Milton and the classical tradition: an annotated bibliography

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MILTON AND THE CLASSICAL TRADITION:
AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

A Thesis
Presented to
the Faculty of the Graduate School
The University of the Pacific

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Mary Lou Myrick
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IN APPRECIATION

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For three centuries, Milton has been a source of interest to men of letters. He remains today a controversial figure and the focal point of a number of scholarly debates centered upon his work, his ideas, and his influence. Milton is one of England's most learned and hence most heavily annotated poets; and one source of controversy has been the extent to which the classical tradition gave shape to his mind and consequently informed his work. The term "classical tradition" implies no single source of influence; it is a complex and various tradition, and the question of Milton's classicism has resulted in a vast range of scholarly studies of sources, allusions, and influences.

The question has also been central to assessments of Milton's achievement as a poet. Some have viewed Milton's technique as pedantic, scoring his references to classical sources as an excessive display of learning which Milton could not sufficiently control in the structure of his work.¹

Others have argued that Milton showed great skill with classical materials, fully assimilating, modifying, and shaping them to new and subtle purposes.²

The range of Milton's learning has been examined in studies of his education. Donald L. Clark surveys the classical humanist education a student like Milton received at St. Paul's in seventeenth-century England. Erasmus, Colet, and Lily, who had organized the course of study for St. Paul's, were responsible for a rebirth of classical culture through a renewed study of classical languages and literature.³

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Other scholars trace the classical training of Milton, first with his tutor, Thomas Young, then at St. Paul's, and later at Cambridge. At Horton, Milton continued his classical studies for six years longer.

Since the classics comprised the most substantial tradition of great literature available, it is not surprising to find a serious poet imitating that tradition. Milton, as well as Shakespeare and all poets of his time, regularly informed his work with classical allusions and also worked within the genres of the classical poets. Of course, the Bible had a special status, but all serious poets wrote with one eye on Greek and Roman writers.

How deeply Milton was imbued with classical literature may be seen in the classical bent of his earliest reflections upon the epic. Milton experimented with the notes of Christian epic in paraphrasing an incident from Second Kings in his elegy to Thomas Young.

...smote their massed cohorts and their trembling king with terror when the loud
trumpet sounded in the empty air, and the
horny hoof beat the dusty plain, and the
hard-driven chariot shook the sandy earth,
and the neigh of the horses plunging into
battle was heard, and the din of steel
weapons and the deep roar of the voices
of men.6

In the *Nativity Ode*, Milton invokes a Christian
muse rather than the pagan muse of the classical poets, and
at the same time alludes to classical solar myths:

Say Heavenly Muse, shall not the sacred vein
Afford a present to the Infant God?
Hast thou no verse, no hymn, or solemn strain,
To welcome him to this his new abode,
Now while the Heav'n by the Sun's team untrod,
    Hath no print of the approaching light,
And all the spangled host keep watch in squadrons
bright?7

As early as "At a Vacation Exercise," Milton con-
sidered writing on a graver subject, and in *Of Education*,
he speaks of studying the form and style of the sublime art
of epic writing:

And now, lastly will be the time to read with them
those organic arts which enable men to discourse and
write perspicuously, elegantly, and according to the
fitted style of lofty, mean, or lowly... To which poetry
would be made less subtle and fine, but more simple,
sensuous, and passionate. I mean not here the prosody
of a verse, which they could not but have hit on before
among the rudiments of grammar; but that sublime art

6Merritt Y. Hughes, ed., "To Thomas Young," *John
Milton: Complete Poems and Major Prose* (New York: The

7Ibid. *On the Morning of Christ's Nativity*, 11.
15-21, p. 43.
which in Aristotle's *Poetics*, in Horace, and the Italian commentaries of Castelvestro, Tasso, Massoni, and others, teaches what the laws are of a true epic poem....

In *The Reason for Church Government*, Milton reflects upon a style appropriate to what appears at that time to be an Arthurian epic, which would do for England what Homer did for Greece, Virgil for Rome, and Tasso for Italy. Although some had remarked that the Athenians' eloquence made their small deeds great, Milton replied that England, by contrast, had made her noble achievements small by the unskillful handling of monks and mechanics. He carefully considers the ancient models in formulating a form for his own purposes:

Time servs [sic] not now, and perhaps seem too profuse to give any certain account of what the mind at home in the spacious circuits [sic] of her musing hath liberty to propose to her self, Though of highest hope and hardest attempting whether that Epick form whereof the two poems of Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso are diffuse, and the book of Job a brief model; or whether the rules of Aristotle herein are strictly to be kept or nature to be followed, which in them that know art and use judgment is no transgression, but an enriching art.

Many studies have demonstrated how thoroughly Milton assimilated the epic achievements of Homer and Virgil and

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adapted their conventions to the form and themes of a Christian epic. Others have shown how deeply Milton was indebted in his other works to Greek and Roman writers, particularly the pastorals of Theocritus, Ovid's *Amores*, and Virgil's *Eclogues*. And *Samson Agonistes*, although based on the Bible, owes much to the influence of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, but critics differ somewhat with respect to how closely Milton follows classical conventions. Moreover, the prose works, especially *The Reason for Church Government*, *Areopagitica*, *Art of Logic*, the Prolusions, *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*, *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*,


Of Reformation, Of Education, and the Second Defense all show the influence of the classical orators and polemicists, in particular, Plato's *Timaeus* and *Republic*; Aristotle's *Metaphysics, Ethics, and Poetics*; Cicero's *Oratore*; and Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*.14

Studies of the classical influences upon Milton's works have tended to focus upon two areas—the question of Milton's artistry in adapting classical materials, and the question of a Puritan poet's assimilation of pagan philosophy. Was Milton successful in blending pagan forms (and ideas) with Christian ideals? Was Addison correct in concluding that Milton's classical allusions and "Heathen Fables" created imperfections in his work?

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...another blemish that appears in some of his [Milton's] Thoughts is his frequent Allusion to Heathen Fables, which are not certainly of a Piece with the Divine Subject, of which he treats. I do not find fault with these Allusions, where the Poet himself represents them as Fabulous, as he does in some places, but where he mentions them as Truths and Matters of Fact.15

Because of the many scholarly studies of Milton's works, and the many questions that have yet to be resolved, an annotated bibliography of Milton's classicism is indispensable in enabling one to survey the ground that has been covered and to clarify the issues further. The observation that John M. Steadman makes about *Paradise Lost* also applies to Milton's entire canon:

Classical in form, English in medium, Biblical in subject matter, Christian in doctrine and spirit, *Paradise Lost* gave added authority to three overlapping traditions—the English vernacular epic, the neoclassic epic, and the Biblical or divine poem.16

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16 John M. Steadman, "*Paradise Lost,*" *History of*
The items in this bibliography are organized in five categories: (1) epic, (2) tragedy, (3) prose, (4) minor poetry, and (5) general criticism. Listings within these categories are alphabetical. The following bibliographies were searched:


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ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

II. EPIC

1. Paradise Lost


The story told in *Paradise Lost* requires a setting of tremendous spatial stretch. Yet, even when the story moves into remote regions which men have never seen and which they can comprehend only dimly, Milton is remarkably able to portray the scenes. The action occurs in a specific location, and every location is specifically related in space to all others. This problem is accomplished through the means of epic devices.


*Paradise Lost* is ostensibly in three parts: Fall of man, punishment, and restoration. But a closer rendering divides it into five parts: a perfect example of the Aristotelian requirements.


Benham says Milton followed the traditional epic patterns of beginning in medias res, invocation to a muse, epic similes, and combats as seen in the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, the *Aeneid*, and described in Horace's *Art of Poetry*.

Berek, Peter. "'Plain' and 'Ornate' Styles and Structures of *Paradise Lost*," *Publications Modern Language Association*, LXXXV (March 1970), 177-208.

The author suggests that the voices of the epic narrator, Satan, the Son, and the innocent and fallen Adam and Eve provide us with a context in which to evaluate the voice of the Father.
A commentary on *Paradise Lost*, including materials taken from classical and Biblical sources.

The subject of *Paradise Lost* is for the most part Biblical, but Milton uses classical machinery such as councils, debates, elaborate similes, and epic language to develop the narrative in *Paradise Lost*. The author stresses the influence of Virgil.

Bowra concludes that Milton's indebtedness to his predecessors--Homer, Virgil, Boiardo, Ariosto, Tasso, and Camoes--is unmistakable, but that the aesthetic appeal of the epic is new: "Milton's indebtedness to his predecessors is clear on every page of his poem in episodes and phrases taken from them. He had mastered the epic poetry available to him and sought to convey in a new setting what was best in the tradition. In *Paradise Lost* we find all the familiar features of the epic such as war, single combats, perilous journeys, beautiful gardens, marvelous buildings, visions of the world and of the future, expositions of the structure of the universe, and scenes in Heaven and Hell. Yet all these are so transformed that their significance and even their aesthetic appeal are new. The reason is that he has grafted his epic manner on to a subject which lies outside the main epic tradition."

Boyette says Milton's concept of marriage and love was a product of classical and Christian ideals based on Plato, Aristotle, Proclus, and the Bible as perceived in the Renaissance.

Boyette examines Milton's account of Adam and Eve's marriage and concludes that he was influenced by Plato, Aristotle, and Ficino.

The serpent simile in Paradise Lost X, 216-18 has its source in the Bible and Ovid.


Broadbent traces Milton's early plans to write a Christian epic and examines Milton's handling of epic devices. Particularly interesting is the comparison of theological concepts of heaven in Judaism, Platonism, and Christianity as shown in Paradise Lost.


Burden compares the theme of Paradise Lost with that of the Iliad and the Odyssey. Milton indicates in Book IX, 5-19 that his subject of justifying the ways of God to man superseded the subject found in the Iliad and the Odyssey. The author also examines the Nativity Ode in context of the classical ode.


Bush reviews criticism of Paradise Lost with special attention to the problem of Milton's blend of Christian and pagan ideas in Christian poetry. Bush concludes that "Milton makes it very clear that the highest natural wisdom of the pagans is a subordinate auxiliary of the Bible, that it lacks the special inspiration and final authority of Christian faith and precept." Milton, along with the Cambridge Platonists, was an exponent of Christian humanism which had its origin in Plato's works.

Bush groups background materials for *Paradise Lost* in these areas: (1) the Bible, including the apocrypha, (2) *De Doctrina Christiana*, (3) Hexameral materials such as Sylvester's *Divine Weeks* (Du Bartas), (4) Classical authors: Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Plutarch's *Lycurgus*, and Virgil's *Aeneid*.


In the introduction to the Greek translation of *Paradise Lost*, Casdagli says Milton was a very learned classical scholar. He says, "...πλείστα τῶν θεῶν τοῦ ποιητοῦ ἀναφέροντα, ποὺ μὲν εἰς τὰς Θείας Γραφὰς, ποὺ δὲ εἰς τοὺς δοξαλοὺς ἡμῶν ἐπικων καὶ τραγικοὺς ποιητὰς [...] most of the poet's stylistic qualities are traceable back either to the Holy Scriptures or to our ancient epic and tragic poets." Casdagli dedicated his translation of *Paradise Lost* to Queen Victoria of England and refers to Milton, "Εἷ καὶ τῆς ἑμὸς ἑνεκεν δεθναμίας τοῦ διάφυλακα ἀμείωτον ἐν Ἑλληνικῇ νῦν περιδολῇ ἐστερημένος ἡ εἰς τὴν καυτοῦ μεγαλοπεπείας, δώσας. χάρις τῇ Ζή Μεγαλειότητι ἐμενώδος ἀποδεξαμένη τὴν ταιευνὴν ταυτην μεταφάσαν, τὸ θεῖον τοῦ μεγαλοφυοῦς τῆς Ἀγγλίας ἄνδρος ποίημα παρουσιάκετα εἰ τῇ γλώσσῃ ἣν περιπάθος ἐφίλει, περιοδευμένον τὸ τῆς πορφύρας μεγαλεῖον. [If through my inability to preserve intact the splendor of the original verse, Milton now appears in a Greek garb deprived of his own sublimity, yet, by Your Majesty's gracious acceptance of this humble translation, the divine work of the English genius is preserved, in the language which was so dear to him, arrayed in the majesty of the purple.]


In *Paradise Lost*, Satan is shown in many different forms—cherub, vulture, wolf, thief, cormorant, lion, tiger, and toad—consistent with Pliny, Aelian, Solinus, and the Bible.

