt] The second t is very faint in all copies examined. 595 circuit] The second c is very faint in all copies examined. 598 Amidft] A midst whose top] whoseop Corrected according to 1668 Errata.
In order to keep 1674 page 135 as a recto and to have the reproduction from 1667 opposite it, this preceding recto is used for a sort of introduction. On its verso appears the reproduction from 1667, originally printed verso, and the 1674 page 135 follows as the recto it is, on a recto page of this facsimile edition.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>625</td>
<td>Eccentric, intervol'ed, yet regular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>626</td>
<td>Then most, when most irregular they seem:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>627</td>
<td>And in thir motions harmonie Divine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>628</td>
<td>So smooths her charming tones, that God's own ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>629</td>
<td>Liftens delighted. Evening approach'd</td>
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<tr>
<td>630</td>
<td>(For we have also our Evening and our Morn,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>631</td>
<td>We ours for change delectable, not need)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>632</td>
<td>Forthwith from dance to sweet repast they turn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>633</td>
<td>Desirous, all in Circles as they stood,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>634</td>
<td>Tables are set, and on a sudden pit'd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>635</td>
<td>With Angels Food, and rubied Nectar flows:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>636</td>
<td>In Pearl, in Diamond, and massie Gold,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>637</td>
<td>Fruit of delicious Vines, the growth of Heav'n,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>638</td>
<td>They eat, they drink, and with refecion sweet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>639</td>
<td>Are fill'd, before th' all-bounteous King, who</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>640</td>
<td>With copious hand, rejoicing in thir joy. (Ihowr'd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>641</td>
<td>Now when ambrosial Night with Clouds exhal'd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>642</td>
<td>From that high mount of God, whence light &amp; shade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>643</td>
<td>Spring both, the face of brightest Heav'n had chang'd</td>
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<tr>
<td>644</td>
<td>To grateful Twilight (for Night comes not there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>645</td>
<td>in darker veile) and roseat Dews dispos'd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>646</td>
<td>All but the unsleeping eyes of God to rest,</td>
</tr>
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<td>647</td>
<td>Wide over all the Plain, and wider farr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>648</td>
<td>Then all this globous Earth in Plain outspred,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>649</td>
<td>(Such are the Courts of God) Th' Angelic throng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>650</td>
<td>Disperst in Bands and Files thir Camp extend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>651</td>
<td>By living Streams among the Trees of Life,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>652</td>
<td>Pavilions numberless, and sudden reard,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>653</td>
<td>Celestial Tabernacles, where they slept (course</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>654</td>
<td>Fannd with coole Winds, fave those who in thir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>655</td>
<td>Melodious Hymns about the soveran Throne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>656</td>
<td>Alternate all night long: but not so wak'd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Page from 1667, Book 5, Lines 623-654
Book V. Paradise Lost. 135

All knees in Heav'n, and shall confess him Lord:
Under his great Vice-gerent Reign abide
610 United as one individual Soule
For ever happy: him who disobeyes
Mee disobeyes, breaks union, and that day
Caf out from God and blessed vision, falls
Into utter darkness, deep inguls'd, his place
615 Ordain'd without redemption, without end.

So spake the Omnipotent, and with his words
All seem well pleas'd, all seem'd, but were not all
That day, as other solemn days, they spent
In song and dance about the sacred Hill,
620 Mythical dance, which yonder starry Sphere
Of Planets and of fixed in all her Wheel's
Rembles nearest, mazes intricate,
Eccentric, intervol'd, yet regular
Then moit, when moit irregular they seem,

625 And in their motions harmonie Divine
So smooths her charming tones, that God's own ear
Lifts delighted. Evening now approach'd
(For wee have also our Evening and our Morn,
Wee ours for change delectable, not need)

630 Forthwith from dance to sweet repast they turn
Deforous; all in Circles as they flood,
Tables are set, and on a sudden pil'd
With Angels Food, and rubied Nectar flows
In Pearl, in Diamond, and maffie Gold,
635 Fruit of delicious Vines, the growth of Heav'n.
On hours repos'd, and with fresh flourets crownd,
They eate, they drink, and in communion sweet
Quaff immortality and joy, secure
Of surfer where full measure onely bounds

640 Excefs, before th' all bounteous King, who shovrd
With copious hand, rejoicing in thir joy.

K 4

Now

608 Lord: | Lord.\n616 Indented in 1674. In state 1, 1667, the line is not indented, but it is indented in state 2, 1667. 617 all] all. The period is needed. 618 feem] follem
624 feem] feem: The comma seems to be an improvement. 627 As printed in 1667, the line is deficient by one syllable. The 1674 insertion of the word now makes the line a pentameter with no other change. approach'd] approach'd 628 wee] we Almost certainly stressed, and the 1674 form must be accepted as a change on which Milton probably insisted. 629 Wee] We Again, the word seems to be heavily stressed, and the change, from Milton's standpoint, desirable. 631 Deforous;] Deforous. The semicolon seems to be an improvement. 633 flows] flows: No punctuation seems to be wanted here. 636 This line was added in 1674. The change in text can better be seen in the 1667 reproduction on the opposite page than described. The change extends into line 640. 638 This line was added in 1674. 639 This line was added in 1674. only] The first syllable is stressed. 640 This is line 637 in 1667. 641 This is line 638 in 1667. From this point on to the end of Book 5 the two editions maintain this slight difference in line numbers because of the 1674 insertion here.
Paradise Lost. Book V.

Now when ambrosial Night with Clouds exhal'd
From that high mount of God, whence light & shade
Spring both, the face of brightest Heav'n had chang'd

To grateful Twilight (for Night comes not there
In darker veil) and roset Dews dispos'd
All but the unsleeping eyes of God to rest,
Wide over all the Plain, and wider far
Then all this globous Earth in Plain out spread,

(Such are the Courts of God) Th' Angelic throng
Difperst in Bands and Files thir Camp extend
By living Streams among the Trees of Life,
Pavilions numberless, and wide reared,
Celestial Tabernacles, where they slept

Fann'd with coole Winds,save those who in thir course
Melodious Hymns about the soverain Throne
Alternate all night long: but not fo wak'd
Satan, so call him now, his former name
Is heard no more in Heav'n; he of the first,
If not the first Arch-Angel, great in Power,
In favour and praeceminence, yet fraught
With enmity against the Son of God, that day
Honour'd by his great Father, and proclaimed
Messiah King anointed, could not beare

Through pride that light, & thought himself impair'd
Deep malice thence conceiving and disdaining,
Soon as midnight brought on the duskie houre
Friend's left to sleep and silenced, he revolv'd
With all his Legions to dislodge and leave

Unworshipt, unobey'd the Throne suprem
Contemptuous, and his next subordinate
Awak'ning, thus to him in secret spake,
Sleep'd thou Companion dear, what sleep can close
Thy eye-lids? and rememb'rest what Decree

Of

Running Head. Loft.] The recurrent round period. There is a difference in line numbering by three lines between 1674 and 1667 because of the insertion in 1674 on page 135 of that edition, and this difference continues to the end of Book 5; but no attempt will be made in these notes to provide the correct line numbers from 1667, as no other lines were added, and the difference in numbering is not very great. 649 out spred[,] outspred. 659 more in Heav'n;] more Heav'n; Corrected according to the 1668 Errata. 665 &] and. 666 and] &. 667 duskie] duskie (ligature). 670 suprem] The p is faint in all copies examined. 671 contemptuous,] The e is battered in all copies examined. Catchword. Of] As on pages 112, 128, 280, and 300 this page carries only thirty-three lines of text and the catchword is two line spaces below the bottom line of the text.
Of yesterday, so late hath past the lips
Of Heav'n's Almighty. Thou to me thy thoughts
Wilt wont, I mine to thee was wont to impart;
Both waking we were one; how then can now
Thy sleep differ? new Laws thou feest impos'd;
New Laws from him who reigns, new minds may raise
In us who serve, new Counsels, to debate
What doubtful may enflue, more in this place
To utter is not safe. Assemble thou
Of all those Myriads which we lead the chief;
Tell them that by command, ere yet dim Night
Her shadowie Cloud withdraws, I am to haste,
And all who under me thir Banners wave,
Homeward with flying march where we possefs
The Quarters of the North, there to prepare
Fit entertainment to receive our King
The great Messiah, and his new commands,
Who speedily through all the Hierarchies
Intends to pass triumphant, and give Laws,
So spake the false Arch-Angel, and infused
Bad influence into th' unwarie breast
Of his Associate; hee together calls,
Or several one by one, the Regent Powers,
Under him Regent, tells, as he was taught,
That the most High commanding, now ere Night,
Now ere dim Night had discumberd Heav'n,
The great Hierarchial Standard was to move;
Tells the suggested cause, and calls between
Ambiguous words and jealousies, to found
Or taint integritie; but all obey'd
The wonted signal, and superior voice
Of thir great Potentate; for great indeed
His name, and high was his degree in Heav'n;

This page contains only thirty-three lines of text. There is a difference in line numbering by three lines between 1674 and 1667 because of the insertion in 1674 on page 135 of that edition, and this difference continues to the end of Book 5; but no attempt will be made in these notes to provide the correct line numbers from 1667; as no other lines were added, and the difference in numbering is not very great. 676 me Stressed. 678 we Stressed. 688 we Stressed. 698 he Stressed. 701 Hierarchial The i is faint in all copies examined. 706 thir] Almost certainly stressed, but the short form is printed in both 1674 and 1667.
138 Paradise Lost. Book V.

His countenance, as the Morning Star that guides
The starric flock, allur'd them, and with lyes
710 Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's Host:
Mean while th' Eternal eye, whose sight discerns
Abstrusefud thoughts, from forth his holy Mount
And from within the golden Lamps that burne
Nightly before him, yaw without thir light
Rebellion rising, saw in whom, how sped
Among the fons of Morn, what multitudes
Were banded to oppose his high Decree;
And smiling to his onely Son thus said.

Son, thou in whom my glory I behold
720 In full refulgence, Heir of all my might,
Neerly it now concerns us to be sure
Of our Omnipotence, and with what Arms
We mean to hold what anciently we claim
Of Deitie or Empire, such a foe

Is rising, who intends to erect his Throne
Equal to ours, throughout the spacious North;
Nor so content, hath in his thought to try
In battel, what our Power is, or our right.
Let us advise, and to this hazard draw
730 With speed what force is left, and all employ
In our defence, left unawares we lose
This our high place, our Sanctorie, our Hill.
To whom the Son with calm aspect and clear
Light'ning Divine, ineffable, serene,

Made answer. Mighty Father, thou thy foes
735 Justly haft in derision, and secure
Laugh'st at thir vain designes and tumults vain,
Matter to mee of Glory, whom thir hate
Illustrate, when they fee all Regal Power

Giv'n me to quell thir pride, and in event

Know

This page contains only thirty-three lines of text. Running Head. Lond.] The recurrent round period. There is a difference in line numbering by three lines between 1674 and 1667 because of the insertion in 1674 on page 135 of that edition, and this difference continues to the end of Book 5; but no attempt will be made in these notes to provide the correct line numbers from 1667, as no other lines were added, and the difference in numbering is not very great. This page was set from state 2 of 1667, Signature S. 713 within] within, within, 

718 only]] The first syllable is stressed. 727 try] trie 728 battel,] battel, battel, battel,
Know whether I be dextrous to subdue
Thy Rebels, or be found the worst in Heav'n.
So spake the Son, but Satan with his Powers
Far was advance't on winged speed, an Host
Innumerable as the Starrs of Night,
Or Starrs of Morning, Dew-drops, which the Sun
Impearls on every leaf and every flower.
Regions they pass'd, the mightie Regencies
Of Seraphim and Potentates and Thrones
In thir triple Degrees, Regions to which
All thy Dominion, Adam, is no more
Then what this Garden is to all the Earth,
And all the Sea, from one entire globose
Stretcht into Longitude ; which having pass'd
At length into the limits of the North.
They came, and Satan to his Royal seat
High on a Hill, far blazing, as a Mount
Rais'd on a Mount, with Pyramids and Towrs
From Diamond Quarries hew'n, and Rocks of Gold,
The Palace of great Lucifer, ( so call
That Structure in the Dialect of men
Interpreted ) which not long after, he
Affecting all equality with God,
In imitation of that Mount whereon
Mesiah was declar'd in sight of Heav'n,
The Mountain of the Congregation call'd;
For thither he assembl'd all his Train,
Pretending to commanded to consult
About the great reception of thir King,
Thither to come, and with calumnious Art
Of counterfeited truth thus held thir ears.
Of these magnifie Titles yet remain
Not
Paradise Lost. Book V.

Not meekly titular, since by Decree
Another now hath to himself ingr'ost
All Power, and us eclips'd under the name
Of King anointed, for whom all this haste
Of midnight march, and hurried meeting here,
This onely to consult how we may best

With what may be devis'd of honours new
Receive him coming to receive from us
Knee-tribute yet unpaid, prostration vile,
Too much to one, but double how endur'd,
To one and to his image now proclaim'd?

But what if better counsels might erect
Our minds and reach us to call off this Yoke?
Will ye submit your necks, and chuse to bend
The supple knee? ye will not, if I trust
To know ye right, or if ye know your selves

Natives and Sons of Heav'n possess'd before
By none, and if not equal all, yet free,
Equally free; for Orders and Degrees
Jarr not with liberty, but well confit.
Who can in reason then or right assume
Monarchie over such as live by right
His equals, if in power and splendor les,
In freedome equal? or can introduce
Law and Edict on us, who without law
Err not, much les for this to be our Lord,

And look for adoration to th' abuse
Of those Imperial Titles which assert
Our being ordain'd to govern, not to serve?
Thus far his bold discourse without controule
Had audience, when among the Seraphim

Abdiel, then whom none with more zeale ador'd
The Deitie, and divine commands obeid;

Stood
Book V. Paradise Lost. 141

Stood up, and in a flame of zeale severe
The current of his fury thus oppos'd.
O argument blasphemous, false and proud!

Words which no eare ever to hear in Heav'n
Expected, leaf all from thee, ingrate
In place thy self so high above thy Peeres.
Canst thou with impious obloquie condemn
The just Decree of God, pronounce't and sworn,

That to his only Son by right endu'd
With Regal Scepter, every Soule in Heav'n
Shall bend the knee, and in that honour due
Confess him rightful King? unjust thou faileth
Flatly unjust, to binde with Laws the free,

And equal over equals to let Reigne,
One over all with unsucceeded power.
Shalt thou give Law to God, shalt thou dispute
With him the points of libertie, who made
Thee what thou art, and formed the Pow'rs of Heav'n

Such as his pleasd, and circumscrib'd thir being?
Yet by experience taught we know how good,
And of our good, and of our dignitie
How provident he is, how far from thought
To make us lefs, bent rather to exalt

Our happie state under one Head more near
United. But to grant it thee unjust,
That equal over equals Monarch Reigne:
Thy self though great and glorious do'th thou count,
Or all Angelic Nature joind in one,

Equal to him begotten Son, by whom
As by his Word the mighty Father made
All things, e'en thee, and all the Spirits of Heav'n
By him created in thir bright degrees,
Crownd them with Glory, and to thir Glory nam'd
Thrones,

This page contains only thirty-three lines of text. There is a difference in line numbering by three lines between 1674 and 1667 because of the insertion in 1674 on page 135 of that edition, and this difference continues to the end of Book 5: but no attempt will be made in these notes to supply the correct line numbers from 1667, as no other lines were added, and the difference in numbering is not very great. This page was set from state 2 of 1667. Signature S recto. 808 oppos'd.] The apostrophe is very faint in most copies examined and entirely lacking in others. 815 only). The first syllable is stressed. 824 and] & 830 one] our\one 833 and] & 836 Father] The t is very faint in a few of the copies examined. 839 Glory,] The G is battered in all copies examined. and] &
142 Paradise Lost. Book V.

840 Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Vertues, Powers, Essental Powers, nor by his Reign obscur’d, But more illuftrious made, since he the Head One of our number thus reduc’t becomes, His Laws our Laws, all honour to him done

845 Returns our own. Ceafe then this impious rage, And tempt not thefe; but halft’n to appeafe Th’ incenfed Father, and th’ incenfed Son, While Pardon may be found in time befought, So fpake the fervent Angel, but his zeale

850 None feconded, as out of fefon judg’d, Or singular and rash, whereat rejoic’d Th’ Apoftat, and more haughty thus repl’d. That we were form’d then faift thou? and the work Of fecondarie hands, by task transfer’d

855 From Father to his Son? strange point and new! Doctrin which we would know whence learnt: who When this creation was? rememberft thou (faw Thy making, while the Maker gave thee being? We know no time when we were not as now;

860 Know none before us, felf-begor, felf-rais’d By our own quick’ning power, when fatal course Had circl’d his full Orbe, the birth mature Of this our native Heav’n, Ethereal Sons. Our puiffance is our own, our own right hand

865 Shall teach us higheft deeds, by proof to try Who is our equal: then thou shalt behold Whether by fupplication we intend Address, and to begirt th’ Almighty Throne Befeeching or befieging. This report,

870 These tidings carrie to th’ anointed King; And fly, ere evil intercept thy flight.

He

There is a difference in line numbering by three lines between 1674 and 1667 because of the insertion in 1674 on page 135 of that edition, and this difference continues to the end of Book 5; but no attempt will be made in these notes to supply the correct line numbers from 1667, as no other lines were added, and the difference in numbering is not very great. 840 Powers] Powers The comma seems to be needed. 853 and ] & Catchword. He] The catchword is two line spaces below the bottom line of text. This page carries only thirty-two lines of text as does the facing page 143.
HE said, and as the sound of waters deep
Hoarse murmur echo'd to his words applause
Through the infinite Hoist, nor less for that
The flaming Seraph fearless, though alone
Encompas' d round with foes, thus answer'd bold.
O alienate from God, O spirit accurs'd,
Forfak'n of all good, I see thy fall
Determine, and thy hapless crew involv'd
In this perfidious fraud, contagion spread
Both of thy crime and punishment: henceforth
No more be trouble d how to quit the yoke
Of God's Messiah; those indulgent Laws
Will not be now voul'd, other Decrees
Against thee are gon forth without recall;
That Golden Scepter which thou didst reject
Is now an Iron Rod to bruise and break
Thy disobedience. Well thou didst advise,
Yet not for thy advise or threats I fly
These wicked Tents devoted, leaft the wrauth
Impendent, raging into sudden flame
Distinguish not: for soon expect to feel
His Thunder on thy head, devouring fire.
Then who created thee lamenting learnt,
When who can uncreate thee thou shalt know.
So spake the Seraph Abdiel faithful found,
Among the faithles, faithful only hee;
Among innumerable false, unmov'd,
Unhak'n, uneduced, unterriff'd
His Loyalty he kept, his Love, his Zeale;
Nor number, nor example with him wrought
To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind
Though single. From amidt them forth he pass'd,
Long way through hostile scorn, which he susteind
Superior, nor of violence fear'd aught;
And with retorted scorn his back he turn'd
On those proud Towers to swift destruction doom'd.

The End of the Fifth Book.

Paradise

Only two books of the poem, Books 5 and 7, end on the final page of a signature, pages 144 and 192 respectively. This particular page, 144, seems to have been forced to contain the four final lines of Book 5 solely in order that the first page of Book 6 might be set in another form at the beginning of another signature. There is a difference in line numbering by three lines between 1674 and 1667 because of the insertion in 1674 on page 135 of that edition, and this difference continues to the end of Book 5; but no attempt will be made in these notes to supply the correct line numbers from 1667, as no other lines were added, and the difference in numbering is not very great. Catchword. Paradise] PARA-
Paradise Lost.

BOOK VI.

THE ARGUMENT.

Raphael continues to relate how Michael and Gabriel were sent forth to battle against Satan and his Angels. The first Fight describ'd: Satan and his Powers retire under Night: He calls a Council, invents devilish Engines, which in the second dayes Fight put Michael and his Angels to some disorder; but they at length pulling up Mountains overwhelm'd both the force and Machines of Satan: Yet the Tumult not so ending, God on the third day sends Messiah his Son, for whom he had refer'd the glory of that Victory: Hee in the Power of his Father coming to the place, and causing all his Legions to stand still on either side, with his Chariot and Thunder driving into the midst of his Enemies, pursues them unable to resist towards the wall of Heaven; which opening, they leap down with horror and confusion into the place of punishment prepar'd for them in the Deep: Messiah returns with triumph to his Father.

Title. Paradise Lost.] PARADISE/ LOST. In 1674 the first a is the one with the nicks in the vertical stroke. The rules are composite, not solid.
ALL night the dreadless Angel unpur'd
Through Heav'n's wide Champain held his way, till Morn,
Wak'd by the circling Hours, with rosy hand
Unbarr'd the gates of Light. There is a Cave
Within the Mount of God, faft by his Throne,
Where light and darknes in perpetual round
Lodge and dilodge by turns, which makes through
Grateful vicissitude, like Day and Night; (Heav'n
Light issues forth, and at the other dore
Obsequious darkness enters, till her houre (well
To veile the Heav'n, though darknes there might
Seem twilight here; and now went forth the Morn
Such as in highest Heav'n, arrayd in Gold
Empyreal, from before her vanisht Night,
Shot through with orient Beams: when all the Plain
Cover'd with thick embattel'd Squadrons bright,
Chariots and flaming Armes, and fierie Steeds
Reflecting blaze on blaze, first met his view:
Warr he perceav'd, warr in procinA, and found
Already known what he for news had thought
To have reported; gladly then he mixt
Among those friendly Powers who him receav'd
With joy and acclamations loud, that one
That of so many Myriads fall'n, yet one
Return'd not lost: On to the sacred hill
They led him high applauded, and present
Before the feat supream; from whence a voice
From midst a Golden Cloud thus milde was heard.
Servant of God, well done, well hast thou fought
The better fighr, who single haft maintaing
Against revolted multitudes the Cause
Of Truth, in word mightier then they in Armes;
And for the testimonie of Truth haft born

9 Light] The L is wrong font. 18 Second blaze,] The z is battered. 27 Before] The B is faint in all copies examined. 31 multitudes] The first t is faint in all copies examined. 33 testimonie] The ligature ft is faint in all copies examined. Catchword. Uni-] Because line z is run over, there are only thirty-three lines of text but thirty-four lines of type on this page and the catchword is on, not below, the last line. The first line drops approximately one extra line space below the running head.
**Book VI. Paradise Lost.**

Universal reproach, far worse to bear

Then violence: for this was all thy care
To stand approved in fight of God, though Worlds
Judg'd thee perverse: the easier conquest now
Remains thee, aided by this host of friends,
Back on thy foes more glorious to return

Then scornd thou didst depart, and to subdue
By force, who reason for thir Law refuse,
Right reason for thir Law, and for thir King
Messiah, who by right of merit Reigns.
Go Michael of Celestial Armies Prince,
And thou in Military prowes next
Gabriel, lead forth to Battle these my Sons
Invincible, lead forth my armed Saints
By Thousands and by Millions rang'd for fight;
Equal in number to that Godless crew
Rebellious, them with Fire and hostile Arms
Fearless assault, and to the brow of Heav'n
Pursuing drive them out from God and bliss,
Into thir place of punishment, the Gulf
Of Tartarus, which ready opens wide

His fiery Chaos to receive thir fall.
So spake the Sovran voice, and Clouds began
To darken all the Hill, and smok to rowl
In duskie wreathes, reluctant flames, the sign
Of wrath awak't: nor with less dread the loud

Ethereal Trumpet from on high gan blow:
At which command the Powers Militant,
That flood for Heav'n, in mighty Quadrat joyn'd
Of Union irrefissible, mov'd on
In silence thir bright Legions, to the sound

Of instrumental Harmonie that breath'd
Heroic Ardor to advent'rous deeds
Under thir God-like Leaders, in the Cause

---

44 Go] Goe 53 place] The bottom of the p is battered in all copies examined. 54 Tartarus,] The bottom of the second r is broken off in all copies examined. 63 irrefissible,] The ligature ft is faint in all copies examined. 64 thir] Stressed? 65 instrumental] The m is battered in all copies examined. 66 advent'rous] The t is battered in all copies examined.
Of God and his Messiah. On they move
Indissolubly firm; nor obvious Hill,
Nor straining Vale, nor Wood, nor Stream divides
Thir perfect ranks; for high above the ground
Thir march was, and the passive Air upbore
Thir nimble tread, as when the total kind
Of Birds in orderly array on wing
Came summond over Eden to receive
Thir names of thee; so over many a tract
Of Heav'n they march'd, and many a Province wide
Tenfold the length of this terrene: at last
Farr in th' Horizon to the North appeer'd
From skirt to skirt a fierie Region, strecht
In battailous aspect, and neerer view
Breath'd with upright beams innumerable
Of rigid Spears, and Helmets throng'd, and Shields
Various, with boastful Argument portray'd,
The banded Powers of Satan hafting on
With furious expedition; for they weend
That self same day by fight, or by surprize
To win the Mount of God, and on his Throne
To set the enver of his State, the proud
Aspirer, but thir thoughts prov'd fond and vain
In the mid way: though strange to us it seemd
At first, that Angel shou'd with Angel warr,
And in fierce bolling meet, who wont to meet
So oft in Festivals of joy and love
Unanimous, as sons of one great Sire
Hymning th' Eternal Father: but the shout
Of Battel now began, and rushing found
Of onset ended soon each milder thought.
High in the midft exalted as a God
Th' Apostat in his Sun-bright Chariot falle
Idol of Majestie Divine, enclos'd

With

73 tread.] tread: It is difficult to choose between the comma and the semicolon here.
96 Father:] Italic colon.
With Flaming Cherubim, and golden Shields;
Then lighted from his gorgeous Throne, for now
'Twixt Hoft and Hoft but narrow space was left,

A dreadful intervall, and Front to Front
Presented stood in terrible array
Of hideous length: before the cloudie Van,
On the rough edge of battel ere it joynd,
Satan with vaft and haughtie strides advance,

Came towring, armd in Adamant and Gold;
Abdiel that fight endur'd not, where he stood
Among the mightieft, bent on highest deeds,
And thus his own undaunted heart explores.

O Heav'n! that fuch refemblance of the Higheft
Should yet remain, where faith and realtie
Remain not; wherfore should not strength and might
There fail where Vertue fails, or weakeft prove
Where boldeft; though to fight unconquerable?
His puiflance, trufting in th' Almighty's aide,

I mean to try, whose Reafon I have tri'd
Unfound and falf': nor is it aught but juft,
That he who in debate of Truth hath won,
Should win in Arms, in both disputes alike
Victor; though brutifh that contelte and foule,

When Reafon hath to deal with force, yet fo
Most reafon is that Reafon overcome.
So pondering, and from his armed Peers
Forth stepping opposite, half way he met
His daring foe, at this prevention more

Incens't, and thus securely him def't.

Proud, art thou met? thy hope was to have reacht
The highth of thy aspiring unoppos'd,
The Throne of God unguarded, and his side
Abandon'd at the terror of thy Power

Or potent tongue; fool, not to think how vain

L 3

Against

105 intervall, intervall, 116 should] The 1 is faint in all copies examined. and &
120 whose] The f is battered in all copies examined. 127 Peers] The s is below type alignment.
Against th' Omnipotent to rise in Arms;
Who out of smallest things could without end
Have rais'd incessant Armies to defeat
Thy folly; or with solitarie hand
Reaching beyond all limit at one blow
Unaided could have finish'd thee, and whelm'd
Thy Legions under darknes; but thou seest
All are not of thy Train; there be who Faith
Prefer, and Piete to God, though then
To thee not visible, when I alone
Seem'd in thy World erroneous to dissent
From all: my Scat thou seest, now learn too late
How few sometime may know, when thousands err.
Whom the grand foe with scornful eye ask'd
Thus answer'd. Ill for thee, but in wi'ft hour
Of my revenge, first fought for thou return'd
From flight, seditious Angel, to receive
Thy merited reward, the first assay
Of this right hand provok't, since first that tongue
Inspir'd with contradiction durst oppose
A third part of the Gods, in Synod met
Thir Deities to assert, who while they feel
Vigour Divine within them, can allow
Omnipotence to none. But well thou comst
Before thy fellows, ambitious to win
From me some Plume, that thy success may show
Destruction to the rest: this pause between
( Unanswer'd least thou boast'd ) to let thee know;
At first I thought that Liberrie and Heav'n
To heav'nly Soules had bin all one; but now
I see that most through sloth had rather serve,
Ministering Spirits, train'd up in Faith and Song;
Such halt thou arm'd, the Minstrelz of Heav'n,
Servilitie with freedom to contend,

150 Paradise Lost. Book VI.

140 limit limit 149 Whom Whom The W is smashed in all copies examined. askance askance (ligature) 152 Destruction Destruction The r is broken in some copies, such as numbers 14 and 19, but clear in others, such as number 22. Was it reset? 169 Servilitie Servilitie The I is so badly worn that it scarcely printed in any copy examined, but was not found reset.
Book VI. Paradise Lost. 151

170 As both thir deeds compar'd this day shall prove.
   To whom in brief thus Abdiel stern repli'd.
   Apostat, still thou err'dt, nor end wilt find
   Of erring, from the path of truth remote:
   Unjustly thou deprav'ft it with the name

175 Of Servitude to serve whom God ordains,
   Or Nature; God and Nature bid the same,
   When he who rules is worthieth, and excells
   Them whom he governs. This is servitude,
   To serve th' unwise, or him who hath rebell'd

180 Against his worthieth, as thine now serve thee,
   Thy self not free, but to thy self enthral'd;
   Yet loudly dar'l't our miniftring upbraid.
   Reign thou in Hell thy Kingdom, let mee serve
   In Heav'n God ever bleft, and his Divine

185 Behefts obey, worthieth to be obey'd,
   Yet Chains in Hell, not Realms expect: mean while
   From mee returnd, as erst thou saidst, from flight,
   This greeting on thy impious Cret receive.
   So laying, a noble stroke he lifted high,

190 Which hung not, but so swift with tempest fell
   On the proud Crest of Satan, that no fight,
   Nor motion of swift thought, lefs could his Shield
   Such ruin intercept: ten paces huge
   He back recoil'd; the tenth on bended knee

195 His maffie Spear uplifted; as if on Earth
   Winds under ground or waters forcing way
   Sidelong, had pul'd a Mountain from his fear
   Half sunk with all his Pines. Amazement seiz'd
   The Rebel Thrones, but greater rage to fee

200 Thus foil'd thir mightieth, ours joy fil'd, and shout,
   Prefage of Victorie and fierce desire
   Of Battel: whereat Michael bid found
   Th' Arch-Angel trumpet; through the vast of Heaven
   L 4

184 bleft, bleffed. The change is as called for in the 1668 Errata. 193 intercept: The re-
current faint c 197 Sidelong. It is impossible to tell whether this is a smashed comma that
looks like a period or a smashed period that looks like a comma. The comma is obviously intended
here. 203 Angel] angel Heaven] Heav'n The second syllable is certainly unstressed, and the
second e should have been elided.
152 Paradis Lost. Book VI.

It founded, and the faithfull Armies rung

_Hosanna_ to the Highelt: nor flood at gaze

The adverfe Legions, nor lefs hideous joynd
The horrid shock: now storming furie rofe,
And clamour such as heard in Heav'n till now
Was never, Arms on Armour clashing bray'd

_Hordeful discord, and the madd'ing Wheeles_
Of brazen Chariots rag'd, dire was the noife
Of conflict; over head the difmal hifs
Of _fiery_ Darts in flaming volies flew,
And flying vaulted either Hoft with fire.

So under _erie_ Cope together rufh'd
Both Battels maine, with ruinous affault
And inextinguifhable rage; all _Heav'n_
Refounded, and had Earth bin then, all Earth
Had to her Center shock: What wonder? when

_Millions of fierce encountering Angels fought_
On either side, the leaft of whom could weild
These Elements, and arm him with the force
Of all thir Regions: how much more of Power
Armie against Armie numberles to rafe

_Dreadful combution warring, and difturb,_
Though not _deftroy_, thir happie Native feat;
Had not th' Eternal King Omnipotent
From his strong hold of _Heav'n_ high over-rul'd
And limited thir might; though numberd such

As each divided Legion might have feem'd

A numerous Hoft, in strength each armed hand
A Legion: led in fight, yet Leader feem'd
Each _Warriour_ Single as in Chief, expert
When to advance, or f tand, or turn the fway

Of Battel, open when, and when to clofe
The ridges of grim Warr: no thought of flight,
None of retreat, no unbecoming deed

That

215 So under | Sounder. The change is made as called for in the 1668 Errata. 225 disturb.]}
The Columbia note claiming a semicolon for a copy of the first edition is in error. Some first edition copies, such as numbers 5, 15, and 16, show an offset smear above the comma; but in no copy of the first edition known to me has the comma been replaced. 1678 printed a comma here. 232 Legion;] Again, the Columbia note is too drastic. The punctuation mark here is one of the semicolons peculiar to the 1674 type font, and the top element is often so faint as to be scarcely visible. But several 1674 copies carry it clear enough to be sure of it. The two prints presented here show the situation very well. Note that the lower portion of the semicolon, the comma portion, that is common to both conditions is exactly the same in both prints. It is only the upper portion, the period-like mark, that appears and disappears. The same kind of semicolon, if not this identical one, with the lower part sharp and bright, but with a very faint upper part, can be seen over and over again throughout the book.
Book VI. Paradise Lost. 153

That argu’d fear; each on himself reli’d,
As onely in his arm the moment lay
240 Of victorie; deeds of eternal fame
Were don, but infinite: for wide was spread
That Warr and various; fomtimes on firm ground
A standing fight, then roaring on main wing
Tormented all the Air; all Air seem’d then
245 Confiding Fire: long time in even scale
The Battel hung; till Satan, who that day
Prodigious power had shewn, and met in Armes
No equal, ranging through the dire attack
Of fighting Seraphim confus’d, at length
250 Saw where the Sword of Michael smote, and fell’d
Squadrons at once, with huge two-handed sway
Brandish’d aloft the horrid edge came down
Wide wafting; such destruction to withstand
He haste’d, and oppos’d the rockie Orb
255 Of tenfold Adamant, his ample Shield
A vast circumference: At his approach
The great Arch-Angel from his warlike toile
Sucess’d, and glad as hoping here to end
Inteftine War in Heav’n, the arch foe subdu’d
260 Or Captive drag’d in Chains, with hostile frown
And visage all enflam’d first thus began.
Author of evil, unknown till thy revolt,
Unnam’d in Heav’n, now plenteous, as thou feest
These Acts of hateful strife, hateful to all,
265 Though heaviest by just measure on thy self
And thy adherents: how haft thou disturb’d
Heav’n’s blessed peace, and into Nature brought
Miferie, uncreated till the crime
Of thy Rebellion? how haft thou infill’d
270 Thy malice into thousands, once upright
And faithful, now prov’d false. But think not here

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239 only] The first syllable is stressed. 246 who] The h is broken in copy 14 only.
255 Adamant, his] Tight spacing in all copies examined. 271 false.] The recurrent faint period.
To trouble Holy Rest; Heav'n calls thee out
From all her Confin'd. Heav'n the seat of bliss
Brooks not the works of violence and Warr.

Hence then, and evil go with thee along
Thy offspring, to the place of evil, Hell,
Thou and thy wicked crew; there mingle broiles,
Ere this avenging Sword begin thy doome,
Or form more sudden vengeance wing'd from God
Precipitate thee with augmented paine.
So spake the Prince of Angels; to whom thus
The Adversarie. Nor think thou with wind
Of airc threats to aw whom yet with deeds
Thou canst not. Haist thou turn'd the least of these
To flight, or if to fall, but that they rise
Unvanquihet, easier to tranfact with mee
That thou shouldst hope, imperious, and with threats
To chafe me hence? erre not that so shall end
The strife which thou call'dt evil, but wee style
The strife of Glorie: which we mean to win,
Or turn this Heav'n it fell into the Hell
Thou fableft, here howe'er to dwell free,
If not to reign: mean while thy utmost force,
And join him nam'd Almighty to thy aid,
I fly not, but have sought thee farr and nigh.
They ended parle, and both addreit for fight
Unspeakeble; for who, though with the tongue
Of Angels, can relate, or to what things
Liken on Earth conspicuous, that may lift
Human imagination to such bighth
Of Godlike Power: for likest Gods they seemd.
Stood they or mov'd, in stature, motion, arms
Fit to decide the Empire of great Heav'n,
Now wav'd thir fieric Swords, and in the Aire
Made horrid Circles; two broad Sun: thir Shields
Blaz'd
Book VI. Paradise Lost. 155
Blaz’d opposite, while expectation flood
In horror; from each hand with speed retir’d
Where er’d was thickest fight, th’ Angelic throng,
And left large field, unsafe within the wind

310 Of such commotion, such as to set forth
Great things by small, if Natures concord broke,
Among the Constellations warr were sprung,
Two Planets rushing from aspect maligne
Of fiercest opposition in mid Skie,

315 Should combat, and thir jarring Spheres confound.
Together both with next to Almighty Arme,
Uplifted imminent one stroke they aim’d
That might determine, and not need repeate,
As not of power, at once; nor odds appeard

320 In might or swift prevention; but the sword
Of Michael from the Armorie of God
Was giv’n him temper’d so, that neither keen
Nor solid might refult that edge; it met
The sword of Satan with steep force to 325
Defending, and in half cut fierce, nor laid,
But with swift wheel reverse, deep enring thar’d
All his right side; then Satan first knew pain,
And writh’d him to and fro convolv’d; so fore
The gridding sword with discontinuous wound

330 Pas’d through him, but th’ Ethereal substance clos’d
Not long divisible, and from the gash
A stream of Nectarous humor issuing slow’d
Sanguin, such as Celestial Spirits may bleed,
And all his Armour flain’d ere while fo bright.

335 Forthwith on all sides to his side was run
By Angels many and strong, who interpos’d
Defence, while others bore him on thir Shields
Back to his Chariot; where it flood retir’d
From off the files of warr; there they him laid

Gnashing

311 small, if[1] Note how closely the 1674 compositor was following his 1667 copy here in reproducing the capital I although it seems scarcely necessary, although the comma set in 1667 may have been set in error for a period. 316-317 Copy 19 has struck out with a pen the comma after Arme, and has inserted a comma in line 317 after imminent and the two lines were so printed by editors of 1725, 1747, and by Newton in 1749. The change in subject of the verb uplifted from stroke to Arme, is at least reasonable. The penned changes in copy 19 may have been made in the print shop after printing and before the sale of the copy. Probably more editions have dropped the comma after Arme, than have, since 1695, ever printed it. But both 1667 and 1674 carry it and read exactly alike in these two lines. 329 In the first edition, this line is slightly indented. 330 Pas’d] The apostrophe is very faint in all copies examined. 335 strong,] The comma is clear in most copies, but very faint in a few, though always present.
Gnashing for anguish and despit and flame
To find himself not matchless, and his pride
Humbl'd by such rebuke, so far beneath
His confidence to equal God in power.
Yet soon he heal'd; for spirits that live throughout
Vital in every part, not as frail man
In Entrails, Heart or Head, Liver or Reines;
Cannot but by annihilating die;
Nor in their liquid texture mortal wound
Receive, no more then can the fluid Aire:
All Heart they live, all Head, all Eye, all Eare,
All Intellect, all Sense, and as they please,
They Limb themselves, and colour, shape or size
Assume, as likes them best, condense or rare.
Mean while in other parts like deeds deferred
Memorial, where the might of Gabriel fought,
And with fierce Ensignes pierc'd the deep array
Of Moloc furious King, who him defi'd,
And at his Chariot wheeles to drag him bound
Threatn'd, nor from the Holie One of Heavn
Refrain'd his tongue blasphematic; but anon
Down clown to the wafte, with shattered Armes
And uncouth paine fled bellowing. On each wing
Driel and Raphael his vaunting foe,
Though huge, and in a Rock of Diamond Armd,
Vanquish'd Adramelec, and Asmadai,
Two potent Thrones, that to be less then Gods
Dissaint, but meaner thoughts learned in that flight,
Mangl'd with gally wounds through Plate and Maile,
Nor yield unmindful Abdiel to annoy
The Acheit crew, but with redoubld blow
Ariel and Arioc, and the violence
Of Raamfl scorcht and blaz'ted overthrew.
I might relate of thousands, and thir names
Eternize

346 Reines; | Reines, All but a few 1674 copies examined show at least a trace of the top part of the weak semicolon as shown in the above print. The comma is doubtless correct, and the semicolon was set here by foul case. 1678 reads semicolon. 357 King, | In 1674 the comma is very faint in several copies examined, but always present. 368 Maile, | (Maile. Almost certainly this is a foul case comma set for what was intended to be a period.
Book VI. Paradise Lost. 157

Eternize here on Earth; but those elect
375 Angels contented with thir fame in Heav'n
Seek not the praise of men: the other fort
In might though wondrous and in Acts of Warr,
Nor of Renown less eager, yet by doome
Cancel from Heav'n and sacred memorie,
380 Nameless in dark oblivion let them dwell.
For strength from Truth divided and from Just,
Illaudable, naught merits but dispraise
And ignominie, yet to glories aspire
Vain glorious, and through infamie seeks fame:
385 Therfore Eternal silence be thir doome.
And now thir Mightiest quelled, the battle swery'd,
With many an inrode gory'd; deformed rout
Enter'd, and foul disorder; all the ground
With shiver'd armour throw'n, and on a heap
390 Chariot and Charioter lay overturn'd
And fierie foaming Steeds; what flood, recoyld
Orewearied, through the faint Satanic Host
Defensive scarfe, or with pale fear surpris'd,
Then first with fear surpris'd and senfe of paine
395 Fled ignominious, to such evil brought
By sin of disobedience, till that hour
Not liable to fear or flight or paine.
Far otherwise th' inviolable Saints
In Cubic Phalanx firm advanc't entire,
400 Invulnerable, impenetrably arm'd:
Such high advantages thir innocence
Gave them above thir foes, not to have sinnd,
Not to have disobei'd; in fight they flood
Unwearied, unobnoxious to be pain'd
405 By wound, though from thir place by violence mov'd.
Now Night her course began, and over Heav'n
Inducing darknes, grateful truce impos'd,

And

386 Mightie[f] mightieft 396 fin] finne 405 By wound[,] By wound, mov'd[,] mov'd
The period is needed.
158 Paradise Lost. Book VI.