Chambers, A. B. ",'Sin' and 'Sign' in *Paradise Lost*," *Huntington Library Quarterly*, XXVI (August 1963), 381-82. *Paradise Lost* II, 758-61 is based on the Pallas Athena myth in which Athena sprang full-blown from her father's mind. Milton uses the Latin word *portentosus* to refer to the unnatural birth of Sin, and the word *sign* to denote a monstrosity of nature's sins.

Studies the temporal structure of Plato's Timaeus. For Plato and his commentators the circular image of time was perfectly realized in the theory of the Great Year which was completed and simultaneously renewed when all of the heavenly bodies returned to the same alignment which they had at the moment of creation. The cyclic movement of the Great Year was "all time," the single period of the whole which embraced all of the periods of the planets, thus making the visible world an imitation of the eternal.

Virtually every event of thematic importance in Paradise Lost occurs at either midnight or noon, polarities that are at once disparate and concordant; the action that apparently oscillates between two poles really occurs at the single noon imagined in the Great Year.


The author sees a parallel between Raphael's account of creation in Paradise Lost V, 469-512 and Tasso's Il Mondo Creato.


The dialogue between the Father and the Son on justice versus mercy is not Platonic, but rather inspired by two dialogues in the Old Testament—between God and Abraham and between God and Moses. Milton's description of the war in heaven, however, is both Homeric and Biblical.


Colie says part of the difficulty in understanding Paradise Lost is its constant references to two worlds—the classical and the Biblical—now closed to the common
reader. She concludes, however, that Milton presents these particular paradoxes so that their oppositions are fused and yet made clear.


There are three categories of myth in *Paradise Lost*, each of which is essential to the epic's proleptic structure: first, those myths identifying the pagan gods with the fallen angels; second, those myths used in comparisons with Eden, Adam, and Eve; finally in Book XI, those myths that are types of the Old Testament revelation that Adam will receive. The myths are consequently "fabled," set in story form by the pagans; the second group have no historical reality and are only "feigned" or fabricated. The third moves in reverse, from history to eternity, not of the world before the Fall but of the Christian glory to come.


Milton's muse Urania functions both as a classical muse and also as a Christian muse or Holy Spirit. Moses is seen as a shepherd in the Theocritan as well as in the New Testament sense. Milton created a musical quality to his verse by using classical hexameters.


Cook comments on Milton's Christian identification of his sources in the epics of Homer and Virgil. When Milton invokes the aid of the muse, he is following epic form, but he is appealing to the Holy Spirit in the Bible.


Studies the relationship between Christian heroism and the pagan heroic tradition as Virgil had shaped it. Milton followed Virgil's progress, but he superseded Virgil's progress with a Christian application, and the heroic figures in *Paradise Lost* take on new and better
qualities than those of pagan heroes.


Although Milton seems to be invoking the aid of the Holy Spirit in Christian tradition, there is a parallel to Hesiod's Theogony with pictures of the muses dancing on Helicon "about the deep-blue spring and altar of the Almighty son of Cronos." Milton emphasizes a parallel physical situation in the world of Jerusalem's sweet singers, where Siloa flows "fast by" the Temple of Mount Zion, then calls up the recollection by reference to "th' Aeonion Mount." But the parallel is discarded even as it is suggested.


Daniels describes the garden of Eden in a pastoral setting showing, for example, Adam and Eve reclining in the Etruscan or Roman manner on a "soft downie Bank damaskt with flours." (IV, 334).

Daniels comments that Milton's Paradise Lost is classical in form but has a Christian subject. "The angelic hosts beautifully link epic tradition with Christian doctrine by providing about the throne of God a choir, a court, and an army, so that, whether we think of heaven as a place of spiritual harmony or as a regal palace or a military camp, the imagination is satisfied.
If we think of the poem as epic we find it both Christian and classical, not in the sense of new wine from old bottles, but two forms so superimposed that we can see either at will by adjusting our vision. It is also simultaneously a timeless religious epic and a national Puritan epic.


Di Cesare says the Aeneid is the literary model for Paradise Lost, but both of these epics had their roots in Homer's epics. Virgil modified the Greek epic, and Milton in turn modified Virgil's Aeneid in epic conventions.


Diekhoff argues that Milton saw the epic form as an example or an argument designed to persuade the justification of God to man. Milton follows the classical rules of epic structure, in so far as his poem is not only an epic but also an oration. He also observes the rules of classical rhetoric, for he finds in Paradise Lost all the three types of artistic proof that the Renaissance rhetoric inherited from antiquity: the logical, the pathetic, and the ethical.


Milton shared the three-fold concept of poetry perpetuated in the Renaissance: (1) to teach, (2) to please, and (3) to persuade, which had its origins in Horace, Cicero, and Aristotle.


Milton used the typical epic machinery of invocation to a muse, councils, beginning in medias res, battles, and epic language and description in Paradise Lost; however, the idea of wars and heroic characters does not fit a Christian subject.

Among the many sources which Duncan refers to in his study of Milton's Eden or Paradise are the classical allusions to the Elysian fields in Homer's *Odyssey* IV, 561-68; Hesiod's *Works and Days* II, 109-20; Aratus' *Phaenomena*; Ovid's *Metamorphoses* I, 89-112; Virgil's *Fourth Eclogue*; Pindar's *Olympian II*, Horace's *Epode* XVI; Hesiod's *Theogony* II, 215-16; and Virgil's *Aeneid*.


*Paradise Lost* is an epic of exile focused on ruin and exile which lead to possible restoration.


Examines Milton's Eve in the context of classical and Biblical models.


Fairclough says that Milton was greatly influenced by the classical verse forms of Homer and Virgil, but especially Virgil's caesural changes, paragraph structures, his appreciation of vocalic and consonantal values, his allusiveness, and his artistic use of majestic proper names.


Ferry concludes that the extended similes, especially combined as they are with the didactic comments, are a means of characterizing the narrative voice, of enriching his tone, of insisting on his presence and enlarging his role as our interpreter and guide. The similes elaborate and sustain the pattern of contrasts between the world of "things invisible to mortal sight; and our fallen world which controls the mood and meaning of the poem."


Despite its classical epic structure, Paradise Lost has the effect of confirming the faith of the Christian reader.


Fish argues that Milton forces upon his readers impossible demands in understanding the extended epic simile in Paradise Lost. Too many readers are not "fit audiences" to comprehend the many elaborate classical allusions.

"'Not So Much a Teaching As An Untangling': Milton's Method in Paradise Lost," Milton: Modern

Combines two earlier essays: "The Harassed Reader in Paradise Lost" and "Further Thoughts on Milton's Christian Reader" which appeared in Critical Essays, Summer and Fall issues of 1965. Fish examines Milton's problem of blending pagan and Christian materials in a Christian subject, and concludes that Milton's use of the simile was too detailed for the average reader but that Milton makes good use of classical references.

"Standing Only: Christian Heroism in Paradise Lost," Critical Quarterly, IX (Summer 1967), 162-87. Much of Paradise Lost is devoted to showing the superiority of Christian over pagan heroism.


Fish comments that the reader of Paradise Lost is surprised to discover that he himself is a participant in the epic—he is a fallen creature who needs to recover through the atonement of the son. The author examines the role of epic hero against the background of classical and Biblical literature.


Foerster discusses criticism of Paradise Lost in the neo-classical and Romantic periods.


Milton and Spenser's references to "wide womb" seen in Paradise Lost II, 146-51 and The Faerie Queen III, vi, 36 have for their common origin sources in Hesiod and Ovid.


The function of dreams in Paradise Lost is similar to those found in classical mythology. For example, Homer's Zeus sends either a deceiving dream or a true one, but in Paradise Lost Milton is careful to portray good and true dreams as coming from God, and false dreams as created by Satan.

Gilbert, Allan H. On the Composition of Paradise Lost.
Gilbert traces Milton's early plans for writing an epic and comments on his use of such devices as beginning in medias res, the flashback, combats, councils, and similes. The epic structure of Paradise Lost is compared to that in the Iliad and the Odyssey.

Goldberg associates Raphael's tree simile V, 469-503 with the Neoplatonic universe as well as the Christian drama of salvation.

Examines the historical, humanistic, and Hellenistic backgrounds, and discusses the old problem of identifying the hero in Paradise Lost in terms of heroic qualities.

Two kinds of classicism exists in Paradise Lost: (1) the structure, language, and syntax of the Aeneid, and (2) the use of allusions and similes that carry an elaborate typology. The allusions draw not only on Homer, but also on Ovid and Dante.

In the introductory chapter, "The Norms of Epic," Green compares the epic machinery of poetry from the Homeric epics down to Milton's Paradise Lost. Emphasis is placed upon the functions of the muses, the gods and goddesses, and the messengers who relay instructions from the supreme deity in Heaven to mortals on earth.

Grose comments on the mythological background of Paradise Lost. Particularly interesting is the chapter "The Contexts of Simile" in which Grose says Milton followed the classical models of epic similes, but he made greater use of them than mere decoration. Milton stepped in as narrator in the function of the simile to
clarify certain details in the worlds of his narrative fable. The chapter "Process and Structure," relates how Milton made use of epic machinery such as similes, cataloging of troops, debates, and invocation to a muse.


Gurteen traces the hexameral writings from Caedmon to Milton. The hexameral subject is treated in relation to epic process.


Milton refers to a range of hills on the West African coast in *Paradise Lost,* "Notus and After black with thundrous clouds/From serraliona..." (*Paradise Lost,* X, 703).

Hair says this image combines a classical reference--"*una Eurisque Notusque ruunt creberque procellis Africus*"--(*Aeneid* I, 85), and contemporary geographical knowledge available in the Mercator and Honidus *Atlas* of 1630.


One of the chief reasons for Milton's superiority of epic presentation over that of his predecessors is his habit of dramatic expression that led him to a far reaching modification of the epic form.


Hankins suggests that even though there are similar parallels in Dante's *Inferno* to Milton's *Paradise Lost,* for the most part Milton seems to rely upon Virgil's *Aeneid* and Book III of Homer's *Iliad.*


Hardison examines Milton's Christian adaptation of the pagan muse in the prologue and also the classical roots of his creation story in *Paradise Lost*--the Bible, Hesiod's *Theogony,* and Plato's *Timaeus.*

Higgs, Elton D. "The 'Thunder' of God in Paradise Lost," Milton Quarterly, IV (May 1970), 24-27. Higgs suggests that Milton used the classical motif which links Zeus to thunder (Hesiod's Theogony and Homer's Iliad) and makes him king over all the other gods. Milton used thunder in Paradise Lost to reflect both God's omnipotence and the refusal of Satan and his followers to accept that omnipotence.


Hughes examines the sources which could have influenced Milton in his description of the Limbo of Fools. Hughes thinks that Milton was influenced by Plato and Ariosto, but that it was Dante who transformed the power of that image (ideas of Plato and Ariosto) to something like the vivid, physical force found in the Commedia and Paradise Lost.

Hughes draws parallels between Dante's Inferno and Paradise Lost and notes the sources of classic myths concerning Hades as found particularly in Virgil's Aeneid VI. Milton's reference to the four rivers of Hell are taken from Greek mythology.

Argues that Milton was influenced by Plato and Virgil in his portrayal of Satan in *Paradise Lost*.


It is the classical influence which makes the language of Milton's works different and interesting. "Milton makes the necessary transition from the Hell of classical story to the Hell of Christian truth with his customary lightness and ease."


God's statement, "Was shee thy God, that here thou didst obeying/Before his voice?" has no parallel in Genesis, but Milton no doubt based his argument on Rabbinical principle.


Self-knowledge in *Paradise Lost* is based not only on Biblical knowledge and symbolism but also on Aristotelian and Platonic concepts.

Jacobus traces "Thaumaturgike," or wonder-working power, to Plato.


The epic machinery of the epic is shown: the chorus' function in Heaven, the epic battle scenes, the epic conflict of good-evil and Heaven-Hell are shown.


Kelley suggests that *De Doctrina Christiana* is a presentation of a belief in systematic theology, whereas *Paradise Lost* is the presentation of similar beliefs in epic verse which was governed by classical epic tradition for aesthetic appeal.

Milton uses classical sources found in Homer, Ovid, and Virgil to describe the paradise which God prepared for Adam and Eve before their fall.


Milton uses the description of Heaven found in *Revelation*, but he also enlarges the scene by ornate descriptions borrowed from classical authors.


"When Milton made the earthly paradise rather than the battlefield the main stage for the action of his epic, he replaced heroic values with others that can be characterized as pastoral... The movement of *Paradise Lost* depends upon a continuous interaction of pastoral and epic modes."


Kranidas examines Milton's adherence to traditional models for *Paradise Lost* and also his subtle modification of that tradition.


Because of widespread admiration for classical epic models, poets in seventeenth century England searched to find Biblical materials suited to heroic poetry. "It is not surprising that Biblical narrative poetry should move towards a heroic form modeled on that of classical epics of Homer and Virgil." Kurth suggests that Milton followed heroic epic tradition by presenting Christ as the true hero and Satan as the false hero.

Leavis argues that Milton transfused too much Latin and Greek into his English verse. "But Milton's transfusing is regular and unremitting, and involves, not pleasant occasional surprises, but a consistent rejection of English idiom, as the passage quoted from Book IV sufficiently shows. So complete and so mechanically habitual is Milton's departure from the English order, structure, and accentuation that he often produces passages that have to be read through several times before one can see how they go...."


Le Comte adds the Georgius of Baptista Mantuan to the analogues to *Paradise Lost* listed by Watson Kirkconnell (*The Celestial Cycle*).


English poets who were also classical scholars have inspired considerable study of the classics. *Paradise Lost* has a poetic structure built of Homeric sentences, formulae, versification, similes, description of places and characters, omens, prophesies, and all of which direct our attention to Milton's intentions in the poem.


Examines the Biblical and classical contexts of the Garden of Paradise.


Lewis distinguishes between primary (*Homer's Iliad* and *Odyssey* and the English *Beowulf*), and secondary (*Virgil's Aeneid* and Milton's *Paradise Lost*) epics, and discusses Milton's blend of classical and Christian features.

Low says Milton followed the theories of Medieval scientists and Renaissance encyclopedists, as well as contemporary poets and (probably) common belief concerning the three layers of air: lower, middle, and upper. Milton indicates that he is soaring beyond the realm of the pagan gods and is invoking the aid of the Holy Spirit in the upper realm.


The structural pattern of Paradise Lost is studied by comparison to traditional epic models in the Iliad, the Odyssey, and the Aeneid.


Traces the epithalamium of Book IV in Paradise Lost to Catulus' two epithalamia, (61 and 62).


Madsen comments on the views of several critics who say Milton was influenced by Platonic doctrine for his concept of "Earth the Shadow of Heaven" in Paradise Lost. Madsen suggests that the symbolism is more Christian than Platonic, but agrees that the author of Hebrews presents a Platonic Christian typology of the earth as a shadow of Heaven.


The extended simile of Satan IV, 196, as cormorant had its source in Ovid.


Morgan concludes "The necessity of the Aeneid to Paradise Lost is such that it appears in every consideration of the poem--of the subject, mechanical detail, syntax, idiom, cadence, structure, temper, and final effect...."

Noting that Milton had been a student of the classics from his early youth, Osgood says, "acquaintance with Homer's Odyssey and Virgil's Aeneid is the readiest means of understanding the structure of *Paradise Lost*.


Traces Milton's paradise to the pastoral gardens of Homer, Ovid, Stephanus, and Conti.


This is an examination of opinions of various writers pro and con on Milton's use of the classic materials as compared with Biblical allusions.


Peter says, "The Cerberan dogs [from mythology] are a distortion of the Christian concept of the sons of God and thus complete the trinitarian parody. They further suggest a repulsive mockery of the fall of Adam and Eve and their descendants, which, however, is inverted again in the promise of man's regeneration."


Prince says, "One of the rules of an epic poem, much emphasized by the Renaissance theorists, is that it should deal with an action complete in itself; yet the conclusions of the Iliad and the Aeneid suggest that this action should be set against what is to follow as well as what proceeds... Virgil felt himself to be concerned with the destiny of mankind; Milton, by virtue of his religious beliefs, makes the claim more explicit; his epic is that of the race, in its relations with God."
Contains a good annotated commentary of classical, theological, and Biblical allusions.

Rajan concludes that the style of *Paradise Lost* can best be described in a formal sense as the style of secondary epic.


Rajan discusses the similarities of epic structure between *Paradise Lost* and Homer's epics, with some attention to the epic conventions set forth in Aristotle's *Poetics*.

A discussion of diction, syntax, and imagery which clarify and intensify the main thrust of the poem. Rajan comments that "Sin and Death have the customary Miltonic ancestry--they are compounded out of Biblical texts, patristic commentary, classical myth, and contemporary poetry."

Richardson illustrates the strong similarities of devices and Latinate language between *Paradise Lost* and Virgil's *Aeneid*.

Riggs discusses the epic hero of *Paradise Lost* and the problem of whether the Son or Satan is the hero. Although *Paradise Lost* is a Christian epic in subject matter, Milton alludes to his classical precedents for physical settings. For example, Milton refers to the haunts of the Homeric muses: "th' Aonian Mount I, 15, "th' Olympian Hill" VII, 3, and the Castalian Spring on Mount Parnassus III, 28.


Milton invokes the Christian muse of divine inspiration. The fallen angels in hell are likened to pagan gods. Pastoral scenes in *Paradise Lost* have classical precedents: th' Aonian Mount; th' Olympian Hill; the Castalians Springs on Mount Parnassus.


Rollin sees Satan as the protagonist of an Aristotelian tragedy and Adam as a less-than-tragic hero of a pastoral tragicomedy whose crisis is the tragic incident of the fall. Adam's reconciliation with Eve and with God is essentially comedic.


Parallel passages from Virgil's underworld in the *Aeneid* are compared with those in Milton's Hell in *Paradise Lost*. Appendix A contains an interesting table of Milton's references to Dante before publication of *Paradise Lost*. Appendix C comments on the relation of Milton and Dante in chronological sequence.

Samuel links Dante's first dream on Mount Purgatory in the *Commedia* with Eve's dream in *Paradise Lost*. Also there is a link to Dante's *Purgatorio* VII.

The author says that Milton and Dante both used Ovid and Lucan as their sources for the transformation
scenes in Hell.


The last two books of Paradise Lost follow an epic formula in the Iliad and the Aeneid of adding narratives by means of telling a story from pictures on a shield. In Paradise Lost, the same technique is used, but Milton enlarges on the epic scope by using narrative dialogue instead of a shield to show action which is prophetic.

Sasek traces Milton's early inclinations to write an Arthurian epic in the style of Homer and Virgil.


Heroic virtue in the epics of Homer, Virgil, Tasso, and Spenser is compared to the heroic virtue of characters in Milton's Paradise Lost. Milton's Christ in both Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained has the hereditary traits of the classical epic hero. Other epic conventions in Paradise Lost such as the journey and debates in council are compared to the traditional models.

Seaman suggests that Paradise Lost II, 666-870--Satan's confrontation with Death at the gates of Hell--is a parody of the Iliad VI, 119-236--Glaukos' encounter with Diomedes on the battlefield. The author concludes that Milton parodies Homer to reveal Satan's role as anti-hero.

Seaman comments, "I believe that Milton's heroic standard is more homeric than current interpretation allows. He sees Christ as the hero of the epic, and Satan as the anti-hero both presented in their roles by means of classical conventions."

Sharma examines many twentieth-century criticisms of *Paradise Lost.* Most of these criticisms discuss Milton's style and his choice of an epic hero. The possibilities of heroic characteristics are analyzed in the characters of Satan, Christ, and Adam. Also, the question is raised by Sharma—is the epic classical mythology or a religious treatise?


Shawcross compares the exodus of the children of Israel to the expulsion of Adam from Eden and notes other pagan-Christian parallels evident in Milton such as Milton's comparison of Raphael to Hermes.


Shawcross agrees that the poem basically is an epic, but a modified one. He can find no epic hero in the poem. "A final point classifying the poem as epic is that it is a kind of praise: a praise of God rather than of hero and nation." Shawcross further concludes, "The structural motifs derive from epic example, but they are used more hieroglyphically, more metaphorically, more extensively and fully than in previous epics. *Paradise Lost* is epical but far from traditional."


Shumaker examines the possible influence of the Italian poems *Orlando Furioso, Orlando Innamorato,* and *Gerusalemme Liberata* on *Paradise Lost.*

Sims, James H. "Christened Classicism in Paradise Lost and the Lusiads," *Comparative Literature,* XXIV (Fall 1972), 338.

Sims suggests that there are parallels between the Portuguese epic *Os Lusiadas* by Luis de Camoens and Milton's *Paradise Lost.* Both poets extend the supernatural machinery of the classical epics of Homer and Virgil by inventing new personae for the pantheon as well as by using familiar deities in new ways.
Smith compares the "Fall Myth" of classical mythology with the Biblical account and the patristic writings.

Smith concludes that Milton successfully combined serious Biblical doctrine and classical poetic fiction in *Paradise Lost*.

Spaeth reviews Milton's use of the epic devices of Homer, Virgil, Ariosto, and Tasso in *Paradise Lost*.

Steadman examines the assertions made by some writers that Milton violated Aristotle's rules of epic poetry. He refers to Mazzoni's suggestion that, "Milton's resort to allegory is not only consistent with the rules of Aristotle, but actually desirable as a source of the marvelous."

Steadman comments that Milton's *metamorphosis* of Satan from archangel to serpent meets Aristotle's requirements for a *peripeteia*.

Steadman examines the charges that some critics make of Milton that the classical elements in Milton's Hell affirm his humanism, but challenge his Christian values. Steadman concludes that for Milton the inherent contradictions in Renaissance ideas of heroic virtue and the merit of the pagan worthies proved a poetic asset.

Steadman compares Milton's Satan to Homer's Odysseus (Ulysses), and the fallen angels in Hell to the classical warriors of Homer and Virgil.


Steadman says Milton presented Satan in a superficial conformity to three traditional heroic types: (1) Achilles, (2) the dux, and (3) Odysseus. Satan's speeches to Eve resembled that of the classical orators--Plato and Aristotle.


"In utilizing different stylistic levels to characterize the speakers at the infernal conclave, Milton again demonstrates his conformity to Renaissance poetic theory. Both Scaliger and Tasso had followed Aulus Gellius in recognizing three distinct styles among Homer's heroes...and similar levels of style distinguish the chief orators of Pandaemonium--Moloch, Belial, Satan, and Beelzebub."


Steadman indicates that Milton was not only influenced by Biblical materials but also by classical models. "In Aristotle's Poetics--Milton's authority for the 'rules' of epic and tragedy--he found two guiding principles for his use of rhetoric in dramatic and heroic poetry: (1) the distinction between thought and character and (2) the implications of both for style."


Milton portrays in the Messiah the divine archetype
of heroic virtue as he taught in his *Art of Logic*. Milton's heroic definition was based on theological doctrines developed from St. Paul by Irenaeus, Athanasius, and Calvin, as well as Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* Book VII.


In defining the art of right action and pursuit, Milton, like the Renaissance moralists, was influenced by Plato, Augustine, and especially Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*.


Steadman says Milton portrays Satan's speech as deliberative oratory based on the ideas of nobility as set forth by Aristotle and Hobbs.


In his treatment of man's first disobedience in *Paradise Lost*, Milton was influenced by Reformation theology, which partook of both Aristotelian and Ramist logic.


Milton's "Men of Renown" were the Biblical giants—the sons of God and the daughters of men. Milton's rebels—Satan and the fallen angels—and also his heroes had their origins not only in the Bible but also in Homer, Hesiod, Statius, and Virgil.


Steadman comments on the sources of the Tantalus
myth, suggesting that Milton may have been influenced by Fulgentius' *Mythologitum* which relates that the apples were turned to ashes by the touch. Milton enlarges the classical Tantalus myth and also Fulgentius' description by emphasizing the motifs of wisdom and forbidden knowledge.


Steadman argues that Milton's *Paradise Lost* belongs to the classical genres of Homer and Virgil. Although Milton resembles Dante's *Divine Commedia* in many ways, *Paradise Lost* and the *Divine Commedia* actually belong to different genres.


Steadman elaborates on three specific areas relative to Milton's treatment of his heroic epic characters: (1) treatment of the heroic formulae commonly accepted as ethical and literary norms, (2) Milton's distinction between their valid and invalid modes, and (3) revaluation of epic tradition in terms of this dichotomy. Steadman says, "The result is a heroic poem unlike all that had preceded it... *Paradise Lost* is to the tradition of heroic poetry what the 'anti-novel' is to the conventional novel. It is the fruit and symbol of its predecessors... Milton found the heroic poem brick and left it marble. For the praise of men he substituted the glory of God. Instead of human strength, he depicted divine and human virtues. Instead of the physical warfare of secular politics, he described the moral conflict of spiritual societies. Instead of celebrating heroic exploits, he stressed their imperfections weighing man's sins against the truly 'magnific' works of God. By this radical reorientation of epic tradition, he based the heroic poem on the cornerstone of Protestant ethics, the 'vanity of human merits'."