And silence on the odious dinn of War: 
Under her Clouds covert both retir'd,
Victor and Vanquish'd: on the foughten field 
Michael and his Angels prevalent
Encamping, plac'd in Guard th'ir Watches round,
Cherubic waving fires: on th'other part
Satan with his rebellious dispa'red,
Far in the dark dislodg'd, and void of rest,
His Potentates to Council call'd by night;
And in the midst thus undismay'd began.
O now in danger retir'd, now known in Armes
Not to be overpower'd, Companions deare,
Found worthy not of Libertie alone,
Too mean pretence, but what we more affect,
Honour, Dominion, Glorie, and renowne,
Who have sustaine'd one day in doubtful fight
(And if one day, why not Eternal days?)
What Heavens Lord had powerfuller to send
Against us from about his Throne, and judg'd
Sufficient to subdue us to his will,
But proves not so: then fallible, it seems,
Of future we may deem him, though till now
Omniscient thought. True is, let's firmly arm'd,
Some disadventure we endur'd and pained,
Till now not known, but known as soon contemned,
Since now we find this our Empyrean form
Incaponle of mortal injurie
Imperiuable, and though pierc'd with wound,
Soon closing, and by native vigour heal'd.
Of evil then so small as easie think
The remedie, perhaps more valid Armes,
Weapons more violent, when next we meet,
May serve to better us, and worse our foes,
Or equal what between us made the odds,

In

423 fight] fight. The comma is not exactly needed here. 424 Eternal] The a either is battered or wrong font. 425 Heavens] The crossbar of the first e is broken in all copies examined. 429 we] Stressed? 431 we] Stressed. 433 form] forme 436 cloising] The comma is clear in most copies, but very faint in a few, though always present.
Book VI.  *Paradise Lost.*  

In Nature none: if other hidden cause
Left them Superior, while we can preserve
Unhurt our minds, and understanding found,

Due search and consultation will disclose.

He sat; and in the assembly next upstood
Nisroq, of Principalities the prime;
As one he stood escaped from cruel fight,
Sore toiled, his riv'ns Armes to havoc hewn,

And cloudie in aspect thus answering spake.

Deliverer from new Lords, leader to free
Enjoyment of our right as Gods; yet hard
For Gods, and too unequal work we find
Against unequal arms to fight in pain,

Against unpain'd, impassive; from which evil
Ruin must needs ensue; for what availes
Valour or strength, though matchless, quelled with pain
Which all subdued, and makes remits the hands
Of Mightiest. Sense of pleasure we may well

Spare out of life perhaps, and not repine,
But live content, which is the calmest life:
But pain is perfect misery, the worst
Of evils, and excessive, overturns
All patience. He who therefore can invent

With what more forcible we may offend
Our yet unwounded Enemies, or armes
Our selves with like defence, to me deserves
No less than for deliverance what we owe.

Whereeto with look compos'd Satan repli'd.

Not uninvented that, which thou artight
Believst to main to our success, I bring;
Which of us who beholds the bright surface
Of this Ethereous mould whereon we stand,
This continent of spacious Heav'n, adorn'd

With Plant, Fruit, Flour Ambrosial, Gemms & Gold,

Which

457 The line is long and no space appears after either of the two commas. 467 with] The crossbar of the t is faint. me] mee The word is certainly stressed, and the second edition is wrong. 471 Believft] Beleivft 475 Plant,Fruit,) No space.
266  BOOK 6  THE SECOND EDITION OF PARADISE LOST

160  Paradise Lost.  Book VI.

Whose Eye so superficially surveyes  
Thee things, as not to mind from whence they grow  
Deep under ground, materials dark and crude,  
Of spiritous and fierie spume, till toucht

With Heav'n's ray, and temperd they shoot forth  
So beauteous, open'd to the ambient light.  
Thee in thir dark Nativity, the Deep  
Shall yield us pregnant with infernal flame,  
Which into hollow Engins long and round

Thick-rammd, at th' other bore with touch of fire  
Dilated and infuriate shall fend forth  
From far with thundring noise among our foes  
Such implements of mischief as shall dash  
To pieces, and o'rewhelm whatever stands

Adverse, that they shall fear we have disarmed  
The Thunderer of his only drented bolt.  
Nor long shall be our labour, yet ere dawne,  
Effect shall end our wish. Mean while revive;  
Abandon fear; to strength and counsel join'd

Think nothing hard, much less to be despaire.  
He ended, and his words thir drooping chere  
Enlightn'd, and thir languisht hope reviv'd.  
Th' invention all admir'd, and each, how hee  
To be th' inventor mis'd, so easie it seend

Once found, which yet unfound most would have  
Impossible: yet haply of thy Race (thought  
In future dayes, if Malice should abound,  
Some one intent on mischief, or inspir'd  
With dev'lish machination might devise

Like instrument to plague the Sons of men  
For sin, on warr and mutual slaughter bent.  
Forthwith from Counsell to the work they flew,  
None arguing flood, innumerable hands  
Were ready, in a moment up they turn'd

Wide

Running Head. Lost.]  The recurrent round period.  483 yield yeild us]  The comma seems to be needed.  488 mischief]  The top of the f is broken off in all copies examined.
Book VI.  Paradise Lost.  161

510  Wide the Celestial soile, and saw beneath
Th' originals of Nature in thir crude
Conception; Sulphurous and Nitrous Foame
They found, they mingl'd, and with sull Art,
Concocted and adustd they reduc'd

515  To blackest grain, and into store convey'd:
Part hidd'n veins diggd up (nor hath this Earth
Entrails unlike) of Mineral and Stone,
Whereof to found thir Engins and thir Balls
Of missive ruin; part incentive reed

520  Provide, pernicious with one touch to fire.
So all ere day-spring, under conscious Night
Secret they finish'd, and in order set,
With silent circumstance unesp'd.
Now when fair Morn Orient in Heav'n appear'd

525  Up rose the Victor Angels, and to Arms
The matin Trumpet Sung: in Arms they flood
Of Golden Panoplie, refugent Host,
Soon banded; others from the dawning Hills
Lookd round, and Scouts each Coast light-armed

530  Each quarter, to descrie the distant foe,
Where lodg'd, or whither fled, or if for fight,
In motion or in alt: him soon they met
Under spred Ensignes moving nigh, in flow
But firm Battalion; back with speediest Sail

535  Zephiel, of Cherubim the swiftest wing,
Came flying, and in mid Aire aloud thus cri'd.

Arme, Warriours, Arme for fight, the foe at hand,
Whom fled we thought, will save us long pursuit
This day, fear not his flight; so thick a Cloud

540  He comes, and settl'd in his face I see
Sad resolution and secure: let each
His Adamantine coat gird well, and each
Fit well his Helme, gripe fast his orbed Shield,
162 Paradise Lost. Book VI.

Born even or high, for this day will pour down,
If I conjecture aught, no drizzling show,
But rating storm of Arrows barbed with fire.
So warned be them aware themselves, and soon
In order, quit of all impediment;
Infatant without disturb they took Alarm,
And onward move Embattled; when behold
Not distant far with heavy pace the Foe
Approaching gros and huge; in hollow Cube
Training his devilish Engineer, impal'd
On every side with shadowing Squadrons Deep,
To hide the fraud. At interview both stood
A while, but suddenly at head appear'd
Satan: And thus was heard Commanding loud,
Vanguard, to Right and Left the Front unfoul'd;
That all may see who hate us, how we seek
Peace and composure, and with open breast
Stand ready to receive them, if they like
Our overture, and turn not back perverse;
But that I doubt, however witness Heaven,
Heaven witness thou anon, while we discharge
Freely our part; yea who appointed hand
Do as you have in charge, and briefly touch
What we propound, and loud that all may hear.
So scoffing in ambiguous words he scarce,
Had ended; when to Right and Left the Front
Divided, and to either Flank retir'd.
Which to our eyes discover'd new and strange,
A triple mounted row of Pillars laid
On Wheels (for like to Pillars most they seem'd
Or hollow'd bodies made of Oak or Firr
With branches loft, in Wood or Mountain fell'd)
Brafs, Iron, Stonic mould, had not thir mouths
With hideous orifice gap't on us wide,
Book VI. Paradice Lost. 163

Portending hollow truce; at each behind
A Seraph stood, and in his hand a Reed
580 Stood waving tip with fire; while we suspen'd,
Collected stood within our thoughts amus'd,
Not long, for sudden all at once thir Reeds
Put forth, and to a narrow vent appli'd
With nicest touch. Immediate in a flame,
585 But soon obfcur'd with fmoak, all Heav'n appeard,
From thofe deep thronged Engins belcht, whose roar
Embowed with outrageous noife the Air,
And all her entrails tore, disgorging foule
Thir devilifh glut, chain'd Thunderbolts and Hail
590 Of Iron Globes, which on the Victor Hoft
Level'd, with fuch impetuous furie fmore,
That whom they hit, none on thir feet might ftand,
Though ftanding elfe as Rocks, but down they fell
By thousands, Angel on Arch-Angel roll'd;
595 The sooner for thir Arms, unarm'd they might
Have eafily as Spirits evaded swift
By quick contradiction or remove; but now
Foule dilipation follow'd and forc't rout;
Nor serv'd it to relax thir ferried files.
600 What should they do? if on they ruft, repulfte
Repeated, and indecent overthrow
Doubl'd, would render them yet more defpis'd,
And to thir foes a laughter; for in view
Stood rankt of Seraphim another row
605 In pofture to difplode thir second tire
Of Thunder; back defeated to return
They worfe abhor'd. Satan beheld thir plight,
And to his Mates thus in derifion call'd.

O Friends, why come not on thefe Victors proud?
610 Ere while they fierce were coming, and when wee,
To entertain them fair with open Front

M 2

586 deep throated] deep-throated 589 devilish] devillish 591 impetuous] The s is faint in all copies examined. 598 Foule] The l is very faint in all copies examined.
And Brief, (what could we more?) propounded terms
Of composition, strait they chang'd thir minds,
Flew off, and into strange vagaries fell,

As they would dance, yet for a dance they seem’d
Somewhat extravagant and wil’d, perhaps
For joy of offer’d peace: but I suppose
If our proposals once again were heard
We should compel them to a quick resolt.

To whom thus Belial in like game’som mood,
Leader, the terms we sent were terms of weight,
Of hard contents, and full of force urg’d home.
Such as we might perceive amus’d them all,
And stumbl’d many, who receives them right,

Had need from head to foot well understand’d,
Not understood, this gift they have besides,
They shew us when our foes walk not upright.

So they among themselves in pleasant vein
Stood scoffing, high-thn’d in thir thoughts beyond

All doubt of Victory, eternal might
To match with thir inventions they presum’d
So easie, and of his Thunder made a scorn,
And all his Host derided, while they flood
A while in trouble; but they flood not long,

Rage prompt’d them at length, and found them arms
Against such hellish mischief fit to oppose.
Forthwith (behold the excellence, the power
Which God hath in his mighty Angels plac’d)
Thir Arms away they threw, and to the Hills

(For Earth hath this variety from Heav’n
Of pleasure situate in Hill and Dale)
Light as the Lightning glimps they ran, they flew,
From thir foundations loofning to and fro
They pluckt the seat’t Hills with all thir load,

Rocks, Waters, Woods, and by the shaggy tops

617 peace: } Italic colon. 620 mood, } mood. Usually, there is a full stop before a speech.
The 1674 comma may well be foul case. 635 and ] & 642 glimps } glimps
Up lifting bore them in thir hands: Amaze,  
Be sure, and terrour feis'd the rebel Hoft,  
When coming towards them to dread they saw 

The bottom of the Mountains upward turn'd,  
Till on those cursed Engins triple-row 
They saw them whelm'd, and all thir confidence  
Under the weight of Mountains buried deep, 
Themselves invaded next, and on thir heads  
Main Promontories flung, which in the Air 

Came shadowing, and oppreff whole Legions arm'd, 
Thir armor help'd thir harm, crush't in and bruis'd 
Into thir substance pent, which wroug't them pain  
Implacable, and many a dolorous groan, 
Long strugling underneath, ere thay could wind  

Of such prifon, though Spirits of pureft light. 
Pureft at firft, now grofs by sinning grown. 
The reft in imitation to like Armes  
Betook them, and the neighbouring Hills up'tore; 
So Hills amid the Air encount'red Hills  

Hurl'd to and fro with jaclation dire, 
That under ground, they fought in dismal shade; 
Infernal noife; Warr feem'd a civil Game  
To this uproar; horrid confusion heapt 
Upon confusion rofe: and now all Heav'n 

Had gon to wrack, with ruin overfpre'd,  
Had not th'Almighty Father where he fits  
Shrin'd in his Sanctuary of Heav'n secure, 
Consulting on the sum of things, foreseen  
This tumult, and permitted all, advis'd;  

That his great purpofe he might fo fulfill,  
To honour his Anointed Son aveng'd  
Upon his enemies, and to declare  
All power on him transferr'd: whence to his Son  
Th' Afsessor of his Throne he thus began.
166 Paradise Lost. Book VI.

680 Effulgence of my Glorie, Son belov'd,
Son in whose face invisible is beheld
Visibly, what by Deitie I am,
And in whose hand what by Decree I doe,
Second Omnipotence, two dayes are past,

685 Two dayes, as we compute the dayes of Heav'n,
Since Michael and his Powers went forth to tame
These disobedient, fore hath been their fight,
As likelyst was, when two such Foes met arm'd ;
For to themselves I left them, and thou knowst,

690 Equal in their Creation they were form'd,
Save what sin hath impair'd, which yet hath wrought
Insensibly, for I suspend their doom;
Whence in perpetual fight they needs must last
Endless, and no solution will be found :

695 Warr wearied hath perform'd what Warr can do,
And to disorder'd rage let loose the reines, ( makes
With Mountains as with Weapons arm'd, which
Wild work in Heav'n, and dangerous to the maine.
Two dayes are therefore past, the third is thine;

700 For thee I have ordain'd it, and thus farr
Have suffer'd, that the Glorie may be thine
Of ending this great Warr, since none but Thou
Can end it. Into thee such Vertue and Grace
Immense I have transfus'd, that all may know

705 In Heav'n and Hell thy Power above compare,
And this perverse Commotion govern'd thus,
To manifest thee worthiest to be Heir
Of all things, to be Heir and to be King
By Sacred Unction, thy deferred right.

710 Go then thou Mightieft in thy Fathers might,
Ascend my Chariot, guide the rapid Wheeles
That shake Heav'n's basins, bring forth all my Warr,
My Bow and Thunder, my Almighty Arms

Gird
Gird on, and Sword upon thy puissant Thigh;
Purse these sons of Darkness, drive them out
From all Heav’n’s bounds into the utter Deep:
There let them learn, as like them, to despise
God and Messiah his anointed King.

He said, and on his Son with Rayes direct
Shone full, he all his Father full express’d
Ineffably into his face receiv’d,
And thus the filial Godhead answering spake.

O Father, O Supream of heav’nly Thrones,
First, Highest, Holiest, Best, thou always seekst

To gloriﬁe thy Son, I always thee,
As is most just; this I my Glorie account,
My exaltation, and my whole delight,
That thou in me well pleas’d, declar’d thy will
Fulﬁl’d, which to fulﬁl is all my bliss.

Scepter and Power, thy giving, I assume,
And gladlier shall resign, when in the end
Thou shalt be All in All, and I in thee
For ever, and in mee all whom thou lov’st:
But whom thou hast, I hate, and can put on

Thy terrors, as I put thy mildness on,
Image of thee in all things; and shall soon,
Armed with thy might, rid heav’n of these rebell’d,
To thir prepar’d ill Mansion driven down
To chains of darkness, and th’ undying Worm,

That from thy just obedience could revolt,
Whom to obey is happiness entire.
Then shall thy Saints unmixt, and from th’ impure
Farr separate, circling thy holy Mount
Unfaine’d Halleluiah’s to thee sing,

Hymns of high praise, and I among them chief.

So said, he o’er his Scepter bowing, rose
From the right hand of Glorie where he sate,

M 4

720 he || Almost certainly stressed. 723 Thrones, || The crossbar of the T is broken in all copies examined. 725 glorifi || The top of the ligature is broken in all copies examined. 726 account, || In most copies examined the o drops down and the alignment of type breaks at the extreme right in lines 727–731. 738 thir || Stressed? 739 darkness, || Darkness, 746 So || Italics S Scepter | Italics S
And the third sacred Morn began to shine
Dawning through Heav'n: forth rush'd with whirl-
750

The Chariot of Paternal Deity,
Flash'g thick flames, Wheele within Wheele un-
Itself instinct with Spirit, but convoy'd drawn,
By four Cherubic shapes, four Faces each
Had wondrous, as with Starrs thir bodies all

And Wings were set with Eyes, with Eyes the wheels
Of Beril, and carreeing Fires between;
Over thir heads a crys'tal Firmament,
Whereon a Saphir Throne, inlaid with pure
Amber, and colours of the showrie Arch.

Hee in Celestial Panoplie all armd
Of radiant Orim, work divinely wrought,
Ascended, at his right hand Victorie
Sate Eagle-wing'd, beside him hung his Bow
And Quiver with three-bolted Thunder flor'd,

And from about him fierce Effusion rowld
Of smoak and bickering flame, and sparkles dire;
Attended with ten thousand thousand Saints,
He onward came, farr off his coming sion,
And twenty thousand (th' thir number heard)

Chariots of God, half on each hand were seen:
Hee on the wings of Cherub rode sublime
On the Chryftallin Skie, in Saphir Thron'd.
Illustrious farr and wide, but by his own
First seen, them unexpected joy surpriz'd,

When the great Ensign of Me'filh' blaz'd
Aloft by Angels born, his Sign in Heav'n:
Under whose conduct Michael soon reduc'd
His Armie, circumfus'd on either Wing,
Under thir Head imbody'd all in one.

Before him Power Divine his way prepar'd;
At his command the uprooted Hills retir'd

Each

777 conduct] Conduct
Each to his place, they heard his voice and went
Obsequious, Heav'n his wonted face renew'd,
And with fresh Flourets Hill and Valley smil'd.

This saw his hapless Foes but stood obdur'd,
And to rebellious fight rallied thir Powers
Infenfate, hope conceiving from despair.
In heav'ly Spirits could such perverseness dwell?
But to convince the proud what Signs availe,

Or Wonders move th' obdurate to relent?
They hard'nd more by what might most reclame,
Grieving to see his Glorie, at the sight
Took envie, and aspiring to his highth,
Stood reinbattell'd fierce, by force or fraud

Weening to prosper, and at length prevale
Against God and Messiah, or to fall
In universal ruin left, and now
To final Battel drew, disdaining flight,
Or faint retreat; when the great Son of God
To all his Hoft on either hand thus spake.

Stand still in bright array ye Saints, here stand
Ye Angels arm'd, this day from Battel rett;
Faithful hath been your warfare, and of God
Accepted, fearless in his righteous Cause,
And as ye have receiv'd, so have ye don
Invincibly; but of this cursed crew
The punishment to other hand belongs,
Vengeance is his, or whose he sole appoints;
Number to this dayes work is not ordain'd

Nor multitude, stand onely and behold
Gods indignation on these Godles pour'd
By mee, not you but mee they have despis'd,
Yet envied; against mee is all thir rage,
Because the Father, t' whom in Heav'n suprem
Kingdom and Power and Glorie appertains,

Hath

---

785 Foes] Foes. The comma seems to be needed. 786 And to rebellious] In 1674 copy 12 only the word to fails to print and the space for it is blank. It is likely that something lay on the type and then pulled off during the printing of the sheet found in that copy, as there is no lateral movement of the other type in this line. 795 Weening] The W is wrong font. 803 warfare] Warfare, 812 By mee,] By mee;
Hath honour'd me according to his will.
Therefore to meet th' doom he hath assig'n'd;
That they may have th' wish, to trie with mee
In Battel which the stronger proves, they all,
Or I alone against them, since by strength
They measure all, of other excellency
Not envious, nor care who them excells;
Nor other strife with them do I voutsafe.
So spake the Son, and into terror chang'd
His count'nance too severe to be beheld
And full of wrath bent on his Enemies.
At once the Four spread out their Starrie wings
With dreadful shade contiguous, and the Orbes
Of his fierce Chariot rowld, as with the sound
Of torrent Floods, or of a numerous Host.
Hee on his impious Foes right onward drove,
Gloomie as Night; under his burning Wheelees
The steadfast Empyrean shook throughout,
All but the Throne it self of God. Full soon
Among them he arriv'd; in his right hand
Graping ten thousand Thunders, which he sent
Before him, such as in th' Soules infix'd
Plagues; they astonish'd all resistance lost,
All courage; down th' idle weapons drop'd;
O're Shields and Helmes, and helmed heads he rode
Of Thrones and mighty Seraphim prostrate,
That wish'd the Mountains now might be again
Thrown on them as a shelter from his ire.
Nor less on either side tempestuous fell
His arrows, from the fourfold-visag'd Foure,
Distinguisth with eyes, and from the living Wheels
Distinguisth alike with multitude of eyes,
One Spirit in them rul'd, and every eye
Glar'd lightning, and shot forth pernicious fire
Among
Among th' accur'd, that witherd all thir strength,
And of thir wonted vigour left them drain'd,
Exhausted, spiritless, afflicted, fall'n.
Yet half his strength he put not forth, but check'd
His Thunder in mid Volie, for he meant
Not to destroy, but root them out of Heav'n:
The overthrow'd he rais'd, and as a Heard
Of Goats or timorous flock together throngd
Drove them before him Thunder-struck, purfu'd
With terrors and with furies to the bounds
And Chryftal wall of Heav'n, which op'ning wide,
Rowld inward, and a spacious Gap disclos'd
Into the waftful Deep; the monftrous fight
Strook them with horror backward, but far worse
Urg'd them behind; headlong themselves they throw
Down from the verge of Heav'n, Eternal wrauth
Burnt after them to the bottomlesl's pit.
Hell heard th' unsufferable noise, Hell saw
Heav'n ruining from Heav'n and would have fled
Affrighted; but strict Fate had cast too deep
Her dark foundations, and too faft had bound.
Nine days they fell; confounded Chaos roard,
And felt tenfold confusion in thir fall
Through his wilde Anarchie, to huge a rout
Incumberd him with ruin; Hell at laft
Yawning receavd them whole, and on them clos'd,
Hell thir fit habitation fraught with fire
Unquenchable, the house of woe and paine.
Disbur'd Heav'n rejoic'd, and soon repair'd
Her mural breach, returning whence it rowld.
Sole Victòr from th' expulfion of his Foes
Mejiah his triumphal Chariot turnd:
To meet him all his Saints, who silent flood
Eye witnesse of his Almighty Acts,
172 Paradise Lost. Book VI.

With Jubliee advanc'd; and as they went,
Shaded with branching Palme, each order bright,
Sung Triumph, and him sung Victorious King,
Son, Heir, and Lord, to him Dominion giv'n,
Worthyest to Reign: he celebrated rode
Triumphant through mid Heav'n, into the Courts
And Temple of his mightie Father Thron'd
On high: who into Glorie him receav'd,
Where now he sits at the right hand of blifs.
Thus measuring things in Heav'n by things on Earth
At thy request, and that thou maist beware
By what is past, to thee I have reveal'd
What might have else to human Race bin hid;
The discord which befel, and Warr in Heav'n
Among th' Angelic Powers, and the deep fall
Of those too high aspiring, who rebell'd
With Satan, hee who envies now thy state,
Who now is plotting how he may seduce
Thee altogether from obedience, that with him
Bereav'd of happiness thou maist partake
His punishment, Eternal miserie;
Which would be all his solace and revenge,
As a despite don against the most High,
Thee once to gaine Companion of his woe.
But lift'n not to his Temptations, warne
Thy weaker; let it profit thee to have heard
By terrible Example the reward
Of disobedience; firm they might have stood,
Yet fell; remember, and fear to transgress.

The End of the Sixth Book.

Paradise

887 Heir,] Heire, 891 high:] high; Catchword. Paradise] PARA-
This is another occurrence, at the beginning of Book 7, of the problem of making two states of the same page appear on facing pages. In order to do this with the two pages that follow, different states of the same recto page, this preceding recto is used for a sort of introduction to them; the first state is printed on the next page, a verso, and the second state appears as the recto it is, on a recto page of this facsimile edition.
Paradise Lost.

BOOK VII.

THE ARGUMENT.

Raphael, at the request of Adam, relates how and wherefore this world was first created; that God, after the expelling of Satan and his Angels out of Heaven, declared his pleasure to create another World and other Creatures to dwell therein; sends his Son with Glory and attendance of Angels to perform the work of Creation in six days: the Angels celebrate with Hymns the performance thereof, and his resurrection into Heaven.

Descend from Heav'n Urania, by that name if rightly thou art call'd, whose Voice divine Following, above th' Olympian Hill I saw, Above the flight of Pegasian wing.

The meaning, no: the Name I call: for thou Nor of the Muses nine, nor on the top Of old Olympus dwell'd, but Heav'nlie borne, Before the Hills appear'd, or Fountain flow'd,

Thou

STATE 1 OF PAGE NUMBER

Page Number. 173] Many copies, numbers 18 and 19 for instance, set this page number as 171 Title. Paradise Lost. PARADISE/LOST. In 1674 the first a is the one with the nicks in the vertical stroke. The period after Lost is too low. The rules are composite, not solid.

The Argument. The Argument of 1674 Book 7 is the first half only of the Argument of 1667 Book 7, and the collation here is of 1674, 1668, and 1669. 1 Raphael] Raph] 2 world] World] world 5 Son] Son 7 dayses:} days:

The Text. The Text of 1674 Book 7 is made up of lines 1-640 of 1667 Book 7. 7 Heav'nlie] The apostrophe is very faint in some copies examined.
Paradise Lost.

BOOK VII.

THE ARGUMENT.

Raphael at the request of Adam relates how and wherefore this world was first created; that God, after the expelling of Satan and his Angels out of Heaven, declared his pleasure to create another World and other Creatures to dwell therein; sends his Son with Glory and attendance of Angels to perform the work of Creation in six days: the Angels celebrate with Hymns the performance thereof, and his reascent into Heaven.

Descend from Heav'n Urania, by that name
If rightly thou art call'd, whose Voice divine
Following, above th' Olympian Hill I soar,
Above the flight of Pegasean wing.

5 The meaning, not the Name I call: for thou
Nor of the Muses nine, nor on the top
Of old Olympus dwell'st, but Heav'nie borne,
Before the Hills appearest, or Fountain flow'd,

Thou
Thou with Eternal wisdom didst converse,
Wisdom thy Sister, and with her didst play
In presence of th' Almighty Father, pleas'd
With thy Celestial Song. Up led by thee
Into the Heav'n of Heav'ns I have presum'd,
An Earthlie Guest, and drawn Empyreal Aire,
Thy tempering; with like safetie guided down
Return me to my Native Element:
Leaft from this flying Steed unrein'd, (as once
Bellerophon, though from a lower Clime)
Dismounted, on th' Aleian Field I fall
Erroneous there to wander and forlorne.
Half yet remains unsung, but narrower bound
Within the visble Diurnal Spheare;
Standing on Earth, not rapt above the Pole,
More safe I Sing with mortal voice, unchang'd
To hoarse or mute, though fall'n on evil dayes,
On evil dayes though fall'n, and evil tongues;
In darknes, and with dangers compait round,
And solitude; yet not alone, while thou
Visit'st my slumbers Nightly, or when Morn
Purples the East: still govern thou my Song,
Urania, and fit audience find, though few.
But drive farr off the barbarous dissonance
Of Bacchus and his revellers, the Race
Of that wilde Rout that tore the Thracian Bard
In Rhodope, where Woods and Rocks had Eares
To rapture, till the savage clamor dround
Both Harp and Voice; nor could the Muse defend
Her Son. So fail not thou, who thee implores:
For thou art Heav'nlie, thee an empty dreame.
Say Gods, what enslu'd when Raphael,
The affable Arch-Angel, had forewarn'd
Adam by dire example to beware

16 Element:]Italic colon. 20 Erroneous] Erroneous. The comma seems unnecessary.
24 voice,]The comma is faint, but always present. 27 round,]round.
33 revellers,]Revellers. In 1674 the top element of the comma is broken off in all copies examined.
39 Heav'nlie,]Heav'n lie. 41 Angel,]angel.
Book VII. Paradise Lost. 175

Apostasie, by what befell in Heaven
To those Apostates, least the like befell
In Paradise to Adam or his Race,
Charg'd not to touch the interdicted Tree,
If they transgres, and flight that sole command,
So easily obey'd amid the choice
Of all taftes else to please thir appetite,
Though wandring. He with his comforted Eve
The fiorie heard attentive, and was fill'd
With admiration, and deep Mufe to heare
Of things fo high and strange, things to thir thought
So unimaginable as hate in Heav'n,
And Warn fo neer the Peace of God in blifs
With fuch confusion: but the evil soon
Driv'n back redounded as a flood on thoes
From whom it sprung, impoffible to mix
With Bleffednes. Whence Adam soon repeal'd
The doubts that in his heart arose: and now
Led on, yet finfles, with defire to know
What neerer might concern him, how this World
Of Heav'n and Earth conspicuous firft began,
When, and whereof created, for what caufe,
What within Eden or without was done
Before his memorie, as one whose drouth
Yet scarce allay'd fill eyes the current stremes,
Whose liquid murmurs heard new thirft excites,
Proceeded thus to ask his Heav'ny Guest.
Great things, and full of wonder in our cares,
Farr differing from this World, thou haft reveal'd
Divine interpreter, by favour fent
Down from the Empyrean to forewarne
Us timely of what might else have bin our loss,
Unknown, which human knowledg could not reach:
For which to the infinitely Good we owe

Immor-

49 taftes] tafts 50 wandring.] The recurrent faint period. 63 conspicuous] conspicuous This is really only a spelling variant, see Oxford English Dictionary under both spellings. 69 ask] ask (ligature) 72 interpreter.] Interpreter,
Immortal thanks, and his admonishment
Receive with solemn purpose to observe
Immutably his sovereign will, the end

Of what we are. But since thou hast vouch'd
Gently for our instruction to impart
Things above Earthly thought, which yet concern
Our knowing, as to highest wisdom seem'd,
Deign to descend now lower, and relate

What may no less perhaps avail us known,
How first began this Heav'n which we behold
Distant so high, with moving Fires adorn'd
Innumerable, and this which yealds or fills
All space, the ambient Aire wide interfus'd

Imbracing round this florid Earth, what cause
Mow'd the Creator in his holy Rest
Through all Eternitie to late to build
In Chaos, and the work begun, how soon
Absolv'd, if unforbid thou maist unsoild

What wee, not to explore the secrets aske
Of his Eternal Empire, but the more
To magnifie his works, the more we know.
And the great Light of Day yet wants to run
Much of his Race though steep, suspen'd in Heav'n

Held by thy voice, thy potent voice he hears,
And longer will delay to hear thee tell
His Generation, and the rising Birth
Of Nature from the unapparent Deep:
Or if the Star of Evening and the Moon

Haste to thy audience, Night with her will bring
Silence, and Sleep lifting to thee will watch,
Or we can bid his absence, till thy Song
End, and dismiss thee ere the Morning shine.
Thus Adam his illustrious Guest besought:
And thus the Godlike Angel answerd mild.

This
176 Paradise Lost. Book VII.

Immortal thanks, and his admonishment
Receive with solemn purpose to observe
Immutably his sovereign will, the end

80 Of what we are. But since thou hast vouchsaf't
Gently for our instruction to impart
Things above Earthly thought, which yet concern
Our knowing, as to highest wisdom seem'd,
Deign to descend now lower, and relate

85 What may no less perhaps avail us known,
How first began this Heav'n which we behold
Distant so high, with moving Fires adorning
Innumerable, and this which yield's or fills
All space, the ambient Aire wide interfus'd

90 Imbracing round this florid Earth, what cause
Mov'd the Creator in his holy Rest
Through all Eternity so late to build
In Chaos, and the work begun, how soon
Absolv'd, if unforbid thou maist unfoold

95 What we, not to explore the secrets ask'd
Of his Eternal Empire, but the more
To magnifie his works, the more we know.
And the great Light of Day yet wants to run
Much of his Race though steep, suspen'd in Heav'n

100 Held by thy voice, thy potent voice he heares,
And longer will delay to heare thee tell
His Generation, and the rising Birth
Of Nature from the unapparent Deep:
Or if the Starr of Evening and the Moon

105 Hast to thy audience, Night with her will bring
Silence, and Sleep lifting to thee will watch,
Or we can bid his absence, till thy Song
End, and dismiss thee ere the Morning shine.
Thus Adam his illustrious Guest besought:

110 And thus the Godlike Angel answerd mild.

This
Because both the facing prints immediately before this page were versos as bound, this page is used only in order to have the next page, a recto as bound, print herein as a recto.
Book VII. Paradise Lost. 177

This also thy request with caution ask
Obtain: though to recount Almighty works
What words or tongue of Seraph can suffice,
Or heart of man suffice to comprehend?

Yet what thou canst attain, which best may serve
To glorify the Maker, and infer
Thee also happier, shall not be withheld
Thy hearing, such Commission from above
I have receav'd, to answer thy desire

Of knowledge within bounds; beyond abstain
To ask, nor let thine own inventions hope
Things not reveal'd, which th' invisible King,
One Omnipotent, hath suppress'd in Night,
To none communicable in Earth or Heaven:

Anough is left beside to search and know.
But Knowledge is as food, and needs no less
Her Temperance over Appetite, to know
In measure what the mind may well contain,
Oppresses else with Surfeit, and soon turns

Wisdom to Folly, as Nourishment to Wine.

Know then, that after Lucifer from Heav'n
(So call him, brighter once amidst the Host
Of Angels, then that Starr the Starrs among)
Fell with his flaming Legions through the Deep

Into his place, and the great Son return'd
Victorious with his Saints, th' Omnipotent
Eternal Father from his Throne beheld
Thir multitude, and to his Son thus spake.

At least our envious Foe hath fail'd, who thought
All like himself rebellious, by whose aid
This inaccessible high strength, the fear
Of Deity supream, us dispossess'd,
He trul'd to have seiz'd, and into fraud
Drew many, whom thir place knows here no more:

Yet

116 the] The word should probably be 'thy' but reads the in all copies of 1667 and 1674 examined. 136 Saints,] The recurrent faint comma. 138 spake.] In all copies examined the letters ke. drop down and the alignment of type breaks at the extreme right in lines 139-141. 140 rebellious,] The s is faint in all copies examined.
178 Paradise Lost. Book VII.

Yet far the greater part have kept, I see,
Thir station, Heav'n yet populous retains
Number sufficient to possess her Realms
Though wide, and this high Temple to frequent
With Ministeries due and Solemn Rites:

But least his heart exalt him in the harme
Already done, to have dispeopled Heav'n
My damage fondly deem'd, I can repair
That detriment, if such it be to lose
Self-lost, and in a moment will create

Another World, out of one man a Race
Of men innumerable, there to dwell,
Not here, till by degrees of merit rais'd
They open to themselves at length the way
Up hither, under long obedience tri'd,

And Earth be chang'd to Heav'n, & Heav'n to Earth,
One Kingdom, Joy and Union without end.
Mean while inhabit laxe, ye Powers of Heav'n,
And thou my Word, begotten Son, by thee
This I perform, speak thou, and be it don:

My overshadowing Spirit and might with thee
I send along, ride forth, and bid the Deep
Within appointed bounds be Heav'n and Earth,
Boundless the Deep, because I am who fill
Infinitude, nor vacuous the space.

Though I uncircumscrib'd my self retire,
And put not forth my goodnes, which is free
To act or not, Necessitie and Chance
Approach not mee, and what I will is Fate.

So spake th' Almighty, and to what he spake
His Wor', the filial Godhead, gave effect.
Immediate are the Acts of God, more swift
Then time or motion, but to human ears
Cannot without process of speech be told,
Book VII. Paradise Lost. 179

So told as earthly notion can receive.
180 Great triumph and rejoicing was in Heav'n
When such was heard declar'd the Almighty's will;
Glorie they sung to the most High, good will
To future men, and in thir dwellings peace:
Glorie to him whose just avenging ire
185 Had driven out th' ungodly from his sight
And th' habitations of the just; to him
Glorie and praise, whose wisdom had ordain'd
Good out of evil to create, in stead
Of Spirits maligne a better Race to bring
190 Into thir vacant room, and thence diffuse
Hir good to Worlds and Ages infinite.
So sang the Hierarchies: Mean while the Son
On his great Expedition now appear'd,
Girt with Omnipotence, with Radiance crown'd
195 Of Majestie Divine, Sapience and Love
Immensë, and all his Father in him shon.
About his Chariot numberles was pour'd
Cherub and Seraph, Potentates and Thrones,
And Vertues, winged Spirits, and Chariots wing'd,
199 From the Armoury of God, where stand of old
Myriads between two brazen Mountains lodg'd
Against a solemn day, harneft at hand,
Celestial Equipage; and now came forth
Spontaneous, for within them Spirit liv'd,
200 Attendant on thir Lord: Heav'n op'nd wide
Her ever during Gates, Harmonious found
On golden Hinges moving, to let forth
The King of Glorie in his powerful Word
And Spirit coming to create new Worlds.
205 On heav'nly ground they flood, and from the shore
They view'd the vast immeasurable Abyss
Outrageous as a Sea, dark, wasteful, wilde,
210 Up
Paradise Lost. Book VII.

Up from the bottom turn'd by furious winde
And surging waves, as Mountains to assault
Heav'n's highth, and with the Center mix the Pole.
Silence, ye troubl'd waves, and thou Deep, peace,
Said then th' Omnific Word, your discord end:
Nor flaid, but on the Wings of Cherubim
Uplifted, in Paternal Glory rode
Farr into Chaos, and the World unborn;
For Chaos heard his voice: him all his Train
Follow'd in bright procession to behold
Creation, and the wonders of his might.
Then flaid the fervid Wheeles, and in his hand
He took the golden Compasses, prepar'd
In Gods Eternal store, to circumcribe
This Universe, and all created things:
One foot he center'd, and the other turn'd
Round through the vast profunditie obscure,
And said, thus farr extend, thus farr thy bounds,
This be thy just Circumference, O World.
Thus God the Heav'n created, thus the Earth,
Matter unform'd and void: Darkness profound
Cover'd th' Abyfs: but on the watrie calme
His brooding wings the Spirit of God outspread,
And vital vertue infus'd, and vital warmth
Throughout the fluid Mafs, but downward purgd
The black tartareous cold Infernal dregs
Adverse to life: then founded, then congreg'd
Like things to like, the rest to severall place
Disparted, and between spun out the Air,
And Earth self balanc't on her Center hung:
Let ther be Light, said God, and forthwith Light
Ethereal, first of things, quintessence pure
Sprung from the Deep, and from her Native East
To journie through the airie gloom began,

Running Head. Loft. The recurrent round period. 238 Infernal] infernal
242 felf ballanc't] fell-ballanc't 244 Ethereal,] The t and comma are faint in all copies examined.
Book VII.  Paradise Lost.  181

Sphear'd in a radiant Cloud, for yet the Sun
Was not ; shee in a cloudie Tabernacle
Sojourn'd the while.  God saw the Light was good ;
And light from darkness by the Hemisphered
Divided : Light the Day, and Darkness Night
He nam'd.  Thus was the first Day Eve' n and Morn:
Nor past uncelebrated, nor unfung
By the Celestial Quires, when Orient Light
Exhaling first from Darkness they beheld ;
Birth-day of Heav'n and Earth; with joy and shout
The hollow Universal Orb they fill'd,
And touch't thir Golden Harps, and hymning prais'd
God and his works, Creatour him they sung.
Both when first Eve'ning was, and when first Morn.
Again, God said, let ther be Firmament
Amid the Waters, and let it divide
The Waters from the Waters: and God made
The Firmament, expanse of liquid, pure,
Transparent, Elemental Air, diffus'd
In circuit to the uttermost convex
Of this great Round: partition firm and sure,
The Waters underneath from thofe above
Dividing : for as Earth, so he the World
Built on circumfluous Waters calme, in wide
Cryllalin Ocean, and the loud miferule
Of Chaos farremov'd, least fierce extreames
Contiguous might distemper the whole frame:
And Heav'n he nam'd the Firmament: So Eve' n
And Morning Chorus sung the second Day.
The Earth was form'd, but in the Womb as yet
Of Waters, Embryon immature involv'd,
Appe'red nor: over all the face of Earth
Main Ocean bow'd, not idle, but with warme
Prolific humour soft'ning all her Globe,

258 and] &  261 ther] ] Is this an attempt at an unstressed form for this word?  269 he] hee
The word is stressed.
Fermented the great Mother to conceive,
Satiate with genial moisture, when God said
Be gather'd now ye Waters under Heav'n
Into one place, and let dry Land appeare.