Milton's epic speeches in *Paradise Lost* are based on a knowledge of the rules of classical rhetoric. For example, Satan's role in *Paradise Lost* reflects the Socratic-Aristophanic distinction between just and unjust discourse, or true and false eloquence.
Steadman says that Milton portrays in the Messiah the divine archetype of heroic virtue as he taught in his Art of Logic. Milton's basis for heroic definitions were based on theological doctrines developed from St. Paul, Athanasius, and Calvin, as well as Aristotle's Nichomachian Ethics Book VII.


Steadman comments that Milton successfully incorporated the nature and function of epic machinery in a Christian subject. Steadman says, "Classical in form, English in medium, Biblical in subject matter, Christian in doctrine and spirit, Paradise Lost gave added authority to three overlapping traditions—the English vernacular epic, the neoclassic epic, and the Biblical or divine poem."


Steadman says that Milton imitates Cicero's De Invenzione, Aristotle's Rhetoric, and Quintilian's Institutio Oratoria in deliberative oratory in the debates of the fallen angels in the council in Hell. Both Cicero and Quintilian rank honor with expediency as one of the primary aims of deliberative rhetoric.


Milton uses Biblical and classical allusions, especially the Tantalus myth, to show Satan's humiliation in Hell. Classical sources are Homer, Pindar, Ovid, Propertius, Petronius, and Seneca.


A condensed essay from Stein's book Answerable Style.
in which he comments on the function of the muse in *Paradise Lost*, the concept of Platonic Idea, and the epic devices found in *Paradise Lost* which may have had a source in the *Aeneid*.


The essay "Answerable Style," is answerable to the Renaissance concept of epic, which links this poem to classical literature, most particularly, perhaps, to Virgil and Plato.


Stein raises the question, "Is the battle in Heaven fought with actual bodies or is it a spiritual one? Are we to understand that it is a metaphorical condition, or what? Whether it be a battle with bodies and weapons or a metaphorical one, it still follows the classical models of epic tradition.


Milton shows Satan's metamorphoses through the medium of extended simile. Satan's speeches are based on certain patterns in classical orations.

**Summers, Joseph H. "'Grateful Vicissitude' in Paradise Lost," Publications Modern Language Association, LXIX (March 1954), 251-64.**

Summers argues that Milton calls particularly upon the worlds of Greece and Judea for the richest literary manifestations of the movements of divine truth in *Paradise Lost*.


By invoking the aid of the muse [Holy Spirit] to guide him writing his great epic, Milton shows his familiarity with Homer and Virgil, but he also clearly indicates the independence and the novelty of his own poem.

**_______, "Paradise Lost: The Pattern at the Centre," Milton's Epic Poetry: Essays on Paradise Lost and

Summers comments that Milton used the traditional epic models for the war in heaven and his epic heroes, but does not dwell on battle details as Homer did. Milton's classical and Christian sources are numerous, but Ovid seems the poet most relevant to the extraordinary rhythms of sense and sound which Milton creates.


Discusses the garden of Eden as a pastoral scene, and notes comparisons between Eve and the following: Pomona, the Roman goddess of flowers and fruit V, 378-79. IX, 394; a wood nymph V, 381. IX, 386; Oread and Dryad IX, 387; and a harvest queen IX, 842.


Taylor comments that Milton followed the traditional device of battles in heroic epics to heighten the exposition of his great purpose and to enlarge the function of his supporting ideas by dramatic realization. Although he was keenly interested in the immediate force of the battle as action in his story, he conceived of it as more than a series of military engagements--rather as a symbolic conflict whose issues, rooted in the depths of man's nature, are the closely woven fabric of his poem as a whole.


Taylor says that Milton's use of epic conventions with a pastoral setting allowed him to show more dramatically the Pre-lapsarian and Post-lapsarian worlds.


Thomson says Milton followed the traditional epic style of Homer and Virgil using the customary vehicles of invocation to a muse, beginning in medias res, councils, battles, and epic heroes.

Tillyard, Eustace M. W. Milton. London: Chatto and Windus,
Tillyard examines the classical backgrounds, epic structure, and meaning in *Paradise Lost*.

Varandyon, Emmanuel P. "Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Zoroaster's *Zenda Vesta*," Comparative Literature, XII (Summer 1961), 208-20.
Milton and Zoroaster have a striking affinity of spirit and intellect evident in a number of similarities between *Paradise Lost* and the *Zenda Vesta*.

Werblowsky says that Homer, Aeschylus, Virgil, and Ovid influenced Milton's epic characters in *Paradise Lost*. Aeschylus' Prometheus particularly influenced the character of Milton's Satan.

West suggests that Milton not only is noted for his artistic skill in *Paradise Lost* but also is seen as a Platonic scholar.

Whaler examines the animal similes in Homer, Virgil, Dante, Vida, Tasso, and Trissino. But Milton is the first to liken a commonwealth of winged spirits to the whole polity of a hive. He thus combines Virgil's first and second bee similes, Virgil stressing the heavy labor of the hive; Milton, civic government.

Milton's similes are reducible to logical patterns which exceed in variety those of any ancient poet.

Wheeler, Thomas. *Paradise Lost and the Modern Reader*. 
Wheeler agrees that the modern reader should take the epic seriously not only for its poetry and artistry, but also because it embodies ideas and attitudes which still are of great importance.


Milton uses classical similes in Christian contexts. In many cases the classical epic simile is transformed into a Biblical, moral simile. "Classical misfortune is but the disguise of Biblical chastisement in Milton's epic techniques. Thus it frequently appears that when Milton is being most classical, his tone is most Miltonic and Christian. The dialectic of subtly subsuming the pagan mythology under the Christian revelation is a major aspect of Milton's poetic texture, and thus becomes a major qualification of what might otherwise appear as a humanistic fusion of classical and Christian materials."


Discusses Milton's intention to justify the ways of God to man and to leave a masterpiece in English literature based on a heroic epic formula.


Chapter seven, "Paradise Lost: Theme and Pattern" and chapter eight, "Paradise Lost: the Elaboration of the Pattern" discuss Milton's handling of the epic. Woodhouse concludes that Milton successfully presented a Christian theme in a classical form and sacrificed nothing of the purity of either to adapt them one to the other.

2. Paradise Regained


The Biblical epics prior to Milton express a common tendency to intellectualize and spiritualize the military historical motifs of Virgilian epic. This
transvaluation of the epic results in large part from the interplay of epic and pastoral motifs. Hence it is that the most successful stylist and innovator in the brief epic before Milton was Jacopo Sannazaro (1458-1530), whose *Eclogae piscatoriae* and *Arcadia* had already transformed the genres of the pastoral eclogue and pastoral romances. Sannazaro's model anticipates Milton's transformation of epic in *Paradise Regained*.


Fortin examines Milton's ambivalence in using pagan mythology alongside Biblical allusions, an ambivalence "particularly significant in *Paradise Regained* in the light of the repudiation of classical learning in Book Four." Hercules and Oedipus are cast as imperfect types of Christ to indicate that Christianity supersedes paganism and secular learning.


Focuses upon the Biblical references found in *Paradise Regained* and classical parallels such as the Hercules-Christ image and the Oedipus and Sphinx riddle.

Grant, Patrick. "Time and Temptation in *Paradise Regained*," *University of Toronto Quarterly*, XLIII (Fall 1973), 32-47.

Grant indicates that Milton was influenced in his concept of time in *Paradise Regained* not only by the Bible and patristic writings but also by Plato.


The author agrees that the classical "Urbs Aeterna" is an element in Milton's *Paradise Regained* derived from the Roman panegyrist Claudianus.


The author examines the genre, meaning, and art of *Paradise Regained* in the context of the classical tradition of epic.

"Theme and Action in *Paradise Regained*," *Milton's Epic Poetry: Essays on Paradise Lost and Paradise*

"The temptation scene between Christ and Satan takes on epic dimension by being shown in the double perspective of the past and future, as indeed the turning point between past and future: in the course of the temptation episode Christ relates himself to and at length fulfills and subsumes various Old Testament and classical types of himself and his role... These typological allusions enhance the epic scope of the poem by projecting the episode of Christ's temptation against the panorama of history, with Christ becoming the summation, the compendium, the completion of all the earlier heroes [Moses, Elijah, David, Daniel, Hercules, Socrates]."


The author examines Milton's motive for denouncing Greek culture in Paradise Regained and concludes that the offers made by Satan to Christ do not present classical philosophy or achievements in a convincing way, since Satan constantly and unconsciously subverts himself.


McAdams reasons that Milton was not rejecting Greek learning when Christ shows contempt for it in Paradise Regained so much as showing his loyalty to Christian tradition and the Bible.


Discusses the fact that Milton wrote poems in the three great classic modes: the epic (Paradise Lost), the georgic (Paradise Regained), and the drama (Samson Agonistes) in the manner of the Greeks.


Rajan comments on the temptation scene of Christ by
Satan in *Paradise Regained*. Classical philosophy of the ancient Greeks had some good to offer, but it did not compare with Christ and his teachings.

Samuel makes reference to Milton's alleged spurning of Greek learning and wisdom in *Paradise Regained* which seemed to contradict Milton's other writings.
The author concludes that Milton loved all learning, including astronomy, and especially the Greek classics, but always without idolatry, for any learning is useful only as used rightly, and the right was knowable to anyone who cared to seek it.

Sasek re-examines the allegations that Milton rejected classical learning in *Paradise Regained* and concludes that the Scriptures were valued more highly since Christ was Milton's hero.

Steadman says *Paradise Regained* is a crisis of judgment: it resembles not only the moral ordeal of the first Adam, but also two familiar temptations of classical traditions—the judgment of Paris and the choice of Hercules.

Referring to Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, the author notes that Milton, in Satan's arguments from the logical contraries, prosperity and adversity, follows standard rhetorical procedures according to Aristotle's *Rhetoric*; the two types of deliberative oration—exhortation and dehortation—utilize contrary topics.

"*Paradise Regained*: Moral Dialectic and the
Steadman examines the temptation scene in *Paradise Regained* and concludes that it resembles not only the moral ordeal of the first Adam, but also two familiar temptations of classical tradition—the judgment of Paris and the choice of Hercules.


Hercules is usually spoken of as strong physically, but he seems to have possessed excellence as an orator as well. Hercules is regarded by many as a type of Christ because of his birth, the slaying of the serpent, and his descent into Hell.

3. Epic—*Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*


The second of two articles by Anderson on epic similes. The first article examined the traditional similes found in Homer, Apollonius, Rhodius, and Virgil. The second article refers to Milton's astounding range of classical learning and his excellent use of the simile.


Beginning with Homer, Bowra traces the origins of epic poetry to the English epic and discusses Milton's models of the traditional epic.


Clark traces the background and progress of the English epic from Beowulf to Morris's *Jason*. Pages 151-173 give a detailed description of the epic qualities of *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. Clark classifies Milton's epics as literary epics and shows similarities of epic devices found in the earlier epics of Homer, Virgil, and Tasso. Clark indicates that even though Milton used epic machinery to portray his subject matter, the theme of his two epics is superior to that of the ancient folk epic.

The literary techniques of epic poetry are traced from Homer, Virgil, and Dante to Milton. Chapter seven is especially suitable for Milton's background in the classics. Milton is a writer of Scripture but also a poet following the classical convention. For example, Milton invokes the aid of the classical muse Urania, but he treats this invocation as an appeal to the Holy Spirit in Biblical theology.


Parallels in epic style are drawn among Paradise Lost, the Iliad, and the Aeneid.


Frye comments on the Biblical references found in Paradise Regained and includes classical allusions such as the Hercules-Christ image and the Oedipus and the Sphinx riddle. The temptation scene between Christ and Satan falls into three parts: the temptation of Parthia, or false power; the temptation of Rome, or false justice; and the temptation of Athens, or false wisdom.


The epic conventions found in Homer, Virgil, Dante, Tasso, Ariosto, Beowulf, and Milton are compared.


Guerber retells the story of Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained, making references to epic patterns.


Contains several influential essays which show classical materials or sources in Milton's epics: F. R. Leavis, "Milton's Verse," pp. 15-32; Douglas Bush,


Ricks includes several essays on Milton: "Paradise Lost" by John Steadman and "Paradise Regained and Samson Agonistes" by Christopher Ricks, both of which include discussions of classical sources of Milton's works.


Sims says, "Milton used the Greek, Hebrew, and Latin sources for allusions in his epics: (1) by transliterating Greek or Hebrew into English and following or preceding the transliteration with a translation, (2) by providing variant translations of certain texts, and (3) by following the words or phrasing of the Latin Bible."