Immediately the Mountains huge appeare
Emergent, and thir broad bare backs upheave
Into the Clouds, thir tops ascend the Skie:
So high as heav'd the timid Hills, so low
Down sunk a hollow bottom broad and deep,

Capacious bed of Waters: thither they
Hafted with glad precipitance, uprowld
As drops on duit conglobing from the drie;
Part rife in cryftal Wall, or ridge direct,
For hafte; such flight the great command impress'd

On the swift flouds: as Armies at the call
Of Trumpet (for of Armies thou haft heard)
Troop to thir Standard, fo the warrie throng,
Wave rowling after Wave, where way they found,
If steep, with torrent rapture, if through Plaine,

Soft-ebbing; nor withlood them Rock or Hill,
But they, or under ground, or circuit wide
With Serpent error wandring, found thir Hill,
And on the whife Oofe deep Channels wore;
Easie, e're God had bid the ground be drie,

All but within thofe banks, where Rivers now
Stream, and perpetual draw thir humid traine.
The dry Land, Earth, and the great receptacle
Of congregated Waters he call'd Seas:
And saw that it was good, and said, Let th' Earth

Put forth the verdant Grazs, Herb yielding Seed,
And Fruit Tree yielding Fruit after her kind;
Whole Seed is in her felt upon the Earth.
He scarce had saied, when the bare Earth, till then
Desert and bare, unsightly, unadorn'd,

Brought

Running Head. Loft.] The recurrent round period. 300 Soft] The t is faint in all copies examined. 309 And] The n is very faint in all copies examined. 310 yielding] yeilding
311 yielding] yeilding 313 fcaee] The r is very faint in all copies examined. 314 unadorn d,] The space is present, but no apostrophe shows in any 1674 copy examined.
Brought forth the tender Gras, whose verdure clad
Her Universal Face with pleasant green,
Then Herbs of every leaf, that sudden flour'd
Op'ning thir various colours, and made gay
Her bosom smelling sweet; and these scarce blown,

Forth flourish'd thick the clustering Vine, forth crept
The smelling Gourd, up stood the corny Reed
Embattell'd in her field; and the humble Shrub,
And Bush with frizl'd hair implicit: left
Rote as in Dance the fitely Trees, and spred

Thir branches hung with copious Fruit; or gem'd
Thir blossom's with high woods the hills were crownd,
With tufts the vallies and each fountain side;
With borders long the Rivers. That Earth now
Seemed like to Heav'n, a feat where Gods might dwell,

Or wander with delight, and love to haunt
Her sacred shades: though God had yet not rain'd
Upon the Earth, and man to till the ground
None was, but from the Earth a dewie Mist
Went up and water'd all the ground, and each

Plant of the field, which e're it was in the Earth
God made, and every Herb, before it grew
On the green stemm; God saw that it was good.
So Ev'n and Morn recorded the Third Day.

Again th' Almighty spake: Let there be Lights
High in th' expanse of Heaven to divide
The Day from Night; and let them be for Signes,
For Seafons, and for Dayes, and circling Years,
And let them be for Lights as I ordaine
Thir Office in the Firmament of Heav'n

To give Light on the Earth; and it was so.
And God made two great Lights, great for thir use
To Man, the greater to have rule by Day,
The less by Night alterne: and made the Starrs,

And
And set them in the Firmament of Heav'n
To illuminate the Earth, and rule the Day
In thin vicissitude, and rule the Night,
And Light from Darkness to divide. God saw,
Surveying his great Work, that it was good:
For of Celestial Bodies first the Sun
A mightie Spheare he fram'd, unlighted first,
Though of Ethereal Mould: then form'd the Moon
Globose, and every magnitude of Stars,
And sow'd with Stars the Heav'n thick as a field:
Of Light by far the greater part he took,
Transplanted from its cloudie Shrine, and plac'd
In the Sun's Orb, made porous to receive
And drink the liquid Light, firm to retain
Her gather'd beams, great Palace now of Light.
Hither as to thir Fountain other Stars
Repairing, in thir gold'n Urns draw Light,
And hence the Morning Planet gilds her horns;
By tincture or reflection they augment
Thir small peculiar, though from human sight
So far remote, with diminution seen.
First in his East the glorious Lamp was seen,
Regent of Day, and all the Horizon round
Invested with bright Rays, jocond to run
His Longitude through Heav'n's high rode: the gray
Dawn, and the Pleiades before him danc'd
Shedding sweet influence: less bright the Moon,
But opposite in levell West was set
His mirror, with full face borrowing her Light
From him, for other light she needed none
In that aspect, and still that distance keepes
Till night, then in the East her turn she shines,
Revolvd on Heav'n's great Axle, and her Reign
With thousand lesser Lights dividual holds,

357 every] everie 366 her] his The Morning Planet should mean Lucifer, and the pronoun should therefore be masculine; but the change here may have been deliberate. 370 his East the] As in the first edition, the pronominal adjective and the definite article are transposed. Almost certainly the reading should be 'the East his' but neither 1667 nor 1674 so printed it. 377 His] The H is battered in all copies examined. 381 Revolv'd] The second v is very faint in all copies examined.
With thousand thousand Starres, that then appeare'd
Spangling the Hemisphere: then first adorn'd

With thir bright Luminaries that Set and Rose,
Glad Evening and glad Morn crownd the fourth day.
And God said, let the Waters generate
Reptil with Spawn abundant, living Soule:
And let Fowle flie above the Earth, with wings

385

Display'd on the op'n Firmament of Heav'n.
And God created the great Whales, and each
Soul living, each that crept, which plenteoufly
The waters generated by thir kindes,
And every Bird of wing after his kinde;

And saw that it was good, and blest them, saying,
Be fruitful, multiply, and in the Seas
And Lakes and running Streams the waters fill;
And let the Fowle be multiply'd on the Earth.
Forthwith the Sounds and Seas, each Creek and Bay

400

With Frie innumerable swarme, and Shoales
Of Fishe that with thir Finns and shining Scales
Glide under the green Wave, in Sculles that oft
Bank the mid Sea: part single or with mate
Graze the Sea weed thir pasture, and through Groves
Of Coral stray, or sporting with quick glance
Show to the Sun thir wav'd coats dropt with Gold,
Or in thir Pearlie shells at ease, attend
Moist nutriment, or under Rocks thir food
In jointed Armour watch: on smooth the Scale,

410

And bended Dolphins play: part huge of bulk
Wallowing unweildie, enormous in thir Gate
Tempelt the Ocean: there Leviathan
Hugeft of living Creatures, on the Deep
Streight like a Promontorie Sleeps or swimmes,

And seems a moving Land, and at his Gilles
Draws in, and at his Trunck Spouts our a Sea.

Mean
Paradise Lost. Book VII.

Mean while the tepid Caves, and Fens and shoares
Thir Brood as numerous hatch, from the Egg that
Bursting with kindly rupture forth disclosed
Thir callow young, but featherd soon and fledge
They sumd thir Penns, and soaring th' air sublime
With clang despis'd the ground, under a cloud
In prospect; there the Eagle and the Stork
On Cliffs and Cedar tops thir Eyries build:
Part loolly wing the Region, part more wise
In common, rang'd in figure wedge thir way,
Intelligent of seasons, and fett forth
Thir Aerie Caravan high over Sea's
Flying, and over Lands with mutual wing
Easing thir flight; so steers the prudent Crane
Her annual Voyage, born on Windes; the Aire
Floats, as they pass, fan'd with unnumber'd plumes:
From Branch to Branch the smaller Birds with song
Solace the Woods, and spread thir painted wings
Till Ev'n, nor then the solemn Nightingal
Ceas'd warbling, but all night tun'd her soft lays:
Others on Silver Lakes and Rivers bath'd
Thir downy Breit; the Swan with Arched neck
Between her white wings mantling proudly, Rowes
Her state with Oarie feet: yet oft they quit
The Dank, and rising on stiff Pennons, tower
The mid Aeriel Skie: Others on ground
Walk'd firm; the crested Cock whose clarion sounds
The silent hours, and th' other whose gay Traine
Adorns him, colour'd with the Florid hue
Of Rainbows and Starrie Eyes. The Waters thus
With Fith replenish'd, and the Aire with Fowle,
Ev'ning and Morn solemniz'd the Fift day.
The Sixt, and of Creation last arose

With Evning Harps and Mattin, when God said,

Let

The extreme right portion at the top of the page is distorted because of the tightly bound copy from which it was photographed. 450 Evning] The second n is faint in all copies examined.
Book VII. Paradise Lost. 187

Let th' Earth bring forth Foul living in her kinde,
Cartel and Creeping things, and Beast of the Earth,
Each in their kinde. The Earth obey'd, and strait
Op'ning her ferril Woomb teem'd at a Birth
Innumerous living Creatures, perfet formes,
Limb'd and full grown: out of the ground up rofe
As from his Laire the wilde Beast where he wonns
In Forrest wilde, in Thicker, Brake, or Den;
Among the Trees in Pairs they rofe, they walk'd:

The Cartel in the Fields and Meddowes green:
Those rare and solitarie, thefe in flocks
Pasturing at once, and in broad Herds upprung,
The graffe Clods now Calv'd, now half appeer'd
The Tawnie Lion, pawing to get free

His hinder parts, then springs as broke from Bonds,
And Rampant shakes his Brinded main; the Ounce,
The Libbard, and the Tyger, as the Moale
Rifing, the crumbl'd Earth above them threw
In Hillocks; the swift Stag from under ground
Bore up his branching head: facrfe from his mould
Behemoth, biggest born of Earth upheav'd
His vallens: palace the Flocks and bleating rofe,
As Plants: ambiguous between Sea and Land
The River Horse and fcalie Crocodile.

At once came forth whatever creeps the ground,
Infeet or Worne; those wav'd thir limber fans
For wings, and smallefit Lineaments exact
In all the Liveries deft of Summers pride
With spots of Gold and Purple, azure and green:

Thir Snakie foulds, and added wings. First crept

451 Foul] Fowle. The form of 1674 almost proves that Bentley was right, and that the word should be 'Soul' the error originally arising in 1667 was probably by the compositor mistaking the 'f' of the manuscript copy for 'f' and then setting it as a capital. I think that Milton or someone representing him tried to change it to 'Soul' from the 1667 'Fowle' and succeeded only in getting the final 'e' knocked off and the 'w' changed to u the initial F being left as it was.

453 their] This word seems to be stressed.

464 Behemoth] The second e is very faint in all copies examined.

476 Infect] The ct ligature is broken in all copies examined.

Italic colon.
188 Paradise Lost. Book VII.

485 The Parfimonious Emmer, provident
Of future, in small room large heart enclos'd,
Pattern of just equalitie perhaps
Hereafter, join'd in her popular Tribes
Of Commonalty; swarming next appeare'd

490 The Female Bee that feeds her Husband Drone
Deliciously, and builds her waxen Cells
With Honey store'd: the rest are numberless,
And thou thir Natures knowst, & gav'st them Names,
Needless to thee repeated; nor unknown

495 The Serpent furl'tt Beast of all the field,
Of huge extent somtimes, with brazen Eyes
And hairie Main terrific, though to thee
Not noxious, but obedient at thy call.
Now Heav'n in all her Glorie shone, and rowld

500 Her motions, as the great first-Movers hand
First wheeld thir course; Earth in her rich attire
Consummate lovely smil'd; Aire, Water, Earth,
By Fowl, Fish, Beast, was flown, was swim'd, was walkt
Frequent; and of the Sixth day yet remain'd;

505 There wanted yet the Master work, the end
Of all yet don; a Creature who not prone
And Brute as other Creatures, but endu'd
With Sanctitie of Reaon, might erect
His Stature, and upright with Front serene

510 Govern the rest, self-knowing, and from thence
Magnanimous to correspond with Heav'n,
But grateful to acknowledge whence his good
Descends, thither with heart and voice and eyes
Directed in Devotion, to adore

515 And worship God Supream, who made him chief
Of all his works: therefore the Omnipotent
Eternal Father (For where is not hee
Present) thus to his Son audibly spake.

Let

490 Female | Femal 491 & | and 492 Needle[d] | The final t for what indubitably should be
a final 's' escaped notice in both 1667 and 1674, repeated;] repeated: 498 noxious.| The
comma is battered in all copies examined.  502 Water, | The W is battered in all copies examined.
Let us make now Man in our image, Man
In our similitude, and let them rule
Over the Fish and Fowle of Sea and Aire,
Beast of the Field, and over all the Earth,
And every creeping thing that creeps the ground.
This said, he formed thee, Adam, thee O Man
Duft of the ground, and in thy nostrils breath'd
The breath of Life; in his own Image hee
Created thee, in the Image of God
Express, and thou becam'ft a living Soul.
Male he created thee, but thy comfort
Female for Race; then blest Mankinde, and said,
Be fruitful, multiply, and fill the Earth,
Subdue it, and throughout Dominion hold
Over Fish of the Sea, and Fowle of the Aire,
And every living thing that moves on the Earth.
Wherever thus created, for no place
Is yet distinct by name, thence, as thou know'ft
He brought thee into this delicious Grove,
This Garden, planted with the Trees of God,
Delectable both to behold and taste,
And freely all thir pleasant fruit for food
Gave thee, all sorts are here that all th' Earth yields,
Varietie without end: but of the Tree
Which tafted works knowledge of Good and Evil,
Thou mai'ft not; in the day thou eat'ft, thou di'ft;
Death is the penaltie impos'd, beware,
And govern well thy appetite, leaft fin
Surprise thee, and her black attendant Death.
Here finisht hee, and all that he had made
View'd, and behold all was entirely good;
So Ev'n and Morn accomplisht the Sixth day:
Yett not till the Creator from his work
Desisting, though unwearied, up returnd

530 Female] Femal 541 yields,] yeelds, 544 di'ft;] The 1674 apostrophe is very faint, but always present. 548 he] Stressed?
Paradise Lost. Book VII.

Up to the Heav'n of Heav'n his high abode,
Thence to behold this new created World

555 Th' addition of his Empire, how it shew'd
In prospect from his Throne, how good, how faire,
Answering his great Idea. Up he rode
Followd with acclamation and the sound
Symphonious of ten thousand Harpes that tun'd

560 Angelic harmonies: the Earth, the Aire
Refounded, (thou remember'st, for thou heard'st)
The Heav'n and all the Constellations rung,
The Planets in thir station lift'ning flood,
While the bright Pomp ascended jubilant.

565 Open, ye everlasting Gates, they sung,
Open, ye Heav'n, your living dores; let in
The great Creator from his work return'd
Magnificent, his Six days work, a World;
Open, and henceforth oft; for God will deigne

570 To visit oft the dwellings of just Men
Delighted, and with frequent intercourse
Thither will send his winged Messengers
On errands of supernal Grace. So fung
The glorious Train ascending: He through Heav'n,

575 That open'd wide her blazing Portals, led
To Gods Eternal house direct the way,
A broad and ample rode, whose dust is Gold
And pavement Star's, as Star's to thee appear,
Seen in the Galaxie, that Milkie way

580 Which nightly as a circling Zone thou feest
Poudred with Star's. And now on Earth the Seventh
Eve arising in Eden, for the Sun
Was set, and twilight from the East came on,
Forerunning Night; when at the holy mount

585 Of Heav'n's high-seated top, th' Imperial Throne
Of Godhead, fixt for ever firm and sure,

563 ftation] ftations. Undoubtedly this word should be plural. lift'ning] The ft ligature is broken in all copies examined. 574 He] Almost certainly stressed. 577 duft] The ft ligature is faint in all copies examined. 581 Seventh] Seaventh
Book VII. Paradise Lost. 191

The Filial Power arriv'd, and fate him down
With his great Father (for he also went
Invisible, yet staid (such privilege
Hath Omnipresence) and the work ordain'd,
Author and end of all things, and from work
Now resting, blest and hallow'd the Seav'nth day,
As resting on that day from all his work,
But not in silence holy kept; the Harp

590 Had work and rested not, the solemn Pipe,
And Dulcimer, all Organs of sweet Stop,
All sounds on Fret by String or Golden Wire
Temper'd soft Tunings, intermixt with Voice
Choral or Unison: of incense Clouds

595 Fuming from Golden Cenfers hid the Mount.
Creation and the Six days acts they sung,
Great are thy works, Jehovah, infinite
Thy power; what thought can measure thee or tongue
Relate thee; greater now in thy return

600 Then from the Giant Angels; thee that day
Thy Thunders magnifi'd; but to create
Is greater then created to destroy,
Who can impair thee, mighty King, or bound
Thy Empire? easily the proud attempt

605 Of Spirits apostat and thir Counfels vaine
Thou haft repelled, while impiously they thought
Thee to diminish, and from thee withdraw
The number of thy worshippers, Who seekes
To leffen thee, against his purpose serves

610 To manifest the more thy might: his evil
Thou ufed, and from thence creat'ld more good,
Witness this new-made World, another Heav'n
From Heaven Gate not far, founded in view
On the cleer Hyaline, the Glaffie Sea;

615 Of amplitude almost immense, with Starr's

Numerous,  

588 (for)] Either the comma in the next line after Invisible, should be a parenthesis, or the parenthesis here should be a comma. The 1674 compositor was following his 1667 copy too slavishly to make the proper change here.
Numerous, and every Starr perhaps a World
Of destind habitation; but thou know'st
Thir seafons: among these the fear of men,
Earth with her nether Ocean circumfus'd,
Thir pleafant dwelling place. Thrice happie men,
And fons of men, whom God hath thus advanc't,
Created in his Image, there to dwell
And worship him, and in reward to rule
Over his Works, on Earth, in Sea, or Air,
And multiply a Race of Worshippers
Holy and just: thrice happie if they know
Thir happiness, and perfevere upright.
So sung they, and the Empyrean rung,
With Halleluiahs: Thus was Sabbath kep't
And thy requelt think now fulfill'd, that ask'd
How firft this World and face of things began,
And what before thy memorie was don
From the beginning, that posteritie
Inform'd by thee might know; if elfe thou seek'st
Aught, not surpassing human meafure, say.

The End of the Seventh Book.

Paradise

625 Thrice] The dot above the i is battered in all copies examined. 634 Halleluiahs: ] Italic colon. 640 Book 7, 1674, ends with this line. The 1667 edition continues Book 7 of that edition to the end of 1674 Book 8.
In order to keep 1674 Book 8, page 193, as a recto and to have the reproduction from 1667 opposite it, this preceding recto is used for a sort of introduction. On its verso appears the reproduction from 1667, originally printed recto, and the 1674 page 193 follows as the recto it is, on a recto page of this facsimile edition.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lines</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>625</td>
<td>Thir seasons: among these the seat of men, Earth with her nether Ocean circumfus'd, Thir pleasant dwelling place. Thrice happie men, And sons of men, whom God hath thus advanc't, Created in his Image, there to dwell And worship him, and in reward to rule Over his Works, on Earth, in Sea, or Air, And multiply a Race of Worshippers Holy and just: thrice happie if they know Thir happiness, and persevere upright. So sung they, and the Empyrean rung, With Halleluiahs: Thus was Sabbath kept.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>630</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>635</td>
<td>And thy request think now fulfill'd, that ask'd How first this World and face of things began, And what before thy memorie was don From the beginning, that posteritie Informed by thee might know; if else thou seek'st Aught, not surpassing human measure, say. To whom thus Adam gratefully repli'd. What thanks sufficient, or what recompence Equal have I to render thee, Divine Hyftorian, who thus largely haft allayd The thirst I had of knowledge, and voutlaft This friendly condefcention to relate Things else by me unsearchable, now heard With wonder, but delight, and, as is due, With glorie attributed to the high Creator; some thing yet of doubt remains, Which onely thy solution can resolve. When I behold this goodly Frame, this World Of Heaven and Earth consisting, and compute, Thir magnitudes, this Earth a spot, a grain,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Page from 1667, Book 7, Lines 623-654
Paradise Lost.

BOOK VIII.

THE ARGUMENT.

Adam inquires concerning celestial Motions, is doubtfully answer’d, and exhorted to search rather things more worthy of knowledge: Adam assents, and still desirous to detain Raphael, relates to him what he remember’d since his own Creation, his placing in Paradise, his talk with God concerning solitude and fit society, his first meeting and Nuptials with Eve, his discourse with the Angel thereupon; who after admonitions repeated departs.

THE Angel ended, and in Adam’s Eare
So Charming left his voice, that he a while
Thought him still speaking, still stood fixt to
Then as new wak’t thus gratefully repli’d. (hear;

What thanks sufficient, or what recompence
Equal have I to render thee, Divine
Hyslorian, who thus largely haff allayd
The thirst I had of knowledge, and yourself

This

Title. Paradise Lost. PARADISE LOST. The rules are composite, not solid.

THE ARGUMENT. The Argument of 1674 Book 8 is the last half of the Argument of 1667 Book 7, and the collation here is of 1674, 1668, and 1669. 1 Adam inquires Adam then inquires |
2 search] seek 6 solitude] solitude

The Text. 1-3 These lines were added in 1674, and line 4 was slightly modified. See 1667 reproduction on opposite page. The Text of 1674 Book 8 contains the last half of 1667 Book 7, lines 641-1290, and the three lines added at the beginning of 1674 Book 8.
4 Then as new wak’t thus gratefully repli’d.] To whom thus Adam gratefully repli’d.
5 recompence] The first c is very faint in all copies examined. 7 thus] The s is faint in most copies examined.
This friendly condescension to relate
Things else by me unfearcable, now heard
With wonder, but delight, and, as is due,
With glorie attributed to the high
Creator; something yet of doubt remains,
Which onely thy solution can resolve.

When I behold this goodly Frame, this World
Of Heav'n and Earth conflitling, and compute,
Thir magnitudes, this Earth a spot, a graine,
An Atom, with the Firmament compr'd
And all her numbered Starrs, that seem to rowle
Spaces incomprehensible (for such
Thir distance argues and thir swift return
Diurnal ) meerly to officiate light
Round this opacous Earth, this punctual spot,
One day and night; in all thir vast survey

Uselesbesides, reasoning I oft admire,
How Nature wise and frugal could commit
Such disproportions, with superfluous hand
So many nobler Bodies to create,
Greater so manifold to this one use,

For aught appeares, and on thir Orbs impose
Such reliefs revolution day by day
Repeated, while the fedentarie Earth,
That better might with farr les compafs move,
Serv'd by more noble then her self, attaines

Her end without least motion, and receaves,
As Tribute such a sumles journey brought
Of incorporeal speed, her warmth and light;
Speed, to describse whose twisntes Number failes.

So spake our Sire, and by his count'nance seemd

Entering on studious thoughts abstrufe, which Eve
Perceav ing where the sat retir'd in fight,
With lowlinefs Majestic from her fear,

And

13 something] some thing 22 Diurnal )meerly] So spaced in all copies examined.
Book VIII. Paradise Lost. 195

And Grace that won who saw to with her stay,
Rose, and went forth among her Fruits and F'lours,
To visit how they prosper'd, bud and bloom,
Her Nurferie; they at her coming sprung
And toucht by her fair tendance gladlier grew.
Yet went she not, as not with such discourse
Delighted, or not capable her care
Of what was high: such pleasure she reserv'd,
*Adam* relating, the sole Auditor's;
Her Husband the Relater she preferr'd
Before the Angel, and of him to ask
Chore rather; hee, she knew would intermix
Grateful digressions, and solve high dispute
With conjugal Careffes, from his Lip
Not Words alone pleas'd her. O when meet now
Such pairs, in Love and mutual Honour joy'n'd?
With Goddes-like demeanour forth she went;
Not unattended, for on her as Queen
A pomp of winning Graces waited still,
And from about her shot Darts of desire
Into all Eyes to with her still in fight,
And Raphael now to Adam's doubt propos'd
Benevolent and facil thus repli'd,
To ask or search I blame thee not, for Heav'n
Is as the Book of God before thee set,
Wherein to read his wondrous Works, and learne
His Seasons, Hours, or Dayes, or Months, or Yeares:
This to attain, whether Heav'n move or Earth,
Imports not, if thou reck'n right, the rest
From Man or Angel the great Architect
Did wisely to conceal, and not divulge
His secrets to be scannd by them who ought
Rather admire; or if they lift to try
Conjecture, he his Fabric of the Heav'ns

O 2  Hath

---

46 Nurferie;[ ] The semicolon is faint in many copies, but unmistakable. coming] The n is faint in all copies examined. 51 she] But stressed. 52 she] But stressed. 61 Graces] The G is broken in all copies examined. 64 Adam's] Adam's 69 Dayes,] Days, Yeares:] Italic colon.
Hath left to thir disputes, perhaps to move
His laughter at thir quaint Opinions wide
Hereafter, when they come to model Heav'n
And calculate the Starrs, how they will weild
The mightie frame, how build, unbuild, contrive
To false appearances, how gird the Sphair
With Centric and Eccentric scrib'd o're,
Cycle and Epicycle, Orb in Orb:
Alreadie by thy reasoning this I guess,
Who art to lead thy offspring, and supplieth
That bodies bright and greater should not serve
The less not bright, nor Heav'n such journeys run,
Earth sitting still, when she alone receaves
The benefit: consider first, that Great
Or bright infers nor Excellence: the Earth
Though, in comparison of Heav'n, so small,
Nor glittering, may of solid good containe
More plenty then the Sun that barren shines,
Whole vertue on it selfe workes no effect,
But in the fruitful Earth; there first receaves
His beams, unactive else, thir vigour find.
Yet not to Earth are those bright Luminaries
Officious, but to thee Earths habitant.
And for the Heav'n's wide Circuit, let it speak
The Makers high magnificence, who built
So spacious, and his Line strecht out so far;
That Man may know he dwells not in his own,
An Edifice too large for him to fill,
Lodg'd in a small partition, and the rest
Ordain'd for uses to his Lord best known.
The witnesses of those Circles attribute,
Though numberlees, to his Omnipotence,
That to corporeal substances could addde
Speed almost Spiritual; mee thou thinkst not slow,
Who

Running Head. Lost.] The recurrent round period.  87 bodies] Bodies 97 vigour] vigor 109 That] The h is very faint in many copies examined.
Book VIII.  Paradise Lost.  197

Who since the morning hour set out from Heav'n
Where God resides, and ere mid-day arriv'd
In Eden, distance inexplicable
By Numbers that have name.  But this I urge,
Admitting Motion in the Heav'ns, to shew
Invalid that which thee to doubt it mov'd;
Not that I so affirm, though so it seem
To thee who hast thy dwelling here on Earth.
God to remove his ways from human sense,
120 Plac'd Heav'n from Earth so far, that earthly sight,
If it presume, might erre in things too high,
And no advantage gaine.  What if the Sun
Be Center to the World, and other Starrs
By his attractive vertue and their own
Incited, dance about him various rounds?
Thr' wandring course now high, now low, then hid,
Progressive, retrograde, or standing still,
In six thou seest, and what if sev'nth to these
The Planet Earth, foisted fast though she seem,
130 Ineffibly three different Motions move?
Which else to several Spheres thou must ascribe,
Mov'd contrarie with thwart obliquities.
Or save the Sun his labour, and that swift
Nocturnal and Diurnal rhomb suppos'd,
135 Invisible else above all Starrs, the Wheele
Of Day and Night; which needs not thy beleefe,
If Earth industrious of her self fetch Day
Travelling East, and with her part averse
From the Sun's beam meet Night, her other part
Still luminous by his ray.  What if that light
Sent from her through the wide transpicuous aire,
To the terrestrell Moon be as a Starr
Enlightening her by Day, as she by Night
This Earth is reciprocal, if Land be there,

O 3  Feilds

120 Plac'd] The apostrophe is faint in many copies examined.  farr] In more than half the copies examined the first r is battered as shown in the reproduction above; in other copies the r is clear.  134 Nocturnal] Space after the o in 1674.  138 Travelling] The n is faint in all copies examined.
Fields and Inhabitants: Her spots thou seest
As Clouds, and Clouds may rain, and Rain produce
Fruits in her soft'nd Soile, for some to eate
Alloted there; and other Suns perhaps
With thir attendant Moons thou wilt descrie
Communicating Male and Femal Light,
Which two great Sexes animate the World,
Stor'd in each Orb perhaps with some that live.
For such vast room in Nature unposs'd
By living Soule, desert and desolate,

Onely to shine, yet scarce to contribute
Each Orb a glimps of Light, convey'd so farr
Down to this habitable, which returns
Light back to them, is obvious to dispute.
But whether thus these things, or whether not,
Whether the Sun predominant in Heav'n
Rife on the Earth, or Earth rise on the Sun,
Hee from the East his flaming rode begin,
Or Shee from West her silent course advance
With inoffensive pace that spinning sleeops
On her soft Axle, while she paces Eev'n,
And beares thee soft with the smooth Air along,
Sollicit not thy thoughts with matters hid,
Leave them to God above, him serve and feare;
Of other Creatures, as him pleases beft,

Wherever plac't, let him dispose: joy thou
In what he gives to thee, this Paradife
And thy faire Eve; Heav'n is for thee too high
To know what paffes there; be lowlie wise:
Think onely what concerns thee and thy being;

Dream not of other Worlds, what Creatures there
Live, in what state, condition or degree,
Contented that thus farr hath been reveal'd
Not of Earth onely but of highest Heav'n.

To
To whom thus Adam clear'd of doubt, repli'd.

How fully haft thou satisfi'd mee, pure
Intelligence of Heav'n, Angel serene,
And freed from intricacies, taught to live,
The easiest way, nor with perplexing thoughts
To interrupt the sweet of Life, from which
God hath bid, dwell far off all anxious cares,
And not moleft, unlefs we our selves;
Seek them with wandering thoughts, and notions vain.
But apt the Mind or Fancie is to rove
Unchecked, and of her roaming is no end;
Till warn'd, or by experience taught, she learn'd,
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 fume,
Or emptiness, or fond impertinence,
And renders us in things that most concern
Unpractis'd, unprepar'd, and still to seek.
Therefore from this high pitch let us descend
A lower flight, and speak of things at hand
Useful, whence haply mention may arise
Of somthing not unfeasonable to ask
By sufferance, and thy wonted favour deign'd.
Thee I have heard relating what was don
Ere my remembrance: now hear mee relate
My Storie, which perhaps thou haft not heard;
And Day is yet not spent; till then thou seest
How nartly to detain thee I devise,
Inviting thee to bear while I relate,
Fond, were it not in hope of thy reply:
For while I sit with thee, I seem in Heav'n,
And sweeter thy discourse is to my ear
Then Fruits of Palm-tree pleasantest to thirst

Running Head. Loft.] The recurrent round period. 186 felves] The recurrent faint s
187 vaine] vaine. 211 discourse] The top of the second f is broken off in all copies examined.
And hunger both, from labour, at the houre  
Of sweet repast; they satiate, and soon fill,  

Though pleasant, but thy words with grace divine  
Imbu'd, bring to thir sweetness no satietie,  
To whom thus Raphael answer'd heavenly meek.  
Nor are thy lips ungraceful, sire of men,  
Nor tongue inelegent; for God on thee  

Abundantly his gifts hast also pour'd  
Inward and outward both, his image faire:  
Speaking or mute all comlines and grace  
Attends thee, and each word, each motion formes,  
Nor lest think wee in Heav'n of thee on Earth  

Then of our fellow servant, and inquire  
Gladly, into the ways of God with man:  
For God we see hath honour'd thee, and set  
On man his Equal Love: say therefore on;  
For that Day was absent, as befell,  

Bound on a voyage uncouth and obscure,  
Farr on excursion toward the Gates of Hell;  
Squar'd in full legion (such command we had)  
To see that none thence issu'd forth a spy,  
Or enemy, while God was in his work,  

Leaf thee inceint at such eruption bold,  
Destruction with Creation might have mixt.  
Not that they durst without his leave attempt,  
But us he sends upon his high behooves  
For state, as Sovran King, and to ensure  

Our prompt obedience. Faint we found, faint shut  
The dismal Gates, and barricado'd strong;  
But long ere our approaching heard within  
Noise, other then the sound of Dance or Song,  
Torment, and loud lament, and furious rage.  

Glad we return'd up to the coasts of Light  
Ere Sabbath Eve'ning: so we had incharge.  

But

200 Paradise Lost. Book VIII.

223 formes,] formes. The 1674 comma was probably due to foul case.  
228 Equal] equal  
234 his] The recurrent faint s  
238 sends] The top of the f is broken off in all copies examined.  
244 loud] lowd The 1667 form may have been the word Milton wanted. See Oxford English Dictionary, 'low' v.* and Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove hirelings, 1659, (Columbia) volume 6:93:3 'loubel' Neither form is in Phillips, New World of Words, 1658 and later.
Book VIII. Paradise Lost. 201

But thy relation now; for I attend,
Plea'sd with thy words no les then thou with mine.
So spake the Godlike Power, and thus our Sire.

For Man to tell how human Life began
Is hard; for who himself beginning knew?
Desire with thee still longer to converse
Induce'd me. As new wak't from foundest sleep
Soft on the flourie herb I found me laid

In Balmie Sweat, which with his Beames the Sun
Soon dri'd, and on the reaking moisture fed.
Strait toward Heav'n my wondering Eyes I turn'd,
And gaz'd a while the ample Skie, till rais'd
By quick instinctive motion up I sprang,

As thitherward endeavoring, and upright
Stood on my feet; about me round I saw
Hill, Dale, and shadie Woods, and funnie Plaines,
And liquid Lapse of murmuring Streams; by these,
Creatures that liv'd, and mov'd, and walk'd, or flew,

Birds on the branches warbling; all things smil'd,
With fragrance and with joy my heart oreflow'd.
My self I then perus'd, and Limb by Limb
Survey'd, and sometimes went, and sometimes ran
With supple joints, and lively vigour led:

But who I was, or where, or from what cause,
Knew not; to speak I tri'd, and forthwith spake.
My Tongue obey'd and readily could name
What e're I saw. Thou Sun, said I, faire Light,
And thou enlight'nd Earth, so fresh and gay.

Ye Hills and Dales, ye Rivers, Woods, and Plaines,
And ye that live and move, fair Creatures; tell,
Tell, if ye faw, how came I thus, how here?
Not of my self; by some great Maker then,
In goodness and in power preeminent;

Tell me, how may I know him, how adore,

From

269 and ] as So great is the difference in meaning effected by this seemingly simple typographical change that it is impossible to exclude the possibility of the change originating with Milton. That is, it may have arisen as more or less of an accident from the compositor, or intentionally from the author himself. 276 Creatures, ] The s is faint in all copies examined.
From whom I have that thus I move and live,
And feel that I am happier then I know,
While thus I call’d, and stray’d I knew not whither.
From where I first drew Aire, and first beheld
This happy Light, when answer none return’d,
On a green shady Bank profuse of Flowers
Pensive I sat me down, there gentle sleep
First found me, and with soft oppression seiz’d
My drows’d sense, untroub’d, though I thought
I then was passing to my former state
Infensible, and forthwith to dissolve:
When suddenly stood at my Head a dream,
Whose inward apparition gently mov’d
My fancy to believe I yet had being,
And liv’d: One came, methought, of shape Divine,
And said, thy Mansion wants thee, Adam, rise,
First Man, of Men innumerable ordain’d
First Father, call’d by thee I come thy Guide
To the Garden of bliss, thy seat prepar’d.
So saying, by the hand he took me rais’d,
And over Fields and Waters, as in Aire
Smooth sliding without step, last led me up
A woody Mountain; whose high top was plaine,
A Circuit wide, enclos’d, with goodly Trees
Planted, with Walks, and Bowers, that what I saw
Of Earth before scarce pleasant seem’d. Each Tree
Load’n with fairest Fruit that hung to the Eye
Tempting, stirr’d in me sudden appetite
To pluck and taste; whereat I wak’d, and found
Before mine Eyes all real, as the dream
Had lively shadow’d: Here had new begun
My wandring, had not hee who was my Guide
Up hither, from among the Trees appe’re’d
Presence Divine, Rejoycing, but with aw

294 fancy] Fancy 306 scarce] carfe 307 Fruit] Fruit, 312 was] The s is faint in most copies examined. 313 appe’re] appe’re, 314 Rejoyce,] The comma is very faint in all copies examined, but certainly present.
Book VIII. Paradise Lost. 203

315 In adoration at his feet I fell
Submis; he rear'd me, and Whom thou sought'st I am,
Said mildly, Author of all this thou seest
Above, or round about thee or beneath.
This Paradise I give thee, count it thine

320 To till and keep, and of the Fruit to eat:
Of every Tree that in the Garden growes
Eate freely with glad heart; fear here no dearth:
But of the Tree whose operation brings
Knowledge of good and ill, which I have set

325 The Pledge of thy Obedience and thy Faith,
Amid the Garden by the Tree of Life,
Remember what I warne thee, shun to taste,
And shun the bitter consequence: for know,
The day thou eat'ft thereof, my sole command

330 Transgreft, inevitably thou shalt dye;
From that day mortal, and this happy State
Shalt loose, expell'd from hence into a World
Of woe and sorrow. Sternly he pronounc'd
The rigid interdiction, which refounds

335 Yet dreadful in mine eare, though in my choice
Not to incur; but soon his clear aspect
Return'd and gracious purpose thus renew'd,
Not onely these fair bounds, but all the Earth
To thee and to thy Race I give; as Lords

340 Possesse it, and all things that therein live,
Or live in Sea, or Aire, Beast, Fish, and Fowle.
In signe whereof each Bird and Beast behold
After thir kindes; I bring them to receave
From thee thir Names, and pay thee fealtie

345 With low subjection; understand the same
Of Fish within thir watry residence,
Not hither summond, since they cannot change
Thir Element to draw the thinner Aire.

As

316 and] & 333 he]] Stressed. 337 gracious] gratious
As thus he spake, each Bird and Beast behold
Approaching two and two, These cowring low
With blandishment, each Bird floop'd on his wing.
I nam'd them, as they pas'd, and understood
Thir Nature, with such knowledge God endu'd
My sudden apprehension: but in these
I found not what me thought I wanted still;
And to the Heav'nly vision thus presum'd.
O by what Name, for thou above all these,
Above mankind, or ought then mankind higher,
Surpassest farr my naming, how may I
Adore thee, Author of this Univerfe,
And all this good to man, for whole well being
So amply, and with hands so liberal
Thou haft provided all things: but with mee
I see not who partakes. In solitude
What happiness, who can enjoy alone,
Or all enjoying, what contentment find?
Thus I presumptuous; and the vision bright,
As with a smile more bright'nd, thus repli'd,
What call'st thou solitude, is not the Earth
With various living creatures, and the Aire
Replenish'd, and all thse at thy command
To come and play before thee, know'ft thou not
Thir language and thir ways, they also know,
And reason not contemptibly; with thse
Find pastime, and beare rule; thy Realm is large.
So spake the Universal Lord, and seem'd
So ordering. I with leave of speech implor'd,
And humble deprecation thus repli'd.
Let not my words offend thee, Heav'nly Power,
My Maker, be propitious while I speak.
Hast thou not made me here thy substitute,
And these inferiour farr beneath me set?

Among

350 These] Capital T following a comma as in 1667. 376 Lord,]] The comma is broken in all 1674 copies examined.
Among unequals what society
Can fort, what harmonie or true delight?
Which must be mutual, in proportion due
Giv'n and receiv'd; but in disparitie
The one intense, the other still remits
Cannot well suit with either, but soon prove
Tedious alike: Of fellowship I speak
Such as I seek, fit to participate
All rational delight, wherein the brute
Cannot be human comfort; they rejoice
Each with thir kinde, Lion with Lion's;
So fely them in pairs thou hast combin'd;
Much less can Bird with Beast, or Fish with Fowl.
So well converse, nor with the Ox the Ape;
Worse then can Man with Beast, and least of all.
Whereto th' Almighty answer'd, not displeas'd.
A nice and futile happiness I see
Thou to thy self propostest, in the choice
Of thy Associates, Adam, and wilt taste
No pleasure, though in pleasure, solitarie.
What thinkst thou then of mee, and this my State,
Seem I to thee sufficiently posselft
Of happiness, or not? who am alone
From all Eternitie, for none I know
Second to me or like, equal much less.
How have I then with whom to hold converse
Save with the Creatures which I made, and those
To me inferior, infinite descents
Beneath what other Creatures are to thee?
He ceas'd, I lowly answer'd. To attaine
The height and depth of thy Eternal wayes
All human thoughts come short, Supream of things;
Thou in thy self art perfect, and in thee
Is no deficiencie found; not so is Man,

Page Number. 205] The o is battered in all copies examined. 397 Wor[f]. The rare final f taken blindly from 1667. 398 This line is indented in 1667. 407 mee] mee. The word is almost certainly stressed. 414 short) The comma is faint in all 1674 copies examined, but unmistakable. 415 self] The i is faint and the top of the f is broken off in all copies examined.
But in degree, the cause of his desire
By conversation with his like to help,
Or solace his defects. No need that thou
Shouldst propagate, already infinite;
And through all numbers absolute, though One;
But Man by number is to manifest
His single imperfection, and beget
Like of his like, his Image multiplied,
In unity defective, which requires
Collateral love, and dearest amity.
Thou in thy secrecy although alone,
Beit with thy self accompanied, seek'st not
Social communication, yet so pleas'd,
Canst raise thy Creature to what height thou wilt
Of Union or Communion, deifi'd;
I by conversing cannot these erect
From prone, nor in thir ways complacence find.
Thus I embolden'd spake, and freedom us'd
Permisive, and acceptance found, which gain'd
This answer from the gracious voice Divine.
Thus far to try thee, Adam, I was pleas'd,
And finde thee knowing not of Beasts alone,
Which thou hast rightly nam'd, but of thy self,
Expressing well the spirit within thee free,
My Image, not imparted to the Brute,
Whose fellowship therefore unmeet for thee
Good reason was thou freely shouldst dislike,
And be so minded still; I, ere thou spakest,
Knew it not good for Man to be alone,
And no such company as then thou faw'st
Intended thee, for trial onely brought,
To see how thou could'st judge of fit and meet:
What next I bring shall please thee, be assured,
Thy likeness, thy fit help, thy other self,

206 Paradise Lost. Book VIII.

Thy
Book VIII. Paradise Lost. 207

Thy wish exactly to thy heart desire.
Hee ended, or I heard no more, for now
My earthly by his Heav'ly overpower'd,
Which it had long stood under, firend to the highe
In that celestial Colloquie sublime,
As with an object that excels the sense,
Dazzl'd and spent, sunk down, and sought repair
Of sleep, which instantly fell on me, call'd
By Nature as in aide, and clos'd mine eyes.
Mine eyes he clos'd, but op'n left the Cell
Of Fancy my internal sight, by which
Abstrack't as in a transe mehought I saw,
Though sleeping, where I lay, and saw the shape
Still glorious before whom awake I stood;
Who stooping op'n'd my left side, and took
From thence a Rib, with cordial spirits warme;
And Life-blood streaming fresh; wide was the wound,
But suddenly with flesh fill'd up and heal'd:
The Rib he form'd and fashond with his hands;
Under his forming hands a Creature grew,
Manlike, but different Sex, so lovely faire,
That what seem'd fair in all the World, seem'd now
Mean, or in her sum'd up, in her contain'd
And in her looks, which from that time infus'd
Sweernefs into my heart, unfelt before,
And into all things from her Aire inspir'd
The spirit of love and amorous delight.
Shee disappear'd, and left me dark, I wak'd
To find her, or for ever to deplore
Her lost, and other pleasures all abjure:
When out of hope, behold her, not farr off,
Such as I saw her in my dream, adorn'd
With what all Earth or Heaven could bestow
To make her amiable: On she came,

Led

451 wish | wish. 464 [tood:] No 1674 copy examined is absolutely clear, but all have a double mark of some kind, the lower element of which is certainly a comma, and the top element a smear. 466 warme;] warme. This case is very similar to that in line 464, as all 1674 copies examined have a mark above the comma. It is probably another foul case situation, and the punctuation should be a comma. 468 and | & 471 Sex;] lex. 478 Shee] She The word is stressed and the change is almost certainly intentional.
Led by her Heav'nly Maker, though unseen,
And guided by his voice, nor uninformd
Of nuptial Sanctity and marriage Rites:
Grace was in all her steps, Heav'n in her Eye,
In every gesture dignitie and love.

I overjoyd could not forbear aloud.
This turn hath made amends; thou hast full'd
Thy words, Creator bounteous and benigne,
Giver of all things faire, but fairest this
Of all thy gifts, nor envied. I now see
Bone of my Bone, Flesh of my Flesh, my Self
Before me; Woman is her Name, of Man
Extract'd; for this caufe he shall forgoe
Father and Mother, and to his Wife adhere;
And they shall be one Flesh, one Heart, one Soule.

She heard me thus, and though divinely brought,
Yet Innocence and Virgin Modesty,
Her vertue and the conscience of her worth,
That would be woo'd, and not unsought be won,
Not obvious, not obtrusive, but retir'd,
The more desirable, or to say all,
Nature her self, though pure of sinful thought,
Wrought in her fo, that seeng me, she turn'd;
I follow'd her, she what was Honour knew,
And with obsequious Majestie approv'd

My pleaded reason. To the Nuptial Bowre
I led her blushing like the Morn: all Heav'n,
And happie Constellations on that houre
Shed thir selectest influence; the Earth
Gave sign of gratulation, and each Hill;

Joyous the Birds; fresh Gales and gentle Aires
Whisper'd it to the Woods, and from thir wings
Flung Rose, flung Odours from the spicie Shrub,
Disporting, till the amorous Bird of Night

Sang

486 voice,] The recurrent wrong font comma. 504 obtrusive,] The comma is battered in all 1674 copies examined. 505 desirable,] The same font comma as used in line 486.
Sung Spousal, and bid haste the Evening Starr
On his Hill top, to light the bridal Lamp.
Thus I have told thee all my State, and brought
My Storie to the sum of earthly blisses
Which I enjoy, and must confess to find
In all things else delight indeed, but such
As us'd or not, works in the mind no change,
Nor vehement desire, these delicacies
I mean of Taste, Sight, Smell, Herbs, Fruits, and Flours,
Walks, and the melody of Birds; but here
Far otherwife, transported I behold,
Transported touch; here passion first I felt,
Commotion strange, in all enjoyments else
Superior and unmov'd, here only weake
Against the charm of Beauties powerful glance.
Or Nature fail'd in mee, and left some part
Not proof enough such Object to sustain,
Or from my side subducting, took perhaps
More than enough; at least on her bestow'd
Too much of Ornament, in outward shew
Elaborate, of inward less exact.
For well I understand in the prime end
Of Nature her th' inferiour, in the mind
And inward Faculties, which most excell,
In outward also her resembling less
His Image who made both, and less expressing
The character of that Dominion giv'n
Of other Creatures; yet when I approach
Her lovelines, so absolute he seems
And in her self compleat, so well to know
Her own, that what she wills to do or say,
Seems wisest, vertuousest, discreetest, best;
All higher knowledge in her presence falls
Degraded. Wisdom in discourse with her

Looses

522 bliss.] The l is faint in all copies examined. 527 and 528 melodie.] The o is faint in all copies examined. 552 Degraded.] But the third edition, 1678, prints a colon here, probably because the whole 1674 bottom line is smeared by offset in most copies examined.
Paradise Lost. Book VIII.

Looses discount'nanc't, and like folly shewes;
Authority and Reason on her waite,
As one intended first, not after made
Occasionally; and to consummate all,
Greatnes of mind and noblenes thir feat
Build in her loveliest, and create an awe
About her, as a guard Angelic plac't.

To whom the Angel with contracted brow.
Accufe not Nature, she hath don her part;
Do thou but thine, and be not diffident
Of Wisdom, she deserts thee not, if thou
Dismiss not her, when most thou needst her nigh,
By attributing overmuch to things
Left excellent, as thou thy self perceav'st.
For what admir'it thou, what transports thee so,
An outside? fair no doubt, and worthy well
Thy cherishing, thy honouring, and thy love,
Not thy subjection: weigh with her thy self;
Then value: Oft times nothing profits more
Then self esteem, grounded on just and right
Well manag'd; of that skill the more thou know'st,
The more she will acknowledge thee her Head,
And to realities yield all her shows:
Made so adorn for thy delight the more,
So awful, that with honour thou maist love
Thy mate, who sees when thou art seen least wise,
But if the sense of touch whereby mankind
Is propagared seem such dear delight
Beyond all other, think the same voutsaft
To Cattel and each Beast; which would not be
To them made common and divulg'd, if aught
Therein enjoy'd were worthy to subdue
The Soule of Man, or passion in him move.
What higher in her societie thou findst

554 Authority | Authoritie 563 the | Stressed. 570 subjection: | The ct ligature is broken in all copies examined. 572 self esteem, | self-esteem, 575 yield | yeild shows: | shows; 578 seen | The recurrent broken I 583 and | 

At-
Book VIII. Paradise Lost.

Attractive, human, rational, love still;
In loving thou dost well, in passion not,
Wherein true Love confines not; love refines
The thoughts, and heart enlarges, hath his fear
In Reason, and is judicious, is the scale
By which to heav'nly Love thou maist ascend,
Not sunk in carnal pleasure, for which cause
Among the Beasts no Mate for thee was found.

To whom thus half abash'd Adam repli'd.
Neither her out-side form'd so fair, nor aught
In procreation common to all kindes
(Though higher of the genial Bed by far,
And with mysterious reverence I deem)
So much delights me as those graceful acts,
Those thousand decencies that daily flow
From all her words and actions mixt with Love
And sweet compliance, which declare unfeign'd
Union of Mind, or in us both one Soule;
Harmonie to behold in wedded pair
More grateful then harmonious found to the ear.
Yet these subject not; I to thee disclose
What inward thence I feel, not therefore told,
Who meet with various objects, from the sense
Variously representing; yet still free
Approve the best, and follow what I approve.
To love thou blam'st me not, for love thou saist
Leads up to Heav'n, is both the way and guide;
Bear with me then, if lawful what I ask;
Love not the heav'nly Spirits, and how thir Love
Express they, by looks only, or do they mix
Irradiance, virtual or immediate touch?
To whom the Angel with a smile that glow'd
Celestial rose red, Loves proper hue,

Answer'd. Let it suffice thee that thou know'st

591 Reason,] The top element of the comma is entirely lacking in all 1674 copies examined.
598 the] The crossbar of the t is entirely lacking in all copies examined. 600 me] me,
602 actions] actions, 613 Heav'n,] The comma is faint in all 1674 copies examined.
212 Paradise Lost. Book VIII.

Us happie, and without Love no happiness.
Whatever pure thou in the body enjoy'ft
(And pure thou wert created) we enjoy
In eminence, and obstacle find none

625 Of membrane, joint, or limb, exclusive bars:
Easier then Air with Air, if Spirits embrace,
Total they mix, Union of Pure with Pure
Desiring; nor restrain'd conveyance need
As Flesh to mix with Flesh, or Soul with Soul.

630 But I can now no more; the parting Sun
Beyond the Earths green Cape and verdant Isles
Hesperian sets, my Signal to depart.
Be strong, live happie, and love, but first of all
Him whom to love is to obey, and keep

635 His great command; take heed least Passion sway
Thy Judgement to do aught, which else free Will
Would not admit; thine and of all thy Sons
The weal or woe in thee is plac't; beware.
I in thy persevering shall rejoice,

640 And all the Blest: stand fast; to stand or fall
Free in thine own Arbitrement it lies.
Perfet within, no outward aid require;
And all temptation to transgress repel.
So saying, he arose; whom Adam thus

645 Follow'd with benediction. Since to part,
Go heavenly Guest, Ethereal Messenger,
Sent from whose soveran goodness I adore.
Gentle to me and affable hath been
Thy condescension, and shall be honour'd ever

650 With grateful Memorie: thou to mankind
Be good and friendly still, and oft return.
So parted they, the Angel up to Heav'n
From the thick shade, and Adam to his Bowre.

The End of the Eighth Book.
Paradise Lost.

BOOK IX.

THE ARGUMENT.

Satan having compass the Earth, with meditated guile returns as a mist by Night into Paradise, enters into the Serpent sleeping. Adam and Eve in the Morning go forth to their labours, which Eve proposes to divide in several places, each labouring apart: Adam consents not, alleging the danger, lest that Enemy, of whom they were forewarn'd, should attempt her found alone: Eve loath to be thought not circumstent or firm enough, urges her going apart, the rather desirous to make tryal of her strength: Adam at last yields: The Serpent finds her alone; his subtle approach, first gazing, then speaking, with much flattery extolling Eve above all other Creatures. Eve wondering to hear the Serpent speak, asks how he attain'd to human Speech and such understanding not till now; the Serpent answers, that by tasting of a certain Tree in the Garden he attain'd both to Speech and Reason, till then void of both: Eve requires him to
214 Paradisi Lost. Book IX.

to bring her to that Tree, and finds it to be the Tree of Knowledge forbidden: The Serpent now grown bolder, with many wiles and arguments induces her at length to eat; she plea'd with the tisle deliberates awhile whether to impart thereof to Adam or not; at last brings him of the Fruit, relates what perswaded her to eat thereof: Adam at first amaz'd, but perceiving her lost, resolves through vehemence of love to perish with her; and extenuating the trefpafs eats also of the Fruit: The Effects thereof in them both; they seek to cover their nakedness, then fall to variance and accusation of one another.

N O more of talk where God or Angel Guest With Man, as with his Friend, familiar us'd To fit indulgent, and with him partake Rural repast, permitting him the while

Venial discourse unblam'd: I now must change Those Notes to Tragic; soul distraught, and breach Disloyal on the part of Man, revolt, And disobedience: On the part of Heav'n Now alienated, distance and dislatitude,

Anger and jult rebuke, and judgment giv'n, That brought into this World a world of woe, Sinne and her shadow Death, and Miserie Deaths Harbinger: Sad task, yet argument Not less but more Heroic then the wrauth

Of stern Achilles on his Foe purfu'd Thrice Fugitive about Troy Wall; or rage Of Turnus for Lavinia disposs'd, Or Neptune's ire or Juno's, that so long Perplex'd the Greek and Cytherea's Son;

If answerable style I can obtaine Of my Celestial Patrones, who deignes

Running Head. Loft.] The recurrent round period.

The Argument. The collation of the Argument only is 1674, 1668, and 1669.


In all 1674 copies the comma is very faint or entirely lacking as in copy 14 shown above.

The Text. The Text of 1674 Book 9 is 1667 Book 8. 6 Notes] The N is broken in all copies examined. 8 of Heav'n] No space. 10 judgment] The word is so spaced in most 1674 copies examined; but copy 22 printed judgement The word seems to have been set with a space in it, and was never reset, but the spacing changes a little.
Book IX. **Paradise Lost.**

Her nightly visitation unimplor'd,
And dictates to me slumbering, or inspires
Easie my unpremeditated Verse:

Since first this Subject for Heroic Song
Pleas'd me long choosing, and beginning late;
Not sedulous by Nature to indite
Wars, hitherto the onely Argument
Heroic deem'd, chief maiftrie to diflect

With long and tedious havoc fabl'd Knights
In Battels feign'd, the better fortitude
Of Patience and Heroic Martyrdom
Unfung; or to describe Races and Games,
Or tilting Furniture, emblazon'd Shields,
Imprefes quaint, Caparifons and Steeds;
Bafes and tinfel Trappings, gorgious Knights
At Joust and Tornement; then marfial'd Feast
Serv'd up in Hall with Sewers, and Senefhals;
The skill of Artifice or Office mean,
Not that which juftly gives Heroic name
To Person or to Poem. Mee of these
Nor skill'd nor studious, higher Argument
Remaines, sufficient of it self to raife
That name, unlefs an age too late, or cold

Climat, or Years damp my intended wing
Depreft, and much they may, if all be mine,
Not Hers who brings it nightly to my Ear.
The Sun was funk, and after him the Starr
Of Hesperus, whose Office is to bring

Twilight upon the Earth, short Arbiter
Twixt Day and Night, and now from end to end
Nights Hemisphere had veild the Horizon round:
When Satan who late fled before the threats
Of Gabriel out of Eden, now improv'd

In meditated fraud and malice, bent

---

Running Head. Lost.] The recurrent round period. 38 Senefhals;] The top element of the semicolon is very faint in most copies examined.
216 Paradise Lost. Book IX.

On man's destruction, maugre what might hap
Of heavier on himself, fearles return'd.
By Night he fled, and at Midnight return'd
From compassing the Earth, cautious of day,

Since Uriel Regent of the Sun defcri'd
His entrance, and forewarnd the Cherubim
That kept thir watch; thence full of anguish driv'n,
The space of seven continu'd Nights he rode
With darkness, thrice the Equinoctial Line

He circl'd, four times cros'd the Carr of Night
From Pole to Pole, traversing each Colure;
On the eighth return'd, and on the Coast averse
From entrance or Cherubic Watch, by stealth
Found unsuspected way. There was a place,

Now not, though Sin, not Time, first wraught the
Where Tigris at the foot of Paradise (change,
Into a Gulf shot under ground, till part
Rose up a Fountain by the Tree of Life;
In with the River sunk, and with it rose

Satan involv'd in rising Mist, then fought
Where to lie hid; Sea he had searcht and Land
From Eden over Pontus, and the Poole
Meotis, up beyond the River Ob;
Downward as far Antartic; and in length

West from Orontes to the Ocean barr'd
At Darien, thence to the Land where flowes
Ganges and Indus: thus the Orb he roam'd
With narrow search; and with inspection deep
Consider'd every Creature, which of all

Most opportune might serve his Wiles, and found
The Serpent suttle Beast of all the Field.
Him after long debate, irrefolute
Of thoughts revolv'd, his final sentence chose
Fit Vessel, fittest Imp of fraud, in whom

To
Book IX. Paradise Lost. 217

To enter, and his dark suggestions hide
From sharpest sight: for in the wilie Snake,
Whatever sleights none would suspicious mark,
As from his wit and native subtle lies
Proceeding, which in other Beasts observ'd

Doubt might beget of Diabolic pow'r
Active within beyond the sense of brute.
Thus he resolv'd, but first from inward grief
His burning passion into plaints thus pour'd:
O Earth, how like to Heav'n, if not preferr'd

More justly, Seat worthier of Gods, as built
With second thoughts, reforming what was old!
For what God after better worse would build?
Terrestrial Heav'n, can't round by other Heav'n's
That shine, yet bear thir bright officious Lamps,

Light above Light, for thee alone, as seems,
In thee concentrating all thir precious beams
Of sacred influence: As God in Heav'n
Is Center, yet extends to all, so thou
Centring receiv'd from all thir Orbs; in thee,

Not in themselves, all thir known vertue appeares
Productive in Herb, Plant, and nobler birth
Of Creatures animate with gradual life
Of Growth, Sense, Reason, all summ'd up in Man.
With what delight could I have walkt thee round,

If I could joy in aught, sweet interchange
Of Hill, and Vallie, Rivers, Woods and Plaines,
Now Land, now Sea, and Shores with Forrester crownd,
Rocks, Dens, and Caves; but I in none of thir
Find place or refuge; and the more I see

Pleasures about me, so much more I feel
Torment within me, as from the hateful siege
Of contraries; all good to me becomes
Bane, and in Heav'n much worse would be my fate.

But

90 suggestions] The ligature ft is faint in all copies examined. 92 sleights] See my note on this word in 1667, volume 2:497. The use of a worn ligature 'ft' in 1667 was no doubt due to foul case, and has been completely passed over by textual editors. 97 first] The ligature ft is smashed in all copies examined. 114 thee] Fenton, unobservant of context, thought this word should be 'the' but the speech is addressed to the earth, and Adam again and again addresses the earth in the second person singular. For many tamperings with this passage by subsequent editors, see Wright's notes. 116 Hill, 117 and & 122 me] ] Stressed.
Paradise Lost. Book IX.

But neither here seek I, no nor in Heaven's
to dwell, unless by mailling Heaven's Suprême;
Nor hope to be myself least miserable
By what I seek, but others to make such
As I, though thereby worse to me redound:
For only in destroying I find ease
To my restless thoughts, and him destroy'd,
Or won to what may work his utter loss,
For whom all this was made, all this will soon
Follow, as to him linkt in weal or woe,
In whom; that destruction wide may range:
To mee shall be the glory sole among
The infernal Powers, in one day to have marr'd
What he Almighty stild, six Nights and Days
Contin'd making, and who knows how long
Before had bin contriving, though perhaps
Not longer then since I in one Night freed
From servitude inglorious weal'nigh half
Th' Angelic Name, and thinner left the throng
Of his adorers: hee to be aveng'd,
And to repaire his numbers thus impair'd,
Whether such vertue spent of old now fail'd
More Angels to Create, if they at leaft
Are his Created, or to spue us more,
Determin'd to advance into our room
A Creature form'd of Earth, and him endow,
Exalted from so base original,
With Heaven's spoils, our spoils: What he decreed
He effected; Man he made, and for him built
Magnificent this World, and Earth his seat,
Him Lord pronounc'd, and, O indignitie!
Subjected to his service Angel wings,
And flaming Minifters to watch and tend
Thir earthly Charge: Of these the vigilance

126 [self]. No comma in either first or second edition, although 1674 has space for it; but in no copy examined was the comma present. It is needed, as may be seen in the third edition, which just missed setting the two words as one 'self's' which would be nonsense. 129 onely]
Stressed on first syllable. 147 Created, or | Created or The comma is needed.
157 earthly Charge: | Italic colon.
I dread, and to elude, thus wrapt in mist
Of midnight vapor glide obscure, and prie
In every Bush and Brake, where hap may finde
The Serpent sleeping, in whose mazes Foulds
To hide me, and the dark intent I bring.
O soul descent! that I who erst contended
With Gods to sit the highest, am now contraind.
Into a Beast, and mixt with bestial flame,
This offence to incarnate and imbrue,
That to the height of Deities aspir'd;
But what will not Ambition and Revenge
Descend to? who aspires must down as low
As high he soar'd, obnoxious first or last
To basest things. Revenge, at first though sweet,
Bitter ere long back on itself recoiles;
Let it; I reck not, so it light well aim'd,
Since higher I fall short, on him who next
Provokes my envious, this new Favorite
Of Heav'n, this Man of Clay, Son of despite,
Whom we the more to spite his Maker rais'd
From dust: spite then with spite is best repaid.
So saying, through each Thicket Danck or Drie,
Like a black mist low creeping, he held on
His midnight search, where soonest he might finde
The Serpent: him fast sleeping soon he found
In Labyrinth of many a round self-rowld,
His head the midst, well stor'd with subtle wiles:
Not yet in horrid Shade or dismal Den,
Nor noisent yet, but on the grassie Herbe
Fearles sor uncleard he slept: in at his Mouth
The Devil enter'd, and his brutal sense,
In heart or head, possessting soon inspir'd
With act intelligential; but his sleep
Disturbed not, waiting close th' approach of Morn.

Now

183 round] The d is very faint in some copies examined. self-rowld,] The hyphen is very faint in a few copies and clear in others. 186 Nor] Not The change may have been deliberate, or may have been due to foul case.
Now when as sacred Light began to dawne
In Eden on the humid Floors, that breathed
That morning incense, when all things that breath,
From th' Earths great Altar send up silent praise
To the Creator, and his Nostrils fill
With grateful Smell, forth came the human pair
And join'd their vocal Worship to the Quire
Of Creatures wanting voice, that done, partake
The season, prime for sweetest Sents and Aires;
Then commune how that day they best may ply
That growing work: for much their work out-grew
The hands dispatch of two Gardning so wide.
And Eve first to her Husband thus began.

Adam, well may we labour still to dress
This Garden, still to tend Plant, Herb and Flour,
Our pleasant task enjoyn'd, but till more hands
Aid us, the work under our labour grows,
Luxurious by restraint; what we by day
Lop overgrown, or prune, or prop, or bind,
One night or two with wanton growth deriv'd
Tending to wild. Thou therefore now advise
Or bear what to my minde first thoughts present,
Let us divide our labours, thou where choice
Leads thee, or where most needs, whether to wind
The Woodbine round this Arbour, or direct
The clasping Ivie where to climb, while I
In yonder Spring of Roses intermixt
With Myrtle, find what to redress till Noon:
For while so near each other thus all day
Our task we chose, what wonder if so near
Looks intervene and smiles, or object new
Casual discourse draw on, which intermits
Our dayes work brought to little, though begun
Early, and th' hour of Supper comes unearn'd.

Note the absence of the 'fk' ligature in both editions.
To whom mild answer Adam thus return'd.
Sole Eve, Associate sole, to me beyond
Compare above all living Creatures deare,
Well haft thou motion'd, well thy thoughts imployn'd
How we might best fulfill the work which here
God hath assign'd us, nor of me shalt pafs
Unprais'd: for nothing lovelier can be found
In Woman, then to studie household good,
And good works in her Husband to promote.
Yet not so strieightly hath our Lord impos'd
Labour, as to debarr us when we need
Refreshment, whether food, or talk between,
Food of the mind, or this sweet intercourse
Of looks and smiles, for smiles from Reason flow,
To brute deni'd, and are of Love the food,
Love not the lowest end of human life.
For not toil'som toil, but to delight
He made us, and delight to Reason joyn'd.
Thefe paths & Bowers doubt not but our joynt hands
Will keep from Wildernes with ease, as wide
As we need walk, till younger hands ere long
Assift us: But if much converse perhaps
Thee fatiate, to short absence I could yield.
For solitude somtimes is best Societie,
And short retirement urges sweet returne.
But other doubt possessest me, lest harm
Befall thee sever'd from me; for thou knowst
What hath bin warn'd us, what malicious Foe
Envying our happines, and of his own
Despairing, seeks to work us woe and shame
By fly assault; and somewhere nigh at hand
Watches, no doubt, with greedy hope to find
His wish and best advantage, us afunder,
Hopeles to circumvent us joynd, where each

To
To other speedy aide might lend at need;
Whether his first design be to withdraw
Our fel'rie from God, or to disturb
Conjugal Love, then which perhaps no bliss
Enjoy'd by us excites his envie more;
Or this, or worse, leave not the faithful side
That gave thee being, still shades thee and protects.
The Wife, where danger or dishonour lurks,
Safe and seemliest by her Husband stays,
Who guards her, or with her the worst endures.

To whom the Virgin Majestie of Eve,
As one who loves, and some unkindness meets,
With sweet as well as comp heurre thus reply'd,
Ofspring of Heav'n and Earth, and all Earth's Lord,
That such an Enemy we have, who seeks
Our ruin, both by thee inform'd I learn,
And from the parting Angel over-heard
As in a shade nook I stood behind,
Yet then return'd at shut of Evening Flours.
But that thou shouldst my firmness therefore doubt
To God or thee, because we have a foe
May tempt it, I expected not to hear.
His violence thou feart not, being such,
As we, not capable of death or paine,
Can either not receive, or can repel.
His fraud is then thy fear, which plain infers
Thy equal fear that my firm Faith and Love
Can by his fraud be shak'n or seduc't;
Thoughts, which how found they harbour in thy breast
Adam, misthought of her to thee so dear?

To whom with healing words Adam reply'd,
Daughter of God and Man, immortal Eve,
For such thou art, from sin and blame entire:
Not diffident of thee do I diffuade

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261 Whether] The W is below the line of type. 266 still] stil 272 reply'd,] reply'd. Was the change from period to comma here intended? 273 Earth, and] No space in any copy examined. 288 breast] (breast, 1667 used the parenthesis because the word was set above the line to which it belongs. 290 reply'd.] reply'd.
Book IX. **Paradise Lost.** 223

Thy absence from my fight, but to avoid
Th' attempt it self, intended by our Foe.
For hee who tempts, though in vain, at least asperses
The tempted with dishonour foul, suppos'd
Not incorruptible of Faith, not proof
Against temptation: thou thy self with scorn
And anger wouldst resent the offer'd wrong,
Though ineffectual found: misdeem not then,
If such affront I labour to avert
From thee alone, which on us both at once
The Enemie, though bold, will hardly dare,
Or daring, first on mee th' assault shall light.
Nor thou his malice and false guile contemn;
Suttle he needs must be, who could seduce
Angels, nor think superfluous others aid.
I from the influence of thy looks receive
Access in every Vertue, in thy sight
More wise, more watchful, stronger, if need were
Of outward strength; while shame, thou looking on,
Shame to be overcome or over-reacht
Would utmost vigor raise, and rais'd unite.
Why shouldst not thou like sense within thee feel
When I am present, and thy trial choose
With me, best witness of thy Vertue tri'd.
So spake domestick Adam in his care
And Matrimonial Love; but Eve, who thought
Lest attributed to her Faith sincere,
Thus her reply with accent sweet renewd.
If this be our condition, thus to dwell
In narrow circuit strait'nd by a Foe,
Suttle or violent, we not endur'd
Single with like defence, wherever met,
How are we happie, still in fear of harm?
But harm precedes not sin: onely our Foe

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Running Head. **Paradise**] The P is broken at the top as on pages 239, 255, 269, and 303.
308 Angels,]]] The comma is very faint in most 1674 copies examined or, as in copy 22, entirely lacking, but the spacing remains the same in all copies. 310 Love,] Love, See my note, volume 2:504. The first edition certainly printed a comma here; but a semicolon serves perhaps even better. 324 we]] Stressed? 327 onely]] The first syllable is stressed.
224 Paradise Lost. Book IX.

Tempting affronts us with his foul esteem
Of our integritie: his foul esteeme

330

Sticks no dishonor on our Front, but turns
Foul on himself; then wherefore shuld or feared
By us? who rather double honour gaine
From his furnishe prov'd false, find peace within,
Favour from Heav'n, our witness from th' event.

And what is Faith, Love, Vertue unaffaid
Alone, without exterior help suflain'd?
Let us not then suspect our happie State
Left so imperfect by the Maker wise,
As not secure to single or combin'd,

Fraise is our happiness, if this be so,
And Eden were no Eden thus expos'd.

To whom thus Adam fervently repli'd.
O Woman, bet are all things as the will
Of God ordain'd them, his creasing hand

345

Nothing imperfect or deficient left
Of all that he Created, much lefts Man,
Or aught that might his happie State secure,
Secure from outward force, within himself
The danger lies, yet lies within his power:

Against his will he can receive no harme.
But God left free the Will, for what obeyes
Reason, is free, and Reason he made right,
But bid her well beware, and still erect,
Left by some faire appearing good surpris'd

She dictates false, and misinforme the Will
To do what God expressly hath forbid,
Not then mistrust, but tender love enjoyes,
That I should mind thee off, and mind thou me.

355

Firm we sub sist, yet possible to swerve,
Since Reason not impossibly may meet
Some specious object by the Foe subord,

And

Running Head. Loft. The recurrent round period. 331 wherefore| wherefore 333 and| finde
335 Faith, Love,| No space in any copy examined. 339 combin'd.| The punctuation mark in 1674 has been variously taken for a period and for a comma. It might be either, or foul case
with period intended. The third edition compromised and printed a colon. 344 ordain'd| ordaind
347 aught| ought 348 outward| The t is very faint in all copies examined.
355 misinforme| misinforme 356 forbid.| forbid. Probably the period was what was wanted
here. 358 me.|] Stressed. 359 subfift.|] The comma is faint in all 1674 copies examined.
360 Since| The S is below type alignment in most copies examined. 361 Some| The S is below

The S is below type alignment in most copies examined.
Book IX.  **Paradise Lost.**  225

And fall into deception unaware,
Not keeping strictest watch, as she was warnd.
Seek not temptation then, which to avoide

365  Were better, and most likele if from mee
Thou fever not: Trial will come unfought,
Would'st thou approve thy constancie, approve
First thy obedience; th' other who can know,
Not seeing thee attempted, who attest?

370  But if thou think, trial unfought may finde
Us both securer then thus warnd thou seemt,
Go; for thy stay, not free, absents thee more;
Go in thy native innocence, relie
On what thou hast of vertue, summon all.

375  For God towards thee hath done his part, do thine.
So spake the Patriarch of Mankinde, but Eve
Perçifled, yet submifs, though laft, repli'd.
With thy permiffion then, and thus forewarnd
Chiefly by what thy own last-reafoning words

380  Touchd onely, that our trial, when laft fought,
May finde us both perhaps farr les prepar'd,
The willinger I goe, nor much expect
A Foe fo proud will first the weaker seek,
So bent, the more flall shame him his repulf.

385  Thus faying, from her Husbands hand her hand
Soft the withdrew, and like a Wood-Nymph light
Oread or Dryad, or of Delia's Traine,
Betook her to the Groves, but Delia's felf
In garde furpas'd and Goddes-like deport,

390  Though nor as fhee with Bow and Quiver armd,
But with fuch Gardning Tools as Art yet rude,
Guiltles of fire had form'd, or Angels brought.
To Pales, or Pomona thus adorn'd,
Likeliest the feem'd, Pomona when the fred

395  Vernalium, or to Ceres in her Prime,

Yet

---

363 the|] Stressed?  364 then,|] In 1667 (Book 8:364), the punctuation was certainly set as a comma. In my volume 2:305, the mark printed as a semicolon because in 1667 copy 36, portrayed therein, there is a smear above the comma, as also in 1667 copy 10. All other first edition copies examined show a clear comma here, and in 1667 copy 36, the comma element is the same as in other 1667 copies. Beyond a doubt, both 1667 and 1674 texts should be accepted as carrying a comma. There should have been a note on this in my second volume, and the point will be treated later as an erratum.  367 approve] The second p is very faint in most copies examined.
378 With| The W is broken in all copies examined.  380 only,|] The first syllable is stressed.
387 Delia's| Delia's  388 Delia's| Delia's  391 Gardning] The r is very faint in most copies examined.  393 Pomona| Pomona,  394 Likeliest] Likelt
226 Paradise Lost. Book IX.

Yet Virgin of Proserpina from Jove.
Her long with ardent look his Eye pursu'd
Delighted, but desiring more her stay.  
Oft he to her his charge of quick returne

Repeate, she to him as oft engag'd
To be return'd by Noon amid the Bowre,
And all things in best order to invite
Noontide repast, or Afternoons repose.
O much deceav'd, much failing, hapless Eve,

Of thy presum'd return! event perversa!
Thou never from that hour in Paradise
Foundst either sweet repast, or found repose;
Such ambusht hid among sweet Flours and Shades
Waited with hellish rancour imminent

To intercept thy way, or send thee back
Despoild of Innocence, of Faith, of Blifs.
For now, and since first break of dawne the Fiend,
Meer Serpent in appearance, forth was come,
And on his Quest, where likeliest he might finde

The onely two of Mankinde, but in them
The whole included Race, his purposd prey.
In Bowre and Field he sought, where any tuft
Of Grove or Garden-Plot more pleafant lay,
Thir tendance or Plantation for delight,

By Fountain or by ladie Rivulet
He sought them both, but wish'd his hap might find
Eve separat, he wish'd, but not with hope
Of what so seldom chanc'd, when to his wish,
Beyond his hope, Eve separat he spies,

Veild in a Cloud of Fragrance, where she slowd,
Half spid, so thick the Roses bulging round
About her glowd, oft stooping to support
Each Flour of slender stalk, whose head though gay
Carnation, Purple, Azure, or speck with Gold,

399 he]} Stressed. 409 rancour] rancor 415 onely}] The first syllable is stressed.
428 Each] The h is very faint in most copies examined.
Book IX. Paradise Lost

430 Hung drooping unsustained, them she upstair'd
Gently with Mistle bow'd, mindless the while,
Her self, though fairest unsupport'd Flour,
From her best prop so far, and storm so high.
Neerer he drew, and many a walk travers'd

435 Of stateliest Covert, Cedar, Pine, or Palme,
Then voluble and bold, now hid, now seen
Among thick-wov'n Arborets and Flours
Imborder'd on each Bank, the hand of Eve:
Spot more delicious then those Gardens feign'd

440 Or of reviv'd Adonis, or renown'd
Alcinous, hoist of old Laurses Son,
Or that, not Mystic, where the Sapient King
Held dalliance with his faire Egyptian Spoufe.
Much hee the Place admir'd, the Portrait more.
As one who long in populous City pent,
Where Houses thick and Sewers annoy the Aire,
Forth issuing on a Summers Morn to breathe
Among the pleasanat Villages and Farmes
Adjoynd, from each thing met conceaves delight,

450 The smell of Grain, or tedded Grafs, or Kine,
Or Dairie, each rural sight, each rural sound;
If chance with Nymphlike step fair Virgin pafs,
What pleasing feem'd, for her now pleases more,
She moft, and in her look summs All Delight.

455 Such Pleasure took the Serpent to behold
This Flouric Plat, the sweet recefs of Eve
Thus earlie, thus alone; her Heav'ly forme
Angelic, but more soft, and Feminine,
Her graceful Innocence, her every Aire
Of gesture or left action overaw'd
His Malice, and with rapine sweet bereav'd
His fiercenesf of the fierce intent it brought:
That space the Evil one abstraced stood

439 more] The o is broken in all copies examined. 454 She] Almost certainly stressed.
From his own evil, and for the time remain'd
Stupidly good, of enmity disarm'd,
Of guile, of hate, of envy, of revenge;
But the hot Hell that always in him burns,
Though in mid Heav'n, soon ended his delight,
And tortures him now more, the more he sees
Of pleasure not for him ordain'd: then soon
Fierce hate he recollects, and all his thoughts
Of mischief, gratulating, thus excites.
Thoughts, whither have ye led me, with what sweet
Compulsion thus transported to forget
What hither brought us, hate, not love, nor hope
Of Paradise for Hell, hope here to taste
Of pleasure, but all pleasure to destroy,
Save what is in destroying, other joy
To me is lost. Then let me not let pass
Occasion which now smiles, behold alone
The Woman, opportune to all attempts,
Her Husband, for I view far round, not nigh,
Whose higher intellectual more I shun,
And strength, of courage haute, and of limb
Heroic built, though of terrestrial mould,
Foe not informidable, exempt from wound,
I not; so much hath Hell debas'd, and paine
Infeeb'd me, to what I was in Heav'n.
She fair, divinely fair, fit Love for Gods,
Not terrible, though terror be in Love
And beauty, not approach'd by stronger hate,
Hate stronger, under shew of Love well feign'd,
The way which to her ruin now I tend.
So spake the Enemy of Mankind, enclos'd
In Serpent, Inmate bad, and toward Eve
Addres'sd his way, not with indented wave,
Prone on the ground, as since, but on his reare,
Circular

467 Hell] The H is battered in all copies examined. 479 First me]] Stressed.
Book IX.  **Paradise Lost.**

Circular base of rising foulds, that tour'd
Fould above fould a surging Maze, his Head

500 Crefted aloft, and Carbuncle his Eyes;
With burnifiht Neck of verdant Gold, erect
Amidst his circling Spires, that on the gras
tflored redundant: pleasing was his Shape,
And lovely, never since of Serpent kind

505 Lovelier, not those that in Ilyria chang'd
Hermon and Cadmus, or the God
In Epidauros; not to which transformd
Ammonian love, or Capitoline was seen,
Hee with Olympias, this with her who bore

510 Scipio the hight of Rome. With tract oblique
At first, as one who fought acces, but feared
To interrupt, side-long he works his way.
As when a Ship by skilful Steersman wrought
Nigh Rivers mouth or Foreland, where the Wind

515 Veres oft, as oft fo steers, and shifs her Saile;
So varied hee, and of his tortuous Train
Curled many a wanton wreath in sight of Eve,
To lure her Eye; shee busied heard the sound
Of rufling Leaves, but minded not, as us'd

520 To such disport before her through the Field,
From every Beafi, more duteous at her call,
Then at Circean call the Herd disguis'd.
Hee boulder now, uncall'd before her flood;
But as in gaze admiring: Oft he bowd

525 His turret Creft, and sleek enamel'd Neck,
Fawning, and lick'd the ground whereon the trod.
His gentle dumb expression turnd at length
The Eye of Eve to mark his play; be glad
Of her attention gain'd, with Serpent Tongue

530 Organic, or impulse of vocal Air,
His fraudulent temptation thus began.

Q 3 Wonder

510 Rome.] The e is battered in all copies examined. 528 he]] Stressed.
Wonder not, fair Miss, if perhaps
Thou canst, who art sole Wonder, much less arm
Thy looks, the Heav'n of mildness, with disdain,
Displeas'd that I approach thee thus, and gaze
Infatiate, I thus single, nor have feared
Thy awful brow, more awful thus retir'd.
Fairest resemblance of thy Maker faire,
Thee all things living gaze on, all things thine
By gift, and thy Celestial Beautie adore
With ravishment beheld, there best beheld
Where universally admir'd; but here
In this enclosure wild, these Beasts among,
Beholders rude, and shallow to discern
Half what in thee is fair, one man except,
Who sees thee? (and what is one?) who shouldst be
A Goddess among Gods, ador'd and serv'd (seen
By Angels numberless, thy daily Train.
So glaz'd the Tempter, and his Proem tun'd;
Into the Heart of Eve his words made way,
Though at the voice much marveling; at length
Not unamaz'd she thus in answer spake,
What may this mean? Language of Man pronounc'd
By Tongue of Brute, and human sense express'd?
The first at left of these I thought deny'd
To Beasts, whom God on thir Creation-Day
Created mute to all articulat found;
The latter I demur'd, for in thir looks
Much reason, and in thir actions oft appears.
Thee, Serpent, fbottom beast of all the field
I knew, but not with human voice endur'd;
Redouble then this miracle, and say,
How canst thou speakable of mute, and how
To me so friendly grown above the rest
Of brutal kind, that daily are in sight?