An example of the translation of foreign words is shown here: Abhorred styx the flood of deadly hate, Sad Acheron of sorrow, black and deep/Cocytus, nam'd of lamentation loud/Heard on the rueful stream; fierce Phelgeton/Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage (Paradise Lost II, 577-81).

In the above example the classical names of the rivers in the underworld are shown as rivers in Hell. The classical name is given, but either before the name or after it, the English meaning of the river's name is given. Epic similes found in Paradise Lost and Paradise
Regained provide classical and Biblical sources.


Milton's works reveal that he was an extensive reader in Italian history and poetry. Steadman suggests that Milton was familiar with Castelvetro's translation and exposition of Aristotle's *Poetics,* Mazzoni's *Defense of the Divine Comedy,* and Horace's *Ars Poetica.*

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Examines the history and theory of epic formulas and the conventions of Milton's epics in light of Aristotle's *Poetics.* Distinguishes between the "Folk epics" of Homer and the "art epic" of Virgil.

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Tillyard traces the traditional heritage of epic from the Greek, Roman, Italian, and Medieval England to the Seventeenth Century. Milton modeled his plot in *Paradise Lost* on the *Odyssey* and the *Aeneid.*
III. TRAGEDY

Samson Agonistes

   Arthos compares the function of the chorus in Samson Agonistes to that of the chorus used in classical drama.

   Brewer suggests that Milton developed the plot of Samson Agonistes from the Prometheus Bound of Aeschylus and the Oedipus at Colonus of Sophocles.

   Discusses classical backgrounds of the two works: the Circe and Orpheus myths and the Aristotelian model for tragedy.

   It is possible to find in Milton's Samson Agonistes the influence of writers from Xenophon and Aeschylus to Augustine and Aquinas, but Milton's Samson is also a culture hero of the Puritan revolution.

   Discusses Milton's alteration of the functions of the classical chorus in accord with his preface to Samson Agonistes with that in Greek Drama.

   The author examines the relationship of Samson Agonistes to Hellenic structure as the best means of
presenting the spiritual truth of the Hebraic-Christian tradition.

   Hanford comments that the framework of the plot in Samson Agonistes is that of Greek drama. Milton's chief models were Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides.

   Harris indicates that Milton used the classical dramas for models in portraying the function of the chorus in Samson Agonistes. Ideas of philosophy and ethics may have been taken from Cicero's De inventione.

   Hill concludes that Samson Agonistes does not follow the Aristotelian pattern for tragedy, and is, therefore, not a classical tragedy.

   Hoffman says that although Samson undeniably is the protagonist of Milton's Samson Agonistes, Samson's father, Manoa is the figure with whom the modern reader can sympathize most readily, and he becomes the tragic figure in the drama.

   Milton's chorus has classical origins, but "they do not in any obvious or consistent manner, perform the classical functions of detached observation and trustworthy comment....Milton introduces the chorus in a spiritual condition resembling Samson's darkness of mind and paralysis of will, but during the play they undergo a change to knowledge poised for action."


Mueller, Martin. "Pathos and Katharsis in Samson Agonistes," English Literary History, XLI (June 1964), No. 2. Reprinted in Critical Essays on Milton from ELH. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1968. Pp. 234-52. Mueller discusses the similarities and differences of classical models which Milton may have used in Samson Agonistes. He suggests that Samson Agonistes lacks the tragic qualifications that Aristotle claimed for tragedy. Mueller suggests that Milton's Dalila is similar to that of Corneille's Horace, but he rejects the theory that Samson Agonistes was modeled on Oedipus Colonus; however, Mueller says there are similarities of Oedipus Tyrannus.

"Time and Redemption in Samson Agonistes and Iphigenie Auf-Tauris. University of Toronto Quarterly, XVI (Spring 1972), 227-45. Mueller compares the theme of deliverance in Milton's Samson Agonistes with Goethe's Iphigenie Auf-Tauris and concludes that both authors relied on classical sources. "What Oedipus at Colonus was to Milton, Philoctetes was to Goethe. Both poets blended literary conventions of the classical tradition with Christianity.

Potter, Lois. A Preface to Milton. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971. 180 pp. The author comments that Milton observes the unities of time, place, and action not only to conform to the
ideal of classical tragedy, but also to emphasize the extent to which the heroic consciousness is the unifying force in the play.


Summers says, "...Milton abandoned the narrative voice of the epic...and chose for its [Samson Agonistes] embodiment the dramatic form of Greek tragedy."


Reviewing the conclusions of Samuel Johnson and William Riley Parker with respect to Milton's faithfulness to classical models in Samson Agonistes, Wilkes concludes that Milton closely follows traditional classical drama, especially in his use of the chorus.


Samson Agonistes is a classical tragedy with a Christian theme.
IV. PROSE

Milton drew frequently on Tacitus, especially in the *First Defense* and the *History of Britain*.

Milton used Aristotle's three modes of persuasion—logical, pathetic, and ethical—in his divorce tracts.

Duhamel rejects the theory that Milton leaned heavily on Ramus, citing passages from Cicero, Aristotle, Boethius, and Quintilian which explain or validate logical principles.

Milton owed much to classical authors for his theory of the mixed state and the separation of church and state.

In addition to theological materials from the Bible and the church fathers, Milton also draws upon Plato's ideas of human laws.

Notes allusions in Milton's prose to Aristophanes, Attic comedy, Plautus, Terence, Martial, Juvenal, Horace, and other Latin and Italian satirists.

Milton followed the principles of structure and the modes of persuasion set forth by Aristotle and other classical writers on rhetoric. His classical training and interests justify the hypothesis that he knew and used classical rhetorical theory.


Haller examines the Puritan and classical (Plato and Ovid) ideas of love and marriage.


Hardison collects excerpts from Milton's works which show Milton's sources and models: *Of Education* (Aristotle's *Poetics,* Horace's *Ars Poetica,* Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*); *Elegy VI* (Ovid); *The Reason of Church Government Urg'd Against Prelaty* (epic models of Homer, Virgil, and Tasso); *An Apology Against Smectymnuus* (The "Elegiack Poets"); *Paradise Lost* (Homer and Virgil); *Samson Agonistes* (Aristotle, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides).


Hughes discusses Milton's concept of truth as found in several of his prose works: *True Religion,* *De Doctrina Christina,* *Revolutions,* *Prelatical Episcopacy,* *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates,* *Areopagitica.*

Hughes says, "The passage in all of Milton's writing where his faith in the final discoverability of Truth comes to climactic expression is the famous myth of Osiris in *Areopagitica*...The myth of Osiris, as Milton expected his readers as a matter of course to know, is found in Plutarch's *Moralia.*


Milton's *The Reason of Church Government* reflects a theory rooted in the rhetoric of propaganda and aimed at
social change. Huntley says, "Stripped of its Christian
dress and autobiography, Milton's poetic in 1641 [The
Reason of Church Government] is the dominant theory of
poetry derived from the classical rhetoricians and
traditionally augmented by fanciful descriptions of
the force of pulpit oratory and the nearly irresistible
thought." Milton appears to have been influenced by
Aristotle's Metaphysics, Plato's Republic, and the
Bible and patristic writings.

Le Comte, Edward S. "Areopagitica as Scenario for Paradise
Lost," Achievements of the Left Hand: Essays on the Prose
of John Milton, eds. Michael Lieb and John T. Shawcross,
121-41.

Compares Paradise Lost and Areopagitica. The sub-
ject of Reason and Ethics as portrayed in the Areopagitica
is said to have had its origin in Aristotle's Ethics.

Lieb, Michael and John T. Shawcross, eds. Achievements of
the Left Hand: Essays on the Prose of John Milton.
Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1974.
396 pp.

Several essays on Milton's prose are devoted to clas-
sical allusions and backgrounds: Joseph Anthony
Wittreich, Jr., "'The Crown of Eloquence': The Figure
of the Orator in Milton's Prose Works," pp. 3-54;
Michael Lieb, "Milton's Of Reformation and the Dynamics
of Controversy," pp. 55-82; John Huntley, "The Images
of Poet and Poetry in Milton's The Reason of Church
Government," 83-115; Edward S. Le Comte, "Areopagitica
as Scenario for Paradise Lost," 121-41; John T. Shaw-
cross, "The Higher Wisdom of The Tenure of Kings and
Magistrates," pp. 142-59; Walter J. Ong, "Logic and the
Epic Muse: Reflections on Noetic Structures in Milton's
Milieu," pp. 239-68.

Lieb, Michael. "Milton's Of Reformation and the Dynamics
of Controversy," eds. Michael Lieb and John T. Shaw-
cross. Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press,

Lieb comments that Milton was acquainted not only
with Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Quintilian and others
but with the incorporation of those theories into
Renaissance manuals. In the university where Milton
attended school, all studies led up to the Disputation,
a medieval legacy which took the place of the modern
examination. To qualify for a degree, every student
had from time to time to maintain or attack a given thesis before an audience. Out of these disputations arose Milton's own prolixions, structured for the most part upon classical rhetorical paradigms (exordium, narratio, confirmatio, refutatio, and peroratio). These rhetorical principles were, of course, at hand when Milton engaged himself in writing tracts for national causes.

*Areopagitica*, *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*, *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, and *Of Reformation* all indicate how consciously Milton applied his rhetorical training.


Low refers to Milton's reference to Xenophon as an equal with Plato in *An Apology Against Smeeytynnuus*. Milton may have had in mind Xenophon's *Cryopedia* which was usually placed among the greatest of the classical works that taught virtue by means of example.


Morkan suggests that Milton probably did not take his title *Areopagitica* from the ancient court of the Areopagus because he agreed with Isocrates' philosophy, but because he wished to encourage the Presbyterians in Parliament to act with the dignity and nobility of the old Areopagites.


From classical and Renaissance sources Milton drew his beliefs in the importance of the role which language plays in human society—the medium of things useful to be known and a living barometer of manners and morals.

Milton believed that the Greek and Latin languages were superior over the vulgar tongues and sought to adorn the English language to the rank of classical language. In addition to borrowing directly from Latin and Greek, Milton shows his indebtedness to these languages by his use of words of classical origin in their original rather than in their derivative English sense.

Ong, Walter J. "Logic & the Epic Muse: Reflections on Noetic

Ong traces the origins of logic from Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. Peter Ramus partially followed the rules of logic set forth by Aristotle. Ong says, "In logic Milton was a follower of Peter Ramus...." Milton's concept of logic as shown in both his prose and epics shows influence of the rules of logic as advocated by the ancient Greeks.


Rajan refers to Milton's tractate *Of Education* in which the classical authors Plato, Xenophon, Cicero, and Plutarch are recommended.


Milton's vast learning is reflected in the various styles of language he used in his polemics. He believed that the vicious attitudes of his eminent adversaries could best be exposed through their own style. An example is Milton's juxtaposing the excessive Latinate (Classical Latin) style of the church against the Biblical simplicity of his own diction.


Milton's idea of writing history has its origins in the classical orators and historians: Lucian's satiric, *How to Write History*; Plato's *Republic*; Polybius' *Histories*; Cicero's *Brutus* XXXV and *Orator* XXXVI.


Homer, Horace, Cicero, and Seneca appear to have influenced Milton most in comedy and satire, especially Horace's *Ars Poetica*.

Scot-Crag, Thomas S. K. "The Craftsmanship and Theological
Significance of Milton's *Art of Logic*," *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, I (November 1953), 1-16.

The author suggests that Milton's *Art of Logic* is an adaptation of Downham's Ramistic commentary which is based on Plato, Aristotle, and Scaliger.


Shawcross suggests that Milton's prose works in their particular groups are similar to those of Aristotle for all knowledge: religious liberty (in the antiprelatical tracts); domestic liberty (in the divorce tracts and *Areopagitica*); political liberty (in *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* and *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*).


Milton refers to the muses as Platonic Sirens, but gives them spiritual dimensions by the operation of God's grace.


Isocrates had argued for restoration of controls in the government, but Milton pleads with Parliament to lift the controls of licensing publications. Wittreich says that on the surface there appears to be a paradox concerning the views of the two writers; however, he concludes that Isocrates influenced Milton most by oratorical style, and that both men had in common a dislike for tyranny in government.


In *The Reason for Church Government*, Milton hints that he is searching for a suitable form "whether that Epick form whereof two poems of Homer, and those other two of Virgil and Tasso are diffuse, and the book of *Job* a brief model; or whether the rules of Aristotle herein are strictly to be kept or nature to be followed, which in them that know art and use judgment is not transgression but an enriching of art."