Running Head. Paradise Lost. The ink smear on the bottom of the r is present in all copies examined.
Loft.] The recurrent round period. 552 unamaz'd] The m is faint in all copies examined.
555 deny'd] The space is present in every 1674 copy examined, but the apostrophe is lacking.
564 me] Stressed.
Say, for such wonder claims attention due.
   To whom the guileful Tempter thus reply'd.
Empresse of this fair World, resplendent Eve,
   Earie to mee it is to tell thee all (obeyd:
570 What thou commandst, and right thou shouldst be
I was at first as other Beasts that graze
The trodden Herb, of abject thoughts and low,
   As was my food, nor aught but food discern'd
Or Sex, and apprehended nothing high:
575 Till on a day roaming the field, I chance'd
A goodly Tree farr distant to behold
Loaden with fruit of fairest colours mix't,
Ruddie and Gold: I nearer drew to gaze:
When from the boughes a fav'rite odour blow'd,
580 Grateful to appetite, more pleas'd my sense
Then smell of sweetest Fenel or the Teats
Of Ewe or Goat dropping with Milk at Eevn,
Unsuckt of Lamb or Kid, that tend thir play.
To satisfy the sharp desire I had
585 Of tasting those fair Apples, I resolv'd
Not to deferr; hunger and thirst at once,
Powerful perfwaders, quick'd at the scent
Of that alluring fruit, urg'd me so keene.
About the mossie Trunk I wound me soon,
590 For high from ground the branches would require
Thy utmost reach or Adams: Round the Tree
All other Beasts that saw, with like desire
Longing and envying stood, but could not reach.
   Amid the Tree now got, where plenty hung
595 Tempting so nigh, to pluck and eat my fill
I spair'd not, for such pleasure till that hour
At Feed or Fountain never had I found.
Sated at length, ere long I might perceive
Strange alteration in me, to degree

Q. 4

Of
Of Reason in my inward Powers, and Speech
Waned not long, though to this shape retain'd.
Thenceforth to Speculations high or deep
I turn'd my thoughts, and with capacious mind
Consider'd all things visible in Heav'n,
Or Earth, or Middle, all things fair and good;
But all that fair and good in thy Divine
Semblance, and in thy Beauties heav'nly Ray
United I beheld; no Fair to thine
Equivalent or second, which compel'd
Mee thus, though importune perhaps, to come
And gaze, and worship thee of right declar'd
Soverain of Creatures, universal Dame.
So spok'd the spirited fly Snake; and Eve
Yet more amaz'd unwearie thus reply'd.
Serpent, thy overpraising leaves in doubt
The vertue of that Fruit, in thee first prov'd:
But say, where grows the Tree, from hence how far?
For many are the Trees of God that grow
In Paradise, and various, yet unknown
To us, in such abundance lies our choice,
As leaves a greater store of Fruit untoucht,
Still hanging incorruptible, till men
Grow up to thir provision, and more hands
Help to disburden Nature of her Bearth.
To whom the wilie Adder, blithe and glad.
Empress, the way is readie, and not long.
Beyond a row of Myrtles, on a Flat,
Fast by a Fountain, one small Thicket past
Of blowing Myrrh and Balme; if thou accept
My conduct, I can bring thee thither soon.
Lead then, said Eve. Hee leading swiftly rowld
In tangles, and made intricate seem strait,
To mischief swift. Hope elevates, and joy
Bright's
Book IX. **Paradise Lost.**

Bright's his Crest, as when a wandring Fire,

635 **Compact of unctuous vapor, which the Night**

Condenes, and the cold inorons round,

Kindl'd through agitation to a Flame,

Which oft, they say, some evil Spirit attends

Hovering and blazing with delusive Light,

640 **Millead th' amaz'd Night-wanderer from his way**

To Boggs and Mires, and oft through Pond or Poole,

There swallow'd up and lost, from lucour farr.

So glister'd the dire Snake, and into fraud

Led Eve our credulous Mother, to the Tree

645 **Of prohibition, root of all our woe:**

Which when the saw, thus to her guide she spake.

Serpent, we might have spar'd our coming hither,

Fruilefs to mee, though Fruit be here to excels,

The credit of whose vertue rest with thee,

Wondrous indeed, if cause of such effects.

But of this Tree we may not taste nor touch;

God so commanded, and left that Command

Sole Daughter of his voice; the rest, we live

Law to our selves, our Reason is our Law.

650 **To whom the Tempter guilefully repli'd.**

Indeed? hath God then said that of the Fruit

Of all these Garden Trees ye shall not eate,

Yet Lords declar'd of all in Earth or Aire?

To whom thus Eve yet sinlefs. Of the Fruit

655 **Of each Tree in the Garden we may eate,**

But of the Fruit of this fair Tree amidst

The Garden, God hath said, Ye shall not eate

Thereof, nor shall ye touch it, least ye die. (bold)

She scarce had said, though brief, when now more

660 **The Tempter, but with shew of Zeale and Love**

To Man, and indignation at his wrong,

New part puts on, and as to passion mov'd,

Fluctuat

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Page Number. 233] The first 3 is broken in all copies examined. 634 Fire.] Fire
638 attends] attends. 641 Second and & 647 Serpent, we] So spaced in all copies examined.
648 Fruilefs] The t is faint in all copies examined. mee,] me, Stressed. 651 Tree] The second e is broken in all copies examined. 660 we ]] Stressed. 665 Tempter,] The comma is very faint in all copies examined.
Fluctuates disturb’d, yet comely and in act
Rais’d, as of some great matter to begin.

As when of old from Orator resound
In Athens or free Rome, where Eloquence
Flourish’d, since mute, to some great cause address’d,
Stood in himself collected, while each part,
Motion, each act won audience ere the tongue,

Somtimes in highth began, as no delay
Of Preface brooking through his Zeal of Right.
So standing, moving, or to highth upgrown
The Tempter all impassion’d thus began.

O Sacred, Wife, and Wildom-giving Plant,
Mother of Science, Now I feel thy Power
Within me cleere, not onely to discerne
Things in thir Causes, but to trace the ways
Of highest Agents, deemed however wise.
Queen of this Universe, doe not believe

Thofe rigid threats of Death; ye shall not Die:
How should ye? by the Fruit? it gives you Life
To Knowledge? By the Threatner, look on mee,
Mee who have touch’d and taile’t, yet both live,
And life more perfet have attaint then Fate

Meant mee, by ventring higher then my Lot.
Shall that be shut to Man, which to the Beast
Is open? or will God incense his ire
For such a petty Trespafs, and not praise
Rather your dauntles vertue, whom the pain

Of Death denounce’t, whatever thing Death be,
Deterred not from achieving what might leade
To happier life, knowledge of Good and Evil;
Of good, how just? of evil, if what is evil
Be real, why not known, since easier shunnd?

God therefore cannot hurt ye, and be just;
Not just, not God; not feared then, nor obey’d:

Your
Book IX. **Paradise Lost.**

Your fear is self of Death removes the fear.
Why then was this forbid? Why but to awe,
Why but to keep ye low and ignorant,

His worshippers; he knows that in the day
Ye Eat thereof, your Eyes that seem so cleere,
Yet are but dim, shall perfectly be then
Op'nd and cleerd, and ye shall be as Gods,
Knowing both Good and Evil as they know.

That ye should be as Gods, since I as Man,
Internal Man, is but proportion meet,
I of brute human, yee of human Gods.
So ye shall die perhaps, by putting off
Human, to put on Gods, death to be wise,

Though threat'nd, which no worse then this can bring.
And what are Gods that Man may not become
As they, participating God-like food?
The Gods are first, and that advantage use
On our belief, that all from them proceeds;

I question it, for this fair Earth I see,
Warm'd by the Sun, producing every kind,
Them nothing: If they all things, who enclos'd
Knowledge of Good and Evil in this Tree,
That who so eats thereof, forthwith attains

Wildom without their leave? and wherein lies
Th' offence, that Man should thus attain to know?
What can your knowledge hurt him, or this Tree
Impart against his will if all be his?
Or is it envie, and can envie dwell

In heav'nly brefts? these, these and many more
Causes import your need of this fair Fruit.
Goddes humane, reach then, and freely taste.

He ended, and his words replete with guile
Into her heart too easie entrance won:

Fixt on the Fruit she gaz'd, which to behold

---

710 ye]] Almost certainly stressed. 713 ye]] Stressed? 725 their]] Stressed or unstressed?
Might tempt alone, and in her ears the sound
Yet rung of his persuasive words, impregn'd
With Reason, to her seeming, and with Truth;
Mean while the hour of Noon draw on, and wak'd
An eager appetite, rais'd by the smell
So favor'd of that Fruit, which with desire,
Inclinable now grown to touch or taste,
Sollicited her longing eye; yet first
Pausing a while, thus to her self the mus'd.

Great are thy Vertues, doubtless, best of Fruits.
Though kept from Man, and worthy to be admir'd,
Whole taste, too long forborn, at first assay
Gave elocution to the mute, and taught
The Tongue not made for Speech to speak thy praise:
Thy praise hee also who forbids thy use,
Conceales not from us, naming thee the Tree
Of Knowledge, knowledge both of good and evil;
Forbids us then to taste, but his forbidding
Commends thee more, while it inffrs the good
By thee communicated, and our want:
For good unknown, sure is not had, or had
And yet unknown, is as not had at all.
In plain then, what forbids he but to know,
Forbids us good, forbids us to be wise?

Such prohibitions binde not, But if Death
Bind us with after-bands, what profits then
Our inward freedom? In the day we eate
Of this fair Fruit, our doom is, we shall die.
How dies the Serpent? hee hath eat'n and lives,
And knows, and speaks, and reasons, and discerns,
Irrational till then. For us alone
Was death invent'd? or to us deni'd
This intellectual food, for beasts reserv'd?
For Beasts it seems: yet that one Beast which first
Hath

739 Mean while] Meanwhile 745 Fruits.] Fruits, The comma seems needed here, but 1674
may be foul case. 746 and | & 760 not: } The punctuation in every 1674 copy examined is
either a battered period that looks like a comma, or a battered comma that looks like a period.
A period is certainly wanted here. 763 we|| Stressed. 765 discerns, ] discerns, The n is
very faint in most 1674 copies examined.
Book IX. **Paradise Lost.**

770 Hath tasted, envies not, but brings with joy
    The good befall'n him, Author unsuspect;
    Friendly to man, farr from deceit or guile.
    What fear I then, rather what know to feare
    Under this ignorance of good and Evil,

775 Of God or Death, of Law or Penaltie?
    Here grows the Cure of all, this Fruit Divine,
    Fair to the Eye, inviting to the Taste,
    Of vertue to make wife: what hinders then
    To reach, and feed at once both Bodie and Mind?

780 So sayings, her rash hand in evil hour
    Forth reaching to the Fruit, she pluck'd, she eat:
    Earth felt the wound, and Nature from her fear
    Sighing through all her Works gave signs of woe,
    That all was lost. Back to the Thicket flunk

785 The guiltie Serpent, and well might, for Eve
    Intent now wholly on her taste, naught else
    Regarded, such delight till then, as seem'd,
    In fruit the never tasted, whether true
    Or fancied so, through expectation high

790 Of knowledge, nor was God-head from her thought.
    Greedily she ingorg'd without restraint,
    And knew not eating Death: Satiate at length,
    And high'd as with Wine, jocund and boon,
    Thus to her self she pleasingly began.

795 O Sovran, vertuous, precious of all Trees
    In Paradise, of operation bleft
    To Sapience, bitherto obscur'd, infam'd,
    And thy fair Fruit let hang, as to no end
    Created; but henceforth my early care,

800 Not without Song, each Morning, and due praise
    Shall tend thee, and the fertil burden ease
    Of thy full branches offer'd free to all;
    Till dieted by thee I grow mature
In knowledge, as the Gods who all things know;
Though others envie what they cannot give;
For had the gift bin theirs, it had not here
Thus grown. Experience, next to thee I owe,
Best guide; not following thee, I had remained
In ignorance, thou op'nd Wilsoms way,
And giv't access, though secret she retire.
And I perhaps am secret; Heavn is high,
High and remote to see from thence distinct
Each thing on Earth; and other care perhaps
May have diverted from continual watch
Our great Forbidder, safe with all his Spies
About him. But to Adam in what fort
Shall I appear? shall I to him make known
As yet my change, and give him to partake
Full happiness with mee, or rather not,
But keep the odds of Knowledge in my power
Without Copartner? so to add what wants
In Femal Sex, the more to draw his Love,
And render me more equal, and perhaps,
A thing not undefireable, sometime
Superior; for inferior who is free?
This may be well: but what if God have seen,
And Death ensue? then I shall be no more,
And Adam wedded to another Eve,
Shall live with her enjoying, I extinct;
A death to think. Confirm'd then I resolve,
Adam shall share with me in bliss or woe:
So dear I love him, that with him all deaths
I could endure, without him live no life.
So saying, from the Tree her step she turnd,
But first low Reverence don, as to the power
That dwelt within, whose presence had infus'd
Into the plant scienial sap, deriv'd

810 the]] Stressed. 831 me]] Stressed.
Book IX. Paradise Lost. 239

From Nectar, drink of Gods. Adam the while
Waiting desirous her return, had wove
840 Of choicest Flours a Garland to adorne
Her Treffes, and her rural labours crown,
As Reapers oft are wont this Harveft Queen.
Great joy he promis'd to his thoughts, and new
Solace in her return, so long delay'd;
845 Yet oft his heart, divine of something ill,
Misgave him; hee the faultring meafeure felt;
And forth to meet her went, the way she took
That Morn when first they parted; by the Tree
Of Knowledge he must pafs, there he her met,
850 Scarfe from the Tree returning; in her hand
A bough of fairest fruit that downie smil'd,
New gathered, and ambrosial smell diffus'd.
To him the hafted, in her face excuse
Came Prologue, and Apologie to prompt,
855 Which with bland words at will the thus addreft.
Haft thou not wonder'd, Adam, at my stay?
Thee I have mifst, and thought it long, depriv'd
Thy presence, agonie of love till now
Not felt, nor shall be twice, for never more
860 Mean I to trie, what rash untri'd I sought,
The pain of absence from thy sight. But strange
Hath bin the caufe, and wonderful to heare:
This Tree is not as we are told, a Tree
Of danger tafted, nor to evil unknown
865 Op'ning the way, but of Divine effect
To open Eyes, and make them Gods who tafte;
And hath bin tafted such: the Serpent wife,
Or not restrained as wee, or not obeying,
Hath eat'n of the fruit, and is become,
870 Not dead, as we are threatn'd, but thenceforth
Endu'd with human voice and human fense,

Reasoning
Paradise Lost.  Book IX.

Reasoning to admiration, and with mee
Perswadively hath so prevaiild, that I
Have also tasted, and have also found
Th' effects to correspond, opener mine Eyes,
Dimmer, dilated Spirits, ample Heart,
And growing up to Godhead; which for thee
Chiefly I sought, without thee can despise.
For bliss, as thou hast part, to me is bliss,
Tedious, unshar'd with thee, and odious soon.
Thou therefore also taste, that equal Lot
May joyne us, equal Joy, as equal Love;
Least thou not taunting, different degree
Disjoyne us, and I then too late renounce
Deitie for thee, when Fate will not permit.

Thus Eve with Countenance blithe her storie told;
But in her Cheek distemprer flushing glow'd.
On th' other side, Adam, soon as he heard
The fatal Trespass don by Eve, amaz'd,
astonied flood and Blank, while horror chill
Ran through his veins, and all his joynts relax'd;
From his slack hand the Garland wreath'd for Eve
Down drop'd, and all the faded Roses shed;
Speechles he stood and pale, till thus at length
First to himself he inward silence broke.
O fairest of Creation, last and best
Of all Gods works, Creature in whom excell'd
Whatever can to sight or thought be form'd,
Holy, divine, good, amiable, or sweet!

How art thou lost, how on a sudden lost,
Defact, defiould, and now to Death devote?
Rather how hast thou yeelded to transgress
The strict forbiddance, how to violate
The sacred Fruit forbidd'n! from cursed fraud

Of Enemie hath beguil'd thee, yet unknown,

And
And mee with thee hath ruind, for with thee
Certain my resolution is to Die;
How can I live without thee, how forgoe
Thy sweet Converse and Love so dearly joyn'd,
To live again in these wilde Woods forlorn?
Should God create another Eve, and I
Another Rib afford, yet los' of thee
Would never from my heart; no no, I feel
The Link of Nature draw me: Flesh of Flesh,
Bone of my Bone thou art, and from thy State
Mine never shall be parted, blifs or woe.
So having said, as one from sad difmay
Recomforted, and after thoughts disturb'd
Submitting to what seem'd remedies,
Thus in calm mood his Words to Eve he turned.
Bold deed thou haft presum'd, adventurous Eve,
And peril great provok't, who thus hast dar'd
Had it been onely coveting to Eye
That sacred Fruit, sacred to abstinence,
Much more to taste it under banne to touch.
But past who can recall, or don undoe?
Not God Omnipotent, nor Fate, yet so
Perhaps thou shalt not Die, perhaps the Fall
Is not so hainous now, forestalled Fruit,
Profan'd first by the Serpent, by him first
Made common and unhallow'd ere our taste;
Nor yet on him found deadly, he yet lives,
Lives, as thou faidst, and gaines to live as Man
Higher degree of Life, inducement strong
To us, as likely tainting to attain
Proportional ascent, which cannot be
But to be Gods, or Angels Demi-gods,
Nor can I think that God, Creator wise,
Though threatening, will in earnest so destroy

906 for | The o is very faint in a few copies examined. 907 Die; | The e barely prints in most copies examined. 912 los' | The o barely prints in most copies examined. 916 parted, | The comma is worn in all 1674 copies examined. 920 calm | calme 922 hath | haft The change seems to be intentional, as the subject is who and third person singular, not 'thou' or second person singular. 923 been | bin 932 he | Stressed?
Us his prime Creatures, dignifi'd so high,
Set over all his Works, which in our Fall,
For us created, needs with us mult faile,
Dependent made; so God shall uncreate,
Be frustrate, do, undo, and labour loose,

Not well conceav'd of God, who though his Power
Creation could repeate, yet would be loath
Us to abolish, leat the Adversary
Triumph and say; Fickle their State whom God
Most Favors, who can please him long; Mee firft

He ruind, now Mankind; whom will he next?

Matter of scorne, not to be given the Foe,
However I with thee have bxt my Lot,
Certain to undergo like doom, if Death
Confort with thee, Death is to mee as Life;

So forcible within my heart I feel

The Bond of Nature draw me to my owne,
My owne in thee, for what thou art is mine;
Our State cannot be severd, we are one,
One Fledi; to loose thee were to loose my self.

So Adam, and thus Eve to him repli'd.

O glorious trial of exceeding Love,
Illuftrious evidence, example high
Ingaging me to emulate, but short
Of thy perfection, how shall I attaine,

Adam, from whose deare side I boalt me sprung,
And gladly of our Union heare thee speake,
One Heart, one Soul in both; whereof good proof
This day affords, declaring thee resolv'd,
Rather then Death or aught then Death more dread

Shall separate us, linkt in Love so deare,
To undergo with mee one Guilt, one Crime,
If any be, of tafting this fair Fruit,
Whole vertue, for of good still good proceeds.

Direc.
Book IX. **Paradise Lost.** 243

Direct, or by occasion hath presented
This happy trial of thy Love, which else
So eminently never had bin known.
Were it I thought Death menac’t would ensue
This my attempt, I would sustain alone
The worst, and not perfwade thee rather die
Deferred, then oblige thee with a fact
Pernicious to thy Peace, chiefly affur’d
Remarkably fo late of thy fo true,
So faithful Love unequall’d; but I feel
Farr otherwise th’ event, not Death, but Life
Augmented, op’nd Eyes, new Hopes, new Joys,
Taste so Divine, that what of sweet before
Hath toucht my sense, flat seems to this, and harsh.
On my experience, Adam, freely taste,
And fear of Death deliver to the Windes.
So saying, he embrac’d him, and for joy
Tenderly wept, much won that he his Love
Had so enobl’d, as of choice to incur
Divine displeasure for her sake, or Death.
In recompence (for such compliance bad
Such recompence best merits) from the bough
She gave him of that fair enticing Fruit
With liberal hand: he scrupl’d not to eat
Against his better knowledge, not deceav’d,
But fondly overcome with Femał charm,
Earth trembl’d from her entrails, as again
In pangs, and Nature gave a second groan,
Skie lowr’d and muttering Thunder, some sad drops
Wept at compleating of the mortal Sin
Original; while Adam took no thought,
Eating his fill, nor Eve to iterate
Her former trespass fear’d, the more to soothe
Him with her lov’dfocietie, that now

979 thee] thee, 991 he] Stressed. 1002 lowr’d] lowr’d, The comma seems to be needed here. 1007 lov’dfocietie] No space in any copy examined. Catchword. A] In a few copies the A is badly smeared.
244 **Paradise Lost.** Book IX.

As with new Wine intoxicated both
They swim in mirth, and fanie that they feel

1010 Divinitie within them breeding wings
Wherewith to scorn the Earth: but that false Fruit
Farr other operation first displaid,
Carnal desire enfaming, hee on Eve
Began to cast lascivious Eyes, the him

1015 As wantonly repaid; in Luft they burne:
Till Adam thus 'gan Eve to dalliance move,
   *Eve,* now I see thou art exact of taste,
And elegant, of Sapience no small part,
Since to each meaning favour me apply,

1020 And Palate call judicious; I the prais
Yeld thee, so well this day thou haft purvey'd.
Much pleasure we have loft, while we abstain'd
From this delightful Fruit, nor known till now
True relish, tasting; if such pleasure be

1025 In things to us forbidden, it might be wish'd,
For this one Tree had bin forbidden ten.
But come, so well refresh't, now let us play,
As meet is, after such delicious Fare;
For never did thy Beautie since the day

1030 I saw thee first and wedded thee, adorn'd
With all perfections, so enflame my fens
With ardor to enjoy thee, fairer now
Then ever, bountie of this vertuous Tree.
   So said he, and forbore not glance or toy

1035 Of amorous intent, well understood
Of *Eve,* whose Eye darted contagious Fire.
Her hand he seiz'd, and to a shadie bank,
Thick overhead with verdant roof imbow'r'd
He led her nothing loath; Flours were the Couch,

1040 Panlies, and Violets, and Asphodel,
And Hyacinth, Earths freshest softeft lap.

There

1011 [corne] [corn 1012 operation] The first 0 is broken in all copies examined. 1015 *burne:* Italic colon. 1016 move; move. The period seems to be needed. 1019 me] we The word is stressed and should be 'we'. 1022 First we] Stressed. 1027 play,] The comma is battered in all 1674 copies, but unmistakable.
There they thir fill of Love and Loves disport
Took largely, of thir mutual guilt the Scale,
The folace of thir sin, till dewiefleep
Oppress'ed them, wearied with thir amorous play.
Soon as the force of that fallacious Fruit,
That with exhilarating vapour bland
About thir spirits had plaíd, and inmost powers
Made erré, was now exhal'd, and großer sleep
Bred of unkindly fumes, with conscious dreams
Encumberd, now had left them, up they rose
As from unreft, and each the other viewing,
Soon found thir Eyes how op'nd, and thir minds
How dark'nd, innocence, that as a veile
Had shadow'd them from knowing ill, was gon,
Juft confidence, and native righteouſnes
And honour from about them, naked left
To guiltie shame hee cover'd, but his Robe
Uncover'd more, so rose the Damite strong
Herculean Samfon from the Harlot-lap
Of Philiftean Dalilah, and wak'd
Shorn of his strength, They destitute and bare
Of all thir vertue: silent, and in face
Confounded long they fate, as struck'n mute,
Till Adam, though not less then Eve abash't,
At length gave utterance to these words constrain'd.
O Eve, in evil hour thou didst give ear
to that false Worm, of whomsoever taught
To counterfeit Mans voice, true in our Fall,
False in our promis'd Rising, since our Eyes
Op'nd we find indeed, and find we know
Both Good and Evil, Good loft, and Evil got,
Bad Fruit of Knowledge, if this be to know,
Which leaves us naked thus, of Honour void,
Of Innocence, of Faith, of Puritie,
246 Paradise Lost. Book IX.

Our wonted Ornaments now spoil'd and stain'd,
And in our Faces evident the signes
Of soul concupiscence, whence evil flower;
Even shame, the last of evils, of the first
Be sure then. How shall I behold the face
Henceforth of God or Angel, east with joy
And rapture so oft beheld? those heav'nly shapes
Will daze now this earthly, with thir blaze
Inufferably bright. O might I here
In solitude live savage, in some glade
Obscur'd, where highest Woods impenetrable
To Starr or Sun-light, spread thir umbrage broad
And brown as Evening: Cover me ye Pines,
Ye Cedars, with innumerable boughs

Hide me, where I may never see them more.
But let us now, in bad plight, devise
What beast may from the present serve to hide
The Parts of each for other, that seem most
To shame obnoxious, and unseemliest seem,

Some Tree whose broad smooth Leaves together sow'd,
And girded on our loyns, may cover round
Those middle parts, that this new commer, Shame,
There sit not, and reproach us as unclean,
So counfel'd bee, and both together went

Into the thickest Wood, there soon they chose
The Figtree, not that kind for Fruit renown'd,
But such as at this day to Indians known
In Malabar or Deccan spreads her Armes
Braunching so broad and long, that in the ground

The bended Twigs take root, and Daughters grow
About the Mother Tree, a Pillard shade
High overarch't, and echoing Walks between;
There oft the Indian Herdsman shunning heate
Shelters in coole, and tends his pasturing Herds

At

Running Head. Paradise Lost. The ink smear on the bottom of the r is present in most copies examined.
Loft. The recurrent round period. 1087 broad] broad, 1092 from] for 1093 for] from
There can be little doubt that the compositor transposed these two words in these lines, and that 1667 is correct. 1093 smooth Leaves] No space but the line is long. 1098 unclean,] unclean.
Book IX. Paradise Lost. 247

1110 At Loopholes cut through thickest shade: Those
They gathered, broad as Amazonian Target, (Leaves
And with what skill they had, together lowd,
To gird thir waiste, vain Covering if to hide
Thir guilt and dreaded shame; O how unlike

1115 To that first naked, Glorie. Such of late
Columbus found th' American to girt
With featherd Cincture, naked else and wilde
Among the Trees on Iles and woody Shores.
Thus fenc't, and as they thought, thir shame in part
Coverd, but not at rest or ease of Mind,
They fate them down to weep, nor onely Teares
Raind at thir Eyes, but high Winds worne within
Began to rise, high Passions, Anger, Hate,
Mistrust, Suspicion, Discord, and thook fore

1120 Thir inward State of Mind, calm Region once
And full of Peace, now tost and turbulent:
For Understanding rul'd not, and the Will
Heard not her lore, both in subjection now
To sensual Appetite, who from beneath

1125 Ufurping over soveran Reason claimd
Superior sway: from thus distemperd brest,
Adam, estrang'd in look and alterd stile,
Speech intermitted thus to Eve renewd.
Would thou hadst heark'nd to my words, and stay'd

1130 With me, as I besought thee, when that strange
Desire of wander'ng this unhappie Morn,
I know not whence possesst thee; we had then
Remaind still happie, not as now, despoild
Of all our good, sham'd, naked, miserable.

1135 Let none henceforth seek needless cause to approve
The Faith they owe; when earnestly they seek
Such proof, conclude, they then begin to faile.
To whom from mov'd with touch of blame thus Eve.

R 4

What
What words have past thy Lips, Adam severe,
Impr't thou that to my default, or will
Of wandring, as thou call'ft it, which who knows
But might as ill have happ'nd thou being by,
Or to thy self' perhaps: hadst thou been there,
Or here th' attempt, thou couldst not have discernd
Fraud in the Serpent, speaking as he spake;
No ground of enmitie between us known,
Why hee should mean me ill, or seek to harme.
Was I to have never parted from thy side?
As good have grown there till a livelefs Rib.

Being as I am, why didnt not thou the Head
Command me absolutely not to go,
Going into such danger as thou saidst?
Too facil then thou didst not much gainfay,
Nay didst permit, approve, and fair dismis.

Hadst thou bin firm and fixt in thy dissent,
Neither had I transgress'd, nor thou with mee.

To whom then first incens'd Adam repli'd,
Is this the Love, is this the recompence
Of mine to thee, ingratitude Eve, express
 immutable when thou wert lost, not I,
Who might have liv'd and joy'd immortal bliss,
Yet willingly chose rather Death with thee:
And am I now upbraided, as the cause
Of thy transgressing? not enough severe,

It seems, in thy restraint: what could I more?
I warn'd thee, I admonish'd thee, foretold
The danger, and the lurking Enemie
That lay in wait; beyond this had bin force,
And force upon free will hath here no place.

But confidence then bore thee on, secure
Either to meet no danger, or to finde
Matter of glorious trial; and perhaps
I also err'd in overmuch admiring
What seem'd in thee so perftr, that I thought
No evil durst attempt thee, but I rue
That errour now, which is become my crime,
And thou th' accuser. Thus it shall befall
Him who to worth in Women overtrusting
Lest her will rule; restraint she will not brook,
And left to her self, if evil thence ensue,
Shee first his weak indulgence will accuse.
Thus they in mutual accusation spent
The fruitless hours, but neither self-condemning,
And of thir vain contest appear'd no end.

The End of the Ninth Book.

Paradise
THE ARGUMENT.

Mans transgression known, the Guardian Angels forsake Paradise, and return up to Heaven to approve their vigilance, and are approved, God declaring that the entrance of Satan could not be by them prevented. He sends his Son to judge the Transgressors, who descends and gives Sentence accordingly; then in pity clothes them both, and sends. Sin and Death sitting till then at the Gates of Hell, by wondrous sympathy feeling the success of Satan in his new World, and the sin by Man there committed, resolve to sit no longer confined in Hell, but to follow Satan thir Sire up to the place of Man: To make the way easier from Hell to this World to and fro, they pave a broad Highway or Bridge over Chaos, according to the Track that Satan first made; then preparing for Earth, they met him proud of his success returning to Hell; thir mutual gratulation. Satan arrives at Pandemonium, in full of assembly relates with boasting his success.
Paradise Lost.

BOOK X.

THE ARGUMENT.

Mans transgression known, the Guardian Angels for
fake Paradise, and return up to Heaven to approve
their vigilance, and are approv'd, God declaring that
The entrance of Satan could not be by them prevented.

He sends his Son to judge the Transgressors, who de-
sends and gives Sentence accordingly; then in pity
cloaths them both, and reasends. Sin and Death
sitting till then at the Gates of Hell, by wondrous symp-
thies, feeling the success of Satan in this new World,
and the sin by Man there committed, resolve to sit no
longer confin'd in Hell, but to follow Satan thir Sire
up to the place of Man: To make the way easier from
Hell to this World to and fro, they pave a broad High-
way or Bridge over Chaos, according to the Track
that Satan first made; then preparing for Earth,
they meet him proud of his success returning to Hell;
theirs mutual gratulation. Satan arrives at Pandemo-
nium, in full of assembly relates with boasting his
success

STATE 2 (all copies examined except 17 and 32)
There are two 1674 states of this page, see line 16.
Because both the facing prints immediately before this page were versos as bound, this page is used only in order to have the next page, a recto as bound, print herein as a recto.
Book X. Paradise Lost. 251

success against Man; instead of applause is entertained with a general hiss by all his audience, transformed with himself also suddenly into Serpents, according to his doom given in Paradise; then deluded with a show of the forbidden Tree sprouting up before them, they greedily reaching to take of the Fruit, chew dust and bitter ashes. The proceedings of Sin and Death; God foretells the final victory of his Son over them, and the renewing of all things; but for the present commands his Angels to make several alterations in the Heavens and Elements. Adam more and more perceiving his fallen condition heavily bewailes, rejects the condolrement of Eve; she persists and at length appeases him; then to evade the Curse likely to fall on their Offspring, proposes to Adam violent ways which he approves not, but conceiving better hope, puts her in mind of the late Promise made them, that her Seed should be reveng'd on the Serpent, and exhorts her with him to seek Peace of the offended Deity, by repentance and supplication.

Meanwhile the hainous and despightfull act Of Satan done in Paradys, and how Hee in the Serpent, had perverted Eve, Her Husband shee, to taste the fatal fruit,

Was known in Heav'n; for what can escape the Eye Of God All-seeing, or deceive his Heart Omnicient, who in all things wise and just, Hinder'd not Satan to attempt the minde Of Man, with strength entire, and free will arm'd,

Complete to have discover'd and repulft Wherever wiles of Foe or seeming Friend. For still they knew, and ought to have still remember'd The high Injunction not to taste that Fruit, Who-

The Argument. The collation of the Argument only is 1674, 1668, and 1669.

20 entertained | entertain'd 24 take, | taff[ea] 26 foretels | foretells
30 condition | condition, 31 rejects | rejects 32 him: | him:] then] Then]]
33 Ofspring, | Ofspring,] | wayses | wayses,
252 Paradise Lost. Book X.

Whoever tempted; which they not obeying,
Incurred, what could they less, the penalty,
And manifold in sin, deserv'd to fall.
Up into Heav'n from Paradise in haste
Th' Angelic Guards ascended, mute and sad
For Man, for of his state by this they knew,

Much wondering how the subtle Fiend had stolen
Entrance unseen. Soon asth' unwelcome news
From Earth arriv'd at Heaven Gate, displeas'd
All were who heard, dim sadness did not spare
That time Celestial visages, yet mixt

With pite, violated not thir bliss.
About the new-arriv'd, in multitudes
Th' ethereal People ran, to hear and know
How all befell: they towards the Throne Supream
Accountable made haste to make appear

With righteous plea, thir utmost vigilance,
And easily approv'd, when the most High
Eternal Father from his secret Cloud,
Amidst in Thunder utter'd thus his voice.

Assembl'd Angels, and ye Powers return'd
From unsuccessful charge, be not dismaid,
Nor troubl'd at these tidings from the Earth,
Which your sincerest care could not prevent,
Foretold so lately what would come to pass,
When first this Tempter crost'd the Gulf from Hell.

I told ye then he should prevail and speed
On his bad Errand, Man should be seduct
And flatter'd out of all, believing lies
Against his Maker; no Decree of mine
Concurring to necessitate his Fall,

Or touch with lightest moment of impulse
His free Will, to her own inclining left
In even scale. But fall'n he is, and now

What

Running Head. Lost.] The L is broken at the top and constitutes still a third broken form differing slightly from the broken types on pages 248 and 249 respectively. This third kind of broken L occurs also on pages 288, 317, and 333. 17 half] half 32-33 Although these lines were printed alike in 1667 and 1674, as early as 1719, some difficulty was noticed with the punctuation. The lines probably should read, beginning in line 31,

when the most High
Eternal Father, from his secret Cloud
Amidst in Thunder utter'd thus his voice.

1674 copy 19 has corrected thus with pen. 47 even] even\even 1674 follows state 2 of 1667.
What rests but that the mortal Sentence pafs
On his transgression, Death denounc't that day,
Which he presumes already vain and void,
Because not yet inflicted, as he fear'd,
By some immediate stroke; but soon shall find
Forbearance no acquittance ere day end.
Justice shall not return as bountie scorn'd.

But whom send I to judge them? whom but thee
Vicegerent Son, to thee I have transferr'd
All judgment, whether in Heav'n, or Earth, or Hell.
Easie it might be seen that I intend
Mercy colloque with Justice, sending thee

Mans Friend, his Mediator, his design'd
Both Ransom and Redeemer voluntarie,
And destin'd Man himfelf to judge Man fall'n.

So spake the Father, and unfolding bright
Toward the right hand his Glorie, on the Son
Blaz'd forth unclouded Deitie;
Replendent all his Father manifest
Express'd, and thus divinely answer'd milde.

Father Eternal, thine is to decree,
Mine both in Heav'n and Earth to do thy will
Supream, that thou in mee thy Son belov'd
Mayst ever rest, well pleas'd. I go to judge
On Earth thefe thy transgressors, but thou knowst,
Whoever judg'd, the worft on mee must light,
When time shall be, for so I undertook

Before thee; and not repenting, this obtaine
Of right, that I may mitigate thir doom
On me deriv'd. yet I shall temper so
Justice with Mercy, as may illustrate most
Them fully satisfied, and thee appease.

Attendance none shall need, nor Train, where none
Are to behold the Judgment, but the judg'd,

Those

48 rests, 49 transgression, ] In all 1674 copies, the space for the comma is present; but it is very faint in some and entirely lacking in others. 50 he ] Stressed. 57 Judgement, ] The comma was certainly set in 1674, but failed to print in most copies examined, although in a few, such as copy 16, a trace of the comma prints. 58 might ] may 59 Justice, ] The 1674 comma either is very faint or fails to print, as in lines 49 and 57. 65 he ] Stressed. 72 transgressors, ] The comma is very faint in most 1674 copies examined. 77 me ] Stressed. deriv'd, ] The 1674 comma either is very faint or fails to print, as in lines 49, 57, and 59. 81 Judgment, ] Judgement,
Paradise Lost. Book X.

Thus saying, from his radiant Seat he rose
Of high collateral glory: him Thrones and Powers,
Princedoms, and Dominations ministering
Accompanied to Heaven Gate, from whence
Eden and all the Coaft in prospect lay.

Down he descended strait; the speed of Gods
Time counts not, though with swiftest minutes wing’d.
Now was the Sun in Western cadence low
From Noon, and gentle Aires due at this hour
To fan the Earth now wak’d, and ulter in

The Evening coole when he from wrath more coole
Came the mild Judge and Intercessor both
To sentence Man: the voice of God they heard
Now walking in the Garden, by soft windes
Brought to their Ears, while day declin’d, they heard,

And from his presence hid themselves among
The thickest Trees, both Man and Wife, till God
Approaching, thus to Adam call’d aloud.

Where art thou Adam, wont with joy to meet
My coming seen far off? I miss thee here,

Not pleas’d, thus entertain’d with solitude,
Where obvious dutie erewhile appear’d untaught:
Or come I less conspicuous, or what change
Abents thee, or what chance detain’d? Come forth.
He came, and with him Eve, more loth, though first

To offend, discount’d both, and discompos’d;
Love was not in their looks, either to God
Or to each other, but apparent guilt,
And flame, and perturbation, and despair,
Anger, and obstinacie, and hate, and guile.

Whence Adam faultring long, thus answer’d brief.
I heard thee in the Garden, and of thy voice...
Book X. Paradise Lost. 255

Afraid, being naked, hid my self. To whom
The gracious Judge without revile replid.
My voice thou oft haft heard, and haft not fear'd.
But still rejoyc't, how is it now become
So dreadful to thee? that thou art naked, who
Hath told thee? haft thou eaten of the Tree
Whereof I gave thee charge thou shouldst not eat?
To whom thus Adam sore beft replid.

O Heav'n! in evil strait this day I stand
Before my Judge, either to undergoe
My self the total Crime, or to accuse
My other self, the partner of my life;
Whose failing, while her Faith to me remains,
I should conceal, and not expose to blame
By my complaint, but strict necessitie
Subdues me, and calamitous constraint
Leaft on my head both sin and punishment,
However insupportable, be all

Devolv'd; though should I hold my peace, yet thou
Wouldst easily detect what I conceal.
This Woman whom thou mad'st to be my help,
And gav'st me as thy perfect gift, so good,
So fit, so acceptable, so Divine,

That from her hand I could suspect no ill,
And what she did, whatever in it self,
Her doing seem'd to justify the deed;
Shee gave me of the Tree, and I did care.

To whom the sovrn Presence thus replid.

Was shee thy God, that her thou didst obey
Before his voice, or was shee made thy guide,
Superior, or but equal, that to her
Thou didst resign thy Manhood, and the Place
Wherein God set thee above her made of thee,

And for thee, whose perfection farr excell'd

Hers

132 constraint] constraint, 141 it] The dot over the i barely prints in all copies examined.
256  Paradise Lost. Book X.

Hers in all real dignitie: Adorn'd
She was indeed, and lovely to attract
Thy Love, not thy Subjection, and her Gifts
Were such as under Government well seem'd,

155 Unfeemly to beare rule, which was thy part
And person, hadst thou known thy self aright.
So having said, he thus to Eve in few:
Say Woman, what is this which thou hast done?
To whom sad Eve with shame nigh overwhelm'd,

160 Confessing soon, yet not before her Judge
Bold or loquacious, thus abashed repli'd.
The Serpent me beguil'd and I did eate.
Which when the Lord God heard, without delay
To Judgement he proceeded on th' accus'd

165 Serpent though brute, unable to transferre
The Guilt on him who made him instrument
Of mischief, and polluted from the end
Of his Creation; justly then accurst,
As vitiated in Nature: more to know

170 Concern'd not Man (since he no further knew)
Nor alter'd his offence; yet God at last
To Satan first in sin his doom apply'd,
Though in mysterius terms, judging as then best:
And on the Serpent thus his curse let fall.

175 Because thou hast done this, thou art accurst
Above all Cattle, each Beast of the Field;
Upon thy Belly groveling thou shalt goe,
And dust shalt eat all the days of thy Life;
Between Thee and the Woman I will put

180 Enmity, and between thine and her Seed;
Her Seed shall bruise thy head, thou bruise his heel.
So spake this Oracle, then verified
When Jesus son of Mary second Eve,
Saw Satan fall like Lightning down from Heav'n,

Prince

151 dignitie:] I italic colon. 152 Shee] She Stressed? 176 Cattle,] Cattel, each] The c is faint in all copies examined. 178 dayes] days 181 bruise thy] bruise thy
Book X.  Paradise Lost.  257

185 Prince of the Aire; then rising from his Grave
Spoild Principalities and Powers, triumph
In open thow, and with ascension bright
Captivity led captive through the Aire,
The Realm it self of Satan long usurpt,

190 Whom he shall tread at last under our feet;
Eevn hee who now foretold his fatal bruise,
And to the Woman thus his Sentence turn'd.

Thy sorrow I will greatly multiplie
By thy Conception; Children thou shalt bring

195 In sorrow forth, and to thy Husbands will
Thine shall submit, hee over thee shall rule.

On Adam last thus judgement he pronounc'd.
Because thou haft heark'nd to the voice of thy Wife,
And eaten of the Tree concerning which

200 I charg'd thee, saying: Thou shalt not eate thereof,
Curs'd is the ground for thy sake, thou in sorrow
Shalt eate thereof all the days of thy Life;
Thorns also and Thistles it shall bring thee forth
Unbid, and thou shalt eate th' Herb of th' Field,

205 In the sweat of thy Face shalt thou eat Bread,
Till thou return unto the ground, for thou
Out of the ground waft taken, know thy Birth,
For dust thou art, and shalt to dust returne.

So judg'd he Man, both Judge and Saviour fent,

210 And th' instant stroke of Death denounc't that day
Remov'd farr off; then pittyng how they stood
Before him naked to the aire, that now
Mull suffer change, disdain'd not to begin
Thenceforth the form of servant to assume,

215 As when he wal'd his servants feet fo now
As Father of his Familie he clad
Thir nakedness with Skins of Beasts, or slain,
Or as the Snake with youthful Coate repaid;

S  And
And thought not much to cloath his Enemies:
Nor he his inward only with the Skins
Of Beasts, but inward nakedness, much more
Opprobrious, with his Robe of righteousness,
Arryng cover'd from his Father's light.
To him with swift ascent he up return'd,
Into his blissful bosom reasum'd
In glory as of old, to him appeas'd
All, though all-knowing, what had past with Man
Recounted, mixing intercession sweet.
Meanwhile ere thus was find'd and judg'd on Earth,
Within the Gates of Hell fate Sin and Death,
In counterview within the Gates, that now
Stood open wide, belching outrageous flame
Farr into Chaos, since the Fiend pas'd through,
Sin opening, who thus now to Death began.
O Son, why sit we here each other viewing
Idly, while Satan our great Author thrives
In other Worlds, and happier Seat provides
For us his offspring deare? It cannot be
But that success attends him; if mishap,
Ere this he had return'd, with fury driv'n
By his Avengers, since no place like this
Can fit his punishment, or their revenge.
Methinks I feel new strength within me rise,
Wings growing, and Dominion giv'n me large
Beyond this Deep; whatever draws me on,
Or sympathie, or some connatural force
Powerful at greatest distance to unite
With secret amity things of like kind
By secret conveyance. Thou my Shade
Infeparable must with mee along:
For Death from Sin no power can separate.
But least the difficultie of passing back

Running Head. Lost.] The recurrent battered period. 220 only.] Stressed first syllable.
222 Opprobrious.] The recurrent broken s 241 Avengers.] Avenger. To agree with the number of the pronoun their in the next line, the change seems to be deliberate. Catchword. Stay] The t is very faint in most copies examined and is entirely lacking in copy 20.
Book X.  

Paradise Lost.  

259

Stay his return perhaps over this Gulfe
Impaffable, Impervious, let us try
Adwentrous work, yet to thy power and mine
Not unagreeable, to found a path
Over this Maine from Hell to that new World
Where Satan now prevails, a Monument
Of merit high to all th' infernal Host,
Eating thir passlage hence, for intercourse,
Or transmigration, as thir lot shall lead,
Nor can I mis the way, so strongly drawn
By this new felt attraction and initinct.
Whom thus the meager Shadow anfwerd soon.

Goe whither Fate and inclination strong
Leads thee, I shall not lag behinde, nor erre
The way, thou leading, such a fent I draw
Of carnage, prey innumerable, and taste
The favour of Death from all things there that live:

Nor shall I to the work thou enterprife
Be wanting, but afford thee equal aid,
So saying, with delight he snuff’d the smell
Of mortal change on Earth.  As when a flock
Of ravenous Fowl, though many a League remote,

Againft the day of Battle, to a Field,
Where Armies lie encampt, come flying, lur’d
With fent of living Carcasses design’d
For death, the following day, in bloodie fight,
So fented the grim Feature, and upturn’d

His Nostril wide into the murrkic Air,
Sagacious of his Quarry from fo farr.
Then Both from out Hell Gates into the waite
Wide Anarchie of Chaos damp and dark
Flew divers, and with Power (thir Power was great)

Hovering upon the Warers; what they met
Solid or flamie, as in raging Sea

S 2

Toft
Toft up and down, together crowded drove
From each side foaling towards the mouth of Hell.
As when two Polar Winds blowing adverse

Upon the Cronian Sea, together drive
Mountains of Ice, that stop the imag'd way
Beyond Petora Eastward, to the rich
Cathanian Coast. The aggregated Soyle
Death with his Mace petrific, cold and dry,

As with a Trident s'more, and fix't as firm
As Delos floating once; the rest his look
Bound with Gorgonian rigor not to move,
And with Asphaltic slime; broad as the Gate,
Deep to the Roots of Hell the gather'd beach

They faft'en'd, and the Mole immense wraught on
Over the foaming deep high Arch, a Bridge
Of length prodigious joyning to the Wall
Immovable of this now fenceless world
Forfeit to Death; from hence a passage broad,

Smooth, eafe, inoffensive down to Hell.

So, if great things to small may be compar'd,
Xerxes, the Liberte of Greece to yoke,
From Susa his Memnonian Palace high
 Came to the Sea, and over Hellespont

Bridging his way, Europe with Asia joyn'd,
And scour'd with many a stroke th' indignant waves.
Now had they brought the work by wondrous Art
Pontifical, a ridge of pendent Rock
Over the vast Abyss, following the track

Of Satan, to the self same place where he
First lighted from his Wing, and landed safe
From out of Chaos to the out side bare
Of this round World: with Pins of Adamant
And Chains they made all fast, too fast they made

And durable; and now in little space

The

296-300 As printed, 1667 or 1674, these lines are difficult. Copy 19 has penned in different punctuation as follows:

Bound with Gorgonian rigor not to move;
And with Asphaltic slime; broad as the Gate,
Deep to the Roots of Hell the gather'd beach
They faft'en'd, . . .

This seems to me to be a great improvement, and greatly clarifies an otherwise befuddling passage.
Book X. Paradise Lost.

The confines met of Empyrean Heav'n
And of this World, and on the left hand Hell
With long reach interpos'd; three fev'ral ways
In fight, to each of these three places led.

And now thir way to Earth they had descri'd,
To Paradise first tending, when behold
Satan in likeness of an Angel bright
Betwixt the Centaur and the Scorpion stearing
His Zenith, while the Sun in Aries rose:

Disguis'd he came, but those his Children dear
Thir Parent soon discern'd, though in disguise.
Hec after Ewe seduce, unmindcd flunk
Into the Wood fast by, and changing shape
To observe the sequel, saw his guileful act.

By Ewe, though all unweering, seconded
Upon her Husband, saw thir shame that fought
Vain covertures; but when he saw descend
The Son of God to judge them terrifi'd
Hec fled, not hoping to escape, but shun
The prefent, fearing guiltie what his wrath
Might suddenly inflict; that past, return'd
By Night, and listening where the hapless Paire
Sate in thir sad discourse, and various plain,
Thence gathered thir own doom, which understood

Not instant, but of surer time. With joy
And tidings fraught, to Hell he now return'd,
And at the brink of Chaos, neer the foot
Of this new wondrous Pontifce, unhop't
Met who to meet him came, his Ofspring dear.

Great joy was at thir meeting, and at sight
Of that stupendous Bridge his joy encreas'd.
Long hee admiring stood, till Sin, his faire
Inchanting Daughter, thus the silence broke.

O Parent, these are thy magnific deeds,
Thy
262 **Paradise Lost.** Book X.

355 Thy Trophies, which thou view'lt as not thine own,
Thou art thir Author and prime Architect:
For I no sooner in my Heart divin'd,
My Heart, which by a secret harmonie
Still moves with thine, join'd in connexion sweet,

360 That thou on Earth hadst prosper'd, which thy looks
Now also evidence, but straight I felt
Though distant from thee Worlds between, yet felt
That I must ater thee with this thy Son;
Such fatal consequence unites us three:

365 Hell could no longer hold us in her bounds,
Nor this unvoyageable Gulf obscure
Detain from following thy illustrious track.
Thou hast achieve'd our libertie, confin'd
Within Hell Gates till now, thou us impow'r'd

370 To forte's thes feas, and overlay
With this portentous Bridge the dark Abyss.
Thine now is all this World, thy vertue hath won
What thy hands builded not, thy Wisdom gain'd
With odds what Warr hath lost, and fully aveng'd

375 Our foile in Heav'n; here thou shalt Monarch reign,
There didn't; there let him still Victor sway,
As Battel hath adjudg'd, from this new World
Retiring, by his own doom alienated,
And henceforth Monarchie with thee divide

380 Of all things parted by th' Empyreal bounds,
His Quadrature, from thy Orbicular World,
Or trie thee now more dang'rous to his Throne.
Whom thus the Prince of Darkness answerd glad.
Fair Daughter, and thou Son and Grandchild both,

385 High proof ye now have giv'n to be the Race
Of Satan (for I glorie in the name,
Antagonist of Heav'n's Almigh'tie King)

Amply

---

359 join'd] joyn'd 363 Son; ] The top element of the semicolon is very faint in all 1674 copies examined. 380 things] things, The comma seems unwanted. 384 Fair] The i is faint in all copies examined.
Amply have merited of me, of all
Th' infernal Empire, that so neer Heav'n's done
Triumphal with triumphal act have mer,
Mine with this glorious Work, and made one Realm
Hell and this World, one Realm, one Continent
Of safest thorough-fare. Therefore while I
Descend through Darkness, on your Rode with ease
To my associate Powers, them to acquaint
With these successes, and with them rejoice,
You two this way, among these numerous Orbs
All yours, right down to Paradise descend;
There dwell and Reign in bliss, thence on the Earth
Dominion exercise and in the Aire,
Chiefly on Man, sole Lord of all declar'd,
Him first make sure your thrall, and lastly kill.
My Substitutes I send ye, and Create
Plenipotent on Earth, of matchless might
If infling from mee, on your joint vigor now
My hold of this new Kingdom all depends,
Through Sin to Death expos'd by my exploit.
If your joint power prevails, th' affaires of Hell
No detriment need feare, goe and be strong.
So saying he dismift'd them, they with speed
Thir course through thickest Constellations held
Spreading thir bane; the blasted Starrs lookt wan,
And Planets, Planet-frook, real Eclipses
Then suffered, Th' other way Satan went down
The Caufey to Hell Gate; on either side
Difparred Chaos overbuilt exclaimed,
And with rebounding surge the bars assail'd,
That scorn'd his indignation: through the Gate,
Wide open and unguarded, Satan passed,
And all about found defolate; for thofe
Appointed to sit there, had left thir charge,

S 4  Flown

408 prevails,] prevail, 416 exclaimed,) The d is faint in some copies examined and prac-
tically indiscernible in others.
264 Paradise Lost. Book X.

Flown to the upper World, the rest were all
Farr to the inland retir'd, about the walls
Of Pandemonium, Citie and proud state
Of Lucifer, so by allusion call'd,
Of that bright Starr to Satan paragon'd.
There kept their Watch the Legions, while the Grand
In Council sat, follicious what chance
Might intercept their Emperor sent, so hee
Departing gave command, and they observ'd.
As when the Tartar from his Russian Foe
By Africam over the Snowie Plaines
Retires, or Baffian Sophi from the horns
Of Turfii Crescent, leaves all waste beyond

The Realm of Aladale, in his retir'd
To Tauris or Casbeen. So these the late
Heav'n-banishd Holf, left deserts utmost Hell
Many a dark League, reduc't in careful Watch
Round thir Metropolis, and now expect'd
Each hour their great adventurers from the search
Of Forrein Worlds: he through the midft unmark'd,
In flew Plebeian Angel militant
Of loweft order, palm; and from the dore
Of that Plutonian Hall, invisible

Ascend'd his high Throne, which under state
Of richest texture spred, at th' upper end
Was plac'd in regal luftre. Down a while
He sat, and round about him saw unseen:
At last as from a Cloud his fulgent head

And thape Starr bright appear'd, or brighter, clad
With what permiffive glory since his fall
Was left him, or falfe glitter: All amaz'd
At that sudden blaze the Stygian throng
Bent thir aspect, and whom they wish'd beheld,

Thir mighty Chief return'd: loud was th' acclaime:

Running Head. Lost.] The recurrent round period. 423 inland] in-land The 1667 hyphen does not show in my volume 2:547 (Book 9:423) because it was lacking in 1667 copy 36 photographed. It shows in about half of all the 1667 copies examined and is missing in the other half. 431 Tartar] The bottom of the first r is broken off in all copies examined. 435 Realm] Realme 439 thir] Seems to be stressed, but see next line. 440 their] Seems to be unstressed. Apparently the 1667 compositor intended, or was asked to change their in 440 to 'thir' and becoming confused, changed the word in the wrong line, as 1667 line 440 probably originally read 'thir' in the manuscript. 441 he] Stressed. 442 Plebeian] plebeian 450 Starr bright] Starr-bright
Book X.  *Paradise Lost.*  265
Forth rush'd in haste the great consulting Peers,
Rais'd from thir Dark *Divan,* and with like joy
Congratulant approach'd him, who with hand
Silence, and with these words attention won.

460  Thones, Dominations, Princedoms, Vertues, Power,
For in possession such, not onely of right,
I call ye and declare ye now, return'd
Successful beyond hope, to lead ye forth
Triumphant out of this infernal Pit.

465  Abominable, accurt, the house of woe,
And Dungeon of our Tyrant: Now possess'd,
As Lords, a spacious World, to our native Heaven
Little inferiour, by my adventure hard
With peril great achiev'd. Long were to tell

470  What I have don, what sufferd, with what paine
Voyag'd th' unreal, vaft, unbounded deep
Of horrible confusion, over which
By Sin and Death a broad way now is pav'd
To expedite your glorious march; but I

475  Toild out my uncouth passage, forc't to ride
Th' untractable Abyffe, plung'd in the womb
Of unoriginal *Night* and *Chaos* wide,
That jealous of thir secrets fiercely oppos'd
My journey strange, with clamorous uproare

480  Protesting Fate suprême; thence how I found
The new created World, which fame in Heav'n
Long had foretold, a Fabrick wonderful
Of absolute perfection, therein Man
Plac't in a Paradize, by our exile

485  Made happie: Him by fraud I have seduc'd
From his Creator, and the more to increafe
Your wonder, with an Apple; he therear
Offended, worth your laughter, hath giv'n up
Both his beloved Man and all his World,

To

457  *Dark*  |  dark  461  onely  ]  The first syllable is stressed.  466  *Tyrant:*  |  Italic colon.
467  native  ]  The t is out of alignment in all copies examined.
266 Paradise Lost. Book X.

490 To Sin and Death a prey, and to us,
Without our hazard, labour, or alarme,
To range in, and to dwell, and over Man
To rule, as over all he should have rul’d.
True is, mee alfo he hath judg’d, or rather
495 Mee not, but the brute Serpent in whose shape
Man I deceav’d: that which to mee belongs,
Is enmity, which he will put between
Mee and Mankind: I am to bruise his heel;
His Seed, when is not fer, shall bruise my head;
500 A World who would not purchase with a bruise,
Or much more grievous pain? Ye have th’account
Of my performance: What remains, ye Gods,
But up and enter now into full blifs.
So having laid, a while he stood, expecting
505 Thir universal shout and high applause
To fill his care, when contrary he hears
On all sides, from innumerable tongues
A dismal universal his, the found
Of public scorn; he wonder’d, but not long
510 Had leasure, wonder’d at himself now more;
His Vifage drawn he felt to sharp and spare,
His Arms clung to his Ribs, his Leggs entwining
Each other, till supplanted down he fell
A monstrous Serpent on his Belly prone,
515 Reluctante, but in vain, a greater power
Now rul’d him, punitht in the shape he find’d,
According to his doom: he would have spoke,
But his for his return’d with forked tongue
To forked tongue, for now were all transform’d
520 Alike, to Serpents all as accessories
To his bold Riot: dreadful was the din
Of hilling through the Hall, thick swarming now
With complicated monsters head and taile,

Scorpion

Running Head. In copies 9 and 13 there is a space work-up between Paradise and Lost, and the period is the recurrent round one. 494 he I] Stressed? 498 Mankind; I The a is battered in all copies examined. 502 remains,] remains, 519-521 Copy 19 contains corrections with a pen of the punctuation in line 520 as follows:

... for now were all transform’d
Alike, to Serpents all, as accessories
To his bold Riot... .

Whoever penned the change, first struck out the comma after Alike, and inserted one after Serpents then restored the comma after Alike, struck out the insertion after Serpents and inserted a comma after all with the final result as in the above excerpt. There is one curious fact directly connected with this passage, though no editor to my knowledge has ever noticed it. In the 1667 text, see my volume 2:550, there is a space for punctuation between the words 'all' and 'as' though no copy of the first edition examined printed any punctuation here. But I am inclined to think that some punctuation was originally set here in 1667, then Milton or someone for him intended to make some change. The only result of this intent was to make matters worse by removing the comma between all and as without other change. Whoever penned in the comma in copy 19 probably came as close as anyone ever can come to understanding what Milton wanted here. There is also the possibility that the various penned corrections in this copy were performed in the print shop. 523 monfors] monfors,
Book X.  Paradise Lost.  267

Scorpion and Asp, and Amphibana dire,
Cerastes hornd, Hydrus, and Elops drear,
And Diphas (not so thick swarm’d once the Soil
Bedropt with blood of Gorgon, or the Isle
Opheius) but still greatest hee the midst,
Now Dragon grown, larger then whom the Sun

Ingender’d in the Pythian Vale on slime,
Huge Python, and his Power no less he seem’d
Above the rest still to retain; they all
Him follow’d issuing forth to th’ open Field,
Where all yet left of that revolted Rout

Heav’n-fall’n, in station flood or just array,
Sublime with expectation when to see
In Triumph issuing forth thir glorious Chief;
They saw, but other sight instead, a crowd
Of ugly Serpents; horror on them fell,

And horrid sympathie; for what they saw,
They felt themselves now changing; down thir arms,
Down fell both Spear and Shield, down they as fast,
And the dire hiss renew’d, and the dire form
Catcht by Corragion, like in punishment,

As in thir crime. Thus was th’ applaufe they meant,
Turn’d to explodning hiss, triumph to shame
Cast on themselves from thir own mouths. There stood
A Grove hard by, sprung up with this thir change.
His will who reigns above, to aggravate

Thir penance, laden with Fruit like that
Which grew in Paradise, the bait of Eve
Us’d by the Tempter: on that prospect strange
Thir earnest eyes they fix’d, imagining
For one forbidden Tree a multitude

Now ris’n, to work them further woe or shame;
Yet parcht with scalding thirst and hunger fierce,
Though to delude them fent, could not abstain,

But
Paradise Lost. Book X.

But on thy royst in heaps, and up the Trees
Climbing, fat thicker than the snakie locks
That curst Megara: greedily they pluck'd
The Fruitage fair to fight, like that which grew
Neer that bituminous Lake where Sodom flam'd;
This more delusive, not the touch, but taste
Deceav'd; they fondly thinking to allay
Thir appetite with guilt, instead of Fruit
Chewd bitter Ashes, which th' offended taste
With spattering noise rejected: oft they assayd,
Hunger and thirst confounding, drunk as oft,
With heartfelst diflerish writ'd thir jaws
With foot and cinders fill'd; oft oft they fell
Into the fame illusion, not as Man plagu'd
Whom they triumph'd once lapft. Thus were they
And worn with Famin, long and ceaseles his,
Till thir lost shape, permitted, they refum'd,
Yearly enjoynd, some fay, to undergo
This annual humbling certain number'd days,
To daff thir pride, and joy for Man seduc't.
However some tradition they dispers'd
Among the Heathen of thir purchase got,
And Fab'l how the Serpent, whom they call'd
Opion with Eurynome, the wide-
Encroaching Eve perhaps, had first the rule
Of high Olympus, thence by Saturn driv'n
And Ops, ere yet Difleen Jove was born.
Mean while in Paradise the hellish pair
Too soon arriv'd, Sin there in power before,
Once actual, now in body, and to dwell
Habitual habitant; behind her Death
Close following pace for pace, not mounted yet
On his pale Horfe: to whom Sin thus began.
Second of Satan sprung, all conquering Death,

What
Book X. **Paradise Lost.**  269

What thinkst thou of our Empire now, though earnd
With travail difficult, not better farr
Then still at Hels dark threshold to have fate watch,
Unnam'd, undreaded, and thy self half starv'd?
Whom thus the Sin-born Monster answered soon.
To mee, who with eternal Famin pine,
Alike is Hell, or Paradise, or Heaven,
There best, where most with ravin I may meet;
Which here, though plenteous, all too little seems
To stuff this Maw, this vast unhide-bound Corps.
To whom th' incestuous Mother thus repli'd.
Thou therefore on these Herbs, and Fruits, and Flours
Feed first, on each Beast next, and Fish, and Fowl, and
No homely morfels, and whatever thing
The Sithe of Time mowes down, devour unpar'd,
Till I in Man residing through the Race,
His thoughts, his looks, words, actions all infect,
And seafon him thy last and sweetest prey.
This said, they both betook them severall wayes,
Both to destroy, or unimmortal make
All kinds, and for destruction to mature
Sooner or later; which th' Almightye seeing,
From his transcendent Seat the Saints among,
To those bright Orders uttered thus his voice.
See with what heat these Dogs of Hell advance
To waste and havoc yonder World, which I
So fair and good created, and had st ill
Kept in that State, had not the folly of Man
Let in these wofful Furies, who impure
Folly to mee, so doth the Prince of Hell
And his Adherents, that with so much ease
I suffer them to enter and posses
A place so heav'nly, and conniving seem
To gratifie my scornful Enemies,

That
That laugh, as if transported with some fit
Of Paffion, to them had quitted all,
At random yielded up to their misrule;
And know not that I call’d and drew them thither.

My Hell-hounds, to lick up the draff and filth
Which mans polluting Sin with taint hath shed
On what was pure, till cram’d and gorg’d,nigh burst
With suckt and glutted offal, at one fling
Of thy victorious Arm, well-pleasing Son,
Both Sin, and Death, and yawning Grave at last
Through Chaos hurl’d, obstruct the mouth of Hell
For ever, and seal up his ravenous Jawes.
Then Heav’n and Earth renew’d shall be made pure
To fanctifie that shall receive no stain:
Till then the Curse pronounc’d on both precedes.

He ended, and the heav’nly Audience loud
Sung Hallelujah, as the found of Seas,
Through multitude that sung: Just are thy ways,
Righteous are thy Decrees on all thy Works;

Who can extenuate thee? Next, to the Son,
Deftin’d reftorer of Mankind, by whom
New Heav’n and Earth shall to the Ages rife,
Or down from Heav’n descend. Such was thir song,
While the Creator calling forth by name
His mightie Angels gave them several charge.
As for’d belt with prefent things. The Sun
Had first his precept fo to move, fo shine,
As might affect the Earth with cold and heat
Scarce tolerable, and from the North to call
Decrepit Winter, from the South to bring
Solstitial summers heat. To the blanc Moone
Her office they prefcribd, to th’ other five
Thir planetarie motions and aspects
In Sextile, Square, and Trine, and Oppofite,
Book X.  Paradise Lost.  271

660 Of noxious efficacie, and when to joyne
In Synod unbeneigne, and taught the fixt
Thir influence malignant when to showre,
Which of them rising with the Sun, or falling,
Should prove tempeftuous: To the Winds they se
665 Thir corners, when with blunter to confound
Sea, Aire, and Shoar, the Thunder when to rowle
With terror through the dark Aereal Hall.
Some fay he bid his Angels turne afcante
The Poles of Earth twice ten degrees and more
670 From the Suns Axle; they with labour push'd
Oblique the Centric Globe: Som fay the Sun
Was bid turn Reines from th' Equinoctial Rode
Like f廿ft breadth to Taurus with the Seav'n
Atlantic,Sifters, and the Spartan Twins
675 Up to the Tropic Crab; thence down amaine
By Leo and the Virgin and the Scales,
As deep as Capricorne, to bring in change
Of Seafons to each Clime; else had the Spring
Perpetual smil'd on Earth with vernant F nouns,
680 Equal in Days and Nights, except to thofe
Beyond the Polar Circles; to them Day
Had unbeneighted fhon, while the low Sun
To recompence his distance, in thir figh
Had rounded ftil th' Horizon, and not known
685 Or Ealf or Weft, which had forbid the Snow
From cold Efloriland, and South as farr
Beneath Magellan. At that tafted Fruit
The Sun, as from Thyfelane Banquet, turn'd
His courfe intended; else how had the World
690 Inhabited, though finleft, more then now,
Avoided pinching cold and fcorching heate?
These changes in the Heav'ns, though flow, produc'd
Like change on Sea and Land, fideral blast,
Vapour,
Paradise Lost. Book X.

Vapour, and Mist, and Exhalation hot,
Corrupt and Pestilent: Now from the North
Of Norumbega, and the Samoed hoar
Bursting thir brazen Dungeon, armd with ice
And snow and haile and stormie gust and flaw,
Boreas and Cacus and Argesies loud
And Thracias rend the Woods and Seas upturn;
With adverfe blant up-turns them from the South
Notus and Afer black with thundrous Clouds
From Serralina; thwart of these as fierce
Forth rush the Levant and the Pontent Windes

Eurus and Zephir with thir lateral noife,
Sirocco, and Libecchio. Thus began
Outrage from livelefs things; but Discord first
Daughter of Sin, among th' irrational,
Death introduc'd through fierce antipathie:
Beast now with Beast gan war, and Fowle with Fowle,
And Fishe with Fishe; to graze the Herb all leaving,
Devourd each other; nor stood much in awe
Of Man, but fled him, or with count'nance grim
Glar'd on him passing: these were from without

The growing miseries, which Adam saw
Alreadie in part, though hid in gloomiefhade,
To sorrow abandon, but worse felt within,
And in a troubl'd Sea of passion roft,
Thus to disburd'n fought with sad complaint.

O miserable of happie! is this the end
Of his new glorious World, and mee fo late
The Glory of that Glory, who now becom
Accurft of blessed, hide me from the face
Of God, whom to behold was then my highth

Of happiness: yet well, if here would end
The miferie, I deferv'd it, and would beare
My own defervings; but this will not seve;
Book X.  Paradise Lost.  273

All that I eat or drink, or shall beget,  
Is propagated curse.  O voice once heard  
730 Delightfully,  Encrease and multiply,  
Now death to heare!  for what can I encrease  
Or multyple, but curses on my head?  
Who of all Ages to succed, but feeling  
The evil on him brought by me, will curse  
735 My Head, I'll fare our Ancestor impure,  
For this we may thank Adam; but his thanks  
Shall be the execration; to besides  
Mine own that bide upon me, all from mee  
Shall with a fierce reflux on mee redound,  
740 On mee as on thir natural center light  
Heavie, though in thir place.  O fleeting joyes  
Of Paradise, deare bought with lasting woes!  
Did I request thee, Maker, from my Clay  
To mould me Man, did I sollicite thee  
745 From darkness to promote me, or here place  
In this delicious Garden?  as my Will  
Concurd not to my being, it were but right  
And equal to reduce me to my dust,  
Desirous to resigne, and render back  
750 All I receav'd, unable to performe  
Thy terms too hard, by which I was to hold  
The good I sought not.  To the loss of that,  
Sufficient penaltie, why haft thou added  
The sense of endless woes?  inexplicable  
755 Thy Justice seems; yet to say truth, too late,  
I thus contest; then should have been refused  
Those terms whatever, when they were propos'd:  
Thou didst accept them; wilt thou enjoy the good,  
Then cavil the conditions?  and though God  
760 Made thee without thy leave, what if thy Son  
Prove disobedient, and reprovd, retort,  
T - Where-
Wherefore didst thou beget me? I sought it not.
Wouldst thou admit for his contempt of thee
That proud excuse? yet him not thy election,
But Natural necessity begot.
God made thee of choice his own, and of his own
To serve him, thy reward was of his grace,
Thy punishment then justly is at his Will.
Be it so, for I submit, his doom is fair,
That dust I am, and shall to dust returne:
O welcom hour whenever! why delays
His hand to execute what his Decree
Fixd on this day? why do I overlive,
Why am I mockt with death, and length'd out
To deathless pain? how gladly would I meet
Mortalitie my sentence, and be Earth
Insensible, how glad would lay me down
As in my Mothers lap? there I should rest
And sleep secure; his dreadful voice no more
Would Thunder in my ears, no fear of worse
To mee and to my offspring would torment me
With cruel expectation. Yet one doubt
Pursues me still, least all I cannot die,
Least that pure breath of Life, the Spirit of Man
Which God inspir'd, cannot together perish
With this corporeal Clod; then in the Grave,
Or in some other dismal place who knows
But I shall die a living Death? O thought
Horrid, if true! yet why? it was but breath
Of Life that finnd; what dies but what had life
And sin? the Bodie properly hath neither.
All of me then shall die: let this appease
The doubt, since humane reach no further knows.
For though the Lord of all be infinite,
Is his wrath also? be it, man is not so,
Book X.  *Paradise Lost.*

**But mortal doom’d.** How can he exercise
Wrath without end on Man whom Death must end?
Can he make deathless Death? that were to make
Strange contradiction, which to God himself
Impossible is held, as Argument
Of weakness, not of Power. Will he, draw out,
For angers fake, finite to infinite
In puniflit man, to satisfy his rigour
Satisfied never; that were to extend
His Sentence beyond dust and Natures Law,
By which all Causes else according till
To the reception of thir matter act,
Not to th’ extent of thir own Sphere. But say
That Death be not one stroak, as I suppos’d,
Bereaving sense, but endless misery
From this day onward, which I feel begun
Both in me, and without me, and so last
To perpetuity; Ay me, that fear
Comes thundring back with dreadful revolution
On my defenfifs head; both Death and I
Am found Eternal, and incorporate both,
Nor I on my part single, in mee all
Posteritie stands curst: Fair Patrimonie
That I must leave ye, Sons; O were I able
To waste it all my self, and leave ye none!
So disinherited how would ye blefs
Me now your curse? Ah, why should all mankind
For one mans fault thus guiltless be condemn’d,
If guiltless? But from me what can proceed,
But all corrupt, both Mind and Will deprav’d,
Not to do onely, but to will the same
With me? how can they then acquitted stand
In light of God? Him after all Disputes
For’t I absolve: all my evafions vain,

And
276 Paradise Lost. Book X.

830 And reasonings, though through Mazes, lead me still
But to my own conviction: first and last
On mee, mee onely, as the fourse and spring
Of all corruption, all the blame lights due;
So might the wrath. Fond wish! couldn't thou sup-
835 That burden heavier then the Earth to bear
Then all the World much heavier, though divided
With that bad Woman? Thus what thou defir'st
And what thou feart, alike destroys all hope
Of refuge, and concludes thee miserable
Beyond all past example and future,
To Satan only like both crime and doom.
O Conscience, into what Abyss of fears
And horrors haft thou driv'n mee; out of which
I find no way, from deep to deeper plung'd!

840 Thus Adam to himself lamented loud
Through the still Night, not now, as ere man fell,
Whol'om and cool, and mild, but with black Air
Accompanied, with damps and dreadful gloom,
Which to his evil Conscience represented
All things with double terror:
On the Ground
Outstretched he lay, on the cold ground, and oft
Curs'd his Creation, Death as oft accus'd
Of tardie execution, since denounc'd
The day of his offence. Why comes not Death,

850 Said hee, with one thrice acceptable stroke
To end mee? Shall Truth fail to keep her word,
Justice Divine not haft'n to be just?
But Death comes not at call, Justice Divine
Mends not her slowest pace for prayers or cries.

855 O Woods, O Fountains, Hillocks, Dales and Bowrs,
With other echo late I taught your Shades
To answer, and resound other Song.
Whom thus afflicted when sad Eve beheld,

Desolate

Running Head. Loft.] The broken L see also pages 248, 308, and 324. 831 conviction:] The ct is battered in all copies examined, and was probably a ligature. 832 onely,] The first syllable is stressed. 835 bear| bear, The comma is needed. 837 defir'ft| defir'ft, The comma seems to be needed. 841 only| only 850 Ground| ground 856 end] The right-hand element of the n is completely lacking in all 1674 copies examined. 861-863 In some copies examined the left-hand portions of these three lines are very faint.
Book X. Paradise Lost. 277

Defolate where the fate, approaching nigh,
Soft words to his fierce passion she affy'd:
But her with stern regard he thus repel'd.
Out of my fight, thou Serpent, that name beft;
Befits thee with him leagu'd, thy self as false
And hateful ; nothing wants, but that thy shape,
Like his, and colour Serpentine may flew
Thy inward fraud, to warn all Creatures from thee
Henceforth; leaf that too heav'nly form, pretended
To hellish falhood, snare them. But for thee
I had perfifted happie, had not thy pride
And wandering vanitie, when left was safe,
Rejected my forewarning, and disdain'd
Not to be trusted, longing to be seen
Though by the Devil himself, him overweening
To over-reach, but with the Serpent meeting
Fool'd and beguil'd, by him thou, I by thee,
To trust thee from my side, imagin'd wife,
Constant, mature, proof against all affauts,
And understand not all was but a shew
Rather then fold vertu, all but a Rib
Crooked by nature, bent, as now appears,
More to the part finifer from me drawn,
Well if thrown out, as supernumerarie
To my just number found. O why did God,
Creator wife, that peopl'd highest Heav'n
With Spirits Masculine, create at last
This novelty on Earth, this fair defect
Of Nature, and not fill the World at once
With Men as Angels without Feminine,
Or find some other way to generate
Mankind? this mischief had not then befall'n,
And more that shall befall, innumerable
Disturbances on Earth through Femal snares,

T 3

And

865 [the] | Almost certainly stressed. 872 form.] The comma is faint in all 1674 copies examined. 887 Well] The W is wrong font. 888 [ju[t] The ft ligature is faint in all copies examined. 890 With] The W is wrong font. 892 World] The W is wrong font. 893 With] The W is wrong font. 895 mischief] The c barely printed in most copies examined.
278 Paradise Lost. Book X.

And straight conjunction with this Sex: for either
He never shall find out fit Mate, but such
900 As some misfortune brings him, or mistake,
Or whom he wishes most shall seldom gain
Through her perversities, but shall see her gain
By a farr worse, or if she love, withheld
By Parents, or his happiest choice too late
905 Shall meet, already linked and Wedlock-bound
To a fell Adversarie, his hate or shame:
Which infinite calamities shall cause
To Humane life, and household peace confound.
He added not, and from her turn'd, but Eve
910 Not so repuls'd, with Tears that cease'd not flowing,
And tresses all disordered, at his feet
Fell humble, and imbracing them, besought
His peace, and thus proceeded in her plaint.
Forfake me not thus, Adam, witnes Heav'n
915 What love sincere, and reverence in my heart
I bear thee, and unweaving have offended,
Unhappy deceit'd; thy suppliant
I beg, and clasped thy knees; beseech me not,
Whereon I live, thy gentle looks, thy aid,
920 Thy counsel in this uttermost distress,
My only strength and stay: forlorn of thee,
Whither shall I betake me, where subsist?
While yet we live, scarce one short hour perhaps,
Between us two let there be peace, both joyning,
925 As join'd in injuries, one enmity
Against a Foe by doom express'd assign'd us,
That cruel Serpent: On me exercise not
Thy hatred for this miserable befall'n,
On me already lost, mee then thy self
930 More miserable; both have find'd, but thou
Against God onely, I against God and thee,

And
Book X. Paradise Lost. 279

And to the place of judgment will return,
There with my cries importune Heaven, that all
The sentence from thy head remov'd may light
On me, sole cause to thee of all this woe,
Mee mee onely just object of his ire.
She ended weeping, and her lowlie plight,
Immoveable till peace obtain'd from fault
Acknowldg'd and deplor'd, in Adam wraught
Towards her, his life so late and sole delight,
Now at his feet submissive in distres,
Creature so faire his reconcilement seeking,
His counfel whom she had displeas'd, his aide;
As one disfarm'd, his anger all he loft,
And thus with peaceful words uprais'd her soon.
Unwarie, and too delirous, as before,
So nor of what thou knowst not, who desir'st
The punishment all on thy self; alas,
Beare thine own first, ill able to sustaine
His full wrauth whose thou feel'ft as yet left part,
And my displeasure bearst so ill. If Prayers
Could alter high Decrees, I to that place
Would speed before thee, and be louder heard,
That on my head all might be vili'd,
Thy frailtie and infirmer Sex forgiv'n,
To me committed and by me expos'd.
But rise, let us no more contend, nor blame
Each other, blam'd enough elsewhere, but striv.'
In offices of Love, how we may light'n
Each others burden in our share of woe;
Since this days Death denounc't, if ought I see,
Will prove no sudden, but a slow-pac't evill,
Along days dying to augment our paine,
And to our Seed (O haples Seed !) deriv'd.

T

932 judgment| judgement 934 light| The t is broken or barely printed in all copies examined.
935 me,]| Stressed. 936 onely]| First syllable stressed. 951 part,| The t is broken and barely printed in all copies examined. 957 me . . . me]| Both stressed. 959 strive| The e barely printed.
To whom thus Eve, recovering heart, repli'd.

Adam, by sad experiment I know
How little weight my words with thee can finde,
Found so erroneous, thence by just event

970 Found so unfortunate; nevertheless,
Refor'd by thee, vile as I am, to place
Of new acceptance, hopeful to regaine
Thy Love, the sole contentment of my heart
Living or dying, from thee I will not hide

975 What thoughts in my unquiet brest are ris'n,
Tending to some relief of our extremes,
Or end, though sharp and sad, yet tolerable,
As in our evils, and of easier choice.
If care of our decent perplex us most,

980 Which must be born to certain woe, devourd
By Death at last, and miserable it is
To be to others caufe of misery,
Our own begotten, and of our Loines to bring
Into this cursed World a woful Race,

985 That after wretched Life must be at last
Food for so foule a Monster, in thy power
It lies, yet ere Conception to prevent
The Race unbegot, to being yet unbegot.
Childless thou art, Childless remaine:

990 So Death shall be deceav'd his glut, and with us two
Be forc'd to satiſhe his Ravnous Maw.
But if thou judge it hard and difficult,
Converſing, looking, loving, to abſtaine
From Loves due Rites, Nuptial imbraces sweet,

995 And with defire to languish without hope,
Before the present object languishing
With like defire, which would be miferie
And torment les then none of what we dread,

Then
Then both our selves and Seed at once to free
From what we fear for both, let us make short,
Let us seek Death, or he not found, supply
With our own hands his Office on our selves;
Why stand we longer shivering under feares,
That thow no end but Death, and have the power,
Of many ways to die the shortest choosing,
Destruction with destruction to destroy.
She ended her, or vehement despair
Broke off the rest; so much of Death her thoughts
Had entertained, as did her Cheeks with pale.

But Adam with such counsel nothing sway'd,
To better hopes his more attentive minde
Labouring had rais'd, and thus to Eve repli'd.
Eve, thy contempt of life and pleasure seems
To argue in thee something more sublime
And excellent then what thy minde contemnes;
But self-destruction therefore saught, refutes
That excellence thought in thee, and implies,
Not thy contempt, but anguish and regret
For loss of life and pleasure overlovd.