Milton serving as Secretary of Foreign Tongues (Secretary of State) during the reign of Cromwell showed that he was well trained in the classical Latin.
V. MINOR POETRY

1. Comus


Milton's vast reading included not only the church fathers and other Biblical sources but also the classics such as Homer, Virgil, Dante, Hesiod, Augustine, and Diodorus Seculus. The author also discusses *Comus* and *Circe*.


*Comus* is a Renaissance humanist effort to understand ancient myth in Christian terms.


Boyette says that the *Mask* is allegorical, symbolic, philosophical, and moral, and that it fuses elements both pagan and Christian. Having conceived a metaphoric relationship between characters and setting, Milton "adapts this conception to the classical theme of choosing a virtuous life and to the medieval and Christian theme of man's pilgrimage through the dark world to the city of light."


Henry Lawes, who furnished the music for *Comus*, had previously worked in the mask *Temple Restored*. There are similar allusions in both masks to the Circe myth and world harmony derived from Pythagorean and Platonic doctrines."

Much of the narrative of the mask appears to be a poetic transposition of the Circe myth taken from the *Odyssey*. Jayne argues that even though Milton borrowed from Plato's dialogues, the *Mask* is essentially Renaissance Platonism influenced by Ficino.


The setting for *Comus* is from pastoral mythology, but the context or framework of the story is a combination of pagan and Christian allusions. Lerner says, "What we have here is a pagan world reaching out to Christianity....The Attendant Spirit has descended to a world ready for Christianity, rather than to a Christian world; and at the end, he leaves for a paradise that is almost purely pagan: the Garden of the Hesperides, merged with the Garden of Adonis...."


Homer's Molly appeared as a magical herb in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Pliny associated the terms "Molly" and "Rue" interchangeably, using them to counteract poison. Otten suggests that Milton combines the classical connotation of magic with Christian symbolism of divine healing.


Singleton suggests that the Comus of Puteanus may have influenced Milton more than the philosophy of Philostratus.


Wilkinson links the idea of chastity or virtue to Plato's essays.

2. *L' Allegro and Il Penseroso*

A modernized text of *L' Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* with annotated footnotes explaining the classical, historical, Biblical, and language sources.


Allen says that Milton's two poems show classical allusions to Plato's *Timaeus* and *Republic* and to the Orpheus legend.


Babb says that several of the classical sources were melancholic: Hercules, Ajax, Bellerophon, Empedocles, Socrates, and Plato.


Even though *L' Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* represent day and night, the light symbol is present in both poems: The sun's bright rays in daytime are contrasted with the light of the stars at night as well as candle light. Also there is an allusion to Plato's reference to "the inward" eye which Milton further develops in Christian symbolism as the celestial light. The Orpheus myth is also seen in both poems.


Citing "And of those demons that are found/In Fire, air, flood or underground," the author notes parallels in the Orpheus *Hymns,* in *Papyri Graecae Magical,* and *Migne Palaeologia Graeca.*


Le Comte says there are reflections of *Comus* in *L' Allegro* and *Il Penseroso.* Classical allusions such
as the Elysian flowers and the Orpheus myth are noted.


The lines "Haste thee nymph, and bring with thee
Jest and youthful Jollity..." have for their source
Horace's Odes I, 30--where the goddess is asked to come
to the worshipper bringing her companion or companions
with her.

Røstvig, Maren-Sofie. "From John Milton," John Milton:
L' Allegro and Il Penseroso," eds. Elaine B. Safer and
Thomas L. Erskine. Columbus: Charles Merrill Publish-
Milton's two poems contain background sources for
L' Allegro and Il Penseroso found in Virgil's Georgiu
(467-71 and 485-89); First Eclogue (51-58); Horace's
Second Epode (23-28).

Safer, Elaine B. and Thomas L. Erskine, eds. John Milton:
L' Allegro and Il Penseroso. Columbus: Charles E.
A collection of several essays. Those listed below
have reference to classical materials: Julian W.
Abernethy, "L' Allegro and Il Penseroso," pp. 7-17;
Thomas Warton, "Notes on Milton's Companion Poems,"
pp. 29-30; Lawrence Babb, "From the Background of
Il Penseroso," pp. 31-40; Maren-Sofie Røstvig, "From
John Milton," pp. 59-61; Phyllis MacKenzie, "From
pp. 65-69; E. M. W. Tillyard, "From L' Allegro and
Il Penseroso," pp. 70-78; Edward S. Le Comte, "From Poem
to Poem," pp. 79-80; Cleanth Brooks, "The Light Symbolism
in L' Allegro and Il Penseroso," pp. 94-97; Eleanor Tate,
"From Milton's L' Allegro and Il Penseroso," pp. 103-05;
Don Cameron Allen, "The Search for the Prophetic Strain:
L' Allegro," pp. 106-22; Rosemond Tuve, "From the
Structural Figures of L' Allegro and Il Penseroso,"

Explicator, VIII (May 1950), item 49. Reprinted in
John Milton: L' Allegro and Il Penseroso, eds. Elaine
B. Safer and Thomas L. Erskine. Columbus: Charles
Svendsen says that the two poems allude to classical
mythology including the Orpheus and Pluto myth. "The
poet moves from communication through pagan mythology to
the experience of Christian mysticism induced by Christian
religious music."

Tate says that Milton's two poems have a setting in the chivalric past, the classical world of myth (Corydon, Thyrsis, Phyllis, and Thestylis--representing the pastoral world), the fairy tale world of Queen Mab and the goblins, and Shakespeare's world of romantic comedy.


Tillyard suggests that Milton used mythology in order to display the extent of his classical learning. Milton was expected to show his classical learning because the classical studies were a large part of the curriculum in Milton's education.


Tuve sees the similarity of images and allegory--mirth, melancholy, the Graces--in *L' Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* as found in traditional literature, especially Aristotle's *Problemata XXX*.


Warton comments on Milton's use of classical references, but he suggests that Milton was Puritan in philosophy even though making several allusions to the classical authors.
3. Lycidas


The conventions of pastoral elegy had been hammered out over the centuries by poets concerned, as Milton was with the problem and the mystery of death. In the Hellenic world of the third century B.C., the most popular solutions of the problem of death were expressed in the rituals of various fertility cults, often centered on Adonis, who appears in the Fifteenth and Thirtieth Idylls of Theocritus and in Bion's pastoral Lament for Adonis. In Lycidas, Milton portrayed Edward King in this birth--death--rebirth cycle.


Auffret discusses the imagery of the Phoebus, Orpheus, and Pan symbolism of Christ and concludes that Lycidas is Christian in spirit throughout and just as thoroughly pagan in form.


The pastoral speaker, Milton's uncouth swain, reflects the Orpheus figure. Milton also is influenced within the pastoral framework of the poem by Virgil's pastorals and the *Aeneid*.


Ruskin in *Sesame and Lilies* interprets the blind mouths passage as the greed of the clergy. J. A. Himes challenges Ruskin and says, "'blind mouths' refers to τυφλόστομας which Strabo [Greek philosopher and historian who wrote the seventeen volume *Geographica* and other works] applies to the mouth of a river choked with sand." Christopher indicates a combination of the two views: Ruskin and Himes. Christopher interprets the passage to mean that clergy members who were blind spiritually also ministered without benefit or free flow of the spirit, much like clogged channels.


Finney says the story of Lycidas is the story of
Orpheus, and Milton, though the Orpheus image leads us to the Italian musical drama. Finney concludes, "Lycidas is a monody in both literary and musical sense. It is rooted in the classical tradition of the past, but it was shaped to the broad formal pattern of the musical production of its own time."


Lycidas owes much to Virgil's Tenth Eclogue and pastoral scenes of Theocritus, but Milton gives the pastoral figures of the shepherd the original meaning, that of a pastor in the Christian sense.


The origins of Lycidas are found in works of Theocritus to Virgil as well as the Bible. The main connecting link to the classical tradition in Milton's day was the Fourth Eclogue of Virgil.


Guibbory suggests that Natolis Comes' Mythological, a widely known Renaissance commentary on classical mythology, contains parallels and possible sources for Milton's digression on fame in Lycidas.


Hanford traces the development of the pastoral elegy from the Grecian poet Theocritus to Virgil, and Renaissance poets, especially Spenser, suggesting that the pastoral scenes of description as found in Lycidas have parallels in earlier classical works.

Huntley, Frank L. "A Background in Folklore for the 'Blind Mouths' Passage in Lycidas (11. 113-31)," Milton Quarterly, IV (December 1967), 53-55.

In line 27 of Epithaphium Damonis Milton draws on the proverbial belief that depending on whether the man sees a wolf first or a wolf sees the man, one of them will be struck dumb. This proverb goes back to Virgil's Nisi me lupus ante videbit.

Lycidas has a pastoral setting and the appeal to muses is changed from a pagan application to a Christian invocation of the Holy Spirit.


Lloyd sees in Lycidas the typology of two worlds: Christian and classical. Lycidas was a shepherd and a type of the "Good Shepherd" in Biblical typology. The poem has a typical classical pastoral setting.


One of the major models for Lycidas was Virgil's Tenth Eclogue which is introduced by an appeal to the Sicilian Muse, a passage symmetrical with the conclusion imitated in the coda of Lycidas.


Major suggests that Milton was influenced to a great extent by Ovid's Amores, which follows the set form of the funeral elegy inherited from the Greek poets.


The Orpheus myth which had its origin in the Greek pastoral poetry is examined in relation to Lycidas (56-63).


Nitchie examines the types of speeches made by Phoebus, a somewhat Christianized Stoic, and St. Peter, the voice of the church triumphant.


Riggs feels that the metaphorical plant in Lycidas is symbolic of Christian being grafted into the true
vine--Christ. Milton blends the many pagan and Christian symbols to suggest that Lycidas will be resurrected.


In the *Homeric Hymn* Apollo assumed the form of a dolphin who guided ships. "In the Chain of Being the dolphin is regularly the highest of the fishes, and traditionally in Christian art the dolphin symbolizes resurrection and salvation and sometimes Christ. As George Ferguson notes: 'Considered to be the strongest and swiftest of the fishes [the dolphin], was often shown bearing the souls of the dead across the waters to the world beyond. Depicted with an anchor boat, it symbolized the Christian soul, or the church, being guided toward salvation by Christ.'" (From George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*). "For readers with a Christian education in mythology, the dolphins in *Lycidas* serve the double function of saving the soul of Edward King and of ritually elevating the audience's awareness and faith. The reference to dolphins in *Lycidas* functions structurally at the point of the hero's apotheosis and at the point of emergence of the purest Christian ideas, consolation, and mystery. For readers with a classical education in mythology, the wide-ranging history and symbolic significance of Apollo adumbrate this triumph."

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Swaim argues that classical and Christian dimensions of pastoral imagery reinforce each other in the reference of the "two-handed engine," which is based on a classical Christian image of St. Peter.

4. *Nativity Ode*


Barker says Milton's handling of traditional elements is what makes the *Nativity Ode* excel in poetic artistry. Milton was influenced by Ovid, Plato, Aristotle, Pythagoras, and Cicero.
Cope traces Milton's "Fair Infant" to Christian allusion, to the Christ-Child, and also to Ovid in classical mythology.

Milton combines both pagan and Christian features in the Nativity Ode in developing a definite Christian theme.

Milton combines pagan and Christian symbolism. The classical gods of paganism are replaced with a greater force—the coming of Christ.

Maclean says, "He [Milton] is attempting also, within the limitations of a convention, to control and unify a body of poetic imagery reflecting his Christian and classical heritage..."

5. Miscellaneous

Works which show Milton's blending of pagan and Christian ideals are On the Morning of Christ's Nativity and Comus. Chapter three examines classical sources of Lycidas: Pindar, Plato, Sophocles, Ovid, and Apollodorus.

Cheek traces the unity of theme (blending of classical and Christian allusions) in Milton's early poetry and Paradise Lost. The two sonnets, one written in his
youth ("On Having Arrived at the Age of Twenty-Three") and the latter ("On His Blindness") both have a common source: a blending of classical and Christian symbolism.


De Filippis suggests that the two cups mentioned in *Epitaphium Damonis* were not literally vessels, but rather were two of Manso's books: *Erocallia* and the *Poesie Nomische*. Another source which may have prompted Milton to refer to the cup is Theocritus' *Idyll*.


Discusses Milton's blend of classical and Christian sources in his pastoral scenes.


In his opposition to pagan values, Milton may have been influenced by the Renaissance poet, Gian Francesco Pico della Mirandola.


Both Milton and Castiglione were influenced by three classical poems: Theocritus' *First Idyll* and Virgil's *Fifth and Tenth Eclogues*.