Or if thou covet death, as utmost end
Of miferie, so thinking to evade
The penaltie pronounc't, doubt not but God
Hath wifelier arm'd his vengeful ire then so
To be foresfall'd; much more I fear least Death
So snatch't will not exempt us from the paine
We are by doom to pay; rather such acts
Of contumacie will provoke the highest
To make death in us live: Then let us seek
Some safer resolution, which methinks

I have in view, calling to minde with heed
Part of our Sentence, that thy Seed shall bruise
The Serpents head; piteous amends, unless

1001 he] hee Stressed. 1005 ways] wayes 1029 Some] Som. Catchword. Be] The e is lacking in copy 19: both B and e are out of alignment in several other copies such as 11, 13, etc., and print correctly in 6, 15, and others.
Be meant, whom I conjecture, our grand Foe
Satan, who in the Serpent hath contriv'd

1035 Against us this deceit: to crush his head
Would be revenge indeed; which will be lost
By death brought on our selves, or childless days
Refolv'd, as thou propos'dst; to our Foe
Shall escape his punishment ordain'd, and see

1040 Instead shall double ours upon our heads,
No more be mention'd then of violence
Against our selves, and wilful barrenness,
That cuts us off from hope, and favours only
Rancor and pride, impatience and despite,
Reluctance against God and his just yoke
Laid on our Necks. Remember with what mild
And gracious temper he both heard and judg'd
Without wrauth or reviling; we expected
Immediate dissolution, which we thought

1050 Was meant by Death that day, when lo, to thee
Pains only in Child-bearing were foretold,
And bringing forth, soon recompenc't with joy,
Fruit of thy Womb: On mee the Curfe aslope
Glanc'd on the ground, with labour I must earne

1055 My bread; what harm? Idleness had bin worse;
My labour will sustaine me; and leaft Cold
Or Heat should injure us, his timely care
Hath unbesought provided, and his hands
Cloath'd us unworthy, pitying while he judg'd;

1060 How much more, if we pray him, will his ear
Be open, and his heart to pitiue incline,
And teach us further by what means to shun
Th' inclement Seafons, Rain, Ice, Hail and Snow,
Which now the Skie with various Face begins

1065 To shew us in this Mountain, while the Winds
Blow moist and keen, shattering the graceful locks

Running Head. Loft.] The recurrent round period.
Book X.  **Paradise Lost.  283**

Of these fair spreading Trees; which bids us seek
Some better shroud, some better warmth to cherish
Our Limbs benumm'd, ere this diurnal Starr

1070 Leave cold the Night, how we his gather'd beams
Reflected, may with matter fere foment,
Or by collision of two bodies grind
The Air attrite to Fire, as late the Clouds
Jutling or pulht with Winds rude in their shock

1075 Tine the flant Lightning, whose thwart flame driv'n
Kindles the gummie bark of Firr or Pine, (down
And sends a comfortable heat from far,
Which might supplie the Sun: such Fire to use,
And what may else be remedy or cure

1080 To evils which our own misdeeds have wrought,
Hee will instruct us praying, and of Grace
Befeeching him, so as we need not fear
To pass commodiously this life, sustaine'd
By him with many comforts, till we end

1085 In dust, our final rest and native home.
What better can we do, then to the place
Repairing where he judg'd us, prostrate fall
Before him reverent, and there confess
Humbly our faults, and pardon beg, with tears

1090 Watering the ground, and with our sighs the Air
Frequenting, sent from hearts contrite, in sign
Of sorrow unfeign'd, and humiliation meek.
Undoubtedly he will relent and turn
From his displeasure; in whose look serene,

1095 When angry moit he seem'd and most severe,
What else but favor, grace, and mercie shone?

So spake our Father penitent, nor Eve
Felt lefs remorse; they forthwith to the place
Repairing where he judg'd them prostrate fell

1100 Before him reverent, and both confess'd

Humbly
284 Paradise Lost. Book X.

Humbly th' faults, and pardon beg'd, with tears
Watering the ground, and with th' sighs the Air
Frequenting, sent from hearts contrite, in sign
Of sorrow unfeign'd, and humiliation meek.

The End of the Tenth Book.
Paradise Lost.

BOOK XI.

THE ARGUMENT.

The Son of God presents to his Father the Prayers of our first Parents now repenting, and intercedes for them: God accepts them, but declares that they must no longer abide in Paradise; sends Michael with a Band of Cherubim to dispossess them; but first to reveal to Adam future things: Michaels coming down. Adam shows to Eve certain ominous signs; he discerns Michaels approach, goes out to meet him: the Angel denounces thir departure. Eve's Lamentation. Adam pleads, but submits: The Angel leads him up to a high Hill, sets before him in vision what shall happen till the Flood.

Thus they in lowliest plight repentant flood Praying, for from the Mercie-seat above Prevenient Grace descending had remov'd The stonie from thir hearts, & made new flesh Regenerate grow instead, that sighs now breath'd Unutter-
286 Paradise Lost. Book XI.

Unutterable, which the Spirit of prayer
Inspir'd, and wing'd for Heav'n with speedier flight
Then loudest Oratorie: yet thir port
Not of mean suiters, nor important less
10 Seem'd thir Petition, then when th' ancient Pair
In Fables old, less ancient yet then these,
Deucalion and chaste Pyrrha to restore
The Race of Mankind drownd, before the Shrine
Of Themis flood devout. To Heav'n thir prayers
15 Flew up, nor mis'd the way, by envious winde
Blown vagabond or frustrate: in they pass'd
Dimentionless through Heav'nly dores; then clad
With incense, where the Golden Altar sum'd,
By thir great Intercessor, came in sight
20 Before the Fathers Throne: Them the glad Son
Presenting, thus to intercede began.
See Father, what first fruits on Earth are sprung
From thy implanted Grace in Man, these Sighs
And Prayers, which in this Golden Center, mixt
25 With Incense, I thy Priest before thee bring,
Fruits of more pleasing favour from thy seed
Sow'n with contrition in his heart, then those
Which his own hand manuring all the Trees
Of Paradise could have produc'd, ere fall'n
30 From innocence. Now therefore bend thine eare
To supplication, heare his sighs though mute;
Unskilful with what words to pray, let mee
Interpret for him, mee his Advocate
And propitiation, all his works on mee
35 Good or not good ingraft, my Merit those
Shall perfert, and for these my Death shall pay.
Accept me, and in mee from these receave
The smell of peace toward Mankinde, let him live
Before thee reconcil'd, at least his days

19 thir | Is this word stressed or unstressed? 32 pray, let mee | pray let me, \pray, let mee
37 me, | Stressed?
Book XI. Paradice Lost. 287

40 Numberd, though fad, till Death, his doom (which I To mitigate thus plead, not to reverse)
   To better life shall yeeld him, where with mee
   All my redeemd may dwell in joy and blis,
   Made one with me as I with thee am one.

45 To whom the Father, without Cloud, ferene.
   All thy request for Man, accepted Son,
   Obtain, all thy request was my Decree:
   But longer in that Paradife to dwell,
   The Law I gave to Nature him forbids:

50 Thoſe pure immortal Elements that know
   No groſs, no unharmoṇeous mixture foule,
   Eject him tainted now, and purge him off
   As a diſtemper, groſs to aire as groſs,
   And mortal food, as may dispoſe him beſt
   For diſsolution wrought by Sin, that firſt
   Diſtemperd all things, and of incorrupt
   Corrupted, I at firſt with two fair gifts
   Created him endowd, with Happineſs
   And Immortalitie: that fondly loft,

55 This other ferv'd but to eternize woe;
   Till I provided Death; fo Death becomes
   His final remedie, and after Life
   Tri'd in sharp tribulation, and refin'd
   By Faith and faithful works, to second Life,

60 Wak't in the renovation of the juſt,
   Resignes him up with Heav'n and Earth renewd.
   But let us call to Synod all the Blift
   Through Heav'n's wide bounds; from them I will not
   My judgments, how with Mankind I proceed, (hide

65 As how with peccant Angels late they law;
   And in thir flate, though firm, ftood more confirm'd.
   He ended, and the Son gave signal high
   To the bright Minister that watch'd, hee blew

   His
288 Paradise Lost. Book XI.

His Trumpet, heard in Oreb since perhaps
When God descended, and perhaps once more
To found at general Doom. ’Th’ Angelic blast
Fell all the Regions: from thir blissful Bowsrs
Of Amaranthin Shade, Fountain or Spring,
By the waters of Life, where ere they fate
In fellowships of joy: the Sons of Light
Hafted, resorting to the Summons high,
And took thir Seats; till from his Throne supream
Th’ Almighty thus pronouncd his forran Will,
O Sons, like one of us Man is become
To know both Good and Evil, since his taite
Of that defended Fruit; but let him boast
His knowledge of Good loft, and Evil gor,
Happier, had it suffic’d him to have known
Good by it self, and Evil not at all.
He forrows now, repents, and prays contrite,
My motions in him, longer then they move,
His heart I know, how variable and vain
Self-left. Leaft therefor his now bolder hand
Reach all of the Tree of Life, and eat,
And live for ever, dream at leaft to live
For ever, to remove him I decree,
And fend him from the Garden forth to Till
The Ground whence he was taken, fitter soile.

Michael, this my beheft have thou in charge,
Take to thee from among the Cherubim
Thy choice of flaming Warriours, leaft the Fiend
Or in behalf of Man, or to invade
Vacant poffeffion fom new trouble raife:
Haft thee, and from the Paradife of God
Without remorse drive out the finful Pair,
From hallowd ground th’ unholie, and denounce
To them and to thir Progene from thence

Per-
Book XI. **Paradise Lost.** 289

Perpetual banishment. Yet least they faint
At the last Sentence rigorously urg'd,
110 For I behold them softn'd and with tears
Bewailing thir excess, all terror hide.
If patiently thy bidding they obey,
Dismifs them not disconsolate; reveale
To Adam what shall come in future dayes,
115 As I shall thee enlighten, intermix
My Cov'nant in the womans feed renew'd;
So send them forth, though sorrowing, yet in peace:
And on the East side of the Garden place,
Where entrance up from Eden easieft climbes,
120 Cherubic watch, and of a Sword the flame
Wide waving, all approach far off to fright,
And guard all passage to the Tree of Life:
Least Paradise a receptacle prove
To Spirits foule, and all my Trees thir prey,
125 With whose stol'n Fruit Man once more to delude.
    He ceas'd; and th' Archangelic Power prepar'd
For swift descent, with him the Cohort bright
Of watchful Cherubim; four faces each
Had, like a double ?anus, all thir shape
130 Spangl'd with eyes more numerous then thos
Of Argus, and more wakeful then to drouze,
Charm'd with Arcadian Pipe, the Pastoral Reed
Of Hermes, or his opiate Rod. Mean while
To refalute the World with sacred Light
135 Leucothea wak'd, and with fresh dews imbalm'd
The Earth, when Adam and first Matron Eve
Had ended now thir Orifons, and found
Strength added from above, new hope to spring
Out of despaire, joy, but with fear yet linkt;
140 Which thus to Eve his welcome words renew'd.
    *Eve, easily may Faith admit, that all*

| 110 softn'd | soft'n'd | 116 womans | Womans | 137 found | found | The comma seems to be unwanted. | 139 linkt; | linkt, linkt; |
The good which we enjoy, from Heav'n descends;
But that from us ought should ascend to Heav'n
So prevalent as to concern the mind

Of God high-bless'd, or to incline his will,
Hard to belief may seem; yet this will Prayer,
Or one short sigh of humane breath, up-borne
Ev'n to the Seat of God. For since I sought
By Prayer th' offended Deity to appease,

Kneel'd and before him humb'd all my heart,
Methought I saw him placable and mild,
Bending his ear, persuasion in me grew
That I was heard with favour; peace return'd
Home to my Breast, and to my memorie

His promise, that thy Seed shall bruise our Foe;
Which then not minded in dismay, yet now
Assures me that the bitterness of death
Is past, and we shall live. Whence Haile to thee,
Eve rightly call'd, Mother of all Mankind,

Mother of all things living, since by thee
Man is to live, and all things live for Man.
To whom thus Eve with sad demeanour meek.
Ill worthie I such title should belong
To me transgressour, who for thee ordain'd

A help, became thy share; to mee reproach
Rather belongs, distrust and all dispraise:
But infinite in pardon was my Judge,
That I who first brought Death on all, am grac'd
The course of life; next favourable thou,

Who highly thus to entitle me vourfelf,
Farr other name deserving. But the Field
To labour calls us now with sweat impos'd,
Though after sleepless Night; for see the Morn,
All unconcern'd with our unrest, begins

Her roifie progress smiling; let us forth,
Book XI. Paradise Lost. 291

I never from thy side henceforth to stray,
Where our days work lies, though now enjoined
Laborious, till day droop; while here we dwell,
What can be toilful in these pleasant Walkes?

Here let us live, though in fall’n state, content.
So spake, so wish’d much-humbld Eve, but Fate
Subscrib’d not; Nature first gave Signs, impref’t
On Bird, Beast, Aire, Aire suddenly eclips’d
After short blush of Morn; nigh in her flight
The Bird of Jove, floopt from his aerie tour,
Two Birds of gayest plume before him drove:
Down from a Hill the Beast that reigns in Woods,
First hunter then, pursu’d a gentle brace,
Goodliest of all the Forrest, Hart and Hinde;
Direct to th’ Eastern Gate was bent thir flight.
Adam observ’d, and with his Eye the chace
Pursuing, not unmov’d to Eve thus spake.
O Eve, some further change awaits us nigh,
Which Heav’n by these mute signs in Nature shews
Forerunners of his purpose, or to warn
Ut haply too secure of our discharge
From penalitie, because from death releaft
Some days; how long, and what till then our life,
Who knows, or more then this, that we are dull,
And thither must return and be no more.
Why else this double object in our fight
Of Flight pursu’d in th’ Air and ore the ground
One way the self-same hour? why in the East
Darkness ere Dayes mid-courfe, and Morning light
More orient in yon Western Cloud that draws
O’re the blew Firmament; a radiant white,
And flow descends, with something heavenly fraught.
He err’d not, for by this the heav’nly Bands
Down from a Skie of Jasper lighted now

188 hunter] Hunter 201 fight] All 1674 copies examined show the first letter of this word as a worn f instead of the ’t’ obviously needed, and almost certainly intended. So far as I know, no editor ever questioned the ’t’ that so obviously belongs here. The error no doubt arose from foul case, and went unsuspected. But the attached magnification clearly shows the crossbar of the f although certainly the word should read ’fight’ and not as it appears.
In Paradise, and on a Hill made alt,
A glorious Apparition, had not doubt
And carnal fear that day dimm'd Adam's eye.
Not that more glorious, when the Angels met
Jacob in Mahanaim, where he saw
The field Pavillion'd with his Guardians bright;
Nor that which on the flaming Mount appeard
In Dorban, cover'd with a Camp of Fire,
Against the Syrian King, who to surprize
One man, Assailin-like had levied War,
Warr unproclaim'd. The Princely Hierarch
In thir bright land, there left his Powers to seize
Possession of the Garden; hee alone,
To find where Adam shelter'd, took his way,
Not unperceav'd of Adam, who to Eve,
While the great Visitant approachd, thus spake.
Eve, now expect great tidings, which perhaps
Of us will soon determin, or impose
New Laws to be observ'd; for I descrie
From yonder blazing Cloud that veils the Hill
One of the heav'nly Host, and by his Gate
None of the meanest, some great Potentate
Or of the Thrones above, such Majestie
Invests him coming? yet not terrible,
That I should fear, nor sociably mild,
As Raphael, that I should much confide,
But solemn and sublime, whom not to offend,
With reverence I must meet, and thou retire.
He ended; and the Arch-Angel soon drew nigh,
Not in his shape Celestial, but as Man
Clad to meet Man, over his lucid Armes
A militarie Vext of purple flowd
Livelier then Melibœan, or the graine
Of Sarr, worn by Kings and Hero's old

Running Head, Book XI.] 1674 copies 5 and 20 have a space work-up between k and X
215-219 There is a break in type alignment at the extreme right of these five lines. 216 Nor
So spaced in all copies examined. 223 find] finde 231 the] The t is worn in all copies examined.
233 coming?] coming; Probably the 1674 question mark is the result of foul case. 237 With
The W is wrong font.
Book XI. Paradise Lost. 293

In time of Truce; Iris had dipt the wooff;
His Harrie Helme unbuckl'd shew'd him prime
In Manhood where Youth ended; by his hide
As in a glistening Zodiac hung the Sword,
Satans dire dread, and in his hand the Spear.
Adam bow'd low, hee Kingly from his State.
Inclin'd not, but his coming thus declar'd.

Adam, Heavn's high behest no Preface needs:
Sufficient that thy Prayers are heard, and Death,
Then due by sentence when thou didst transgres,
Defeated of his seifure many dayes.
Giv'n thee of Grace, wherein thou may'st repent,
And one bad act with many deeds well done
Mayst cover: well may then thy Lord appeas'd
Redeem thee quite from Deaths rapacious claim.

But longer in this Paradise to dwell
Permits not; to remove thee I am come,
And send thee from the Garden forth to till
The ground whence thou walt tak'n, fitter Soile.
He added not, for Adam at the newes
Heart-strook with chilling gripe of forrow flood,
That all his senses bound; Eve, who unsee
Yet all had heard, with audible lament
Discover'd soon the place of her retire,
O unexpected stroke, worse then of Death!
Must I thus leave thee Paradise? thus leave
Thee Native Soile, thee happie Walks and Shades,
Fit haunt of Gods? where I had hope to spend,
Quiet though sad, the respite of that day
That must be mortal to us both. O flouris,
That never will in other Climate grow.

My early visitation, and my last
At Ev'rn, which I bred up with tender hand
From the first op'ning bud, and gave ye Names,

Who

Running Head. Book.] The top of the k is broken in most copies examined. 259 Paradise]
The dot over the i is faint in all 1674 copies examined.
294 Paradise Lost. Book XI.

Who now shall reare ye to the Sun, or ranke
Your Tribes, and water from th' ambroial Fount?

Thee lastly nuptial Bowre, by mee adorn'd
With what to light or smell was sweet: from thee
How shall I part, and whither wander down
Into a lower World, to this obscure
And wilde, how shall we breath in other Aire

Lest pure, accustomed to immortal Fruits?
Whom thus the Angel interrupted milde.

Lament not Eve, but patiently resign
What justly thou hast lost; nor set thy heart,
Thus over-fond, on that which is not thine;

Thy going is not lonely, with thee goes
Thy Husband, him to follow thou art bound;
Where he abides, think there thy native soile.

Adam by this from the cold sudden damp
Recovering, and his scatter'd spirits returnd,

To Michael thus his humble words address'd.

Celestial, whether among the Thrones, or nam'd
Of them the Higheft, for fuch of shape may seem
Prince above Princes, gently haft thou tould
Thy message, which might else in telling wound,

And in performing end us; what besides
Of sorrow and dejection and despair
Our frailtie can sustaine, thy tidings bring,
Departure from this happy place, our sweet
Reces, and onely consolation left

Familiar to our eyes, all places else
Ininhabitable appeare and defolate,
Nor knowing us nor known: and if by prayer
Inceffant I could hope to change the will
Of him who all things can, I would not ceafe

To wearie him with my affiduous cries:
But prayer against his absolute Decree

No
Book XI. **Paradise Lost.** 295

No more availes then breath against the winde,
Blown flifting back on him that breaths it forth:
Therefore to his great bidding I submit.

This molt afflicts me, that departing hence,
As from his face I shall be hid, deprivd
His blessed count'nance; here I could frequent,
With worship, place by place where he voul'd
Presence Divine, and to my Sons relate;
On this Mount he appeard, under this Tree
Stood visible, among these Pines his voice
I heard, here with him at this Fountain talk'd:
So many grateful Altars I would reare
Of grafifie Terfe, and pile up every Stone
Of fhard from the brook, in memorie,
Or monument to Ages, and thereon
Offer sweet smelling Gumms and Fruits and Flours:
In yonder nether World where shall I seek
His bright appearances, or foot step-trace?
For though I fled him angrie, yet recall'd
To life prolongd and promisd Race, I now
Gladly behold though but his utmost skirts
Of glory, and farr off his steps adore.
To whom thus Michael with regard benigne.

Adam, thou know'st Heaven's, and all the Earth,
Not this Rock onely; his Omniprefence fills
Land, Sea, and Aire, and every kinde that lives,
Fomented by his virtual power and warm'd:
All th' Earth he gave thee to possess and rule,
No defpicable gift; furnite not then
His presence to these narrow bounds confin'd
Of Paradise or Eden: this had been
Perhaps thy Capital Seare, from whence had spred
All generations, and had hither come
From all the ends of th' Earth, to celebrate

U 4

And

Running Head. Paradise] The first a is battered in all copies examined. loft.] The recurrent round period. Page Number. 435] The 5 is broken in all copies examined. 313 forth:] Italic colon. 318 he]]] Stressed 322 First and | 328 World] W is wrong font. 329 foot step-trace?] footstep trace? Doubtless the effort was made to put a hyphen between foot and step but it was misplaced. 334 To] The T is italic. 335 Earth.] Earth. The 1674 period is probably the result of foul case; but see also my note, volume 2:595. 336 Omniprefence] The O is wrong font.
296 Paradise Lost. Book XI.

And reverence thee thir great Progenitor,
But this præeminence thou haft loft, brought down
To dwell on eeven ground now with thy Sons:
Yet doubt not but in Vallie and in plaine
God is as here, and will be found alike
Prefent, and of his presence many a signe
Still following thee, still compassing thee round
With goodness and paternal Love, his Face
Express, and of his steps the track Divine.
Which that thou mayst believe, and be confirmed
Ere thou from hence depart, know I am sent
To shew thee what shall come in future dayes
To thee and to thy Offspring; good with bad
Expect to hear, supernal Grace contending
With sinfullness of Men; thereby to learn
True patience, and to temper joy with fear
And pious sorrow, equally enured
By moderation either flate to beare,
Prosperous or adverse: so shalt thou lead
Safeft thy life, and best prepar'd endure
Thy mortal passeage when it comes. Ascend
This Hill; let Eve (for I have drencht her eyes)
Here sleep below while thou to foresight wak'lt,
As once thou slept, while Shee to life was form'd.
To whom thus Adam gratefully repli'd.
Ascend, I follow thee, safe Guide, the path
Thou lead'lt me, and to the hand of Heav'n submit,
However chast'ning, to the evil turne
My obvious breast, arming to overcom
By sufferings, and earne ref't from labour won,
If so I may attain. So both ascend
In the Visions of God; It was a Hill
Of Paradise the highest, from whose top
The Hemisphære of Earth in clearest Ken

349 Vallie | The V is wrong font. plaine] Plaine 352 compassing] The Columbia note is wrong. The second f is broken, but unmistakable. The ff is a ligature with the top of the second f broken off. For the form of the ligature, see Book 11:299 meassage, and elsewhere.
355 confirmed] confirmed, 367 (for) The parenthesis is battered in all copies examined.
369 form'd | The recurrent hollow period.
Book XI. Paradise Lost. 297

380 Stretch out to the amplest reach of prospect lay.

Not higher than Hill nor wider looking round,

Whereon for different cause the Tempter set

Our second Adam in the Wildernefs,

To shew him all Earths Kingdomes and thir Glory.

385 His Eye might there command wherever stood

City of old or modern Fame, the Seat

Of mightiest Empire, from the delind Walls

Of Cambalu, seat of Cathaian Can

And Samarchand by Oxus, Temirs Throne,

390 To Paukin of Sinean Kings, and thence

To Agra and Labor of great Mogul

Down to the golden Chersonese, or where

The Persian in Ecbatan fate, or since

In Hispahan, or where the Russian Ksar

395 In Mejo, or the Sultan in Bizzance,

Turcestan-born; nor could his eye not ken

Th' Empire of Negus to his utmost Port

Ercoco and the lefts Maritimes Kings

Mombaza, and Quilao, and Melind,

400 And Sofala thought Ophir, to the Realme

Of Congo, and Angola farthest South;

Or thence from Niger Flood to Atlas Mount

The Kingdoms of Almanfor, Fez and Sus,

Marocco and Algiers, and Tremisen;

405 On Europe thence, and where Rome was to sway

The World: in Spirit perhaps he also saw

Rich Mexico the seat of Motzume,

And Cufco in Peru, the richer seat

Of Atibalipa, and yet unspoil'd

410 Guiana, whose great Citie Geryon's Sons

Call El Dorado: but to nobler sights

Michael from Adams eyes the Filme remov'd

Which that false Fruit that promis'd clearer sight

Had

Running Head. Lost.] The recurrent battered period. 380 to the amplest reach] to amplest reach It is difficult to account for this insertion, unless it was an accident. Milton may have wanted 'th' amplest' but the meter scarcely needs another syllable. 394 Hispahan,] Hispahan, Short sp ligature in 1674 and long fp ligature in 1667. 398 Maritim] Maritime
298 Paradise Lost. Book XI.

Had bred; then purg'd with Euphrafic and Rue
The visual Nerve, for he had much to see;
And from the Well of Life three drops instill'd.
So deep the power of these Ingredients pierc'd,
Eevn to the inmost seat of mental flight,
That Adam now enforc'd to close his eyes,
Sunk down and all his Spirits became intranxt:
But him the gentle Angel by the hand
Soon rais'd; and his attention thus recall'd,

Adam, now ope thine eyes, and first behold
Th' effects which thy original crime hath wrought
In some to spring from thee, who never touch'd
Th' excepted Tree, nor with the Snake conspir'd,
Nor finn'd thy fin, yet from that derive
Corruption to bring forth more violent deeds.
His eyes he op'd; and beheld a field,

Part arable and tith'd, whereon were Sheaves
New reapt, the other part sheep-walks and foulds;
Ith' midst an Altar as the Land-mark stood
Rustic, of grassie ford; thither anon
A sweetie Reaper from his Tillage brought

First Fruits, the green Eare, and the yellow Sheaf,
Uncull'd, as came to hand; a Shepherd next
More meek came with the Firstlings of his Flock
Choiceft and best; then sacrificing, laid
The Inwards and thir Fat, with Incense strew'd,

On the cleft Wood, and all due Rites perform'd.
His Offering soon propitious Fire from Heav'n
Consum'd with nimble glance, and grateful steame;
The others not, for his was not sincere;
Whereat hee inflde rag'd, and as they talk'd,

Smote him into the Midriff with a stone
That beat out life; he fell, and deadly pale
Groad out his Soul with gushing blood effus'd.

Much

Running Head. Loft.] The broken L of pages 249, 268, and 330. 427 that derive] that fin derive
The word 'fin' is needed for the meter. 440 perform'd.] The period is too high in all copies examined. 445 steame;] The semicolon is very faint in most copies examined.
Book XI. Paradise Lost.

Much at that sight was Adam in his heart Dismaid, and thus in haste to th’ Angel cri’d.

O Teacher, some great mischief hath befall’n
To that meek man, who well had sacrific’d;
Is Pietie thus and pure Devotion paid?

T’ whom Michael thus, bee also mov’d, repli’d.

These two are Brethren, Adam, and to come

Out of thy loyns, th’ unjust the just hath slain,
For envie that his Brothers Offering found
From Heav’n acceptance; but the bloody Fact
Will be aveng’d, and th’ others Faith approv’d
Loose no reward, though here thou see him die,

Rowling in dust and gore. To which our Sire.

Alas, both for the deed and for the cause!

But have I now seen Death? Is this the way
I must return to native dust? O sight

Of terour, foul and ugly to behold,

Horrid to think, how horrible to feel!

To whom thus Michael. Death thou hast seen
In his first shape on man; but many shapes
Of Death, and many are the wayes that lead
To his grim Cave, all dismal; yet to sense

More terrible at th’ entrance then within.

Some, as thou saw’st, by violent stroke shall die,
By Fire, Flood, Famin, by Intemperance more
In Meats and Drinks, which on the Earth shall bring
Diseases dire, of which a monstrous crew

Before thee shall appear; that thou mayst know
What miferie th’ inabstinence of Eve
Shall bring on men. Immediately a place
Before his eyes appeared, sad, noyous, dark,
A Lazar-house is seemd, wherein were laid

Numbers of all diseas’d, all maladies
Of guilty Spleen, or racking torture, qualmes

Of

457 Heav’n] The recurrent worn apostrophe. 458 aveng’d,| Again, the worn apostrophe.
473 Drinks,]] The comma is very faint in many 1674 copies, but certainly was set and printed faintly in many copies. 480 thou] thal
300  **Paradise Lost.**  Book XI.

Of heart-sick Agonie, all seavorous kinds,
Convulsions, Epilepsies, fierce Catarrhs,
Intestin Stone and Ulcer, Colic pangs,

485  Daemonic Phrenzie, moaping Melancholie
And Moon-fruck madness, pining Atrophie,
Marasmus, and wide-wafting Pestilence,
Dropies, and Althma’s, and Joint-racking Rheums.

Dire was the toffin’, deep the groans, despair
Tended the sick boltiest from Couch to Couch;
And over them triumphant Death his Dart
Shook, but delaid to strike, though oft invok’t
With vows, as thir chief good, and final hope.

490  Sight to deform what heart of Rock could long
Drie-cy’d behold?  Adam could not, but wept,
Though not of Woman born; compassion quell’d
His best of Man, and gave him up to tears
A space, till firmer thoughts restrain d excess,
And scarce recovering words his plaint renew’d.

500  Omiserable Mankind, to what fall
Degraded, to what wretched state reserv’d!
Bitter end heer unborn.  Why is life giv’n
To be thus: wrenched from us?  rather why
Obtruded on us thus?  who if we knew

505  What we receive, would either not accept
Life offer’d, or soon beg to lay it down,
Glad to be so dismift in peace.  Can thus
Th’ Image of God in man created once
So goodly and erect, though faultie since,

510  To such unlightly sufferings be debas’t
Under inhuman pains?  Why should not Man,
Retaining still Divine similitude
In part, from such deformities be free,
And for his Makers Image fake exempt?

Thir
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Lines</th>
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Page from 1667, Book 10, Lines 463-494
Because a 1667 print was reproduced on the preceding page for comparison with the 1674 page, a verso as bound, this page is used only in order to have the next 1674 page, a recto as bound, print herein as a recto.
Book XI. Paradise Lost.

515 Thir Makers Image, answerd Michael then
Forsook them, when themselves they villifi'd
To serve ungovern'd appetite, and took
His Image whom they serv'd, a brutish vice,
Inductive mainly to the fin of Eve.

520 Therefore so abject is their punishment,
Disfiguring not Gods likenes, but thir own,
Or if his likenes, by themselves defac't
While they pervert pure Natures healthful rules
To loathsome sicknes, worthily since they

525 Gods Image did not reverence in themselves.
I yield it just, said Adam, and submit.
But is there yet no other way, besides
These painful passages, how we may come
To Death, and mix with our connatural dust?

530 There is, said Michael, if thou well obserue
The rule of not too much, by temperance taught
In what thou eatst and drinkst, seeking from thence
Due nourishment, not glutinous delight,
Till many years over thy head return:

535 So maist thou live, till like ripe Fruit thou drop
Into thy Mothers lap, or be with ease
Gather'd, not harshly pluckt, for death mature:
This is old age; but then thou must outlive
Thy youth, thy strength, thy beauty, which will change

540 To wither weak and gray; thy Senses then
Obufe, all taste of pleasure must forgoe,
To what thou haft, and for the Aire of youth
Hopeful and cheerful, in thy blood will reign
A melancholly damp of cold and dry

545 To weigh thy Spirits down, and last consume
The Balme of Life. To whom our Ancestor.
Henceforth I fle not Death, nor would prolong
Life much, bent rather how I may be quit

Fairest

515 Michael,] The comma is very faint in all 1674 copies examined. 524 worthily,] The comma is faint, seemingly broken, in all 1674 copies examined. 526 yield] yeild 537 mature:] The colon is italic. 539 The line is long and no spaces appear after the commas. 540 and] & 545 weigh] waigh Spirits] fpirits
Fairest and easiest of this combersome charge,
Which I must keep till my appointed day
Of rendring up, and patiently attend
My dissolution. Michael repli'd,
Nor love thy Life, nor hate; but what thou liv'st
Live well, how long or short permit to Heav'n:
And now prepare thee for another fight.
He looked and saw a spacious Plaine, whereon
Were Tents of various hue; by some were herds
Of Cattel grazing: others, whence the found
Of Instruments that made melodious chime
Was heard, of Harp and Organ; and who mooved
This stops and chords was seen: his volant touch
Infinitly through all proportions low and high
Fled and purfu'd transverse the resonant fugue.
In other part flood one who at the Forge
Labouring, two maffie clods of Iron and Bras
Had melted (whether found where casual fire
Had wasted woods on Mountain or in Vale,
Down to the veins of Earth, thence gliding hot
To som Caves mouth, or whether wait by stream
From underground ) the liquid Ore he drenid
Into fit moulds prepar'd; from which he form'd
First his own Tooles; then, what might else be wrought
Fulfil or grav'n in mettle. After these,
But on the hether side a different sort
From the high neighbouring Hills, which was thir
Down to the Plain descended: by thir guise (Seat,
Just men they seemd, and all thir study bent
To worship God aright, and know his works
Not hid, nor those things last which might preserve
Freedom and Peace to men: they on the Plain
Long had not walkt, when from the Tents behold
A Beavie of fair Women, richly gay

Running Head. XI. | The period is dropped in all copies examined. 551-552 The words and patiently attend/ My dissolution. are lacking in 1667. See reproduction, line 548, from that edition on opposite page. 551 up,] up. 552 Michael repli'd,] Michael to him repli'd. 579 left] left This change was required by the 1668 Errata.
There is, said Michael, if thou well observe,
The rule of not too much, by temperance taught
In what thou eat'st and drink'st, seeking from thence
Due nourishment, not gluttonous delight,
Till many years over thy head return:
So maist thou live, till like ripe Fruit thou drop
Into thy Mothers lap, or be with ease
Gather'd, not harshly pluck't, for death mature:
This is old age; but then thou must outlive
Thy youth, thy strength, thy beauty, which will
To witherd weak & gray; thy Senses then change
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To waigh thy spirits down, and last consume
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Henceforth I flie not Death, nor would prolong
Life much, bent rather how I may be quit
Fairest and easiest of this combrous charge,
Which I must keep till my appointed day
Of rendring up. Michael to him repli'd.
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Live well, how long or short permit to Heav'n:
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Were Tents of various hue; by some were herds
Of Cattel grazing: others, whence the sound
Of Instruments that made melodious chime
Was heard, of Harp and Organ; and who moovd
Thir flops and chords was seen: his volant touch
Instinct through all proportions low and high

Page from 1667, Book 10, Lines 527-558
Because a 1667 print was reproduced on the preceding page for comparison with the 1674 page, a verso as bound, this page is used only in order to have the next 1674 page, a recto as bound, print herein as a recto.
Book XI. Paradise Lost.

In Gems and wanton dres; to the Harp they sung
Soft amorous Ditties, and in dance came on:

The Men though grave, ey'd them, and let thir eyes
Rove without rein, till in the amorous Net
Fast caught, they lik'd, and each his liking chose;
And now of love they treat till th' Evening Star
Loves Harbinger appeared; then all in heat

They light the Nuptial Torch, and bid invoke
Hymen, then first to marriage Rites invok't;
With Feat and Mufick all the Tents refund.
Such happy interview and fair event
Of love and youth not lost, Songs, Garlands, Flours,
And charming Symphonies attach'd the heart
Of Adam, soon enclin'd to admit delight,
The bent of Nature; which he thus express'd.

True opener of mine eyes, prime Angel blest,
Much better seems this Vision, and more hope

Of peaceful dayes portends, then those two past;
Those were of hate and death, or pain much worse,
Here Nature seems fulfilld in all her ends.
To whom thus Michael. Judge not what is best
By pleasure, though to Nature seeming meet,

Created, as thou art, to nobler end
Holie and pure, conformitie divine.
Those Tents thou sawst so pleasant, were the Tents
Of wickedness, wherein shall dwell his Race
Who slew his Brother; studious they appere

Of Arts that polish Life, Inventors rare,
Unmindful of thir Maker, though his Spirit
Taught them, but they his gifts acknowledg'd none.
Yet they a beaureous offspring shall beget;
For that fair semal Troop thou sawst, that seemd

Of Goddeses, so blithe, so smooth, so gay,
Yet empty of all good wherein consists

Womans
304 Paradise Lost. Book XI.

Womans domestic honour and chief praise;
Bred onely and completed to the taste
Of lustful appetence, to sing, to dance,
620 To dress, and troule the Tongue, and roule the Eye.
To these that sober Race of Men, whose lives
Religious titl'd them the Sons of God,
Shall yield up all thir vertue, all thir fame
Ignobly, to the traines and to the smiles
625 Of these fair Atheists, and now swim in joy,
( Erelong to swim at large ) and laugh; for which
The world ere long a world of tears mult weep.

To whom thus Adam of short joy bereft.
O pittie and shame, that they who to live well
630 Enterd so faire, should turn aside to tread
Paths indireft, or in the mid way faint!
But sill I see the tenor of Mans woe
Holds on the fame, from Woman to begin.

From Mans effeminate slacknes it begins,
635 Said th' Angel, who should better hold his place
By wisdome, and superiour gifts receav'd.
But now prepare thee for another Scene.

He lookd and saw wide Territorie spred
Before him, Towns, and rural works between,
640 Cities of Men with lofty Gates and Tows,
Concourf in Arms, fierce Faces threatening Warr,
Giants of mightie Bone, and bould emprife;
Part wield thir Arms, part courb the foaming Steed,
Single or in Array of Battel rang'd

645 Both Horfe and Foot, nor idely mustring flood;
One way a Band selec't from forage drives
A herd of Beeves, faire Oxen and faire Kine
From a fat Meddow ground; or fleecy Flock,
Ewes and thir bleating Lambs over the Plaine.

650 Thir Bootie; scarce with Life the Shepherds flye.

But
Book XI.  **Paradise Lost.**

But callin aile, which makes a bloody Fray;  
With cruel Tournament the Squadrons joine;  
Where Cattle pastur’d late, now scattered lies  
With Carcasses and Arms th’enfanguind Field.

655 Deferr’d: Others to a City strong  
Lay Seige, encamp’d; by Batterie, Scale, and Mine,  
Assaulting; others from the wall defend  
With Dart and Jav’lin, Stones and fulfurious Fire;  
On each hand slaughter and gigantic deeds.

660 In other part the Scept’r’d Haralds call  
To Council in the City Gates: anon  
Grey-headed men and grave, with Warriors mixt,  
Assemble, and Harangues are heard, but soon  
In factious opposition, till at last  
665 Of middle Age one rousing, eminent  
In wise deport, speak much of Right and Wrong,  
Of Justice, of Religion, Truth and Peace,  
And Judgment from above: him old and young  
Exploded and had feiz’d with violent hands,

670 Had not a Cloud descending snatch’d him thence  
Unfeen amid the throng: so violence  
Proceed, and Oppression, and Sword-Law  
Through all the Plain, and refuge none was found,  
Adam was all in tears, and to his guide

675 Lamenting turn’d full fad: O what are these,  
Deaths Ministers, nor Men, who thus deal Death  
Inhumanly to men, and multiply  
Ten thousandfould the fin of him who flew  
His Brother; for of whom such marshaller

680 Make they but of this Brothren, men of men?  
But who was that Juxt Man, whom had not Heav’n  
Refus’d, had in his Righteousness bin lost?  
To whom thus Michael: These are the product  
Of those ill mated Marriages thou saw’st:

X  

Where

---

Running Head. Loft.] The recurrent round period. 651 callin] call in makes] tacks Beeching printed ‘tacks’ and put ‘makes’ in a footnote; but I am inclined to believe that this was a deliberate emendation made by Milton or his emissary. The word ‘tacks’ in 1667 which has baffled all commentators so far as meaning is concerned, is almost a technical or semi-technical military term that means, or meant, ‘to join in combat.’ But Milton was probably led to change it because it was not clear to many readers. Newton (1749) thought the line was clearer after the change, indicating that the word ‘tacks’ meant little to him. Verity (1910) thought that the word ‘tacks’ was meaningless, and stated categorically that Milton never used the word elsewhere; but he did, see *History of Britain*, volume 10 (Columbia), page 71, line 19 ‘it was Venusius who even to these times held them tack, both himself remaining to the end unvanquish’d, and some part of his Country not so much as reach’t.’ The word ‘tack’ also appears as a noun in *Of Reformation*, 3:85, ‘the Protector . . . holding tack against two of the Kings Generals, made them of force content themselves . . .’. 653 Cattle] Cattel 657 wall] Wall 668 Judgment] Judgement 669 Exploded] Exploded, 676 Deaths] The D is battered in all copies examined. 678 thousandfould] thousand fould 683 Michael] Michael; 684 ill mated] ill-mated faw’ft:] faw’d;
Where good with bad were match’d, who of them—Abhor to joyn; and by imprudence mixt, (selves Produce prodigious Births of bodie or mind.

Such were these Giants, men of high renown; For in those days Might only shall be admir’d,

And Valour and Heroic Vertu call’d;

To overcome in Battle, and subdue Nations, and bring home spoils with infinite Man-slaughter, shall be held the highest pitch

Of human Glorie, and for Glorie done

Of triumph, to be fly’d great Conquerours, Patrons of Mankind, Gods, and Sons of Gods, Destroyers rightlier call’d and Plagues of men.

Thus Fame shall be achiev’d, renown on Earth, And what most merits fame in silence hid,

But hee the seventh from thee, whom thou beheldst

The onely righteous in a World perverse,

And therefore hated, therefore so belst

With Foes for daring single to be just,

And utter odious Truth, that God would come

To judge them with his Saints: Him the most High
Rapt in a balmie Cloud with winged Steeds
Did, as thou sawst, receive, to walk with God

High in Salvation and the Climes of blifs,

Exempt from Death; to shew thee what reward

Awaits the good, the rest what punishment?

Which now direct thine eyes and soon behold.

He look’d, and saw the face of things quite chang’d,

The brazen Throat of Warr had call’d to roar,

All now was turn’d to jollity and game,

To luxuric and riot, feast and dance,

Marrying or prostituting, as befell,

Rape or Adulterie, where passing faire

Allur’d them; thence from Cups to civil Broiles.

At
Book XI. Paradise Lost.

At length a Reverend Sire among them came,
And of thir doings great dislike declar'd,
And testifi'd against thir wayes; hee off
Frequented thir Assemblies, wherefo met,
Triumphs or Festivals, and to thim preach'd
Conversion and Repentance, as to Souls

In Prifon under Judgements imminent:
But all in vain: which when he saw, he ceas'd
Contending, and remov'd his Tents far off,
Then from the Mountain hewing Timber tall,
Began to build a Vessel of huge bulk,

Smeard round with Pitch, and in the side adore
Contriv'd, and of provisions laid in large

Thir order: last the Sire, and his three Sons
With thir four Wives; and God made fast the door.
Meanwhile the Southwind rose, and with black wings
Wide hovering, all the Clouds together drove

From under Heav'n; the Hills to their suppliance,
Vapour, and Exhalation dhusk and moist,
Sent up amain; and now the thick'nd Skie
Like a dark Ceeling flood; down rush'd the Rain
Impetuous, and continu'd till the Earth

No more was seen; the floating Vessel swim
Uplifted; and secure with beaked prow
Rode tilting o're the Waves, all dwellings else
Flood overwhelm'd, and them with all thir pomp
Deep under water round; Sea cover'd Sea,

Sea without shore; and in thir Palaces
Where luxurie late reign'd, Sea-monsters whelp'd
And ftabl'd; of Mankind, so numerous late,

X 2

All

---
Paradise Lost. Book XI.

All left, in one small bottom swim imbar'kt.
How didst thou grieve then, Adam, to behold

The end of all thy Offspring, end to sad,
Depopulation; thee another Floud,
Of tears and sorrow a Floud thee also drown'd,
And sunk thee as thy Sons; till gently reard
By th' Angel, on thy feet thou stoodst at last,

Though comfortles, as when a Father mourns
His Children, all in view destroy'd at once,
And scarce to th' Angel utter'd thus thy plaint.

O Visions ill foreseen! better had I
Liv'd ignorant of future, so had borne

My part of evil onely, each dayes lot
Anough to bear; those now, that were dispens'd
The burd'n of many Ages, on me light
At once, by my foreknowledge gaining Birth
Abortive, to torment me ere thir being.

With thought that they must be. Let no man seek
Henceforth to be foretold what shall befall
Him or his Children, evil he may be sure,
Which neither his foreknowing can prevent,
And hee the future evil shall no les.

In apprehension then in substance feel
Grievous to bear: but that care now is past,
Man is not whom to warne: those few escap't
Famin and anguish will at last consume
Wandring that wartie Defert: I had hope

When violence was ceas't, and Warr on Earth,
All would have then gon well, peace would have
With length of happy dayes the race of man; (crownd
But I was farre deceav'd: for now I see
Peace to corrupt no les then Warr to waste.

How comes it thus? unfoold, Celetiall Guide,
And whether here the Race of man will end

Running Head. Lof[t.] The L is broken, see also pages 248, 276, and 324.
761 Children.] Children. But note the unchanged 1667 form on this same page in line 772.
763 foreseen] The top of the f is broken off in most copies examined. 765 onely,[ ] The first syllable is stressed.
766 beare;] bear; 776 bear:] I talic colon. 779 Wandring] The W is wrong font. 782 With] The W is wrong font. 784 Warr] The W is wrong font. 786 end,[ ] In many 1674 copies examined the period is entirely lacking.
To whom thus Michael. Those whom left thou sawst
In Triumph and luxurious wealth, are they
First seen in acts of prowess eminent

And great exploits, but of true vertu void;
Who having spilt much blood, and don much waiet
Subduing Nations, and achieved thereby
Fame in the World, high titles, and rich prey,
Shall change their course to pleasure, ease, and sloth,

Surfeit, and lust, till wantonness and pride
Raise out of friendship hostil deeds in Peace,
The conquers also, and enslav'd by War
Shall with their freedom lost all vertue loose
And fear of God, from whom their piety feign'd

In sharp contest of Battle found no aide
Against invaders; therefore could in zeal
Thenceforth shall practice how to live secure,
Worldlie or dissolute, on what their Lords
 Shall leave them to enjoy; for th' Earth shall bear
More then enough, that temperance may be tri'd:
So shall turn degenerate, all deprav'd,
Justice and Temperance, Truth and Faith forgot;
One Man except, the onely Son of light
In a dark Age, against example good,

Against allurement, custom, and a World
Offended; fearless of reproach and scorn,
Or violence, hee of thir wicked ways
Shall them admonish, and before them set
The paths of righteousness, how much more safe,

And full of peace, denouncing wrauth to come
On thir impenitence; and shall returne
Of them derided, but of God obserued
The one just Man alive; by his command
Shall build a wondrous Ark, as thou beheldist,

To save himself and household from midst

X 3
310 **Paradise Lost. Book XI.**

A World devote to universal rack.
No sooner hee with them of Man and Beast
Select for life shall in the Ark be lodg’d,
And shelter’d round, but all the Cataracts

Of Heav’n fet open on the Earth shall powre
Raine day and night, all fountains of the Deep
Broke up, shall heave the Ocean to usurp
Beyond all bounds, till inundation rise
Above the highest Hills: then shall this Mount

Of Paradise by might of Waves be mov’d
Out of his place, push’d by the horned floud,
With all his verdure spoil’d, and Trees adrift
Down the great River to the op’ning Gulf,
And there take root an Island falt and bare,

The haunt of Scales and Orcs, and Sea-mews clang.
To teach thee that God attributes to place
No sandtie, if none be thither brought
By Men who there frequent, or therein dwell.
And now what further shall ensue, behold.

He look’d, and saw the Ark hull on the floud,
Which now abated, for the Clouds were fled,
Drivn by a keen North-winde, that blowing drie
Wrinkl’d the face of Deluge, as dec’d;
And the clear Sun on his wide wat’rie Glafs

Gaz’d hot, and of the first Wave largely drew,
As after third, which made thir flowing shrink
From standing lake to tripping ebbe, that stole
With soft foot towards the deep, who now had stop’d
His Sluces, as the Heav’n his windows shut.

The Ark no more now floates, but seems on ground
Fast on the top of som high mountain fixt.
And now the tops of Hills as Rocks appeare;
With clamor thence the rapid Currents drive
Towards the retreating Sea thir furious tyme.

Forth-
Book XI.  Paradise Lost.  311

855  Forthwith from out the Arke a Raven flies,
     And after him, the furious messenger,
     A Dove sent forth once and again to spy
     Green Tree or ground whereon his foot may light;
     The second time returning, in his Bill

860  An Olive leaf he brings, pacific signe:
     Anon drie ground appeares, and from his Arke
     The ancient Sire descends with all his Train;
     Then with uplifted hands, and eyes devout,
     Grateful to Heav'n, over his head beholds

865  A dewie Cloud, and in the Cloud a Bow
     Conspicuous with three lifted colours gay,
     Betok'ning peace from God, and Cov'nant new.
     Whereat the heart of Adam cri'd so sad
     Greatly rejoic'd, and thus his joy broke forth.

870  O thou who future things canst represent
     As present, Heav'nly instructor, I revive
     At this last sight, assur'd that Man shall live
     With all the Creatures, and this seed preserve.
     Farr less I now lament for one whole World

875  Of wicked Sons destroyed, then I rejoice
     For one Man found so perfect and so piet,
     That God vouchsafes to raise another World
     From him, and all his anger to forget.
     But say, what mean those colour'd streaks in Heav'n,

880  Distracted as the Brow of God appeas'd,
     Or serve they as a flourie verge to binde
     The fluid skirts of that same wat'rie Cloud,
     Lastly it again disslove and shew the Earth?
     To whom th' Archangel. Dextrously thou art;

885  So willingly doth God remit his Ire,
     Though late repenting him of Man deprav'd,
     Griev'd at his heart, when looking down he saw
     The whole Earth fill'd with violence, and all fleth

Cor.
312 **Paradise Lost.** Book XI.

Corrupting each thir way; yet those remov'd,
890 Such grace shall one just Man find in his flight,
That he relents, nor to blot out mankind,
And makes a Covenant never to destroy
The Earth again by flood, nor let the Sea
Surpass his bounds, nor Rain to drown the World
895 With Man therein or Beast; but when he brings
Over the Earth a Cloud, will therein set
His triple-colour'd Bow, whereon to look
And call to mind his Cov'nant: Day and Night,
Seed time and Harvest, Heat and hoary Frost
900 Shall hold thir course, till fire purge all things new,
Both Heav'n and Earth, wherein the just shall dwell.

---

**The End of the Eleventh Book.**

---

**Paradise**

889 thir way: thirway: 890-901 In some but not all 1674 copies examined, the initial letters of these lines have dropped. 901 The first edition continues after this line with the remainder of the poem in what in that edition is Book 10. The left-hand end of the second rule prints clearly, faintly, and not at all in various 1674 copies.
In order to keep 1674 Book 12, page 31[3] as a recto and to have the reproduction from 1667 opposite it, this preceding recto is used for a sort of introduction. On its verso appear reproductions from 1667, the first of which was originally printed verso and the second recto, then 1674 page 31[3] follows as the recto it is, on a recto page of this facsimile edition.
Of the
TENTH BOOK

The Son of God presents to his Father the Prayers of our first Parents now repenting, and intercedes for them: God accepts them, but declares that they must no longer abide in Paradise; sends Michael with a Band of Cherubim to dispossess them; but first to reveal to Adam future things: Michael's coming down. Adam shows to Eve certain ominous signs; he discerns Michael's approach, goes out to meet him; the Angel denounces their departure. Eve's Lamentation. Adam pleads, but submits: The Angel leads him up to a high Hill, sets before him in vision what shall happen till the Flood; thence from the Flood relates, and

The Argument.

and by degrees explains, who that Seed of the Woman shall be; his Incarnation, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension; the State of the Church till his second Coming. Adam greatly satisfied and reconciled by these Relations and Promises descends the Hill with Michael; wakens Eve, who all this while had slept, but with gentle dreams composed to quietness of mind and submission. Michael in either band leads them out of Paradise, the fiery Sword waving behind them, and the Cherubim taking their Stations to guard the Place.

THE

The Argument (First Printing) of 1667 Book 10
Paradise Lost.

BOOK XII.

THE ARGUMENT.

The Angel Michael continues from the Flood to relate what shall succeed; then, in the mention of Abraham, comes by degrees to explain, who that Seed of the Woman shall be, which was promised Adam and Eve in the Fall; his Incarnation, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension; the state of the Church till his second Coming. Adam greatly satisfied and reconsoled by these Relations and Promises descends the Hill with Michael; wakens Eve, who all this while had slept, but with gentle dreams compos'd to quietness of mind and submission. Michael in either hand leads them out of Paradise, the fiery Sword waving behind them, and the Cherubim taking their Stations to guard the Place,
314 Paradise Lost. Book XII.

As one who in his journey bates at Noone,
Though bent on speed, so heer the Arch-
angel pau'd
Betwixt the world destroy'd and world re-
If Adam aught perhaps might interpose; (flord,
Then with transition sweet new Speech refumes.
Thus thou haft feen one World begin and end;
And Man as from a second flock proceed.
Much thou haft yet to see, but I perceave
Thy mortal sight to faile, objects divine
Muit needs impaire and wearie human fense:
Henceth what is to com I will relare,
Thou therefore give due audience, and attend.
This second founf of Men, while yet but few;
And while the dread of judgement pait remains
Freh in thir mindes, fearing the Deifie,
With some regard to what is juft and right
Shall lead thir lives, and multiplie apace,
Labouring the foile, and reaping plenteous crop,
Corn wine and oyle; and from the herd or flock,
Of sacrificing Bullock, Lamb, or Kid,
With large Wine-offerings pour'd, and fared Feaft,
Shall fpend thir dayes in joy unblam'd, and dwell
Long time in peace by Families and Tribes
Under paternal rule; till one shall rife
Of proud ambitious heart, who not content
With fair equalitie, fraternal fiate,
Will arrogate Dominion undeferv'd
Over his brethren, and quite difpoftes
Concord and law of Nature from the Earth,
Hunting (and Men not Beafe thall be his game)
With Warr and hostile fnare such as refufe

This page contains only thirty-two lines of print and thirty-one lines of text and the first line drops approximately one extra line below the running head. Running Head. XII.] The second I is twisted in all 1674 copies examined. 1-5 These lines are not in 1667, see reproduction from that edition for the difference here. Five lines were added in 1674 after 1667 line 897. 6 This line is not indented in 1667. 13 four[.] The rare final f coming from too close following of 1667: few; few,
The compositor has taken the mark in 1667 as a semicolon, see my note, volume 2612 on this mark in 1667. 21 Feaft,] Feaft The comma seems to be an improvement. 29 Earth ,] Earth; In the 1674 copies examined, the punctuation here seems to be a comma; but one or two copies, such as copy 17, have a faint mark above the comma. It seems to me that either mark, in 1674, might have sufficed. The mark in 1674 may be either a badly worn semicolon and the intent have been not to change the punctuation; or it may have been a comma printed because of foul case for a semicolon; or Milton or someone else may have intended to change the 1667 semicolon to a comma. There is a space before the comma in all 1674 copies examined.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
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<td>Much thou hast yet to see, but I perceive</td>
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<td>Thy mortal fight to faile; objects divine</td>
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Page from 1667, Book 10, Lines 880-911
Because a 1667 print was reproduced on the preceding page for comparison with the 1674 page, a verso as bound, this page is used only in order to have the next 1674 page, a recto as bound, print herein as a recto.
Book XII. **Paradise Lost.** 315

Subject to his Empire tyrannous:
A mightie Hunter thence he shall be stily'd
Before the Lord, as in despite of Heav'n,
Or from Heav'n claming second Sovranite;
And from Rebellion shall derive his name,
Though of Rebellion others he accuse.

Hee with a crew, whom like Ambition joyns
With him or under him to tyrannize,
Marching from Eden towards the West, shall finde
The Plain, wherein a black bituminous gurge
Boiles out from under ground, the mouth of Hell;
Of Brick, and of that stuff they cast to build
A Citie and Towre, whose top may reach to Heav'n;
And get themselves a name, least far dispers'd
In foraign Lands thir memorie be lost
Regardles whether good or evil fame.
But God who oft descends to visit men
Unseen, and through thir habitations walks
To mark thir doings, them beholding soon,
Comes down to see thir Citie, ere the Tower
Obstruct Heav'n Towrs, and in derision sets
Upon thir Tongues a various Spirit to raise
Quite out thir Native Language, and instead
To sow a jangling noife of words unknown:
Forthwith a hideous gabble rites loud
Among the Builders; each to other calls
Not understood, till hoarfe, and all in rage,
As mockt they storm; great laughter was in Heav'n
And looking down, to see the hubbub strange
And hear the din; thus was the building left
Ridiculous, and the work Confusion nam'd.
Wherefore thus Adam fatherly displeas'd.
O execrable Son to to aspire

Above

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This page contains only thirty-three lines of text. 44 and] & to Heav'n; In many copies examined there is a space work-up between these two words. 46 loft] loth. 50 To] The T is broken in all copies examined. 54 Language,] The recurrent faint comma.
Above his Brethren, to himself assuming
Authority usurpt, from God not giv'n:
He gave us onely over Beast, Fowl, Fowl
Dominion absolute; that right we hold
By his donation; but Man over men

He made not Lord; such title to himself
Referring, human left from human free.
But this usurper his encroachment proud
Stayes not on Man; to God his Tower intends
Siege and defiance: Wretched man! what food
Will he convey up thither to sustain
Himself and his rash Armie, where thin Aire
Above the Clouds will pine his entrails grofs,
And famish him of Bread, if not of Bread?
To whom thus Michael. Justly thou abhorrit

That Son, who on the quiet state of men
Such trouble brought, affecting to subdue
Rational Libertie; yet know withall,
Since thy original lapse, true Libertie
Is lost, which always with right Reason dwells

Twinn'd, and from her hath no indivial being;
Reason in man obscure'd, or not obey'd,
Immediately inordinate desires
And upstart Paltions catch the Government
From Reason, and to servitude reduce

Man till then free. Therefore since hee permits
Within himself unworthy Powers to reign
Over free Reason, God in Judgement just
Subjects him from without to violent Lords;
Who oft as undeservedly enthrall

His outward freedom: Tyrannie must be,
Though to the Tyrant thereby no excuse,
Yet sometimes Nations will decline to low

From
Book XII.  Paradise Lost.  317

From vertue, which is reafon, that no wrong,
But Justice, and some fatal curfe annex
Deprives them of thir outward libertie,
Thir inward loft: Witness th' irreverent Son
Of him who built the Ark, who for the fame
Don to his Father, heard this heavy curfe,
Servant of Servants, on his vicious Race.
Thus will this latter, as the former World,
Still tend from bad to worfe, till God at laft
Weared with thir iniquities, withdraw
His presence from among them, and avert
His holy Eyes; resolving from thenceforth
To leave them to thir own polluted wayes;
And one peculiar Nation to seleft
From all the rest, of whom to be invok'd,
A Nation from one faithful man to spring:
Him on this fide Euphrates yet refiding,
Bred up in Idol-worhip; O that men
( Canft thou believe? ) should be fo stupid grown,
While yet the Paffor liv'd, who fcap'd the Flood,
As to forfake the living God, and fall
To worfhip thir own work in Wood and Stone
For Gods! yet him God the moft High voutsafes
To call by Vifion from his Fathers houle,
His kindred and false Gods, into a Land
Which he will fhew him, and from him will raife
A mightie Nation, and upon him fhower
His benediction fo, that in his Seed
All Nations fhall be bleft; he straight obeys,
Not knowing to what Land, yet firm believes:
I fee him, but thou canft not, with what Faith
He leaves his Gods, his Friends, and native Soile
Ur of Chaldea, paffing now the Ford

This page contains only thirty-three lines of text.  Running Head, Left.] The L is broken, see also pages 252, 288, and 333.  106 worfe.] In my volume 2:615, 1667 Book 10998, no comma prints because it was lacking in the copy, 36, photographed. All other 1667 copies show the comma.  115 worhip;] The semicolon is faint in all copies examined.  126 he] hee Stressed or un-stressed?
318 Paradise Lost. Book XII.

To Haran, after him a cumbrous Train
Of Herds and Flocks, and numerous servitude;
Not wandering poor, but trusting all his wealth
With God, who call'd him, in a land unknown.

135 Canaan he now attains, I see his Tents
Pitcht about Sechem, and the neighbouring Plaine
Of Moreh; there by promise he receaves
Gift to his Progeny of all that Land;
From Hamath Northward to the Desert South

140 (Things by thir names I call, though yet unnam'd)
From Hermon East to the great Western Sea,
Mount Hermon, yonder Sea, each place behold
In prospect, as I point them; on the shoare
Mount Carmel; here the double-founted stream
Jordan, true limit Eastward; but his Sons
Shall dwell to Senir, that long ridge of Hills.
This ponder, that all Nations of the Earth
Shall in his Seed be blessed; by that Seed
Is meant thy great deliverer, who shall bruise

150 The Serpents head; whereof to thee anon
Plainlier shall be reveal'd. This Patriarch blest,
Whom faithful Abraham due time shall call,
A Son, and of his Son a Grand-child leaves,
Like him in faith, in wisdom, and renown;

155 The Grandchild with twelve Sons increaseth, departs
From Canaan, to a Land hereafter call'd
Egypt, divided by the River Nile;
See where it flows, dilgorging at heauen mouthes
Into the Sea: to sojourn in that Land

160 He comes invited by a yonger Son
In time of dearth, a Son whose worthy deeds
Raise him to be the second in that Realme
Of Pharoa: there he dies, and leaves his Race

This page contains only thirty-three lines of text. Running Head. Lost.) The recurrent round period. 155 departs] The top of the r is broken off in all copies examined.
Book XII. Paradise Lost. 319

Growing into a Nation, and now grown
165 Suspeted to a sequest King, who seeks
To stop thir overgrowth, as inmate guests
Too numerous; whence of guests he makes them slaves
Infopirably, and kills thir infant Males:
Till by two brethren (those two brethren call
170 Moses and Aaron) sent from God to claime
His people from enthralment, they return
With glory and spoile back to thir promis’d Land.
But first the lawles Tyrant, who denies
To know thir God, or message to regard,
175 Must be compell’d by Signes and Judgements dire;
To blood unshed the Rivers must be turnd,
Frogs, Lice and Flies must all his Palace fill
With loath’d intrusion, and fill all the land;
His Cattel must of Rot and Murren die,
180 Botches and blaines must all his fleth imbofs,
And all his people; Thunder mixt with Haile,
Haile mixt with fire must rend th’ Egyptian Skie
And wheel on th’ Earth, devouring where it rouls;
What it devours not, Herb, or Fruit, or Graine,
185 A darksom Cloud of Locusts swarming down
Must eat, and on the ground leave nothing green:
Darknes must overshadow all his bounds,
Palpable darknes, and blot out three dayes;
Left with one midnight stroke all the first-born
190 Of Egypt must lie dead. Thus with ten wounds
The River-dragon tam’d at length submits
To let his sojourners depart, and off
Humbles his stubborn heart, but still as Ice
More hard’n after thaw, till in his rage
195 Pursuing whom he late dismis’d, the Sea
Swallows him with his Host, but them lets pass

This page contains only thirty-three lines of text. Running Head. Lost.] The recurrent round period. 191 The] This: The article seems to be wanted here.
Paradise Lost. Book XII.

As on drie land between two chriftal walls,
Aw'd by the rod of Moses fo to fand
Divided, till his refcu'd gain thir fhoar:

Such wondrous power God to his Saint will lend,
Though prefent in his Angel, who fhall goe
Before them in a Cloud, and Pillar of Fire,
By day a Cloud, by night a Pillar of Fire,
To guide them in thir journey, and remove

Behind them, while th' obdurat King pursues:
All night he will pursue, but his approach
Darknefs defends between till morning Watch;
Then through the Firey Pillar and the Cloud
God looking forth will trouble all his Hoft

And craze thir Chariot wheels: when by command
Moses once more his potent Rod extends
Over the Sea: the Sea his Rod obeys;
On thir imbarrelld ranks the Waves return,
And overwhelm thir Warr: the Race elect

Safe towards Canaan from thofe fhoar advance
Through the wilde Defert, not the readielt way,
Left entering on the Canaanite aifarmd
Warr terrifie them inexpert, and feare
Return them back to Egypp, choofing rather

Inglorious life with fervitude: for life
To noble and ignoble is more fweet
Untrained in Armes, where rashnefs leads not on.
This alfo fhall they gain by thir delay
In the wide Wilderness, there they fhall found

Thir government, and thir great Senate choofe
Through the twelve Tribes, to rule by Laws ordaind:
God from the Mount of Sinai, whose gray top
Shall tremble, he descending, will himself
In Thunder Lightning and loud Trumpets found

Ordaine

This page contains only thirty-three lines of text. 203 Pillar] pillar 213 thir ]] Almost certainly stressed. 225 thir ]] Stressed? 228 he ]] Stressed.
Book XII.  Paradise Lost.  321

230  Ordaine them Lawes; part such as appertaine
To civil Juftice, part religious Rites
Of sacrifice, informing them, by types
And shadoes, of that deftiny Seed to bruife
The Serpent, by what means he shall achieve
235  Mankinds deliverance. But the voice of God
To mortal ear is dreadful; they befeech
That Moses might report to them his will,
And terror ceafe; he grants what they befaught
Insructed that to God is no acess
240  Without Mediator, whose high Office now
Moses in figure beares, to introduce
One greater, of whose day he shall foretell,
And all the Prophets in thir Age the times
Of great Messiah shall sing. Thus Laws and Rites
245  Establifhit, fuch delight hath God in Men
Obedient to his will, that he voutfafes
Among them to set up his Tabernacle,
The holy One with mortal Men to dwell:
By his prefcript a Sanctuary is fram'd
250  Of Cedar, overlaid with Gold, therein
An Ark, and in the Ark his Testimony,
The Records of his Cov'nant, over thefe
A Mercie-feat of Gold between the wings
Of two bright Cherubim, before him burn
255  Seaven Lamps as in a Zodiac reprefenting
The Heavenly fires; over the Tent a Cloud
Shall reft by Day, a fiery gleame by Night,
Save when they journie, and at length they come;
Conducted by his Angel to the Land
260  Promisd to Abraham and his Seed: the reft
Were long to tell, how many Battels fought,
How many Kings deftroy'd, and Kingdoms won,

Or

---

This page contains only thirty-three lines of text. Running Head. Lost.] The recurrent round period. 232 by | The b is wrong font. 233 shadoes | shadoes. 234 means | means
238 he grants what they befaught] he grants them thir defire. For meter, 1667 is one syllable deficient, and the 1674 form of the line must be preferred. This is a most remarkable metrical change. Who first caught it? 257 fierie | fierie
Paradise Lost. Book XII.

322 Or how the Sun shall in mid Heav’n stand still
A day entire, and Night’s due course adjourn.

265 Mans voice commanding, Sun in Gibeon stand,
And thou Moon in the vale of Hidran,
Till Israel overcome; so call the third
From Abraham, Son of Isaac, and from him
His whole descent, who thus shall Canaan win.

270 Here Adam interpos’d. O sent from Heav’n,
Enlightner of my darknes, gracious things
Thou hast reveal’d, those chiefly which concern
Just Abraham and his Seed: now first I finde
Mine eyes true op’ning, and my heart much eas’d,

275 Erwhile perplex’t with thoughts what would become
Of mee and all Mankind; but now I see
His day, in whom all Nations shall be blest,
Favour unmerited by me, who fought
Forbidd’n knowledge by forbidd’n means.

280 This yet I apprehend not, why to those
Among whom God will deigne to dwell on Earth
So many and so various Laws are giv’n;
So many Laws argue so many sins
Among them; how can God with such reside?

285 To whom thus Michael. Doubt not but that sin
Will reign among them, as of thee begot;
And therefore was Law given them to evince
This natural pravirie, by stirring up
Sin against Law to fight; that when they see

290 Law can discover sin, but not remove,
Save by those shadowie expirations weak,
The bloud of Bulls and Goats, they may conclude
Some bloud more precious must be paid for Man,
Juxt for unjuxt, that in such righteousness

295 To them by Faith imputed, they may finde

This page contains only thirty-three lines of text. Running Head: XII. The second I is twisted in all copies examined. 275 Erwhile; Too close following by 1674 compositor of 1667 copy. 276 Mankind; The recurrent faint semicolon. 278 me,] Stressed.
Book XII. Paradise Lost. 323

Justification towards God, and peace
Of Conscience, which the Law by Ceremonies
Cannot appease, nor Man the moral part
Perform, and not performing cannot live.

So law appears imperfect, and but giv'n
With purpose to resign them in full time
Up to a better Cov'nant, disciplin'd
From shadowie Types to Truth, from Fleth to Spirit,
From imposition of strict Laws, to free

Acceptance of large Grace, from servil fear
To filial, works of Law to works of Faith.
And therefore shall not Moes, though of God
Highly belov'd, being but the Minister
Of Law, his people into Canaan lead;

But Jofhua whom the Gentiles Jesus call,
His Name and Office bearing, who shall quell
The adversarie Serpent, and bring back
Through the worlds wilderness long wanderd man
Safe to eternal Paradise of rest.

Meanwhile they in thir earthly Canaan plac't
Long time shall dwell and prosper, but when sins
National interrupt thir public peace,
Provoking God to raise them enemies:
From whom as oft he saves them penitent

By Judges first, then under Kings; of whom
The second, both for pietie renownd
And puissant deeds, a promise shall receive
Irrevocable, that his Regal Throne
For ever shall endure; the like shall sing

All Prophecie, That of the Royal Stock
Of David (so I name this King) shall rise
A Son, the Womans Seed to thee foretold,
Foretold to Abraham, as in whom shall truft

Y 2

All
Paradise Lost. Book XII.

324

All Nations, and to Kings foretold, of Kings
The last, for of his Reign shall be no end.
But first a long succession must ensue,
And his next Son for Wealth and Wisdom fam'd,
The clouded Ark of God till then in Tents
Wandering, shall in a glorious Temple enshrine.

330

Such follow him, as shall be registred
Part good, part bad, of bad the longer scrowle,
Whose foul Idolatries, and other faults
Heat to the popular summe, will so incense
God, as to leave them, and expose thir Land,

335

Thir Citie, his Temple, and his holy Ark
With all his sacred things, a scorn and prey
To that proud Citie, whose high Walls thou saw'ft
Left in confusion, Babylon thence call'd,

340

There in captivitie he lets them dwell
The space of seventie years, then brings them back,
Remembering mercie, and his Cov'nant sworn
To David, stabilitas as the dayes of Heav'n.

345

Return'd from Babylon by leave of Kings
Thir Lords, whom God dispos'd, the house of God
They first re-edifie, and for a while
In mean estate live moderate, till grown
In wealth and multitude, factious they grow;
But first among the Priests disension springs,

350

Men who attend the Altar, and should molt
Endeavour Peace: thir strife pollution brings
Upon the Temple it self: at last they seize
The Scepter, and regard not David's Sons,

355

Then loose it to a stranger, that the true
Anointed King Messias might be born
Bar'd of his right; yet at his Birth a Starr
Unseen before in Heav'n proclaims him com,
And guides the Eastern Sages, who enquire
His place, to offer Incense, Myrrh, and Gold;
His place of birth a solemn Angel tells
To simple Shepherds, keeping watch by night;
They gladly thither haste, and by a Quire
Of squadrond Angels hear his Carol sung.
A Virgin is his Mother, but his Sire
The Power of the most High; he shall ascend
The Throne hereditarie, and bound his Reign
With earths wide bounds, his glory with the Heav'ns.
He ceas'd, discerning Adam with such joy
Surcharg'd, as had like grief bin dew'd in tears,
Without the vent of words, which thefe he breathed.

O Prophet of glad tidings, finisher
Of utmost hope! now clear I understand
What oft my steadieft thoughts have searcht in vain,
Why our great expectation should be call'd
The seed of Woman: Virgin Mother, Haile,
High in the love of Heav'n, yet from my Loynes
Thou shalt proceed, and from thy Womb the Son
Of God most High; So God with man unites.
Needs must the Serpent now his capital bruife
Except with mortal paine: say where and when
Thir fight, what stroke shall bruife the Victors heel.
To whom thus Michael. Dream not of thir fight,
As of a Duel, or the local wounds
Of head or heel: not therefore joynes the Son
Manhood to God-head, with more strength to foil
Thy enemie; nor fo is overcome
Satan, whose fall from Heav'n, a deadlier bruife,
Disablest not to give thee thy deaths wound:
Which hee, who comes thy Saviour, shall recure,
Not by destroying Satan, but his works

This page contains only thirty-three lines of text.
326  **Paradise Lost.** Book XII.

395  In thee and in thy Seed: nor can this be,
    But by fulfilling that which thou didst want,
    Obedience to the Law of God, imposed
    On penalty of death, and suffering death,
    The penalty to thy transgression due,

400  And due to theirs which out of thine will grow:
    So only can high Justice rest appaid.
    The Law of God exact he shall fulfill
    Both by obedience and by love, though love
    Alone fulfill the Law; thy punishment

405  He shall endure by coming in the Fleth
    To a reproachful life and cursed death,
    Proclaiming Life to all who shall believe
    In his redemption, and that his obedience
    Impuned becomes theirs by Faith, his merits

410  To save them, not thir own, though legal works.
    For this he shall live hated, be blasphem’d,
    Sis’d on by force, judg’d, and to death condemn’d
    A shameful and accursed, nails to the Cross
    By his own Nation, slain for bringing Life;

415  But to the Cross he nailes thy Enemies,
    The Law that is against thee, and the sins
    Of all mankind, with him there crucify’d,
    Never to hurt them more who rightly trust
    In this his satisfaction; so he dies,

420  But soon revives, Death over him no power
    Shall long usurp; ere the third dawning light
    Return, the Stars of Morn shall see him rise
    Out of his grave, fresh as the dawning light,
    Thy ransom paid, which Man from death reeems,

425  His death for Man, as many as offer Life
    Neglect not, and the benefit embrace
    By Faith not void of workes: this God-like act

    Annuls
Book XII. **Paradise Lost.**

Annuls thy doom, the death thou shouldst have dy'd,
In sin for ever lost from life; this act

Shall bruise the head of Satan, crush his strength
Defeating Sin and Death, his two maine armes,
And fixe farre deeper in his head thir slings
Then temporal death shall bruise the Victors heel,
Or theirs whom he redeems, a death like sleep,

A gentle wafting to immortal Life.

Nor after resurrection shall he stay
Longer on Earth then certaine times to appear
To his Disciples, Men who in his Life
Still followed him; to them shall leave in charge

To teach all nations what of him they learn'd
And his Salvation, them who shall beleev'e
Baptizing in the profliuent stream, the signe
Of washing them from guilt of sin to Life
Pure, and in mind prepar'd, if so befall,

For death, like that which the redeemer dy'd.
All Nations they shall teach; for from that day
Not onely to the Sons of Abraham Loines
Salvation shall be Preacht, but to the Sons
Of Abraham's Faith wherever through the world;

So in his seed all Nations shall be blest.
Then to the Heav'n of Heav'ns he shall ascend
With victory, triumphing through the aire
Over his foes and thine; there shall surprize
The Serpent, Prince of aire, and drag in Chains

Through all his Realme, and there confounded leave;
Then enter into glory, and resume
His Seat at Gods right hand, exalted high
Above all names in Heavn; and thence shall come,
When this worlds dissolution shall be ripe,

With glory and power to judge both quick and dead,

Y 4. To
Paradise Lost. Book XII.

To judge th' unfaithful dead, but to reward
His faithful, and receive them into bliss,
Whether in Heav'n or Earth, for then the Earth
Shall all be Paradise, far happier place

Then this of Eden, and far happier days.
So spake th' Archangel Michael, then praise'd,
As at the Worlds great period; and our Sire
Replete with joy and wonder thus repli'd.
O goodness infinite, goodness immense!

That all this good of evil shall produce,
And evil turn to good; more wonderful
Then that which by creation first brought forth
Light out of darkness! full of doubt I stand,
Whether I should repent me now of sin

By mee done and occasion'd, or rejoice
Much more, that much more good thereof shall spring,
To God more glory, more good will to Men
From God, and over wrath grace shall abound.
But say, if our deliverer up to Heav'n

Must ascend, what will betide the few
His faithful, left among th' unfaithful herd,
The enemies of truth; who then shall guide
His people, who defend? will they not deal
Worl with his followers then with him they deal?

Be sure they will, said th' Angel; but from Heav'n
Hee to his own a Comforter will send,
The promise of the Father, who shall dwell
His Spirit within them, and the Law of Faith
Working through love, upon thir hearts shall write,

To guide them in all truth, and also arm
With spiritual Armour, able to refiit
Satan's assaults, and quench his fiery darts,
What man can do against them, not afraid,

Though
Book XII. **Paradise Lost.**

Though to the death, against such cruelties
With inward consolement recompenct,
And oft supported so as shall amaze
Thir proudest persecuters: for the Spirit
Powrd first on his Apostles, whom he sends
To evangelize the Nations, then on all
Baptiz'd, shall them with wondrous gifts endure
To speak all Tongues, and do all Miracles,
As did thir Lord before them. Thus they win
Great numbers of each Nation to receive
With joy the tidings brought from Heav'n; at length
Thir Miniftry perform'd, and race well run,
Thir doctrine and thir story written left,
They die; but in thir room, as they forewarne,
Wolves shall succeed for teachers, grievous Wolves,
Who all the sacred mysteries of Heav'n
To thir own vile advantages shall turne
Of lucre and ambition, and the truth
With superstitions and traditions taint,
Left onely in those written Records pure,
Though not but by the Spirit understood.
Then shall they seek to avail themselves of names,
Places and titles, and with these to join
Secular power, though feigning full to act
By spiritual, to themselves appropriating
The Spirit of God, promis'd alike and giv'n
To all Believers; and from that pretende,
Spiritual Lawes by carnal power shall force
On every conscience; Laws which none shall finde
Left them inroud, or what the Spirit within
Shall on the heart engrave. What will they then
But force the Spirit of Grace it self, and finde
His confort Libertie; what, but unbuild

This page contains only thirty-three lines of text. 504 length] But about as many 1674 copies show a smear, probably from a bristle, following this word as show no mark at all. 510 thir]} Stressed?
330  **Paradise Lost.** Book XII.

His living Temples, built by Faith to stand,
Thir own Faith not anothers: for on Earth
Who against Faith and Conscience can be heard

Infallible? yet many will presume:
Whence heavey persecution shall arise
On all who in the worship persevere
Of Spirit and Truth; the rest, far greater part,
Well deem in outward Rites and specious formes

Religion satisfy'd; Truth shall retire
Beflack with flandrous darts, and works of Faith
Rarely be found: so shall the World go on,
To good malignant, to bad men benigne,
Under her own weight groaning till the day

Appea of respiraion to the just,
And vengeance to the wicked, at return
Of him so lately promis'd to thy aid
The Womans seed, obscurely then foretold,
Now ampler known thy Saviour and thy Lord,

Lalt in the Clouds from Heav'n to be reveal
In glory of the Father, to dissolve
Satan with his perverted World, then raise
From the conflagrant mafs, purg'd and refin'd,
New Heav'ns, new Earth, Ages of endless date

Founded in righteousness and peace and love
To bring forth fruits Joy and eternal Bliss.
He ended; and thus Adam last reply'd.

How soon hath thy prediction, Seer blest,
Measur'd this transient World, the Race of time,

Till time stand fixt: beyond is all abyss,
Eternitie, whose end no eye can reach.
Greatly instructed I shall hence depart,
Greatly in peace of thought, and have my fill
Of knowledge, what this Vessel can containe;

Beyond
Book XII. *Paradise Lost.*

560 Beyond which was my folly to aspire.
Henceforth I learne, that to obey is best,
And love with fear the only God, to walk
As in his presence, ever to observe
His providence, and on him sole depend,
565 Mercifull over all his works, with good
Still overcoming evil, and by small
Accomplishing great things, by things deemd weak
Subverting worldly strong, and worldly wise
By simply meek; that suffering for Truths fake
570 Is fortitude to highest victorie,
And to the faithful Death the Gate of Life;
Taught this by his example whom I now
Acknowledge my Redeemer ever blest.
To whom thus also th' Angel last repli'd:
575 This having learnt, thou shalt attain the summe
Of widsom; hope no higher, though all the Starres
Thou knewst by name, and all th' ethereal Powers,
All secrets of the deep, all Natures works,
Or works of God in Heav'n, Aire, Earth, or Sea,
580 And all the riches of this World enjoydst,
And all the rule, one Empire; onely add
Deeds to thy knowledge answerable, add Faith,
Add vertue, Patience, Temperance, add Love,
By name to come call'd Charitie, the soule
585 Of all the rest: then wilt thou not be loath
To leave this Paradise, but shalt possess
A paradise within thee, happier farr.
Let us descend now therefore from this top
Of Speculation; for the hour precise
590 Exacts our parting hence; and fee the Guards,
By mee encampt on yonder Hill, expect
Thir motion, at whose front a flaming Sword,

In
Paradise Lost. Book XII.

In signal of remove, waves fiercely round;
We may no longer stay: go, waken Eve.

Her also I with gentle Dreams have calm'd
Portending good, and all her spirits compos'd
To meek Submission: thou at season fit
Let her with thee partake what thou hast heard,
Chiefly what may concern her Faith to know.

The great deliverance by her Seed to come
(For by the Woman's Seed) on all Mankind.
That ye may live, which will be many dayes,
Both in one Faith unanimous though fad,
With cause for evils past, yet much more cheer'd

With meditation on the hap'ie end.
He ended, and they both descend the Hill;
Descended, Adam to the Bowre where Eve
Lay sleeping ran before, but found her wak't;
And thus with words not sad she him receav'd.

Whence thou returnst, and whither wentst, I know;
For God is also in sleep, and Dreams advise,
Which he hath sent propitious, some great good
Prefaging, since with sorrow and hearts diff'res
Weari'd I fell asleep: but now lead on;

In mee is no delay; with thee to goe,
Is to stay here; without thee here to stay,
Is to go hence unwilling; thou to mee
Art all things under Heav'n, all places thou,
Who for my willful crime art banish'd hence.

This further consolation yet secure
I carry hence: though all by mee is lost,
Such favour I unworthie am vouch'd for,
By mee the Promis'd Seed shall all restore.
So spake our Mother Eve, and Adam heard

Well pleas'd, but answer'd not; for now too nigh

Th' Arch.
Book XII. **Paradise Lost.**

Th' Archangel flood, and from the other Hill
To thir fixt Station, all in bright array
The Cherubim descended, on the ground
Gliding meteorous, as Ev'ning Mist

Ris'n from a River o're the marsh glides,
And gathers ground fast at the Labourers heel
Homeward returning. High in Front advance',
The brandish'd Sword of God before them blaz'd
Fierce as a Comet; which with torrid heat,

And vapour as the Libyan Air vast,
Began to parch that temperate Clime; whereat
In either hand the halting Angel caught
Our lingering Parents, and to th' Eastern Gate
Led them direct, and down the Cliff as fast

To the subjected Plaine; then disappe'red.
They looking back, all th' Eastern side beheld
Of Paradise, so late thir happy seat,
Wav'd over by that flaming Brand, the Gate
With dreadful Faces throng'd and fierie Armes:

Som natural tears they drop'd, but wip'd them soon;
The World was all before them, where to choose
Thir place of rest, and Providence thir guide:
They hand in hand with wandring leaps and flow,
Through Eden took thir solitarie way.

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**THE END.**

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