A commentary on the Greek and Latin poems and Milton as a classicist scholar.


Jackson says Sonnet XX is an echo of Horace's odes.


Martz traces the development of Milton's early poetry
giving special emphasis to background sources such as Virgil's *Eclogues*, Homer, Plato, and Ovid.

Maxwell suggests that Pope cited Virgil's *Eclogue* III (64-65) and also Milton's *Fifth Elegy* in his lines "The sprightly Sylvia trips along the Green, She runs, but hopes she doe not run unseen."

Nemser comments on the reference in *Lycidas* to the unexpressive nuptial song, "In the blest Kingdoms meek of joy and love." In *Prolusions II*, Milton attributes to the fall man's deafness to this music: "Moreover, the boldness of the theiving Prometheus seems to be the reason why we hear so little this harmony. In addition, Milton explicitly identifies the Platonic music of the spheres as the angel's songs in "At a Solemn Music."

Milton's elegies are somewhat autobiographical. They show his classical learning by numerous allusions, especially to Homer, Ovid, and Virgil.

Milton combines classical mythology with Christian imagery and symbolism. However, Milton leans more towards the Christian context. Stapleton says that Milton may have used Clement for his model, but Clement in turn had received his allusion to the "Music of the Spheres" from classical origins, possibly Pythagoras.


Lady Alice, Dowager Countess of Derby, in whose honor *Arcades* was written is likened to the goddess Latona, the mild and gentle goddess in Hesiod.


Watson explores Milton's pastoral theme "Come live with me" among the Greek poets Theocritus, Moschus, and Bion.


West examines the problem of Milton's blending of classical mythology with Christian ideals. He concludes that Milton borrowed or was influenced most by Plato and Ovid in his funeral elegies, and that the classicism does not distort the Christian viewpoint in his poetry.


Williamson compares the pagan myth of Alcestis being rescued and brought back to her husband with the Christian resurrection of the wife in Milton's Twenty-Third Sonnet.
VI. GENERAL CRITICISM


In *Spectator* 297, Addison writes, "there is in the *Paradise Lost* all the Greatness of Plan, Regularity of Design, and Masterly Beauties which we discover in *Homer* and *Virgil*." In No. 303, Addison analyzes Milton's use of various epic devices.


Allen examines Orpheus and Hercules as types of Christ. Following the patterns of Dante and Virgil, Christ descends to darkness (Hell) in order to ascend to the light of God.


Arnold recommends that the modern reader can acquaint himself with the power and charm of the ancients by reading Milton's authority.


Atkins comments that Milton gleaned from the works of Plato, Aristotle, Phalereus, Cicero, Longinus, Sophocles, and Euripides.


Baldwin stresses the influence of Plato's *Timaeus* and calls attention to Milton's reference of the stars in *Paradise Lost* (VII, 621-22) --"Numberous, and every star perhaps a world of destined habitation." This idea that the stars would be future dwellings of the souls was actually not part of Milton's theology as suggested by Plato in his *Timaeus*.


Barker concludes that Milton uses pagan images or classical genres not to contrast with but rather to carry out Christian themes.

The author notes similarities in archetypal patterns between Milton's works and Plato's Phaedo, Homer's Iliad and Odyssey, Virgil's Aeneid, and Dante's Inferno.


Bollier discusses Eliot's re-consideration of Milton. He concludes that Eliot is more favorable to Milton than
he had been in previous criticisms, especially with respect to Milton's use of the tradition in Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained.


Mentions Milton's debt to classical learning through Baerle's Latin Paradisus.


Brooks discusses the critical re-evaluation of Milton including his use of classical and Biblical materials.


Bryant comments that Sims' transliteration of words of non-English origin, particularly Greek and Latin, into an English meaning adds to Milton scholarship.


Bush examines two main focuses of Milton's work, the classical and Biblical, with particular attention to epic and pastoral.


Studies Milton's classical sources--Homer, Hesiod, Virgil, Ovid, Euripides, Pindar, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Plato, Claudian, Horace, and others. Bush concludes, "Milton was steeped in ancient literature as no English poet before him had been, and in Greek no less than in Latin."


Bush compares the ideals and techniques of the classical writers with those who followed in the Renaissance. The style in his epics and the pastoral setting in Lycidas bear strong resemblances to the early Grecian and Roman poets.
Bush comments in particular on three poets: Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton. Although Milton was definitely a classicist, and according to Bush, was the poet who led classical myth to a peak in Renaissance art, he was careful to distinguish Christian truth from pagan fiction.


The various "Proteus myths" in antiquity are examined: Homer, Plato, Clement, Servius, Boethius, Heraclitus, and Virgil. Proteus, says Chambers, illuminates Satan's visit to the sun or to the realms of God's heavenly light.


Chapman includes excerpts of criticism of John Milton by Dryden, Dennis, Addison, and Johnson, much of which has to do with Milton's handling of classical references and the style of *Paradise Lost*.


One reason why Milton received much classical training at St. Paul's was the Renaissance in England. The Renaissance humanists, Erasmus, Colet, and Lyly were the ones who organized the course of study for St. Paul's and were responsible for bringing about a rebirth of classical culture through a renewed study of classical languages and literature in the educational system. Milton became familiar with the epics of Homer and Virgil as well as Platonic philosophy and the pastoral poetry of the ancients.


A brief biography of Milton's life and education with special emphasis on his vast learning in the classical authors. Also includes a bibliography of writers on Milton's style.


A collection of essays reprinted from *English Literary*


A brief biography of Milton's life, education, and writings. Daiches says, "Milton was Christian and Humanist, Protestant Patriot and heir of the golden ages of Greece and Rome."


Dolan suggests that Milton's source for "In this the Region, this the Soil, the clime,/Said the lost Arch-Angel" comes from Seneca's Hercules Furens. The Senecan version is "Quia hic locus, quae regio, quae mundi plaga? (I, 1138). Dolan points out other references in Paradise Lost which he thinks were taken from Hercules Furens. He compares the Satan figure in Paradise Lost and the Senecan play. The Senecan line is the epigraph to T. S. Eliot's Mariana.


Elioseff discusses the classical criticism of John Milton by Joseph Addison and John Dryden. Addison as a young man praised Paradise Lost for its classical style. Later, Addison was somewhat critical of Milton's use of language. Dryden's comments for the most part were favorable of Milton.


Eliot claimed that 'every distortion of construction,
the foreign idiom, the use of a word in a foreign way... 
every idiosynacrasy is a particular act of violence which 
Milton has been the first to commit."

Empson, William. "Milton and Bentley," The Pastoral of the 
Innoence of Man and Nature. London: Chatto and Windus, 
Empson examines Bentley's claim that he couldn't 
understand Milton. One of the problems which Bentley saw 
in Milton's works was his handling of classical allusions. 
Empson concludes that many of Milton's pagan references 
were justified, but perhaps not admired.

280 pp.
Studies Satan as a Promethean figure and the devils 
as pagan gods whose legends Milton drew upon.

Fiore, Amadeus P., ed. Th' Upright Heart and Pure. Pitts-
A collection of essays on Milton commemorating the 
Tercentenary of the Publication of Paradise Lost. Five 
of the essays focus on Milton's use of classical authors: 
Merritt Y. Hughes, "Milton's Limbo of Vanity," pp. 7-24; 
Balachandra Rajan, "Jerusalem and Athens: The Temptation 
of Learning in Paradise Regained," pp. 61-74; Wayne 
Shumaker, "Paradise Lost and the Italian Epic Tradition," 
pp. 87-100; John M. Steadman, "The Tragic Glass: Milton, 
Minturno and the Condition Humaine," pp. 101-15; Robert 

I, ed. James D. Simmonds. Pittsburgh; University of 
The author comments on Milton's interweaving of 
Christian and pagan references in the Nativity Ode, At 
a Solemn Music, Il Penseroso, Epitaphium Damonis, and 
especially Paradise Lost. Fixler says Milton conceived 
the poem to be not only an epic, but also a praise of 
adoration to God involving the Pythagoran myth of the 
music of the spheres as well as the Orpheus myth.

Fletcher, Harris Francis. The Intellectual Development of 
John Milton. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 
The biographical records of John Milton show that he 
was a Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Italian student. These 
records also show that he was familiar with many clas-
sical authors in his school days and afterwards.

The author examines the influence of Homer on the works of many English writers including Chaucer, Shakespeare, Spenser, Pope, and Milton.


Fogle rescues Milton from Samuel Johnson's complaints about Milton's classical allusions in *Lycidas* and choice of Greek drama as a model for *Samson Agonistes.*


Freedman discusses the argument between Milton and Dryden concerning rhymed poetry and blank verse. Freedman says, "Milton insisted that true musical delight in poetry depends on 'apt numbers, fit quantity of syllables ... not in the jingling sound of like endings, a fault avoided by the learned Ancients both in Poetry and all good Oratory.'"


George argues against the conventional theory that Milton synthesized classical and Christian ideas into a whole. The author notes that Milton consistently used poetic motifs and images from classical sources, especially Plato, but concludes that Milton is more Christian than classical.


Gilbert examines passages in *The Reason of Church Government,* *The Preface to Samson Agonistes,* and *Paradise Regained* which show that Milton leaned heavily on the classical writers—Homer, Aristotle, and Virgil.


Greenwood traces the theme of paradise from several classical authors such as Hesiod in *Works and Days,* Ovid in *Metamorphoses,* Virgil in the *Fourth Eclogue,* Plato's *Republic,* and Dante's *Purgatorio.*

A comparison is drawn between the invocation to the
muses in pagan literature and Milton's appeal to the
heavenly muse of Christian theology.

374 pp.
Includes commentary on Milton's classical and Chris-
tian training.

Hanford, James Holly. "The Youth of Milton: An Interpretation
of His Early Literary Development," Studies in Shakes-
peare, Milton, and Donne, eds. English Department of the
Pp. 87-163.
Hanford includes a study of Milton's classical learn-
ing while at St. Paul's and Cambridge. Latin was a
required course, and students were required not only to
read Latin authors, but were encouraged to write in
Latin. Hanford says that Milton's elegies were especially
influenced by Ovid.

The Collected Works of William Hazlitt, eds. A. R.
Milton's works are a perpetual invocation to the
muses. "His mind appears to have held equal communion
with the inspired writers [Biblical], and with the bards
and sages of ancient Greece and Rome."

Hightet, Gilbert. The Classical Tradition: Greek and Roman
Influences on Western Literature. New York: Oxford
The chapter entitled "The Renaissance: Epic" examines
Milton's use of the classical machinery to convey a
Christian subject. "The Renaissance: Pastoral and
Romance" studies Milton's sources in Greek and Roman
mythology for his pastorals, L'Allegro, Il Penseroso,
and Lycidas.

Essays in Criticism, ed. Arthur E. Barker. New York:
Music is seen as important in Paradise Lost, Nativity
Ode, "At a Solemn Music," and others. Hollander says,
"...Milton's vast knowledge of both secular music of his
own day and of classical and Christian musical doctrine is amply revealed."


This work gives detailed information about the sources which Du Bartas used and traces the many links in the chain from Plato's *Timaeus* to the *Premiere Sepaine* of Du Bartas. He includes the contributions of the various church fathers such as Philo, St. Basil the Great, St. Ambrose, and St. Augustine.


Extensive commentary devoted to classical, patristic, and Biblical sources.


Huntley traces Milton studies in Japan from 1841 to the present including several studies of Milton's classical sources.


Harrison comments on Milton's doctrine of chastity as the purity of the soul. In *An Apology for Smectymnuus,* Milton acknowledges his debt to Plato and Xenophon.


The author argues that Milton's Latinizing of the English language harms his poetry. Also, there are too many classical allusions.


Jenkins suggests that most of Milton's writings follow a classical-Christian tradition which owes much to Plato and Augustine.

Johnson traces the influence of classicism on several English writers, including Milton.

The main purpose of the sonnets in Paradise Lost and Samson Agonistes is to Christianize classical heroism, conventions, and thought.

Johnson's biographical study describes Milton's knowledge of classical authors and includes his well-known judgments of Lycidas and other works.

Kelley and Atkins examine annotated classical materials in Milton's possession including Pindar, purchased in 1631, and his Lycophron and Euripides both purchased in 1634.

Traces Milton's color symbolism to Homer and Virgil.

King suggests that Milton was thoroughly grounded in the concept of paideia, that sense of the harmonious development of all the powers of the individual which characterized the best of Greek humanistic thought. The myths relating to Psyche are examined in Milton's poetry and prose.

"Milton Versus Time" shows Milton as both a classical and a Christian scholar; "Areopagitica as a Scenario for Paradise Lost" reveals Milton's tendencies towards epic poetry; "The Satirist and Wit" depicts Milton's use of the classical polemicists such as Aristotle, Cicero, Catiline, and Plautus.

A short biography of Milton including his life, education, and works. Particular emphasis is given to his vast learning in classical and Biblical materials.


MacKenzie answers T. S. Eliot's charge that Milton's poetry is too artificial. She says Eliot used isolated passages of Milton and Shakespeare for his illustrations. In order to fairly evaluate Milton's works, all should be examined for style and content.


Examines the classical and Biblical features of *Il Penseroso*, *L' Allegro*, *Lycidas*, *Paradise Lost*, and *Paradise Regained*. Magnus concludes that Milton "was a Romantic poet constrained to classic diction, a Renaissance writer who sought to reform the reformation."


Mahood examines Milton's portrayal of characters in the role of hero in *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*, with some attention to classical and Christian sources.


A standard biography of Milton and his times. Volume one includes Milton's education: (1) studies in
the home by his private teacher Thomas Young who introduced Milton to the classical authors and taught him to read Greek and Latin; (2) studies at St. Paul's Grammar School where he continued the reading of the classics and the Bible. (3) further studies at Cambridge where he received his Masters Degree and also continued his Greek and Latin studies; (4) lived in Horton where he privately pursued his classical studies (1632-1638).

Includes detailed commentary on classical, patristic, Biblical, and other sources.


Included among the favorite authors which Milton entered into his *Commonplace Book* were the Greek and Latin church fathers, Dante, and Aristotle. Mohl says, "Occasionally in the *Art of Logic* Milton disagrees with the teachings of Aristotle, ...but generally, throughout the work, his prime authority is Aristotle."

In chapter two--"The Grand Style"--Murray comments on the unfavorable criticism of Leavis, Eliot, Middleton, and Pound concerning Milton's use of classical materials and style of composition. On the other hand, Murray mentions the favorable criticism by Lewis, Rajan, Hanford, Bush, and Summers. This latter group suggests that Milton reached a "lofty style" in his imitation of the classical models.

Includes a review of Milton's education in classical and Biblical studies, as well as other prominent authors. She also comments on the classical influence upon Milton's poetry, especially *Paradise Lost*, *Lycidas*, *Comus*, and *Samson Agonistes*.


The discovery of the telescope by Galileo renewed studies in the beliefs of Pythagoras. Milton makes references to the doctrines of Pythagoras and the philosophy of Plato in numerous writings: *Second Academias Exercise*, *Oration in Defense of Learning*, *Tractate on Education*, *Areopagitica*, *Nativity Ode*, and *Paradise Lost*. "Milton's description of chaos...is the first great attempt of English poetry to picture to man the vision which the telescope had shown. Many of its details are classical, some are medieval, but fundamentally it is a modern chaos which no mind had conceived before Galileo."


An examination of references in Milton's works to Greek and Roman mythology.


A brief biography with some attention to Milton's education and his vast knowledge of Christian and classical authors.


Park discusses Milton's translation of Horace, *Carm.*
(1-5) rendered almost word for word without rhyme according to the Latin measure which Park considers the last and most puzzling document of the Renaissance experimentation with the classical meters in English.


Parker traces Milton's education beginning with Thomas Young who was his private tutor until Milton was about twelve years of age. Next, Milton studied at St. Paul's where he developed his interest in reading Caesar, Ovid, Sallust, Virgil, Cicero, Horace, Homer, Euripides, Isocrates, Persius, and Juvenal. Milton began composing verse in Greek and Latin at an early age. When Milton was sixteen, he was admitted to Christ's College, Cambridge where he received his Masters Degree. Later, he spent six years of private study at Hortum where he continued his studies in the classics.


Edward Phillips, Milton's nephew, mentions that an anonymous biographer of Milton indicates that he compiled a Latin Thesaurus from the many classical authors of prose and verse which he had read. Also, Milton started a Greek Thesaurus which he failed to complete. Parker suggests that the unknown biographer may have been Cyrick Skinner, a student of Milton.


Partridge says in "Milton," the literary theorists who influenced Milton most were Aristotle, Horace, and Castelvetro (for dramatic works), Minturno (for prosody), Mazzoni (for allegory and imagery), Longinus and Tasso, especially *Discours del Poema Eroico* (for the grand style). The Greek pastorals also influenced Arcades, Comus, and Lycidas; and Plato's philosophy is seen in several of Milton's works. In "Paradise Lost and Samson Agonistes," Partridge says Milton's universe in *Paradise Lost* is a composite of Plato's *Timaeus*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and the *Book of Genesis*. The author also studies the influence of Aeschylus, Euripides, and Sophocles on *Samson Agonistes*.

A study of Milton's concept of God, creation, nature, the fall of man and his restoration. Milton not only was influenced by the Bible and the church fathers but also by the classicists. For example, Milton's concept of the creation of the world is based not on Moses' account but on that of Plato. Another example of classical influence on Milton's ideas of the creation is the *musica mundana*, the music of the spheres. The theory derives from Pythagoras, and Hermes Trismegistus, who claimed that God is by nature a musician and not only works harmony in the universe at large, but also transmits to individuals the rhythm of his own music.


Potter comments that Milton received a thorough training in the classical tradition while at St. Paul's School. The curriculum at St. Paul's School included studies in Homer, Ovid, Virgil, and others. Potter discusses classical myths in Milton's works such as Circe, Orpheus, Proserpina, and Hercules.


Includes two essays on Milton's classicism: "The Renaissance" and "Notes on Elizabethan Classicists." Pound says, "Milton is the worst sort of poison. He is a thorough-going decadent in the worst sense of the term. If he had stopped after writing the short poems one might respect him. The definite contribution in his later work consists in his developing the sonority of the English blank-verse paragraph. If poetry consisted in derivation from the Greek anthology one could not improve on Drummond of Hawthornden's *Phoebus, Arise*...Milton and Virgil are concerned with decorations and Trappings...He [Milton] tried to turn English into Latin; to use an uninflected language as if it were an inflected one, neglecting the genius of English, distorting its fibrous manner, making schoolboy translations of Latin Phrases...."


Both Poussin and Milton presented Biblical subjects dressed in the spirit of classical antiquity.

Ricks, Christopher. "Paradise Regained and Samson Agonistes,"
Ricks comments on the suggestions of William R. Parker that Milton was indebted to Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* and the works of Sophocles and Euripides for his *Samson Agonistes*.


Ross reviews Milton's indebtedness to Homer and Virgil and suggests that Milton may have been influenced by Sir John Stradling's *Divine Poems* in his adaptation of the pagan muse.


Essays devoted to Milton's classicism are listed:
- Stanley Fish, "Not So Much a Teaching As An Untangling," pp. 104-35;
- Lawrence A. Sasek, "The Drama of Paradise Lost Books XI and XII," pp. 342-56;
- William Madsen, "From Shadowy Types to Truth," pp. 246-63;
- M. M. Mahood, "Milton's Heroes," 233-69;
- and William Haller, "'Hail Wedded Love,'" pp. 296-312.


Ryken examines the question of Milton's Platonism and concludes that Milton did not use Plato directly, but as an accessory to Christian values.


A brief study of Milton's life, education, and works which discusses *Paradise Lost* in light of several Hexameral traditions, as well as classical models. Saillens concludes that the poem owes much to the five tragedies of Euripides.

Saintsbury concludes that there never was such a blend of classic and Romantic as in Milton.

Samuel says, "Plato's thought is built into the ethics of Milton's poems as substantially as some parts of the Bible are built into their plots. Next to Homer and the inspired Hebrew poets, no author exercised a more powerful influence on the congenial sublimity of Milton's genius than Plato." Samuel includes an informative chart of Milton's references to Socrates and Plato on pages 22-25.

Discusses the heroic virtue in four works: *Paradise Lost, Comus, Samson Agonistes,* and *Paradise Regained.*

Sensabaugh says Milton appeared with Quintilian and Cicero in the revival of classical rhetoric; he furnished pieces for recitation in classes of elocution, and presented choice sentiments for study in courses of literature. Even as Milton sometimes surpassed ancient writers in the employment of their own techniques, so also he impressed Latin syntax on English and made his native language thereby more expressive."

Sewell illustrates the function of the orphic voice in several works: "At a Solemn Music," *Il Penseroso,* *L' Allegro,* *Lycidas,* and *Paradise Lost.*

A commentary on the Italian poems with references to classical sources and allusions.

Shawcross edits and expands William Riley Parker's index to Milton's Common Place Book. The Index contains references to classical, church fathers, and later poets Milton makes reference to.


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Smith reviews criticism of Milton by several writers including Ezra Pound, who express an intense dislike for him.


Starnes points to evidence that Milton, with respect to proper names, consulted most frequently the Thesaurus of Robert Stephanus and the Dictionarium Historicum, Geographiacum, Poeticum of Charles Stephanus. Starnes and Talbert include an annotated list of proper names found in Milton's poetry.

Steadman, John. "Milton's 'Haemony': Etymology and Allegory,"
Steadman examines several Greek words in works of classical writers and suggests that the word "haemony" means knowledge.


Steadman examines Milton's use of *peripeteia* in *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*, and concludes that Milton's account of "Man's First Disobedience" exhibits many of the characteristics of the *peripeteia* as Renaissance theorists had conceived it. The Renaissance writers were following traditional examples found in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Aristotle's *Poetics* and *Oedipus Rex*, and Virgil's *Aeneid*.


Steadman comments that "of Milton's three major poems, one is tragedy. The others belong to a narrative genre that Aristotelian poets had closely associated with tragedy in its choice of persons, its actions, and its psychological effects--a genre that had depicted the sufferings of Odysseus, the woes of the Greeks before Troy, the civil wars of Thebes and Rome, and the trials of Job." In *Paradise Lost* Milton's emphasis on suffering is closely linked with his choice of literary genre (classical traditions), with the fact that he is writing heroic poetry.


The motif of the task-master is found both in classical, Hebraic, and Christian literature.


"Milton and the Cult of Conformity," *Milton: Modern
Summers examines opposing schools of literary criticism on Milton: those who attacked Milton as a theologian and questioned his artistry as a poet; and those who responded to such criticism and revived an interest in Milton, including his vast knowledge of languages and the classical tradition.


Examining several of Milton's works, Taylor concludes that Milton solved successfully the problems which arose from the fusion of Christian and pagan elements under conditions which denied him full, open use of Christian material. In Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained Milton flexibly adjusted his method of organization to the broad scope and demands of the epic. In Samson Agonistes, Milton enhanced the plot of the story by following the pattern of Attic tragedy.


Taylor challenges writers who claim that Milton was not influenced by Du Bartas. He bases his assumption on a thorough examination of Medieval and Renaissance epic structure which throws light on its proper relation to the main stream of Renaissance materials. He shows that Milton was particularly indebted to Du Bartas' La Sepmaine (The Divine Weeks).


Concludes Milton's classical knowledge was an outstanding asset to the classical Renaissance poetry in England.


The classical authors were a large part of the curriculum in school during Shakespeare's day. Links are shown between classical Greek and Roman plays with those of Shakespeare. Shakespeare, as well as Milton, leaned on classical literature for his works.


Tillyard traces the evolution of style in Milton's poetry and prose from his earliest works to *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, with some attention to the way in which his classical background helped to pave the way for his *Paradise Lost*.


Although Milton's typology is based primarily on the Bible, he combines pagan and Christian symbolism. Ulreich says Milton intended the pagan myths to be understood as shadows of Christian myths. For example, Alcestis is transformed into a Christian image.


Untermeyer gives a brief history of Milton's life, education, and writings, with emphasis on his blending of classical and Christian learning.


Analyzes the blend of classical and Christian in Milton's personality.


The most primitive theory was that dreams were caused by God or gods, angels or demons, spirits of the dead or living, to warn, to teach, to threaten, and to urge. Belief in such "objective" supernatural dreams, implicit in Homer and the Bible, was expressed by pagan writers of later antiquity and received new impetus under the Christian dispensation from the church fathers.
This theory, whose origins are traceable to the Greek Orphic cults of the seventh century B.C. was in one form or another suggested by Plato, the Stoics, the Neoplatonists, and by those church fathers influenced by Neoplatonism.

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Weismiller suggests that Milton may have been influenced by the Greek choral verse in Samson Agonistes and was influenced even more by Pindar.


Wendell comments that Milton was influenced by Theocritus and Virgil in Lycidas; by the Aeneid in Paradise Lost; and by Euripides in Samson Agonistes.